



Women's Suffrage Pamphlets 1879-1883.

Report of the Bristol & West of England Society  
for Women's Suffrage 1881. To Obtain for  
Women Household & Ratepayers the Right of  
Voting for Members of Parliament. Bristol 1881.

To Wives & Mothers of Every Class.

National Society for Women's Suffrage  
West. Branch

Ought Women to Have the Suffrage? by

Charles C. Cattell

Printed  
Birmingham

13th Ann. Mtg. Edinburgh National

Society for Women's Suffrage 3rd Moth 1881.

Edinburgh 1881

The Rights or Claims of Women by

Erantham R. Dodd

London 1881.

Annual Report of the National Society for

Women's Suffrage

London 1881.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE PAMPHLETS 1879-1883 (BOUND)

BRISTOL & W. ENG. S. W. S.  
F. S.  
NOTTINGHAM N. S. W. S.  
CATTELL, C. C.

Report for 1881.  
To wives and mothers of every class.  
Aims and objects, January 11, 1881.  
Ought women to have the suffrage?

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BRISTOL & W.ENG.S.W.S. F.S.	Report for 1881. To wives and mothers of every class.
NOTTINGHAM N.S.W.S.	Aims and objects, January II, 1881.
CATTELL, C.C.	Ought women to have the suffrage?
EDINBURGH N.S.W.S.	I3th annual report, 3rd March, 1881.
DODD, G.	The rights or claims of women.
C.C.N.S.W.S.	Annual report, July 14th, 1881.
MANCHESTER N.S.W.S.	I4th annual report, November 9th, 1881.
ANONYMOUS	Women's rights as preached by women past & present.
N.S.W.S.	Ought women to have votes for members of parliament?
PFEIFFER, E.	Woman's claim.
U.S. SENATE	Committee on privileges & elections against a I6th amendment.
N.W.S.A.	Arguments in behalf of the following I6th amendment.
MANCHESTER N.S.W.S.	Special circular, November, 1881.
CHANNING, W.H.	The history of woman suffrage.
HOYT, J.W.	Address of governor J.W.HOYT, of Wyoming territory on WS in Wy.
US SENATE	Committee report on WS and minority view, June 5th, 1882.
N.W.S.A.A. (Circular)	To the members of the N.W.S.A. & the friends of equal suffrage.
BRISTOL & W.ENG.S.W.S.	Report for 1881, January 24th, 1882.
BRISTOL & W.ENG.S.W.S.	Special circular, February, 1882.
EDINBURGH N.S.W.S.	I4th annual meeting, 3rd March, 1882.
GREEN, Rev. C.	Address by....on WS,....May I6th, 1882.
LYNCH, E.	A paper....upon the claim of women-ratepayers to the parl.vote.
HARBERTON, Viscount	Observations on WS.
C.C.N.S.W.S.	Annual report...., July I3th, 1882.
MANCHESTER N.S.W.S.	I5th annual report...., November 7th, 1882.
EDINBURGH N.S.W.S.	I5th annual report...., December 28th, 1882.
EDINBURGH W.S.ASS. TRACTS	No. I- Why women who are householders should have the parl.vote
BRISTOL & W.ENG.S.W.S.	Report for 1882, January 29th, 1883.
FAWCETT, H.	Mr. Fawcett, M.P., on WS.
BRISTOL & W.ENG.S.W.S.	The liberal man deviseth liberal things.
CRAIGEN, J.	LETTER to the ladies of the WS movement.
BRIGHT, Mrs. J.	Extract from a letter of protest by Mrs. Jacob Bright.
C.C.N.S.W.S.	Annual report...., July I9th, 1883.
BRISTOL & W.ENG.S.W.S.	Dyfeisia y dyn rhyddfrydig bethau rhyddfrydig.
BRISTOL & W.ENG.S.W.S.	Estyniad yr etholfraint i fynywod.
C.C.N.S.W.S.	Women's suffrage. Recent opinions of members of parliament.
N.S.W.S.	Opinions of the press:....relating to....Mr. Mason's resolution
C.C.N.S.W.S.	Stansfeld, Courtney, Illingworth etcetera on WS (leaflets).
MANCHESTER NSWS	I6th annual report, November I4th, 1883.
MANCHESTER NSWS	Special circular, November 1883.

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BRISTOL & W. ENG. S. W. S.  
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CATTELL, C. C.

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Ought women to have the suffrage?

Women's Suffrage Pamphlets 1879-1883

14th Annual Report. Manchester National Society for Women's Suffrage ✓ 2x  
Manchester 1881

Women's Rights <sup>as</sup> Preached by Women. 396.1  
Past & Present. By a Hooker On. London 1881.

Ought Women to Have Votes for Members of Parliament? National Society for Women's Suffrage London  
Printed London x

Woman's Claim by Emily Pfeiffer ✓ Edinburgh 1881.

Majority Report of USA Senate Committee on Privileges + Elections against A 14th Amendment to the Constitution Prohibiting the Several States from Disfranchising USA Citizens on Account of Sex. Washington 1879

Arguments: A Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the USA. USA House of Representatives 880

Manchester National Society for Women's Suffrage 1881.

✓ The History of Woman Suffrage by Rev. William Henry Channing

BRISTOL & W. ENG. S. W. S.  
F. S.  
NOTTINGHAM N. S. W. S.  
CATTELL, C. C.

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Address of Gov. John W. Hoyt, of Wyoming Territory  
upon Woman Suffrage in Wyoming Philadelphia 1882

Senate of the United States Report on Woman Suffrage 5th June 1882

etc Views of the Minority 5th June 1882

To The Members of The National Woman Suffrage  
Association and The Friends of Equal Suffrage

Report of the Bristol & West of England Society for  
Women's Suffrage Bristol 1881

Women's Suffrage: 14th Annual Meeting Edinburgh  
National Society for Women's Suffrage Edinburgh 1882

Rev. Charles Green on Women's Suffrage Bokenham 1882

Mrs. E. Lynch upon the Claim of Women-Ratepayers  
to the Parliamentary Vote Bokenham 1882

Observations on Women's Suffrage by Viscount Carlisle London 1882

Annual Report of the National Society for Women's  
Suffrage London 1882

BRISTOL & W. ENG. S. W. S.  
F. S.  
NOTTINGHAM N. S. W. S.  
CATTELL, C. C.

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Women's Suffrage Pamphlets 1879-1883.

15th Annual Report of the Manchester National  
Society for Women's Suffrage Manchester 1882

15th Annual Meeting of the Edinburgh National  
Society for Women's Suffrage Edinburgh 1883

Edinburgh Woman's Suffrage Association Tracts:

Nº 1. Why Women, who are Leaseholders, should  
have the Parliamentary Franchise.

Report of the Bristol, West of England Society for  
Women's Suffrage 1882 Bristol 1882.

Mr. Fawcett M.P. on Women's Suffrage Liverpool 1882

The Liberal Man Deniseth Liberal Things. Bristol  
Printed  
London

Letter to the Ladies of the Women's Suffrage Movement

Extract from A Letter of Protest by Mrs. Jacob Bright

Annual Report of The National Society for  
Women's Suffrage London 1883

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BRISTOL & W. ENG. S. W. S.  
F. S.  
NOTTINGHAM N. S. W. S.  
CATTELL, C. C.

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BETHAU RHYDDFRYDIA

Women's Suffrage. Recent Opinions of  
Members of Parliament. 1882

Opinions of the Press on Mr. Mason's Resolution  
in the House of Commons July 1883

Rt. Hon. James Hansfeld, M.P., on Women's Suffrage 1883 Printed  
Manchester

Mr. Courtney M.P. on Women's Suffrage 1883 Printed  
Manchester

Mr. Alfred Ellingworth, M.P., on Women's Suffrage 1883 Printed  
Manchester

Statistics About Women's Suffrage Printed  
Manchester

Prof. Fawcett, M.P., on Women's Suffrage 1883 Printed  
Manchester

What is Women's Suffrage and Why do Women  
want it? Printed  
London 1883

The Daughters of Cobden Bright at the Leeds Conference 1883  
Printed

Opinions of M.P.'s on Women's Suffrage Printed  
Manchester

Mr. Slagg on Women's Suffrage Printed  
Manchester 1883

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Aims and objects, January II, 1881.  
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Women's Suffrage Pamphlets 1879-1883

- Mr. Leake, M.P. & Mr. Agnew M.P., on Women's Suffrage 1883
- Mr. John P. Thomasson, M.P., on Women's Suffrage 1880
- Mrs. Walter S.B. McLaren on Women's Suffrage
- 16th Annual Report of The Manchester Society for Women's Suffrage Manchester, 1883





REPORT

OF THE

Bristol and West of England Society

FOR

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE, 1880

1881.

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

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BRISTOL :

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

71<sup>M</sup>  
HEAVY

### Vice-Presidents.

- Mrs. BEDDOE, Clifton
- LADY BOWRING, Exeter
- Rev. J. W. CALDICOTT, D.D., Grammar School, Bristol
- Mrs. COLMAN, Clifton
- Mrs. CRAWSHAY, Cathedine, Bwlch, Brecon
- LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE, M.P., Calne
- LADY GOLDSMID, St. John's Lodge, Regent's Park
- Mr. SHOLTO VERE HARE, J.P., Knole Park, Almondsbury
- THE COUNTESS OF MAR, Hilston Park, Monmouth
- Professor F. W. NEWMAN, Weston-Super-Mare
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- Mr. MARK WHITWILL, J.P., Durdham Park, Redland

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- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <i>Aberystwith</i> - Mrs. William Williams, St. David's Road | <i>Mumbles</i> - Rev. J. C. Davies      |
| <i>Bridgwater</i> - Miss Thompson                            | <i>Neath</i> - Mrs. Elias Jones         |
| <i>Bridport</i> - Mrs. R. L. Carpenter                       | <i>Newport</i> - Mr. Thomas Beynon      |
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| <i>Malmesbury</i> - Mr. S. Clark                             | <i>Tenby</i> - Mr. Howell Davies        |
| <i>Minehead</i> - Mrs. Boucher                               | <i>Tiverton</i> - Rev. G. Cooper        |
| <i>Monmouth</i> - Mr. Thomas James, J.P.                     | <i>Torquay</i> - Miss Parkyn            |
|  | <i>Yeovil</i> - Mrs. Marsh              |

### Committee.

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

### Hon. Secretaries.

- |                              |             |
|------------------------------|-------------|
| Mrs. Lillas Ashworth Hallett | Miss Sturge |
|------------------------------|-------------|

### Treasurer.

Alan Greenwell, Esq., M.A., 3 Buckingham Vale, Clifton.

*Secretary*—Miss H. BLACKBURN.

*Office*—20 PARK STREET, BRISTOL.

## REPORT, 1880.

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DURING the past year great changes have taken place in the aspects and prospects of the Woman's Suffrage movement. The sudden dissolution of Parliament in March last resulted in the election of a House of Commons pledged to deal with the general question of Electoral Reform. Careful efforts were made at the time of the election to ascertain the opinions of Parliamentary candidates upon the special question of Electoral Reform for Women, but these afforded no certain test of our strength in the new Parliament as compared with the old one. Nor could the question of our strength in the new Parliament be conveniently brought to the test of a division during the session which followed the election. In consequence of the lateness and overburdened character of this session no separate Bill or Resolution was introduced. When the Government brought in a Bill to assimilate the borough franchise in Ireland with that of England, Mr. Blennerhassett and Sir Edward Watkin gave notices of amendments in favour of the inclusion of women householders, but there was no opportunity for a division, the Bill, owing to pressure of business, being ultimately withdrawn. Notwithstanding however the absence of any definite test, the election of many well known supporters of the movement—both men who have already voted for the Bill in Parliament and men who last April took their seats for the first time—gives hope that this Parliament will

reflect that growth of the movement throughout the country of which the last year has afforded unmistakable signs. As no Bill was introduced last session little effort was made in regard to petitions, and only 26, with an aggregate of 591 signatures, were presented to the House of Commons by the friends and members of this Committee.

In the presence of the universally accepted fact that the present Government is pledged to deal with the extension of the Franchise, your Committee has determined that no effort shall be wanting on its part to secure the inclusion of duly qualified women in any measure which the Government may propose. A special appeal has accordingly been made by your Committee to raise a considerable working fund for this purpose. Promises of £1,024, payable in two years, have been the result, and whilst your Committee would take this opportunity of expressing its acknowledgments and hearty thanks to the donors of this fund, it would also ask that the sum already promised may be largely augmented during the present year. By the above generous addition to its ways and means your Committee has been enabled to carry forward important work during the past year. Probably the most remarkable meeting ever held in Bristol was that which took place on the 4th November last, when the Colston Hall was crowded by women, earnest and anxious to hear what women had to tell them of the questions connected with their political emancipation. The chair was taken by Mrs. Beddoe, and when she entered the hall, followed by ladies who had assembled from all parts of the country as delegates to the meeting, no vacant place could be seen. The whole area and galleries of the hall were filled by thousands of women who received with enthusiasm the president and speakers as they came forward to address them. A large number who were unable to find access to the Great Hall assembled in the Arch Room below, where Mrs. Colman was called to the chair, the proceedings being similar to those in the larger meeting. The following

Resolutions were submitted to each meeting and carried with unanimity and earnestness.

I. "That the following Memorial to the Prime Minister be adopted and signed by the President on behalf of this meeting :—

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

"The Memorial of Women in Public Meeting assembled in the Colston Hall, Bristol, on Thursday, November 4th, 1880, respectfully sheweth :—

"That there are over five hundred thousand ratepayers in the United Kingdom deprived of the power of voting in the election of members of Parliament on the sole ground that they are women. That this exclusion is directly opposed to the fundamental principle of representative government, and therefore unjust towards such ratepayers. That the exclusion of women ratepayers from the exercise of the parliamentary vote deprives women of that free expression of opinion which is the only guarantee of liberty in the State. Wherefore your memorialists pray that a measure may be introduced by Her Majesty's Ministers to extend the parliamentary franchise to women ratepayers and landowners in boroughs and counties. And your memorialists will ever pray, &c."

II. "That a deputation be appointed from this meeting to wait upon the First Lord of the Treasury, for the purpose of presenting the foregoing memorial. That such deputation consist of the speakers at this meeting, the members of committee and vice-presidents of the West of England Society for Women's Suffrage, and others to be nominated by the London, Manchester, Birmingham, Dublin, Belfast, Edinburgh and Glasgow Committees respectively; and that all parliamentary supporters of the Women's Disabilities Removal Bill be invited to accompany the deputation."

A full report of the proceedings of the meeting will be found in the *Women's Suffrage Journal* for December, 1880. On the 5th of November a Conference, which was largely attended, was held in the office of the Society, 20 Park Street, to consider the best mode of organising work in the country during the coming year, and the following Resolutions were passed :—

"That Mrs. Beddoe be requested to forward a copy of the memorial adopted last night to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, informing him

that it was intended to request him to receive a deputation to present the memorial after the opening of Parliament."

"That a copy of the memorial be sent to organised bodies throughout the kingdom asking them to appoint a representative from their body on the deputation, and that the Bristol Committee be requested to confer with each of the other Committees."

The President has subsequently forwarded the Resolutions adopted at the public meetings to Mr. Gladstone and has received a formal acknowledgment from his Secretary; but owing to the pressure of ministerial business it has not as yet been considered advisable to ask the Premier to appoint a time for the deputation.

The evening previous to the demonstration Mrs. Beddoe most kindly gave a *Conversazione* to the friends and supporters of women's suffrage at Mortimer House. Her reception-rooms were crowded by distant as well as by local workers in the movement, many of whom were thus afforded an opportunity of meeting together for the first time.

In addition to the Colston Hall meeting the following meetings have been held in Bristol:—a drawing-room meeting, by invitation, at Mortimer House: public meetings at Charlton Hall, Lawrence Hill; Anglesea Rooms, Redland; Temperance Hall, Bedminster; Jewell's Rooms, Stokes' Croft; St. Mark's Schoolroom, Easton; Kingsland Chapel and Broadmead Rooms, with cottage meetings at Stapleton and Cathay. Besides these local meetings, sixteen public meetings and lectures have been held in different towns in the West of England. Two are due to the energy of the Cheltenham Local Committee, the second of the two having taken place on the 17th December, under the presidency of Baron de Ferrieres, M.P. for the borough. Four meetings have been held at Cardiff. Six have been held in the following towns in South Wales; viz., Swansea, during the meeting of the British Association, the Mayor occupying the chair; Tenby, H. Goward, Esq., in the chair; Pembroke, R. George, Esq.,

mayor, in the chair; Ferryside, Aberystwith, P. Jones, Esq., mayor, in the chair, and the Mumbles. The remainder were held at Truro, Ilfracombe, Minehead and Teignmouth, at the last of which Mrs. Brine presided. Your Committee desire to acknowledge the important services rendered to the question by the chairmen of these meetings, and to thank also those friends who, by their assistance in arranging them, have so much contributed to their success.

Within a few days of the opening of the present session of Parliament Mr. Leonard Courtney accepted the office of Under Secretary for the Home Department and was in consequence unable to carry out his intention of again introducing the Women's Disabilities Removal Bill. Acting under Mr. Courtney's advice your Committee have united with the other branches of this Association in a deputation to Mr. Hugh Mason, member for Ashton-under-Lyne, to ask him to move a resolution this Session in favour of the principle of Women's Suffrage. Mr. Morley, M.P., Mr. Lewis Fry, M.P., and Baron de Ferrieres, M.P., most kindly consented, on behalf of your Committee to convey this request to Mr. Mason, and his reply, already made known through the newspapers, is most satisfactory. On January 20th, Mr. Mason gave the following notice in the House of Commons:—

"On an early day to move a resolution in favour of the extension of the parliamentary franchise to women who possess the qualifications which enable men to vote, and who in all matters of local government have the right of voting.

The question is thus fairly launched in a new Parliament under a new Leader and your Committee call on all the members and friends of this Society throughout the West of England to rally their Parliamentary Representatives to its support.

## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

HELD IN THE

OFFICE OF THE SOCIETY, 20 PARK STREET,

JANUARY 27TH, 1881.

The Rev. U. R. THOMAS in the Chair.

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

RESOLUTION I.—*Moved by Miss ESTLIN, seconded by Mr. GREENWELL,*

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

RESOLUTION II.—*Moved by Mr. COX, seconded by Miss STURGE,*

“That this Meeting deeply regrets the loss which the Society has suffered by the resignation of Mr. Courtney of the Parliamentary Leadership of the Women's Suffrage movement, and whilst congratulating him on his acceptance of office under the Government desires to record its sincere and grateful sense of his invaluable past services to the Society's cause.”

RESOLUTION III.—*Moved by Rev. U. R. THOMAS, seconded by Mrs. ASHWORTH HALLETT,*

“That this Meeting, having learnt with much satisfaction that Mr. Hugh Mason has consented to introduce a

resolution in favour of women's suffrage during the present session of Parliament, pledges itself to support him by every means in its power.”

RESOLUTION IV.—*Moved by Miss COLBY, seconded by Mrs. JOSEPH H. PERRY,*

“That the following persons form the Executive Committee for the ensuing year, with power to add to their number:—Mr. Joseph Bartlett, Rev. E. S. Bayliffe, B.A., Mrs. Birt, Mrs. Bruce, Mr. E. W. Cox, Eliza W. Dunbar, M.D., Mrs. Grenfell, J. G. Grenfell, B.A., T. G. P. Hallett, M.A., Rev. J. Temperley Grey, Miss Kennedy, Mrs. Linton, Rev. A. C. Macpherson, M.A., Miss Pass, Miss Mary Price, Miss Priestman, Miss Mary Priestman, Mrs. Walter Sturge, Mr. J. G. Thornton, Miss Eva Tribe, Mr. Frank N. Tribe, Mr. P. Watson; *Chairman of Committee*, Rev. U. R. Thomas; *Hon. Secretaries*, Mrs. Ashworth Hallett, Miss Sturge; *Treasurer*, Mr. Alan Greenwell.”

RESOLUTION V.—*Moved by Miss PRIESTMAN, seconded by Rev. J. TEMPERLEY GREY,*

“That a petition in support of Mr. Mason's resolution be adopted and signed by the Chairman on behalf of the meeting.”

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS

FOR THE YEAR 1880.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Aldham, Mrs.	0	2	6	Carwardine, Miss	0	1	6
Andrews, Mr. J.	0	2	6	C. F. A. C.	26	0	0
Ashford, Mrs. (don.)	5	5	0	Chapman, J., Esq.	0	5	0
Aston, Mr.	0	5	0	Chapman, Mrs.	0	2	6
Atkinson, Mrs.	0	5	0	Clark, Mr. J.	0	10	0
Austin, Miss	0	2	6	Clark, Mrs. W.	5	0	0
Baker, W. Mills, Mr. and Mrs.	10	0	0	Clark, Miss	0	1	6
" " (don.)	5	0	0	Clements, Mrs.	0	2	6
Baker, Miss	0	5	0	Clinker, Mr.	0	2	6
" (don.)	0	10	6	Clothier, Mrs.	0	5	0
Barlow, Mrs.	0	2	6	Colby, Miss Maria	1	6	10
Barnett, F. Gilmor, Mr.	0	5	0	" (don.)	0	10	0
Bartlett, J., Mr.	0	10	6	Colby, Miss A. E. E.	0	10	0
Bayliffe, Rev. E. S., B.A.	0	2	0	" (don.)	0	10	0
Beddoe, Mrs.	0	10	0	Colfox, Mrs.	0	10	0
Beddoe, Miss	0	3	6	Colman, Mrs.	0	5	0
Belben, Mrs.	0	5	0	Cory, Mr. J.	1	1	0
Bell, Mrs.	0	1	6	Cory, Mr. Richard	0	10	6
Besley, Mrs.	0	1	0	Cossham, Mr. Handel	0	10	0
Bill, Mr. John	0	10	0	Courtauld, Miss	1	1	0
Bishop, Mrs.	0	3	0	Counsell, Miss	0	1	6
Booth, Mrs.	0	2	0	Cox, Mr. E. W.	0	10	0
Boucher, Mrs.	0	2	6	Crawshay, Mrs.	50	0	0
Bowring, Lady	1	0	0	Crossland, Miss (2 years)	1	0	0
Brewin, Mr.	0	5	0	Dakyn, H. G., Esq.	0	5	0
Brown, Miss	0	2	6	Daniell, J. L., Esq. (2 years)	0	10	0
Browne, Rev. S.	1	0	0	Davis, Mrs.	0	2	6
Bryant, Miss	0	2	6	Davys, Miss K. Vernon	0	2	6
Bubb, Miss	0	5	0	De Ferriers, Baron, M.P.	1	0	0
Budgett, Mrs. W. H.	1	0	0	De l'Hoste, Mrs.	0	10	0
Bulleid, Mrs.	0	2	6	Denner, Mrs.	0	2	6
Caldicott, Rev. J. W., DD.	0	5	0	Dunbar, Dr. Eliza W.	1	0	0
Carpenter, Mrs. R. L.	3	0	0	Dymond, Mrs.	0	5	0
" " (don.)	20	0	0	Edwards, Mr. A.	0	1	6
				Elliott, Mrs.	0	5	0

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Estlin, Miss	5	0	0	Jones, Mrs. J. M.	0	2	6
" " (don.)	10	0	0	Jones, Mrs. Morris	0	5	0
Evans, Mrs. P. C.	0	10	0	Jones, Mr. Peter	0	5	0
Evans, Mrs. Sparke	1	1	0	Jones, Mr. Richard	0	2	6
Eynon, Mrs.	0	1	6	Kennedy, Miss	0	1	6
Fawcett, Mrs. (don.)	2	2	0	Lawes, Mrs.	0	10	0
Field, Mrs.	0	2	6	Layton, Mrs.	0	10	0
Field, Mr.	0	2	6	Leonard, Miss	0	5	0
Frank, Mr. W. H.	0	2	6	Lewis, Mrs.	0	1	6
Friend, A (per Mrs. Hunt)	0	5	0	Linton, Mrs.	0	10	0
Friend, A (per Mrs. Hume Rothery)	0	2	6	" (don.)	2	0	0
Garnett, Mrs.	200	0	0	Locke, Rev. C. J.	0	2	6
Gibson, Miss	0	10	0	Lowe, Mrs.	0	1	6
" " (don.)	0	10	0	Luce, Mr. Morton	0	2	6
Gibson, Miss M.	0	5	0	Macgowan, Dr.	0	10	6
Goldsmid, Lady	5	10	0	Mackenzie, Miss	0	5	0
Goward, Mr. H., M.A.	0	1	6	Macpherson, Rev. A. C.	0	10	6
Gravelly, Mrs.	0	5	0	MacRobert, Mrs. J. P.	0	2	6
" " (don.)	0	5	0	" " (don.)	0	10	0
Grace, Mr. T. T.	0	10	0	M'Iquham, Mrs.	1	0	0
Greenwell, Mr. Alan, M.A.	0	10	0	Malin, Miss	0	10	0
Grenfell, J. G., B.A.	1	0	0	" (don.)	0	10	0
Grenfell, Mrs.	1	0	0	Manning, Mrs.	0	5	0
Hallett, Mrs.	100	0	0	Manning, Miss	0	1	6
Hammond, Mrs.	0	2	6	Marriott, The Misses	1	10	0
Hartnell, Mrs.	0	5	0	Marsh, Mrs.	0	5	0
Higginson, Mrs.	0	10	0	Morgan, Mr.	0	10	0
" " (don.)	0	10	0	Mulvany, Miss	0	1	0
Higginson, Miss	0	5	0	Munk, Mrs.	0	2	6
Hilier, Mr.	0	2	6	Munk, Miss	0	2	6
Hill, Miss Davenport	1	1	0	Mylne, Miss (don.)	0	5	0
" " (don.)	2	0	0	Newman, Professor	1	0	0
Hogg, Miss	0	1	6	Nicholas, Dr.	0	10	0
Holroyd, Mrs.	1	0	0	Norris, Mrs.	10	0	0
Houston, Miss	0	1	6	"One who was there" (don.)	0	2	6
Hume-Rothery, Mrs.	0	10	0	Paget, Mr. Benj.	0	10	0
Hunt, Mrs.	0	5	0	Parson, Mrs.	0	1	6
Hunt, Mrs.	0	2	6	Perry, Mrs. Joseph H.	0	5	0
" (don.)	0	5	0	Philipps, Mrs.	0	5	0
Impey, Mrs.	0	5	0	Pillard, Mrs. E.	0	5	0
Inglis, Mrs.	0	3	0	Pillard, Mrs. E. W.	0	5	0
James, Mrs.	0	10	0	Porter, Mrs. A. D.	0	2	0
" (don.)	0	10	0	Priestman, The Misses	5	5	0
Jones, Mrs. Griffiths	0	2	6				



	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Priestman, The Misses				Taylor, Miss	0	5	0
(don.)	25	0	0	Tait, Mr. C. W. A.	0	10	0
Price, Mrs.	5	0	0	Tate, Mrs. C. R.	0	5	0
Price, Miss	1	0	0	Thomas, Mrs. C.	5	0	0
“ (don.)	1	0	0	“ (1st don.)	50	0	0
Price, Miss Mary	2	0	0	“ (2nd don.)	50	0	0
“ (don.)	15	0	0	Thomas, Mrs. T.	1	1	0
“ (2nd don.)	10	0	0	Thomas, Miss Lillie	0	10	0
Price, Miss M. N.	2	0	0	Thomas, Mrs. Herbert	2	2	0
Reader, Mrs.	0	2	6	Thomas, Miss G.	0	10	6
Reid, Mrs.	0	2	6	Thomas Miss	0	10	0
Rendall, Mrs.	0	5	0	Thompson, Mrs. F. G.	0	10	0
Reynolds, Mrs.	0	5	0	Thompson, Mrs. A.	0	5	0
Robberds, Mrs.	5	0	0	Thompson, Mrs. G. C.	0	5	0
“ (don.)	5	0	0	Thompson, Miss	0	2	6
Roberts, Mrs.	0	2	6	Thornton, Mr. F. G.	0	5	0
Roberts, Miss	0	2	6	Thornton, Mrs. F. G.	0	2	6
Rooker, Miss	0	5	0	Todd, The Misses (don.)	4	0	0
Rooker, Miss M.	0	5	0	Wansey, Miss	0	5	0
Russell, Mr. G. E.	0	2	6	“ (don.)	1	0	0
Schaw-Protheroe, Miss	1	0	0	Walker, Mrs.	0	10	0
Schild, Miss	0	2	6	Waring, Mrs.	0	2	6
Shepperd, Mrs.	0	1	6	Warren, Mrs.	0	5	0
Shipley, Mrs. A.	0	10	6	Watson, Mr. P.	1	1	0
“ (don.)	2	2	0	Whibley, Mr.	1	1	0
Smith, Miss E.	0	1	6	Whiteaway, Mr.	1	1	0
Smith, Miss M.	0	1	6	Whitwill, Mr. Mark	1	1	0
Smith, Mr. H.	0	2	6	Williams, Mr. Alderman	0	3	0
Somerville, Mr. W.	4	0	0	Williams, Mrs. Eubulus	0	10	0
Spratt, Mrs.	0	1	6	Williams, Mrs. William	0	10	6
Spring, Rev. J. B.	0	5	0	Wood, Mrs.	0	5	0
Steel, Mr. J. D.	0	5	0	Wood, Mrs. E. F.	0	1	6
Stephens, Miss G.	0	5	0	Yardley, Miss	0	5	0
Sturge, Mrs.	0	2	6	Younghusband, Miss	0	2	0
Sturge, Mrs. William	0	5	0				
Swatbridge, Mr. William	0	1	6				
Symes, Miss J. M.	0	1	6				
					£721	17	4

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

RECEIPTS and PAYMENTS from JANUARY 1st to DECEMBER 31st, 1880.

RECEIPTS.

To Subscriptions and Donations	£	721	17	d.	4
Sale of Tickets	..	11	16	6	
Sale of Publications	..	2	1	1	6
Rent for use of Office	..	0	6		
	£736	1	5		

PAYMENTS.

By Balance due to Treasurer	£	17	16	d.	9
Rent of Office	..	26	13	4	
Office Expenses—Attendance, Gas, Fire, etc.	..	16	12	6	8
Salaries	..	108	1		
Expenses of 24 Public Meetings in Bristol and West of England and of Demonstration in Colston Hall, including Printing, Advertising, Halls, Organising Expenses, etc.	..	299	13	11	
Agents	..	25	19	9	
Petitions	..	5	14	2	
Printing (General)	..	21	18	0	
Women's Suffrage Journal and other papers	..	47	15	4	
Publications	..	6	4	3	
Stationary and Office Books	..	8	5	8	
Postage and Carriage	..	31	17	0	
Advertisements (General)	..	3	6	0	
Balance in Treasurer's hands	..	£619	18	4	
		116	3	1	
	£736	1	5		

January 25th, 1881.—Audited and found correct,

WILBERFORCE TRIBE, Public Accountant.

TO WIVES AND MOTHERS OF  
EVERY CLASS.

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*Do you know what the laws relating to a Mother and her Children are ?*

1. In every case where man and woman are bound together by marriage, the children of that marriage belong by law *solely to the father.*

The father alone has power to direct their education and to decide in what religion they are to be instructed; he can apprentice them to any trade without the consent of the mother, and their earnings belong to him alone.

The father can also determine the children's place of residence. *He can remove them from the mother even in infancy*; can give them into the guardianship of any person he may think fit, or send them to a foreign country.

In no case has the mother any remedy, unless she is rich enough to invoke the aid of the Court of Chancery, *and even then the Court will only help her if she can prove:—*

- (a) That the children have suffered very serious physical and moral injury from the treatment of the father.
- (b) That the conduct of the father has been such as to entitle her to a separation.

But though the law thus gives all the power to the father alone, the mother is bound by law to maintain the children out of her own earnings, if from any cause the father fails to do so. She cannot compel him to support the children: he may refuse, *and it is not until she goes into the workhouse* that the Poor Law Guardians will interfere.

In such cases they may apply to the justices for an order upon the man to contribute to the maintenance of his wife and children, and when such an order has been made, the magistrates can send the man to prison if he still refuses to give a pauper's allowance to his family, which is all that can legally be claimed.

The father can also, by his will, leave all his property away from his children and thus force his widow to support them.

2. If a man conducts himself in such a manner that his wife is obliged to separate from him, *she has no power whatever over her children* unless she takes proceedings in the Divorce Court and succeeds in obtaining a divorce or separation—a long and expensive process.

But there are many cases in which a wife has endured moral torture and physical ill-usage from her husband in which the Court can grant her no relief, because his conduct does not amount to *illegal* cruelty or desertion. In such cases if she leaves her husband she has to leave her children also.

3. If a man dies, he may by his will appoint any guardian or guardians he thinks proper for his children; ignoring his wife altogether if he chooses. Thus at her husband's death, his wife may find that *she has no control whatever over her own children*: no voice as to their home, their education, or their religion.

On the other hand, if a woman dies, she has no power to appoint a guardian for her children, who, if her husband married again, or neglected the children, would have a right to see that they were properly treated.

4. If a man changes his religion after marriage he can compel all his children to be brought up in the religion he has adopted; or he can at any time forbid them to be instructed in any religion whatever. His wife *has no power to prevent the change being made*; and no promise made by her husband—or even agreements drawn up by a lawyer—previous to his marriage, are binding on him.

*Do you know what the laws relating to a Wife's Property are?*

1. When a woman is married, all the property she then possesses, other than freehold land, becomes the property of her husband. *He can even give away her wedding presents* if he likes to do so, or convert them into money for his own use.

Should he become a bankrupt, his creditors can, in like manner, seize all the property, other than freehold land, which his wife possessed before her marriage.

Further, the husband can in his will, leave away from his wife, not only all his own property *but also all the property which she brought to him on her marriage*, although by so doing he may reduce her to the condition of a pauper.

2. If a married woman is left by will a sum of money over £200, or any property, other than freehold land, of greater value than £200, it goes absolutely to her husband, unless it is stated in the will that it is for her separate use and maintenance.

Generally speaking the law is the same with regard to a sum of money or any article given to her as a present, no matter what its value may be.

A woman's earnings are now secured to her by law, and no husband has a right to appropriate for his own use any portion of these. But, supposing he breaks the law, and does seize either his wife's money or articles of clothing bought with her earnings, what remedy has she? None, for a wife cannot prosecute her husband for theft; therefore in many cases a woman can lose, and has actually lost, her own property, and the law gives her no redress.

There are other laws respecting married women's property, especially in freehold land, but they are too complicated to be considered in such a short statement as this.

These are not garbled or exaggerated statements. A well-known lawyer has seen this paper and vouches for the law of it.

Are these laws likely to prevent a badly disposed husband from acting unjustly towards his wife? *Are not these laws themselves unjust?*

Surely husband and wife should have *equal power* over their children, and also *equal obligations* towards them.

*How is this to be attained?*

Let every woman do what now lies in her power, which is, to spread the knowledge of the above facts, so that the attention of all thoughtful persons of both sexes may be drawn to the subject, and a public opinion formed which shall in time effect the amendment of these laws.

F. S.

*Any person desiring further copies of this paper—price, including postage, 2d. per dozen—is requested to apply to MRS. WOLSTENHOLME ELMY, Congleton.*

## National Society for Women's Suffrage.

NOTTS. BRANCH.

The object of this Society, which is affiliated to the Central Committee in London, is to obtain the Parliamentary Franchise for women, on the same conditions as it is granted to men.

The Society seeks to achieve this object:—By acting as a centre for the collection and diffusion of information with regard to the progress of the movement in the Notts. district, and co-operating with other Committees throughout the country.

By holding public meetings in the district in support of the *Repeal of the Electoral Disabilities of Women*.

By the circulation of pamphlets, leaflets, and other literature, bearing on the question.

By collecting signatures to petitions, and by endeavouring to increase the number of members.

Any person favourable to the objects of this Society, may be admitted as a member, on payment of an annual subscription of not less than sixpence, payable on the 1st of January in each year.

Subscribers of not less than 1s. 6d. annually, will receive a copy of the Suffrage Journal every month.

Arrangements may be made for the supply of a copy of the Journal to several subscribers of smaller amounts.

### OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Mrs. BUTLER.

Mr. H. S. CROPPER.

Mrs. COWEN.

Mrs. EDMONDS.

Miss GUILFORD.

Mrs. JESSE HIND.

Miss ADA SMITH.

*Mrs. Jessemacher*

Mr. H. Y. STANGER.

Miss SUNTER.

Mr. J. C. WARREN.

Mrs. BROOK, Newark.

Mrs. WALTER FOWLER, Beeston.

Miss WRIGHT, Mansfield.

Miss DOWNING, London.

Treasurer:—

Mrs. JESSE HIND, Alexandra Road, Sherwood Rise.

Hon. Secretary:—

<sup>GR</sup> Mrs. COWEN, 9, Ropewalk Street.

National Society for Women's Suffrage

VOTES BRANCH

The object of the Society is to secure the extension of the franchise for women on the same conditions as are granted to men. The Society seeks to achieve this object by being active in the collection and diffusion of information with regard to the progress of the movement in the Home, District, and County, and by holding public meetings in the districts in support of the object of the Society.

By collecting signatures to petitions and by endeavouring to increase the number of members and voters. Any person favourable to the objects of this Society may be admitted as a member on the 1st of January in each year.

Subscribers of not less than 1s. 6d. annually will receive a copy of the Suffrage Journal every month. Arrangements may be made for the supply of a copy of the Journal to several subscribers of smaller amounts.

- OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY
- EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
- MR. BUTLER, Chairman  
 MR. H. S. CLEVERLY, Secretary  
 MR. J. C. WARREN, Treasurer  
 MR. EDMONDS, Hon. Secy.  
 MR. GUILFORD, Hon. Secy.  
 MR. JESSE HIND, Hon. Secy.  
 MISS ADA SMITH, Hon. Secy.

Mr. JESSE HIND, Hon. Secy., 2, St. James's Street, London, W.

DEAR MADAM,

As the influence of this Society will depend greatly upon the number of its members, it is hoped that if you are favourable to its objects, you will add your name to the List of Subscribers, and so strengthen the hands of the Committee.

Lists of all the *Women Household*ers on the Rate Books, have been made out, and Petitions are prepared to obtain their signatures.

If you are willing to help in this, or in any other way, will you please communicate with the Hon. Secretary, who will also be glad to receive the names of members, and to supply literature.

Yours truly,

A. COWEN,

HON. SEC.

January 11th, 1881.

SHOULD WOMEN TO HAVE  
THE SUFFRAGE?

BY

CHARLES C. CATTELL.

SOME men consider the asking of this question betrays marks of imbecility, and the answering of the question in the affirmative as indisputable evidence of insanity. Of course the majority of what we call gentlemen do not condescend to allow their time to be wasted over a topic so devoid of interest. The model husband would be duly shocked if the question entered the sacred precincts of his family circle. The daring political agitators and the turbulent trades unionists may possibly deem the matter too small for the great organized associations of manly men. If you show them that 200 men in a small borough have as much political power as 20,000 men in a large borough, they see at once a gross scandal; and the total exclusion of the agricultural men labourers is to them a manifest injustice. If 150 electors sent 300 men to the House of Commons, as in the good old days when George the Third was King, there would be threats of revolution: but in this case only one-half the entire population is concerned: and none of them are men!

The most conclusive reasoning yet urged against giving the Parliamentary Vote to women, is based on the incontestable assertion that they are not men. But suppose they were men: they would not therefore, by any law of England, have the right to vote. Hence, besides assuming that justice is only of

one sex, and human rights are governed by a particular gender, this very forcible objection does not cover the whole ground; it is not a complete negative: for the Parliamentary Vote is conferred, not on men and women, but on Householders. This is how the matter stands since 1867—Electors are Householders and Householders are Electors. If my reading of the present law is correct, the syllogism will be

All Householders are all Electors;  
Some Women are Householders!  
Therefore some Women are Electors.

No defect in the carrying out of the law affects the argument—the existence of any number of women householders who have no votes only proves the injustice of which the women in question very righteously complain. Those who say women are not qualified to vote, ignore or overlook the fact that the only “qualification” needed is that the voter shall be a “householder”; that the householder is a woman, is only an additional particular fact, and not a reason for or against the qualification.

It is true that the Act of 1832 gave the vote to certain “male persons of full age” etc. but it does not appear that this restrictive word occurs in any Act before or since 1832. A freeholder was a voter before 1832, and a householder a voter after 1867—and both electors altogether independent of any other qualification. It is true that millions of men have no votes; not because they are men, or because they are not women; but because they are not householders. If all the men were excluded, that would be no reason for the exclusion of women who are householders. Household suffrage may not be political justice, but it becomes a political farce if it excludes householders; and the men who give such an interpretation to it, are influenced by something at variance with common sense.

The Act which confers Household Suffrage, and at the same time excludes the very persons concerned from all participation in its privileges, is a manifest absurdity and a palpable injustice. To justify the exclusion of women from the suffrage, it should be proved either that they are not householders, or that the Act does not confer it upon the householder. With regard to the first: only such women as are householders now claim—the woman who is not one of these does not ask for the privilege: with regard to the second, it cannot be so proved without disqualifying all the men voters, and making the Act a misnomer or a legal fraud. Supposing the Act to leave any of these questions doubtful—it is no disqualification of women as voters, it only indicates incapacity on the part of men to legislate justly, or to make clear that they intended justice to all, fairly administered, irrespective of sex or party.

That women householders are not excluded on the ground of inferior intellect or defective character, is very clear: for ignorant, stupid, and even vicious men have votes. It is not their want of education; for men who cannot spell or write their own names have votes. It is not because women are not amenable to the law, for they all suffer the penal consequences of any infringement of it. It is not because the tax-collector ignores the existence of women householders, for he never passes their door. It is not because they are indifferent to politics, or opposed to progressive measures, for so are thousands of men. It is not because they would support one party or oppose another, because so do millions of men. It is not because they are not part of the whole nation which the King is compelled by law to consult in the selection of suitable persons to *legislate for all*—not for men only. It is doubtful if any King can be truly said to reign over people he never consults.

The aspect this question assumes, viewed as one of exclusiveness on the part of men, is quite comical when we note

the many instances in which women now exercise the vote, having the same qualifications and power as men. There is now hardly any profession or trade in which women do not take part—nor is it easy to name any popular election in which they have not an equal voice with men in the same position as themselves in relation to law. They not only vote for, but take their seats among several elective bodies—and, in so far as my knowledge extends, there has been no complaint of their absenting themselves, as some men do, from the meetings to which they are summoned, nor any alleged incapacity to discharge the duties assigned to them, as is often the case with men; nor even an insinuation that they waste public time with ‘a flood of talk,’ a charge very frequently made against men.

The point deserving attention is not whether they are superior or inferior to men in these public affairs, but that they are placed on an equality with men by the law of the land. This being so, the opponents of an extension of the Parliamentary Vote to women householders are guilty of making an invidious distinction between one class of Her Majesty’s subjects and another class. Although both are admittedly equally creditable in the discharge of all the functions prescribed by the law and exercised by both classes at present, the opponents of this measure wish to retain in this particular instance of the Parliamentary Vote, a monopoly not recognized elsewhere. They desire to perpetuate a distinction between certain men and women, which is not only unjust in itself, but is condemned by the law itself, in so far as it applies in the present case. The opponents of this measure appear incapable of exercising the most elementary functions of creatures endowed with rational faculties: for they have not mastered the self-evident truth that things that are equal to the same thing are equal to one another.

Women may vote, sit, speak, administer the law, and even control the instruction of the juvenile parliamentary voter

himself; in fact, may do almost anything in connection with the public institutions of the country—but spare! O spare our parliamentary register! For men to place themselves in antagonism to an equalization of the suffrage would be incredible, if we did not know what seemingly strange and silly things men sometimes do. The most childish observation made in the House of Commons against this measure was made by a venerable man who is held in high repute throughout the civilised world, as the advocate of an extension of the suffrage! He wished women, who were legally qualified to vote, if household suffrage is not an imposture, to leave the terrible excitement and turmoil of recording a parliamentary vote, once in seven years, to their *male* relations and friends! He had better set an example by delegating his own political power to his grandmother or some other trustworthy person. Others submit that as the right is so seldom exercised, and only concerns a few thousands, it is not worth while to meddle with the question as it stands.

This makes the conduct of men legislators look odious—they will not confer the right even though they admit that the exercise of it could not possibly disturb the equanimity of the lords of creation at the polling booth. Another dreads that the giving women householders the vote would introduce politics to the fire-side—just as though politics meant a dancing bear and a barrel-organ. But every man could escape even this infliction by renting his house in his own name. One sapient legislator said it would unsex women, and make them less fit companions of men. This may be true in cases where men are monopolists and ignorant; but how does it happen that the exercise of the franchise has failed to unsex men, and render them unfit companions for women? and if it has happened, how is it we have not heard the argument applied to men?

All the arguments which can be urged against the extension of the suffrage to women can be urged with equal cogency



against the extension of it to men. If women claimed any favour, or special enactment, the case might admit of dispute. Some men speak of 'female' suffrage as though they anticipated the introduction of some new species of voting, specially created for parliamentary purposes only. All women ask for is the suffrage; neither male nor female; to be fairly dealt with on a strict equality with all other persons similarly placed in life.

No one speaks of a 'female' house; yet that, being occupied and taxed, either directly or indirectly, gives the name of the occupier the right to be placed on the register as a voter. The list of parliamentary voters is included in the above-named list, but the names of women go through a process of elimination, and when the list has been thoroughly distilled according to the chemical process provided by a 'male' parliament (with a woman at the head as the ruler and master) the whole of the 'female' voters disappear from the list.

Women now take degrees at our universities, and pass examinations at various institutions, and the distinctions obtained by merit are entitled to certain certificates—but they are not granted or refused because the students are 'females.' Whoever heard of 'female' mathematics, chemistry, and Latin? It is because women comply with the conditions imposed that they obtain degrees, and not because they are women. The same is required, and no more, by women who comply with the conditions of the vote.

It is difficult to suppose any member of the House of Commons ignorant of all that is here urged, or any part of it; if he be so, such member has mistaken his vocation in life by setting up as legislator; and if he knows all that is here urged to be true, he has neglected his duty by not voting for Women Suffrage. If he knows all the facts, and yet votes against it, it must be from prejudice or some frivolous reason totally unworthy of an intelligent-high minded English gentleman. It

is not here contended that reasons may not be put forth for and against this measure; but that the reasons against it are unsound; that the objections urged are invalid; that reasons perfectly intelligible have no force when directed against that to which they do not apply. Before Household Suffrage became the law of the land, many reasons—good, bad, and indifferent, were eloquently opposed to it.

Some persons argued that the measure went too far, others that it was literally a leap in the dark and might result in opening the floodgates of democracy, removing the landmarks of capital and property which had remained where they were for many generations. Others maintained that the measure fell short of the demand of the age, inasmuch as it only recognised the *house* and not the *man*. To day it is of no consequence whether either or both were in error: the question was settled in 1867, and no consideration is required, and none is asked for, as to the wisdom of the measure itself.

It is not proposed, as some half-asleep members of the House imagine, to re-open the reform question—the only demand made by women now is that the Reform shall be carried out in its integrity. If it should be contended that Household Suffrage does not mean a vote to householders, the demand is that its meaning shall be made to harmonise with the words used.

If it was never intended that women should have any votes at all, some member might make his name notorious by proposing the repeal of all Acts under which women are now entitled to vote. This would make the principle of voting consistent with itself, however much violence it might do to our sense of justice. In case the decision of the House was against such repeal, it might be fairly charged with inconsistency—but as it already stands charged with that in the present case that would be no novelty.

The demand now made involves the House in the charge of inconsistency—or of using words not bearing their usual meaning; or the interpreters of the Act have seriously misunderstood its application. All that is wanted is a resolution of the House, that now and hereafter, the Household Suffrage Act shall mean that all householders are by law entitled to vote.

Such a resolution would render it impossible for judges to rule that the Act does not include women, and would make it illegal for any of the authorities to leave women off the Register, or refuse to put them on it.

I have purposely omitted to notice the objections commonly urged: that women tend to Conservatism; that they support the Priests; that they are intellectually and bodily less powerful than men; and, finally, that being more numerous, they might outvote the men. None of these questions arise in the United Kingdom at present. Some men tend to Conservatism and support Priests of various orders. Men differ in intellectual capacity and in bodily strength, and sometimes outvote each other—allowing the principle that majorities rule. But none of these facts and circumstances either qualify them or disqualify them for the exercise of the parliamentary franchise or any other franchise, and therefore do not apply to any other householders equally qualified by the law of their common country. Surely enlightened men like those who sit in the people's House of Commons, will not any longer refuse to redress so manifest an injustice as herein described: and if they do, the cause advocated will lose none of its claims to impartial consideration.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

BEACON & NUTT, PUBLISHERS, PERSHORE STREET, BIRMINGHAM.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

THIRTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

EDINBURGH NATIONAL SOCIETY

FOR

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE,

HELD IN

THE BIBLE SOCIETY HOUSE,

5 ST ANDREW SQUARE,

3D MARCH 1881.

EDINBURGH

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1881.

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



EDINBURGH NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR  
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

ANNUAL MEETING.

THE THIRTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING of the  
EDINBURGH NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S  
SUFFRAGE was held 3d March 1881, in the  
Bible Society House, 5 St Andrew Square, Mrs DUNCAN  
M'LAREN presiding. The Meeting was well attended. After  
a few brief introductory remarks, the President called on the  
Secretary to read the ANNUAL REPORT, as follows:—

' In preparing a Report to lay before our Friends and Subscribers  
for the past year, we feel that we have much that is new and im-  
portant to communicate with regard to the action taken throughout  
the country on the question we are again met to consider; and  
while thanking our friends for their past assistance, we ask with  
more confidence than ever for their continued support and sympathy,  
inasmuch as the claim for the Parliamentary Suffrage, which we have  
so persistently urged for the last fourteen years, meets now with  
almost no opposition anywhere, and must soon be recognised by the  
Legislature.

' Shortly after the issuing of our last Annual Report, the great  
political changes and excitement of the General Election swept over  
the country. Our Committee, though not deeming it expedient to  
take any public action, yet issued an address to the candidates for  
election in Scotland, requesting their interest in the promotion of  
Women's Suffrage, and inviting an expression of sentiment on the

subject. It is at present not easy to ascertain what is the numerical strength of our friends in the new Parliament, but as regards Scotland we feel satisfied we have not lost ground.

‘Owing to the dissolution, and the time consumed in the re-election and the settling in of the new Parliament, there was no opportunity to introduce a motion on the question in the first session; the subject was not, however, lost sight of. As the question is one of national importance, the friends of Women’s Suffrage in the House deem it right, in connection with any general scheme for the extension of the electoral franchise, that the inclusion of women should be agitated. Accordingly, on the introduction of a Government measure dealing with the borough franchise in Ireland, Mr Blennerhassett, M.P. for Kerry, gave notice on June 11th, that in Committee on the Borough Franchise (Ireland) Bill, he would move that the franchise be given to women householders in Irish boroughs. This amendment, and the measure to which it referred, were crowded out at the end of the session.

‘During the past year, although it was not deemed needful to organise petition work on a large scale, yet petitions have been prepared for the House of Commons from the following places in Scotland, signed by the *inhabitants*:—Birnam, Dunkeld, Callender, Dunoon, Blairgowrie, Cupar-Angus, Grantown, Forres, Elgin, Nairn, Inverness, Girvan, Stranraer, Newton-Stewart, Castle-Douglas, Moffat, Old Meldrum, Perth, Banchory-Ternan, Aberdeen, Kintore, Inverurie, Frazerburgh, Dumfries. From *Women Householders*, petitions are being sent from Perthshire, Dunoon, Morayshire, Nairn, Inverness, Aberdeen, Edinburgh. Petitions have also been procured from heads of trades in Edinburgh, from married ladies, and from lady householders, besides petitions sent from meetings in various parts of Scotland.

‘Our Secretary, Miss KIRKLAND, visited the south and west of Scotland during the summer, holding drawing-room meetings in many places, reviving the interest of workers, and enlisting new adherents. Similar work has been undertaken by others in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, and in other parts of Scotland. Among these may be mentioned meetings held by ladies of our Committee, in which the women members of the Watt Institution, and the employées of various large establishments in the city, were entertained, and they greatly enjoyed addresses given to them on the subject of the political rights of women.

‘Under the auspices of our Committee nine public meetings and a number of drawing-room meetings have been held during the year. One of the latter we owed to the kindness of Bailie Cranston, whose

successful efforts to render the meeting effective we gratefully appreciate. Of the public meetings, we must especially notice the one held in Queen Street Hall, in this city, at the close of the Social Science Congress last autumn, and which in its quality and enthusiasm deserves to be spoken of along with the great English demonstrations. It was presided over by Mr Charles B. M’Laren, M.P., and was addressed by Miss Becker, Miss C. A. Biggs, Miss Downing, Mrs Duncan M’Laren, Miss Louisa Stevenson, Miss Wigham, and others. Its great success was an indication of progress and appreciation of our cause, especially when we bear in mind that at the same time a large gathering of men was taking place, attended by the most distinguished alumni of the Social Science Congress.

‘Immediately following upon this was a great meeting held in the Queen’s Rooms, Glasgow, presided over by Dr Cameron, M.P. Although other great and important meetings were being held the same evening in that city, none could boast of a more enthusiastic or appreciative audience than that addressed by Miss Downing, Miss Craigen, Miss Wigham, and others, who were advocating the cause of justice to women.

‘We trust it will not be long before we have the same aid towards raising women in Scotland to appreciate their true political status which English women possess. Our true consistent friend Dr Cameron, M.P. for Glasgow, on the opening of Parliament this session, brought forward a motion for the “Amendment of the Municipal Franchise in Scotland.” This bill was read a second time, and passed. It has also passed through Committee, and we earnestly hope it may have a safe passage through the House of Lords, and become law. Women ratepayers may then vote for town councillors, and will secure a point of justice long denied them, and be able to exercise an important citizen right. We gratefully offer to Dr Cameron our warm thanks for his good service, and assure him that this sense of gratitude will deepen as time goes on, while the good results which will afterwards be acknowledged will be associated with his watchful care of human rights. Six Scotch Town Councils petitioned in favour of Dr Cameron’s Bill. The granting of the municipal franchise to women in England has had a very useful bearing on the agitation for the Parliamentary representation, and has been exercised on the side of a higher toned political morality.

‘Leeds has been worked up in a remarkable way by ward meetings, very much through the instrumentality of our friend Mrs O. Scatcherd, and other earnest women. So alive are the women to political work, in four days a meeting of 1800 women was gathered to aid in the last general election, and £100 raised in sums from

less than 1s. upwards to help to defray the Liberal expenses. The women were equally enthusiastic in Herbert Gladstone's election, and we shall much regret if he is not before long able to acknowledge that such political intelligence on their part ought to be rewarded by the Parliamentary vote.

' But the most striking feature of this year's working has been the large demonstrations, five in number, which have been held in England; though two of these have been national in their character. These have been raised by the leverage which the municipal franchise afforded to women, who through the different wards in the different towns raised an enthusiasm in favour of the higher suffrage, which goes on increasing, and will do so until their just rights are gained. The first of these was held in Manchester, on February 3d of last year. It was presided over by our own honoured President, Mrs M'Laren, and many of our members attended as delegates and speakers. The occasion was a grand and most impressive one in every respect; 5000 women were present in the great Free Trade Hall, and an overflow meeting accommodated 700 more. The addresses of the ladies on the platform, and of the working women, of whom some had come many miles to attend the meeting, were most effective. Resolutions, affirmative of the right of women to representation, were passed enthusiastically. A memorial was adopted, addressed to the Earl of Beaconsfield, then First Lord of the Treasury, and a motion carried that he should be asked to receive a deputation to present the memorial. This request was, however, refused, and the memorial was forwarded, and simply acknowledged.

' The next demonstration was held in St James' Hall, London, on the 6th of May. To it also several members of our committee were sent as a deputation; about 4000 women were present, and there was a large overflow meeting besides. The proceedings were of much interest, and were noticed in a leader in the *Times*, and by other influential papers. Next followed a similar monster meeting, held in the Colston Hall, Bristol, 4th November 1880, presided over by Mrs Beddoe.

' From this meeting an address was prepared to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, respectfully shewing, "That there are 500,000 ratepayers in the United Kingdom deprived of the power of voting in the election of Members of Parliament, on the sole ground that they are women," and praying that a measure might be introduced by Her Majesty's Ministers to extend the Parliamentary Franchise to women ratepayers and landowners in boroughs and counties.

' The next meeting was held at Nottingham, with the like brilliant success; and the last took place in the Town Hall, Birmingham, on

the 22d of February of the present year. The great hall was crowded to excess, and, as usual, an overflow meeting was held in another large building. It was well that the great arena of political liberty, which has so often echoed to the noble words of John Bright, should re-echo to the true and earnest strains of those who carry out the principles to completeness which he has advocated. Many very able, eloquent, and convincing speeches were made on the occasion, and a proposition was carried that a deputation should wait on the Prime Minister to lay before him a memorial adopted by the meeting.

' Although our Association claims principally to work in Scotland, we have been privileged to take part in these great English meetings, and to rejoice in their marvellous success. The enthusiasm was so great, that on every occasion hundreds went away unable to obtain admittance.

' In addition to these very interesting details of progress, we have to record one other very important step which fully recognises the claims of women to the Parliamentary Franchise, gained by the energy of the Manchester Committee. The Government of the Isle of Man had been revising the basis of representation of the Island, and an effort was made to secure that women be admitted to the same electoral privileges as men, on the same qualification. The Bill was brought before the House of Keys, which is equivalent to our House of Commons, with the limitation of the franchise to "male persons," but an amendment to omit the word *male* was carried by a majority of 16 to 3. The Bill was next taken to the "Council," which answers to our House of Lords, but it was rejected, though with an expression of regret, and sent back. Concessions were made by the House of Keys rather than lose the amendment, and the Bill was passed to confer the electoral franchise on the female owners of real estate, though not on women occupiers. The Bill thus amended, which embodies the principle, and may hereafter be extended, received the Queen's sanction, by her royal assent, on the 6th of January, and the Bill became law in the Isle of Man by the final step of Proclamation from the Tynwald Hill on the 31st of January 1881. Thus the principle of the representation of women has been acknowledged in one portion of the British Dominions, and affords a stepping-stone for further recognition of this justice.

' In the month of December last we were informed that Mr Leonard Courtney, our excellent leader in the House of Commons, had been invited by Mr Gladstone to become a member of the Government. In accepting office he was obliged to give up the leadership of our question. While we regretted the loss in that

capacity of one so able and courageous, we felt glad that his great talents were thus recognised by the Premier, and that another warm advocate of our cause had been raised to the Treasury Bench, to give us his sympathy and aid in that higher sphere.

' This change necessitated the selection of a new leader in the House, and at the suggestion of Mr Courtney, and with the approval of our long-tried friend Mr Jacob Bright, a deputation of a highly representative character waited, on the 20th of January, on Mr Hugh Mason, Member for Ashton-under-Lyne. He received the deputation most cordially, and heard attentively the addresses of the various delegates, among whom, as representing our Society, our President took a prominent part. He replied in the most friendly manner, acceding to the wishes of the various associations as represented by the delegates, adding: "I esteem it a great honour to have been asked to undertake the duty, and to have been waited on by a deputation so large, influential, and representative; and if anything could encourage me in the work, it is the fact that so many ladies, in this inclement weather, have travelled so long a distance to ask me earnestly to perform this duty." Mr Mason then read the resolution which he has since laid before the House: "That in the opinion of this House the Parliamentary Franchise should be extended to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote, and who in all matters of local government have the right of voting." He concluded by saying: "I will do my best with this resolution, and if I fail in persuading the new House of Commons to accept it (thought I do not think that the House is going against us at all,—I have great confidence in it), it will not be for want of earnest devotion to the duty I have undertaken. I feel the great responsibility of it, and will do my best to bring the work to a successful issue." While we cannot but regret losing the services of Mr Courtney, for which our gratitude is ever due, we have cause for great satisfaction that so excellent a leader has been found as Mr Hugh Mason.

' Another Parliamentary change has taken place, within the last few weeks, which greatly affects our interests, we allude to the withdrawal from Parliament of our beloved and revered senior member for Edinburgh, Mr Duncan M'Laren. We deeply regret that we shall no longer have his faithful services in the House, where, ever since the first presentation of the Bill for the Removal of the Electoral Disabilities of Women by John Stuart Mill in 1867, he has voted in its favour on every occasion, and has supported every measure having for its object the advancement and elevation of the position of women. He is entitled to our warmest thanks and acknowledgments for his constant aid and sympathy and counsel.

' He is succeeded in the representation of Edinburgh by his son, the Lord Advocate for Scotland, whose influence, so far as he is at liberty to exercise it, will, we feel confident, be given on our side. And in his younger son, Charles B. M'Laren, M.P. for Stafford, we have a sincerely consistent and courageous friend.

' In thus briefly reviewing the tokens of progress in the year just passed, we feel them as incentives to press to complete success. Very shortly the electoral system of Great Britain must engage the attention of Government, and then the claims for the inclusion of women must be pressed most earnestly and persistently. The need for this representation becomes more and more evident as it is examined. Sixteen millions of the people are unrecognised in the legislation of the nation; although it is true that only 500,000 would be entitled to the actual vote, yet these would represent the interests of the sixteen millions, and an improvement would take place in the administration of law regarding so large a number of constituents. We claim then the sympathy of all our friends in our struggle, the help of men and women, so that the justice we demand may be accorded, and be found to exercise its beneficent influence on every portion of the kingdom of Queen Victoria.

' We cannot close this brief narrative of our position without alluding to the death of Professor Hodgson, which has left a painful blank among our most faithful and valued friends. Since the first organisation of our Society, he was ever ready to help; but at no period were we more sensible of his value to us than just when he was removed from us. We look back to one of the latest occasions, in which he presided at a Woman's Suffrage meeting in the drawing-room of Mr and Mrs Dick Peddie, and we well remember his straightforward and helpful utterance on that occasion. We would here record our sense of all he was to our cause, and how much we lose in his removal, and of our deep and affectionate sympathy with Mrs Hodgson. And we would also add our earnest wish, that as some friends are gathered from the field of service here, others may be raised up to fill the vacant post of usefulness, and that we may all be found working while the day lasts, striving to advance the cause of truth and righteousness, and seeking that we may be conscientiously and religiously prepared to take our part in the moral and political and religious path which may open before us; for surely a matter which concerns the well-being of the nation, is one which—we speak it reverently—is not unworthy to be undertaken as for the glory of God.'

The PRESIDENT said: 'In rising to move the adoption of the Report, I fear to break the spell which especially its solemn and deeply

touching conclusion has cast over the meeting. I do so, however, full of the recollection of the true and dear friend we and every good cause have lost. It comes vividly over me how, last year, he seemed to respond with eager gladness to every call made upon him to speak on questions which appealed to his higher moral nature. It was his religion to do good, and all who had the privilege of knowing him, can in truth bless his memory.

'No year has passed since this agitation for Women's Suffrage commenced when we felt that the question had made such immense progress. I am sure some of you must have heard of this progress with surprise, because there is one mark of success to which we have not yet attained,—we have not yet sufficiently gained the attention of the press. This cannot be because our efforts and our position do not deserve it; there must be some other cause for it. I do not believe, when these great demonstrations have taken place, which we have seen in England, when so many thousands of women have gathered together to be addressed by women of great intellectual power; when halls which formerly required the highest oratorical talents of which our country can boast to fill them,—when these great halls have been filled to overflowing, and second halls have had to be engaged for the still advancing crowd, and even then hundreds of women had to be turned away unable to gain admittance, I do not believe the silence of the press could be accidental. The history of every struggle for freedom and justice has to be repeated. In my own day I have seen more than once the press silenced when those in power have feared the rising influence of other agitations; but it may be the appointed means for success, as it stimulates resolve and effort, and widens the area of agitation. I ask you, when women gather together in these large numbers to ask for political justice, to ask for that which is given to even the most illiterate and worst of men, is it all of so little moment that it should not be considered worth while for the electric wires to convey the eloquent fact beyond the towns where these demonstrations are held? (Cheers.) It seems to me that there are readers of newspapers, who would feel quite as much interested in such details as in following a woman, even though that woman be an Empress, on the hunting field, whose movements it is thought worth while to keep daily before us. However, we have owed a good deal to some of our newspapers, and I would especially thank the *Daily Review* of this city—(cheers)—who has nobly argued our cause from time to time. I will not deny that the Empress of Austria may be fulfilling her mission in following the hounds, by showing that neither taste, power, nor intellect is dependent upon sex. (Applause.)

'Let me here remark, that if you wish to be kept up with our question, or the causes *why* we promote it, you must take in the "Woman's Suffrage Journal," edited by Miss Becker, of Manchester. You would see in that Journal some of the reasons why women desire to bring their influence to bear upon our Parliamentary representation. You would see injustice exposed under which women suffer, both rich and poor, of which two notable examples are given in this month's Journal. Already fruit is ripening, the seeds of which have been sown by this and kindred societies which have sprung from ours.

'There is a committee sitting now in the House of Commons, for the purpose of putting the property of married women on a more just basis, which will, I trust, prevent the repetition of such wrongdoing as you will read of in the Birchall case given in the Journal. We feel deeply grateful to those men, whose number is increasing in Parliament, as well as to those throughout the country who are desirous of raising the position of women,—(cheers)—to such as recognise the logic of that poor brutal husband, who had some undefined sense of having been under the education of bad laws, when he said on his trial for illusing his wife, "When you make her my equal, I'll treat her as such." Little of this equality is recognised by our laws, and never will be without the influence of women to make it otherwise. I am sorry to dwell on this part of our subject. Some one must do it, and if I am disagreeable, you must forgive me. There is a little paper which comes out in this city called the *Evening News*. It seems to me assiduously to collect painful criminal cases. I sometimes feel in reading it as though I was going through the "Chamber of Horrors;" but unfortunately the persons exhibited are still acting agents, or will be so again when their short terms of imprisonment are over.

'An old custom is preserved in some of our small towns and villages in England. The curfew bell still tolls to tell that eight o'clock is the old hour, perhaps God's appointed hour, for going to rest. This little *Evening News* sometimes seems to me to come like a very solemn warning, calling to a feeling of *unrest*, as it announces every evening the last twenty-four hours of crime in this city,—crime followed by punishment, which produces no reform. It comes like a voice to our churches, saying, Ye are found wanting: look at the crimes committed under your very spires and church-towers, and how unequally are men and women dealt with in much of this wrongdoing. Is there no one to "cry aloud and spare not?" I look often for some indication of disapproval of this routine of injustice. But though there is a general appearance of contentment,

I speak the growing sentiment of women, when I say there is a very growing feeling of discontent amongst them. (Applause.) Therefore you must allow a woman to speak, for it seems laid upon me to do so. I know there are many men who mourn over much of the evils that exist. I am reminded of one who has shown great faithfulness in going against accustomed thought when it was opposed to morality. When the dreadful revelations were made, showing how British girls were decoyed to the Continent, and found themselves, instead of meeting with honourable service, doomed to the worst kind of slavery, this good man wrote me, saying, he had long been aware of such nefarious practices, and now he thanked God for having given women the courage to expose it. I confess I was surprised, as my friend was not lacking in courage. I could only account for it in him by remembering what a great American divine once said, that "God was keeping men back in order to bring women forward."

'Can you wonder that thoughtful and intelligent women are roused to a feeling of rebellion against the way educated magistrates dispense the law under the name of justice, when they read such cases as the few to which I venture to call your attention?

'A poor girl or woman at Durham, who had just been liberated from jail, was condemned to *three months hard labour*, for taking as she left the prison a pair of what are called "Queen's stockings," which she had been knitting, worth 2s. 6d. Perhaps the woman had not a penny with which to buy bread or lodging, and justice might have been better served had there been, as in Edinburgh, a "Released Prisoners' Aid Society" to have helped her.

'On the same day at Hull, a man was sentenced to *six months* with hard labour, and two months in addition in case he could not find two sureties in £10 each—for what? He had committed an aggravated assault on a woman who had lived with him. He had asked the poor woman for 10s., which she gave him; he then dragged her by her hair into another room, locked the door, stripped her, kicked her all over with his heavy boots, then dragging her to the fire, lifted her up and dashed her against the hot bars. Her shrieks for mercy then brought assistance to her. We may well pity the poor woman, upon whom he would be let loose again in six or eight months.

'The next and last case among many I could cite, was in Edinburgh. A man and woman entered the house of a woman, I believe a widow, in the Lawnmarket; they knocked her down, trampled upon her and kicked her; then placed a pillow over her mouth, whilst the man atrociously used her; and afterwards threw a quantity of cold

water over her. And what do you think was the punishment given? *Five months* imprisonment! two months more than for stealing a pair of stockings worth 2s. 6d. I think you will agree with me that a sentence which showed so little appreciation of a woman's honour and a woman's rights, was not calculated to make brutal men regard women of much value in the eye of the law. I am sorry to have asked you to listen to these horrid details, but I cannot help sometimes exclaiming,—

"Alas that flesh and blood should be so cheap!"

when that flesh and blood is woman.

'Our magistrates and judges need not longer take refuge under the plea, that the law only allows them to give certain sentences, since the Home Secretary was reported to have said the other night in the House of Commons, when questioned on that dreadful Beckett case, when a man had murdered his wife and received no punishment, which you will see in Miss Becker's journal, that "he knew no reason why juries should be compelled to deliver verdicts, or judges sentences, otherwise than in accordance with the dictates of their own judgment."

'Perhaps some of you may ask, What has all this to do with seeking to obtain the Parliamentary Franchise for Women? My answer is, that if women were raised to the same political position which men enjoy, they would be regarded with much more consideration, and the laws under which they suffer would be improved through their influence upon the minds of our legislators.

'It will be an immense boon to Scotland, as regards all social questions, if women get the municipal franchise; and their minds will become far more alive to the benefits which would accrue, both to themselves and the nation, by the possession of the higher parliamentary franchise.

'Since much that I have said has been connected with the question of justice, I feel it would be unjust not to add, that though crime abounds, so also do good deeds. It would be a beautiful and touching page which would record the daily twenty-four hours of good done in our city, and would reveal much noble self-sacrifice and devotion to duty. But George Eliot has said, "It behoves us to learn how our miseries are wrought." If more pains were taken to do this, and to teach that morality which is in accordance with the principles of the New Testament, whose code is the same for both men and women, much of the efforts of the benevolent would be saved. Although we shall always have the poor amongst us, yet, when the upper classes acknowledge and practise a higher morality we should not see in our streets so many who cannot be included amongst the *virtuous* poor.



'It is as much to the credit of man as to woman, that opinion has advanced as it has done on every question which we have agitated. We have much to encourage us on every hand. That splendid vote of 396 against 32, in favour of granting honours examinations to women at Cambridge,—(cheers)—although it still keeps back an act of justice, confers a great good; and it was with no ordinary feeling of pleasure we read what an excitement of gladness it had caused in the lobby of the House of Commons. Perhaps some noble student may carry this act of justice to its legitimate end, by one day declining the position of honour given to him if he knew that a lady deserved it before him. He would, by such an act, leave the university crowned by a laurel such as neither Cambridge nor any other university has the power to bestow. (Applause.)

'The Report refers to the principle our Society has so long worked for, having been now recognised in the Isle of Man. Although that victory was not complete, "it was a glorious victory," in that little island in the middle of the sea. We read in the history of that island, of women having more than once played a heroic part in that path which some of our opponents have thought women ought to tread ere they could prove themselves worthy of being accepted as political entities. The warfare in which they engaged was suited to the times in which they lived. We wage a higher warfare, and we have, by our courage and the brightness of our weapons, carried captive most of the thinking portion of the nation.

'When the Birmingham papers say, that "no new reform bill can be considered complete which excludes women's suffrage to the extent which is asked for"; when Mr Gladstone, amongst whose rare and unequalled talents is the power to prepare the people for coming events, has told us that there is a side of politics which belongs to women; when his call to them to perform their duty in it is being answered by one demonstration after another of thousands of women eager for political justice and for higher work,—the hour of victory cannot be far off.' (Applause.)

Miss FLORA STEVENSON seconded the motion, and expressed the gratitude of all present to those ladies who were giving so much valuable thought, time, and attention for the benefit of their whole sex. She believed that if ever there was a time in the history of their movement when they had encouragements to go on earnestly and hopefully, it was the present. (Applause.)

Miss MAITLAND, in supporting the motion, remarked that the President had referred to the inequality of laws as regarded women. She remembered some years ago having visited Calton Jail, and been told the number of prisoners there at that time. The number of

women was more than double that of men, but she pointed out that there were certain offences for which women were imprisoned and men were left unpunished. When the new Edinburgh Police Bill was being prepared, it had been suggested that in a certain clause the word 'women' should be altered to 'persons,' but when the Bill came down from London it came with another word, which meant only women—'prostitutes,' and in that no attempt had been made to remove the injustice.

The motion was adopted.

Miss LOUISA STEVENSON moved,—'That this meeting is of opinion that the Parliamentary Franchise should be extended to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote, and who, in all matters of local government, have the right to vote; and that a petition to this import, in support of Mr Hugh Mason's resolution, be forwarded to the House of Commons, and entrusted to the Lord Advocate.' (Applause.)

Mr GEORGE TAIT seconded, and Miss BURTON supported, the motion.

The motion was adopted, and Miss Wigham read the petition, which was approved.

Miss SIMPSON moved a vote of thanks to Messrs Jacob Bright, M.P., Leonard Courtney, M.P., Hugh Mason, M.P., and others, who had spoken in favour of the removal of the electoral disabilities of women. (Applause.)

The motion was adopted; and the Executive Committee having been reappointed, with Mrs D. M'Laren as president, a vote of thanks, on the motion of Miss Flora Mason, was heartily given to Mrs M'Laren for presiding, and the proceedings terminated.

In reporting the proceedings of our meeting the following editorial remarks were inserted in the *Edinburgh Daily Review*:—  
'The report submitted, and the speeches delivered, afford abundant evidence of the resolution and ability with which the lady advocates of equal political, educational, and social rights and privileges regardless of sex, are promoting the work of reform they have on hand. Mrs M'Laren's exposure of the injustice suffered by women under many of our existing laws, and the mode in which they are administered, was both timely and effective.'

'It is as much to the credit of man as to woman, that opinion has advanced as it has done on every question which we have agitated. We have much to encourage us on every hand. That splendid vote of 396 against 32, in favour of granting honours examinations to women at Cambridge,—(cheers)—although it still keeps back an act of justice, confers a great good; and it was with no ordinary feeling of pleasure we read what an excitement of gladness it had caused in the lobby of the House of Commons. Perhaps some noble student may carry this act of justice to its legitimate end, by one day declining the position of honour given to him if he knew that a lady deserved it before him. He would, by such an act, leave the university crowned by a laurel such as neither Cambridge nor any other university has the power to bestow. (Applause.)

'The Report refers to the principle our Society has so long worked for, having been now recognised in the Isle of Man. Although that victory was not complete, "it was a glorious victory," in that little island in the middle of the sea. We read in the history of that island, of women having more than once played a heroic part in that path which some of our opponents have thought women ought to tread ere they could prove themselves worthy of being accepted as political entities. The warfare in which they engaged was suited to the times in which they lived. We wage a higher warfare, and we have, by our courage and the brightness of our weapons, carried captive most of the thinking portion of the nation.

'When the Birmingham papers say, that "no new reform bill can be considered complete which excludes women's suffrage to the extent which is asked for"; when Mr Gladstone, amongst whose rare and unequalled talents is the power to prepare the people for coming events, has told us that there is a side of politics which belongs to women; when his call to them to perform their duty in it is being answered by one demonstration after another of thousands of women eager for political justice and for higher work,—the hour of victory cannot be far off.' (Applause.)

Miss FLORA STEVENSON seconded the motion, and expressed the gratitude of all present to those ladies who were giving so much valuable thought, time, and attention for the benefit of their whole sex. She believed that if ever there was a time in the history of their movement when they had encouragements to go on earnestly and hopefully, it was the present. (Applause.)

Miss MAITLAND, in supporting the motion, remarked that the President had referred to the inequality of laws as regarded women. She remembered some years ago having visited Calton Jail, and been told the number of prisoners there at that time. The number of

women was more than double that of men, but she pointed out that there were certain offences for which women were imprisoned and men were left unpunished. When the new Edinburgh Police Bill was being prepared, it had been suggested that in a certain clause the word 'women' should be altered to 'persons,' but when the Bill came down from London it came with another word, which meant only women—'prostitutes,' and in that no attempt had been made to remove the injustice.

The motion was adopted.

Miss LOUISA STEVENSON moved,—'That this meeting is of opinion that the Parliamentary Franchise should be extended to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote, and who, in all matters of local government, have the right to vote; and that a petition to this import, in support of Mr Hugh Mason's resolution, be forwarded to the House of Commons, and entrusted to the Lord Advocate.' (Applause.)

Mr GEORGE TAIT seconded, and Miss BURTON supported, the motion.

The motion was adopted, and Miss Wigham read the petition, which was approved.

Miss SIMPSON moved a vote of thanks to Messrs Jacob Bright, M.P., Leonard Courtney, M.P., Hugh Mason, M.P., and others, who had spoken in favour of the removal of the electoral disabilities of women. (Applause.)

The motion was adopted; and the Executive Committee having been reappointed, with Mrs D. M'Laren as president, a vote of thanks, on the motion of Miss Flora Mason, was heartily given to Mrs M'Laren for presiding, and the proceedings terminated.

In reporting the proceedings of our meeting the following editorial remarks were inserted in the *Edinburgh Daily Review*:—  
'The report submitted, and the speeches delivered, afford abundant evidence of the resolution and ability with which the lady advocates of equal political, educational, and social rights and privileges regardless of sex, are promoting the work of reform they have on hand. Mrs M'Laren's exposure of the injustice suffered by women under many of our existing laws, and the mode in which they are administered, was both timely and effective.'

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Anderson, Mrs, per Miss Caldwell	0 5 0	Fraser, Miss, 6 N. Charlotte St.	1 0 0
Bartholomew, Misses	1 0 0	Do. for <i>Journal</i>	0 1 6
Bayne, Mrs, Craigview, Murrayfield	0 5 0	Fraser, Mrs, U. P. Manse, Dalkeith	0 1 6
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Ord, Mrs, Nisbet, by Jedburgh (two years)	1 10 0	Walls, Miss	0 10 0
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		Wyld, Miss A. G., 11 Lennox Street	0 5 0
		Wigham, Jane, Gray Street	0 10 0
		Wigham, E.	0 5 0

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE for the Year ending 3d March 1881.

INCOME.		EXPENDITURE.		
Balance last year	-	Expenses of Deputation to Demonstration,		
Subscriptions and Donations	£77 4 11	Manchester	-	£8 0 0
Interest from Bank	135 14 6	Printing	-	22 18 0
	0 10 9	Subscription to <i>Women's Suffrage Journal</i>	-	18 1 3
		Travelling and other Expenses of Secretary	-	77 0 0
		Travelling and other Expenses connected	-	
		with Meetings	-	20 0 0
		Advertisements	-	2 18 9
		Rents of Halls, Committee Rooms, &c.	-	7 19 0
		Postages	-	6 10 9
		Balance	-	50 2 5
	£213 10 2			£213 10 2

*2d March 1881.*—I have examined the Books and Vouchers for the past year, and find all correct, leaving balance in the Bank of Scotland of £50, 2s. 5d.

AMY ROBERTSON.

*with the writers Compts*

THE RIGHTS OR CLAIMS OF WOMEN

BY

MR. GRANTHAM R. DODD

*A Paper read at the Annual Provincial Meeting of the Incorporated Law  
Society held at Brighton on the 11th and 12th October 1881*

*N. B. written for Discussion*

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1881

THE RIGHTS OR CLAIMS OF WOMEN.

By Mr. GRANTHAM R. DODD, London.

THIS being a subject to which public attention has been frequently called of late, I trust no apology will be necessary for introducing it at the present meeting for discussion.

Certainly the 'Rights of Women' is not a division that occurred to Blackstone when he wrote his well-known 'Commentaries.'

With the full nature and extent of these so-called rights I at once freely admit that I am at present unacquainted, and, in truth, many of the claimants are, I think, scarcely themselves agreed respecting them.

But if, as Miss Becker has publicly stated, some ladies are, in her opinion, hesitating to contract matrimony from an indisposition to submit themselves to the existing conditions of contract, this becomes a serious matter, and should at once enlist our sympathy and attention.

Prominent amongst such claims appears to be the parliamentary franchise for women. If there be any truth in the saying commonly attributed to a deceased statesman, that 'every woman is conservative to a man,' we can quite understand why a Liberal Government should hesitate to carry such a measure; and until ladies be also legally entitled to sit in the House, the demand may possibly be for 'men, not measures,' more especially if many ladies should record their votes, as one recently avowed she should, if she possessed one, namely, for the most handsome man (without regard to politics).

Upwards of 70 years ago, Mr. Christian, in his edition of

'Blackstone,' when referring to the taxation of women, admitted that he could see no substantial reason why a single woman should be denied the privilege of voting for parliamentary representatives; and I may add that he demurred to the statement of his author as to the 'female sex being the favourite of the laws of England.'

A Bill to carry out this proposal has been introduced into Parliament, and has, I believe, been read a second time.

The subject is being now agitated by means of lectures and meetings from one end of the country to the other, and will doubtless again, before long, be further discussed in Parliament.

We are told 500,000 additional voters would thus be added to the list, being about equal to one-sixth of the present number upon it. It is difficult to foresee what effect this might have on future elections.

In the registration case of *Chorlton v. Lings*, 'Law Reports,' Vol. IV., C.P., p. 374, Mr. (now Lord) Coleridge in arguing for the appellant, cited cases of indentures having been entered into between the Crown and certain electors in the name of the rest, two of which, for the county of York, had been signed by women, the earliest being 13th Henry IV., which was signed by Lucy Countess of Kent (by her attorney); another in the 2nd Henry V. by Margaret, the widow of Sir Henry Vava-seur; and in the 7th Edward VI. the return for the borough of Gatton was made by Lady Elizabeth Copley and all the inhabitants of the borough. And a list of burgesses of Lyme Regis in the 19th Elizabeth included the names of three women.

He therefore contended that women were entitled to vote in the election of members of Parliament, and, further, that the Representation of the People Act, 1867, as explained by Lord Brougham's Act, 13th and 14th Victoria, chap. 21,

conferred the right upon women, even if they did not possess it previously; and although the words of the Reform Act (2nd William IV., c. 45) were 'every male person of full age, and not subject to any legal incapacity,' he argued that, notwithstanding there had been a succession of Acts, none of them contained any provision which would deprive women of the right of voting, which, he contended, they originally possessed; and whilst admitting that the word 'man' was used in some of them, he argued it was a generic term, and was sufficiently general to include women.

He also contended that, with respect to boroughs as well as counties, none of the Acts regulating the franchise had ever taken away the right of women to vote; no evidence, however, he admitted could be given of the exercise of such right.

The Court, composed of Bovill, Chief Justice, and Justices Willes, Byles, and Keating, decided against the claim, and affirmed the decision of the Revising Barrister; Chief Justice Bovill, saying the appellant had failed to produce before the Court the reported decision of any Court in favour of the right of women to exercise the franchise, held that the fact of its not having been asserted or acted upon for many centuries raised a strong presumption against its ever having legally existed; and he remarked that Lord Coke, in the 4th Institute, p. 5, treated it as clear law in the time of James, that women were incapacitated from voting.

Mr. Justice Willes, referring to Kemble's work upon the Saxons in England, in which mention is made of some charters having been signed by the Queen and other women who were supposed to be ecclesiastics of rank and wealth, observed that author did not conclude that women took part in the public councils of the Anglo-Saxons; and he was of opinion that the abbesses who signed, if present at the Witena-Gemot, attended for the purpose of watching

matters in the interest of their convents, without forming part of the regular body, as judges might in these days be present in the House of Lords to advise, but not to vote.

Mr. Sydney Smith, in his pamphlet called the 'Enfranchisement of Women the Law of the Land,' challenges the above decision, and insists that the House of Commons alone possessed sufficient authority to decide upon such a point, and quotes various authorities as to such right, including Sir T. E. May on the 'Usage of Parliament,' who says: 'Peculiar to the Commons is that of determining all matters touching the election of its own members, and involving therein the right of the electors.'

This writer candidly admits that he is not prepared to prove that such right of voting has been ever exercised by women.

It is argued by these ladies that the fact of our having a Queen at the head of the Constitution is an admission that a woman is competent to form an opinion upon Government measures—her assent being expressly required to all Acts of Parliament—and consequently that women are fully competent to form and express opinions upon such matters, by recording their votes for parliamentary representatives.

It certainly would be somewhat remarkable if such right should be legally established whilst her present Majesty occupies the Throne.

But has it occurred to Miss Becker that if, and when, women shall have obtained the suffrage they desire, it might possibly increase the number of women hesitating to enter the bonds of matrimony, for fear of losing the right of voting, unless indeed she would propose that the woman might on marriage retain such right, and that the names of both husband and wife—who possibly might hold opposite political opinions and vote accordingly—should be allowed to appear on the register?

At School Board and provincial municipal elections it is generally admitted that the right of women to vote has been already tried with no unsatisfactory result, and voting at municipal elections has this last session been also extended to the women of Scotland.

Although I might be disposed to concede the right of voting to ladies, I certainly am not prepared to do so to every uneducated woman whose name may appear on the list of ratepayers.

I may here be permitted to mention that one of the grievances is that female criminals are now tried by a jury composed entirely of men, instead of being tried by her peers (women) as some of these ladies are of opinion they should be. But I venture to question whether female prisoners would be likely to meet with more justice or leniency at the hands of their own sex, or whether, in fact, they would prefer to be so tried.

It seems to me that, if we are to have juries composed entirely of women, we shall next be required to appoint ladies also as judges. I would ask, is the country prepared for this?

Next, may we as men be allowed to inquire whether all or any of the following things are included in the rights so claimed, namely, to marry the husband of a deceased sister, or for a wife in her last illness to nominate her successor, or the second wife for her husband (instances of which have come to my knowledge), or, in common with the other sex, for the woman to possess the latch-key of the street door (which right I once heard a highly-educated lady claim for her sex, or rather complain of that article being selfishly possessed only by the men).

But, to speak more seriously, I can scarcely think that these ladies would now claim the right of performing, as did Ann, Countess of Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery, the



duties of sheriff, which hereditary office she held for the County of Westmoreland, and actually exercised in person, sitting with the judges on the bench at assizes. We, however, are not told whether she also officially attended the execution of criminals.

Whilst the Salic Law prevailed in France, so far as concerned the succession to the throne, for several hundred years, women were permitted to succeed to every other dignity. They became peers of France, presided in their own courts as such, also at judicial combats; they took their seats in the House of Peers, and assisted at the consecration of kings, as did other peers.

It seems that formerly females communicated their titles and dignities to their husbands; but this, as we know, is no longer the case, for commoners marrying peeresses continue such.

Some of these lady claimants might possibly be shocked to hear that, upon reference to many of our old text-books for the law relating to married women or their property, they would have to look under the head of 'Baron and Feme' for the information they require, referring to which Mr. Christian quaintly observes: 'The word baron or lord attributes to the husband not a very courteous superiority,' and he goes on to suggest that we might possibly be inclined to think this was merely an unmeaning technical phrase if we did not recollect that 'if the baron should kill his feme, it is the same as though he should kill a stranger; but if the feme should kill her baron, the law would designate her crime as a species of treason, and condemn her to the same punishment as if she had killed the king'; and, until the 30th George III., chap. 48, she would be liable to be sentenced to be drawn and burnt alive, whilst the punishment of a man for the same offence would be to be drawn and hanged.

All women, whatever might be their attainments, were denied the benefit of clergy, to which, we must bear in mind, every man (whether lay or cleric) who could read was entitled; and even until 3rd and 4th William and Mary, women were sentenced to death for the first offence in simple larceny, manslaughter, &c., whilst men for the same class of crime were subject to burning in the hand and a few months' imprisonment.

It is not so very long since the husband was legally permitted to keep the wife, as it has been termed, 'within the bounds of duty,' and might for such purpose chastise her; and having by law a right to her custody, he was also at liberty to confine, although he was not permitted to imprison, her.

Much during the last 50 years has certainly been done to remove these admitted wrongs of women and to place them in a better legal position.

With regard to property, married women within the above-named period were, as we know, unable, even with the consent of their husbands, to sell and convey their real estate without incurring the expense and delay of levying a fine. It is certainly a matter for surprise that so antiquated a custom should have survived until the reign of William IV., when, by the Act for abolition of fines and recoveries, a woman was enabled, with the concurrence of her husband, in a simple and inexpensive way to dispose of her real estate.

The interest in personal property of the wife vested in the husband on marriage, but her power of disposition was in abeyance during coverture, and she could not effectually deal with her reversionary interest in such property, even with her husband's concurrence, until the year 1857, when was passed the Act commonly known as 'Malins's,' 20th and 21st Victoria, chap. 57.

The provisions of this Act may, I think, with advantage,

be extended to all wills, and not confined, as at present, to such as have been made since the year 1857. For many of us must know what great difficulty is experienced by a married woman who desires to raise money either by mortgage or sale of her reversionary property under wills of prior date.

It may, I think, be safely assumed that the Bill introduced this last session into Parliament by Mr. Hinde Palmer, Q.C., contains most of the alterations of the law as to the property of women which they require.

This Bill, should it pass, must necessarily work a wonderful revolution with respect to the ownership of property, especially if it be true that, as we are told, the Act of 1870, limited as it was in its operation, changed the ownership of 20 millions a year.

Now let us shortly consider its provisions.

It is proposed by this Bill, which was to consolidate and amend the Acts relating to property of married women, that a married woman should be capable of holding, acquiring, alienating, devising, and bequeathing both real and personal estate as her separate property, and for her separate use; also of contracting, suing, and being sued (with the additional privilege of being liable to be made a bankrupt), as if she were a feme sole, and she might appear, sue, and defend without joinder of husband.

A woman who should marry after the Act should come into operation was to be empowered, notwithstanding marriage, to have and hold as her separate property all real and personal estate belonging to her before marriage, or in any way acquired by her afterwards, free from the debts and obligations of her husband, and from his control or disposition, in every respect as if she were a feme sole.

Every woman married before the Act should come into operation was, notwithstanding marriage, to have and hold

as her separate property all real and personal estate, her title to which should accrue after the Act should have come into operation, free from the debts and obligations of her husband, and from his control or disposition, as if she were a feme sole, but nothing therein contained should exempt any such property from the operation of any settlement or covenant to which it would have been subject if that Act had not been passed, or should prejudice the vested rights of the husband at the date of the Act.

It will be observed that every man married after the date of this Act would thus be deprived of the tenancy by curtesy, or reversionary estate for life, to which he would, according to the ancient common law of England, have been entitled in the wife's inheritance, if he had issue by her inheritable. By the way, I may mention that I have been unable to discover any satisfactory reason for this life interest being dependent upon issue of the marriage, and I do not think this is a reasonable condition, particularly whilst the right to dower is not so contingent.

It can scarcely have been given to the husband for the purpose of maintaining and providing for the infant heir, for it is not necessary that such heir should be living at the time of the death of the wife, or even have lived for an hour.

I venture to think that the reason suggested by Blackstone for the husband retaining such right, in the event of the death of the infant, namely, that having once obtained a vested estate or interest, he should not be deprived of it by such death, is unsatisfactory.

Again, the fact that the father's estate continues for life, and does not pass to the child on attaining 21, in my view tends to prove that the provision is scarcely in the nature of a trust for the support and maintenance of such child even during minority.

The woman, it should be remembered, retains her right to dower out of her late husband's estate, whilst the husband will, should this Bill be passed in its present form, be unable to claim any estate or interest in the deceased wife's real estate.

The right to dower, it may be mentioned, was, however, according to the author of 'Doctor and Student,' who wrote in the early part of the 16th century, conditional by the common law upon the wife being nine years of age at the date of her husband's death. She would be entitled to dower if her husband should be only four years old; and if the lady should be 100 years old at marriage she would still be dowable.

The learned author admitted that he could give no good reason why the husband should be entitled to have all the income for life (as tenant by curtesy), whilst the widow would take only one-third, as the allowance of such third to the widow was in fact made, as we are told, for the maintenance of the family.

I think certainly a fairer arrangement as to the income might be made.

In property of gavelkind tenure, I would remind you, that the husband by curtesy is entitled to a moiety until he marries again, and the widow takes a similar share during widowhood and chastity.

The earnings of a married woman were also, by the provisions of the Bill we are considering, to be her property as provided in the previous Act (Married Woman's, 1870); and this we must admit to be but reasonable.

She was also in the same way to be enabled, as she now is, to effect a policy of insurance upon her own life, or on that of her husband, and special provision is made for the insurance of the husband's life for the benefit of his wife and children.

The husband was not to be liable for the debts of his

wife or for his wife's contracts before marriage, or for his wife's torts after marriage.

All questions between husband and wife, as to property, were to be settled in a summary way by a judge.

There are also certain restrictions as to actions between husband and wife.

A married woman possessing property was to be liable to the parish for the maintenance of her husband and children.

Then followed a very important provision, at least so far as the husband is concerned, viz., that, upon the death of the wife intestate, the husband could only take the same distributive share of her personal property as the wife would have taken in the personal estate of her husband if he had died intestate; and, subject thereto, her personal estate should go to her next of kin, according to the Statutes of Distribution.

This provision, as you will perceive, would deprive the husband of two-thirds or a half (as the case might be) of his wife's personalty, to which he would, according to the existing law, be entitled upon her decease.

If I remember rightly, some years ago a now deceased Irish member introduced a Bill into Parliament, the effect of which was that a tenant in Ireland should be assumed to hold under a lease the property he occupied, unless the landlord was in a position to prove the contrary by production of a written document signed by the tenant. Now, it has occurred to me that possibly the framers of the Bill we have been considering, being, in the same way, desirous of teaching men to be cautious, intended that it should have the effect of inducing or compelling a man, upon marriage in future, if he wished to derive any advantage from his wife's property, to consent to a settlement whereby he would secure, in all probability, at least a life estate or interest in the property of his wife, should he survive her, in preference to

his allowing her property to revert to her family immediately upon her decease intestate, leaving him wholly unprovided for.

In these days there seems less reason for drawing the distinction between the real and personal estate of a man dying intestate (in the absence of a settlement). I venture to suggest that it would not be unreasonable that the widow should, as in Scotland, have an indefeasible right to a certain portion of her husband's estate, both real and personal, where no sufficient settlement has been made upon her, and in like manner the husband should be entitled to a similar share of her property; for I think it is hard when a man, through carelessness or otherwise, dies intestate, leaving real estate, and possibly little or nothing else, his widow should (when the dower has been barred) be entitled to no part or share of the same, or of the rental derived from it.

Doubtless women, by the act of conveyancers, are frequently deprived of the right to dower, without the husband's desire or knowledge; but I am ready to admit the declaration to bar dower is not so frequently inserted in conveyances as it formerly was.

The division of property proposed by this Bill to be made it appears to me could not possibly work satisfactorily, and must lead to frequent disputes, and most probably to more frequent separation of husband and wife.

The house would be divided against itself, with the usual result.

The scheme is not new, and, in fact, we are told, was tried at Rome in the early empire for a considerable time with a very unsatisfactory result, for marriages became connections during pleasure. But, upon the introduction of Christianity, the former law of property was returned to, and the lifelong character of marriage was re-established.

If the law should be altered in the way proposed, it must be remembered that the powers of the judges of the Divorce Court would have to be considerably altered and enlarged, for the authority they at present possess to vary the terms of settlements would be inapplicable to the case of the wife's property being under her own absolute power and control.

A clerical friend of mine of experience, who was formerly a member of our profession, has suggested that women have need to be protected against themselves as much as against their husbands, namely, as to making ill-advised investments of their money.

I confess that I do not think it would be wise to give them absolute and uncontrolled power as to the investment or otherwise of their own property after marriage, and on the whole it seems that nothing better than settlements can be devised for their protection.

The right or equity that women possess of having a settlement of their property is frequently lost sight of, and I think the County Court jurisdiction might be extended with respect to such settlements. It is open to doubt whether it is expedient that women should possess the power of calling upon their trustees to advance them moneys out of the trust funds. I was professionally concerned in a suit (now a leading case, but on other points) where the wife retained the power alluded to, and her husband compelled her, as she afterwards stated, to exercise such power by presenting a pistol at her head. And the same lady, on her second marriage, was more unfortunate, for the noble lord she had married actually attempted to put an end to her existence, as she alleged, in order to obtain possession of the life estate secured to him by the settlement. It is difficult to suggest how a wife, under such circumstances, could be protected.

Marriage might be described as a partnership with some-

thing very like almost unlimited liability on the part of the husband, and by the proposed alterations such liability would not be lessened, whilst the partnership would be almost at an end, or the assets considerably diminished. We may inquire for what description of things is the wife to be liable to be sued—for necessaries, as they are called, or any of them, or is the husband to continue liable for them whilst the wife enjoys all her income?

If, on the other hand, the wife is to be legally responsible for all that she orders, she might at times be surprised to find she had to pay for more than she imagined.

This would be a fruitful source of litigation, and might lead to frequent frauds upon the tradesman; for if he should sue the husband for goods supplied at the request of the wife, it might turn out that he ought to have brought the action against the wife, and *vice versa*; or it might become necessary for the tradesman to inquire what property the wife possessed, and to have a distinct understanding, before the goods are supplied, to which person he is to look for payment.

The recent case of *Debenham v. Mellon*\* goes to prove the hardship of the existing law, so far as the tradesman is concerned, and how he may be defrauded.

If judgment be recovered against the wife, is the furniture in the house to be taken in execution, or is the wife, in default of payment of the judgment debt, to be liable to be taken from her husband and family and committed to prison?

Mr. Boyd Kinnear, in his able paper read at the Social Science Congress last year, suggested that creditors should be allowed to sue either husband or wife—the right of contribution from the other party being reserved; but this suggestion does not appear to be satisfactory.

\* Law Reports, Q. B. Division, Vol. v., p. 394.

In the City of London the wife has for several centuries possessed the right to trade as a *feme sole*, which custom we find referred to in 'Liber Albus,' written in the reign of Henry V., during the mayoraity of Richard Whittington.

In the case of a lady, possessed of property producing, say, £1,000 a year, marrying a gentleman of similar income, it is unreasonable that the whole of his income should alone be applied in keeping up the establishment, whilst the wife should be under no legal obligation to contribute anything, but should be at full liberty to retain for her separate use, and to spend or give away her income as she might think fit.

But it may be said that a lady possessed of such property would have a settlement; to which it may be replied that in one sense it would, when the law has been altered in the way proposed, be contrary to her interest to have one, because she would then be giving up the absolute control of her property without the intervention of trustees, who might properly advise her against realising or spending her capital.

Ladies certainly would not feel complimented by the description given by a lady speaker at the Social Science meeting at Edinburgh, viz. that the wife was the only servant who did not receive wages. This, in fact, is one of her arguments against the proposal that the wife should contribute equally with the husband to the household expenditure; and another argument she urged was that the husband alone had the right to regulate the household expenses. We all know that this is not always the case.

Miss Becker objects to the term 'separate property' as applied to the wife's, as the husband's property is called his own, and she seems to think some misapprehension also had arisen through the use of the words for 'her separate use.'

That a wife should, without her husband's consent, be able to involve herself in lengthy and expensive litigation,

which, be it observed, it is not proposed to confine to questions of or relating to her property, would not be an agreeable reflection for the husband. And if she be possessed of no property, how are the costs to be recovered?

The idea of having a wife gazetted as a bankrupt does not appear to be pleasant.

With respect to the legal custody of children, had time permitted, much might be said. But I may say that I think women have good reason to complain of the present unsatisfactory state of the law.

I will only add, in conclusion, that I confess that I should not object to an enactment dispensing with the necessity for joining the husband in actions as to the separate estate of the wife.

# ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

Central Committee

OF THE

NATIONAL SOCIETY

FOR

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.



*Presented to the General Meeting,  
July 14th, 1881.*

## REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

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ALTHOUGH no discussion on Women's Suffrage has as yet taken place this session in the House of Commons, your committee in presenting their Annual Report, have the satisfaction of recording much earnest work, and several very important advances of the principle during the past year.

On the eve of the session, which began a month earlier than usual, Mr. Courtney accepted an office in the Administration, and as this precluded him from taking charge of any independent motion, the supporters of women's suffrage were suddenly called upon to seek the assistance of another member for the responsible duty of Leader. At the suggestion of Mr. Courtney, application was made to Mr. Hugh Mason, M.P. for Ashton-under-Lyne. A deputation from your committee, along with representatives from other branches of the Society, waited on the honourable member, at his residence in London, on January 20th, and requested him to take charge of the question in the House of Commons. Mr. Mason cordially assented to the request of the deputation, and in doing so, expressed his determination to further the cause to the best of his ability, and his hope and belief that the present Parliament would perform this great act of justice, and enfranchise women.



Mr. Mason then immediately placed on the Order Book of the House of Commons, the following notice of Resolution:—

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

Soon after this a vote of “urgency” was taken for the Irish Peace Preservation Bill, and until that was disposed of no other business could be taken. As soon as this occurred Mr. MASON began to ballot, and at last obtained a second place on May 27th. But before that time it became apparent that the day would be taken by the Government for a morning sitting, and as the debate on the resolution which stood first on the papers, lasted till midnight, it was held to be unadvisable to proceed at that late hour. Since then, Mr. Mason has continued to ballot in the hope of securing a more favourable opportunity, and has now obtained a second place on the notice paper for Friday, the 29th instant. But the state of public business renders it probable that the Government may appropriate all the remaining time during the present session, and in that case Mr. Mason will not be able to proceed with his resolution before the prorogation of Parliament.

Substantial gain to the cause of Women’s Suffrage has, however, been made during the year. The municipal franchise has been extended to women in Scotland by a bill introduced by Dr. Cameron in the House of Commons, and by the Earl of Camperdown in the House of Lords. The Act received the Royal Assent on June 3rd, and comes into operation on January 1st, 1882.

In the Isle of Man, the principle of Women’s Suffrage in Parliamentary elections has been fully recognised. By an Act of Tynwald which received the Royal Assent on January 6th, women owners of property are allowed the same electoral right as men, and although the exercise of the vote is not yet

allowed to women occupiers, the principle has been established, and its extension to all women ratepayers is only a question of time.

Great demonstrations of women, similar to those held last year in Manchester and in London, have been held in Bristol and Birmingham, through the efforts of the branches of the National Society for Women Suffrage, established in these towns.

On November 30th. the sequence of these great and significant gatherings was continued, by a huge meeting in the Albert Hall, Nottingham. The large hall was crowded to overflowing, and a supplementary meeting in the Lecture Hall had to be arranged for those who could not find room in the large hall. It is estimated that over 6,000 women were present, and the greatest enthusiasm prevailed. Mrs. Lucas presided in the great hall, and Mrs. Cowen of Nottingham, at the overflow meeting.

Preliminary meetings in support of the demonstration were held in the following halls in the Town of Nottingham, Nov. 18th, in the Co-operative Hall, Sandport Street; 22nd, in the Co-operative Hall, New Lenton; 23rd, in the People’s Hall, Heathcote Street; Nov. 24th, National School Room, Beeston; Crowded meetings were also held Nov. 26th, at Newark; Nov. 29th, at Mansfield. Drawing room meetings in aid of the Demonstration were held in Nottingham, at the invitation respectively, of Mr. and Mrs. Teschemacher, Mr. and Mrs. Cowen, Mrs. Ward, and Mrs. Hind. Petitions in support of the Bill were adapted at each of these preliminary meetings, as well as at the great meeting.

On December 1st, the day after the great meeting, a Conference was held in the Council Chamber, at which an influential committee was formed for the Notts district. This committee is now in full working order, and doing good service in the furtherance of the cause. Your committee, therefore, feel that the expenditure incurred in promoting the demonstration in Nottingham has borne good and ample fruit.

Your committee, in acknowledging with thanks the courtesy of the Manchester society, in placing the services of their organising agent, Mrs. M'Cormick, at their disposal, in assisting Miss Downing to work up the meetings in Nottingham, desire to suggest that these large gatherings need the concentration of the united efforts of those best qualified by knowledge and experience in order to bring them to a successful issue, and that it would be desirable for the various branches of the society to co-operate in holding a series of such demonstrations during the forthcoming season.

On May 25th a public meeting was held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, over which Mrs. Fawcett presided. It was addressed by Mrs. Ashworth Hallett, Mrs. Alfred Osler, Miss Becker, Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd, Mrs. Ashton Dilke, Miss Biggs and Miss Downing. On May 17th a meeting was held at the Grosvenor Hall, Pimlico, Miss Simcox, M.L.S.B. in the chair.

Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, of Boston, U.S., being on a visit to London, kindly acceded to a request to give a Lecture on "The Duties of Women with regard to the Life of a Nation," your Committee therefore arranged the meeting for the afternoon of June 17th, at St. George's Hall, Langham Place. A large and appreciative audience attended the Lecture.

Other public meetings have been held in London: December 10th, at the Dilettante Club, Argyll Street, W., presided over by Mr. Charles M'Laren, M.P., March 4th at the Metropolitan Liberal Club, Angell Town Institute, Brixton, Sir John Bennett in the chair.

Drawing-room meetings were held on May 16th, at the residence of Capt. and Mrs. Savile, Yorktown, near Sandhurst. The Chair was taken by Col. Lonsdale Hale, R.E., and Miss Becker and Miss C. A. Biggs attended as a deputation from London, and explained the objects of the meeting. On May 16th, at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Thomasson, Great Stanhope Street, Park Lane, there was a

very large gathering of friends, and the meeting was addressed by Miss Frances Power Cobbe, Miss Orme and Miss Tod. In April at the house of Mrs. Langdale, Hammersmith. On July 9th at the house of Miss Lucy Vialls, Fore Street. On July 13th Miss Courtenay had a reception at her residence, 34, Brompton Square, when a very interesting discussion was held in which Miss Cobbe, Miss Tod, Miss C. A. Biggs, Miss Becker, Mr. Newton Scott, Mrs. Laurie and the hostess took part.

Lectures and Addresses were delivered by Miss Downing as follows:—Nov. 9th at the Zetetical Society, Dec. 21st at the Ealing Literary and Debating Society; she also attended and spoke at the meeting of the Inter-collegiate Debating Society University College, held on March 22nd, and at the Lambeth Advanced Liberal Association, Walworth Road, on May 26th.

Addresses were delivered by Miss Craigen on Nov. 10th, Temperance Hall, Somerstown; 11th, Good Templars Lodge Room, Hamilton Place; and 12th, St. Pancras Good Templars Lodge, at which petitions in favour of the principle were adopted.

Your Committee have to report that their organising agent, Miss Downing, visited, at the request of the West of England Committee, Swansea, Ferryside, Tenby, Pembroke, and Aberystwith. Lectures were delivered in each place which were well attended. Miss Downing, being in Scotland during the Social Science Congress, attended the large and important meeting held in Edinburgh on October 12th, and then visited Glasgow, where, in conjunction with the Committee of that city, she arranged and spoke at the public meeting held in that town on October 25th, under the presidency of Dr. Cameron, M.P. It was through this meeting that Dr. Cameron was led to bring forward the Bill he has since carried for extending the municipal franchise to women in Scotland. Miss Downing in returning from the North addressed the public meeting of Women, held in Liverpool

on October 27th. She formed one of the deputation from the Central Committee to the Bristol Demonstration of November 4th. During the month of February Miss Downing was in Birmingham, in response to the invitation of that Committee, to help in the various meetings arranged preparatory to the demonstration held there on February 22nd. She spoke at thirteen of the preliminary meetings, and also took part in the proceedings of the great meeting in the Town Hall.

During the Parliamentary Session up to the present time, there have been presented to the House of Commons 428 petitions, with 21,749 signatures, in support of Mr. Mason's resolution. Of these 148 petitions, with 4,745 signatures, have been sent through friends and correspondents of your Committee.

It is with great regret your Committee record the deaths, during the past year, of Dr. W. B. Hodgson, of Edinburgh, of Sir Henry Mather Jackson, M.P., and of Sir Charles Reed, M.P., all of whom were tried friends of the education and enfranchisement of women.

In concluding their Report, your Committee desire to call the especial attention of the friends of the movement to the financial position of the Society, and to plead for increased support to carry out the scheme of work which they propose for the coming year.

The success of the great demonstrations of women held in so many towns in the United Kingdom, has proved in the most incontestable manner that the masses of women in these districts everywhere sympathise with the demand for the Suffrage, and respond with enthusiasm in overwhelming numbers, when they are asked to come forward in support of the claim. The spectacle of a vast hall, filled to overflowing with a crowd of women of all classes, animated with a common desire for freedom and justice, listening to the eloquent speeches warm from the heart, of women who are striving to advance the dawn of a better day for women and for the world, will never be forgotten by any who have had the privilege to witness it.

The work is so good that it should be carried forward, and your Committee believe that if they had the means to organise similar demonstrations in other towns of the United Kingdom, thousands of women who have not hitherto had the opportunity of declaring their mind, would come forward and claim the franchise, but the present funds of the Society are insufficient to carry out a work so extensive. It is the function of the Central Committee, which gathers funds from all districts, to support the efforts of friends in places where a demonstration can be arranged, wherever such assistance is required, and it is more especially for this object that your Committee appeal for increased subscriptions. They also desire to point out the urgent necessity for pressing the claim in view of the forthcoming measure for extending the suffrage to householders in counties which the Government are pledged to introduce before the dissolution of the present Parliament. Never before has there been so favourable a prospect for the recognition of the claim, and your Committee have the confident hope, that the next measure of Reform that shall be passed by the Legislature, may include the franchise for women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote, if the demand be in the meantime urged with sufficient perseverance and energy.

## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

*Of the Central Committee, held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, Victoria Street, S.W., on Thursday, July 14th, 1881,*

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

The Secretary read the Annual Report.  
The Treasurer read the Statement of Accounts.

Chairman's Address.

*Resolution 1.*—Moved by Mr. Woodall, M.P.; seconded by Dr. Cameron, M.P.; supported by Mrs. M'Laren.

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

*Resolution 2.*—Moved by Mr. Thomasson, M.P.; seconded by Miss Tod.

That this Meeting pledges itself to renewed exertion to secure that in any measure passed by Parliament for the extension of the suffrage, provision shall be made for the exercise of the Parliamentary franchise by women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote.

*Resolution 3.*—Moved by Mr. C. B. M'Laren, M.P.; seconded by Lord Denman.

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

The Chair was taken by Mr. Duncan M'Laren.

*Resolution 4.*—Moved by Dr. Francis Hoggan; seconded by Miss C. A. Biggs; supported by Miss Downing.

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

\* For List of Executive Committee see page 21.

*RECEIPTS and PAYMENTS from July 1st, 1880, to June 30th, 1881.*

RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.	EXPENDITURE.	£	s.	d.
To Balance in Bank at last Account ...	76	5	5	By Salaries ...	426	19	3
" Cash in Secretary's hands ...	66	12	0	" Rent ...	87	10	0
" Donations ...	154	6	2	" Office Expenses ...	13	18	10
" Subscriptions ...	559	1	3	" Postage and Carriage ...	51	12	7
" Shilling League ...	14	10	6	" Office Books and Stationery ...	9	7	10
" Special Funds, Guarantee... Demonstration ...	8	3	0	" Printing ...	21	13	6
" Sale of Publications ...	736	14	11	" Petition Headings ...	3	12	4
" Sale of Tickets ...	12	7	3	" Publications bought, W. S. Journal ...	46	2	4
" Sale of Stock (£100) ...	98	1	6	" Newspapers... Other Publications ...	2	15	9
" Interest on Capital ...	10	6	0	" Meetings ...	57	9	9
" Balance of Funds from Local Committee ...	4	12	8	" Bank Charges ...	204	12	4
" Sub-letting Office ...	3	18	6	" Auditing Accounts ...	1	14	11
				" Loan credited to account of 1879 ...	46	17	9
				" Balance in hands of Treasurer ...	9	5	2
				" Secretary ...	56	2	11
	£1,016	16	3		£1,016	16	3

Examined and found correct.

MARY E. WARNE,

*9th July, 1881.*

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS.

July 1st, 1880, to June 30th, 1881.

	Annual Subscriptions.			Donations.
	£	s.	d.	
Anderson, Mrs. Hall	2	2	0	
Anderson, Mr. and Mrs.	1	11	0	
Andrews, Mrs.				1 0 0
Askey, Mrs. F. D.	1	0	0	
Astley, Miss	1	0	0	
Allen, Mrs. Jos.	1	0	0	
Abbott, Rev. E. A.	0	10	6	
Albright, Mr. T. M.	0	10	0	
Adams, Mrs. (2 years)	0	6	0	
Atkinson, Mrs. B.	0	5	0	
Andrewes, Miss	0	5	0	
Anthony, Miss	0	5	0	
Andrews, Miss	0	5	0	
Albert, The Misses	0	5	0	
Anderson, Miss	0	5	0	
Andrews, Miss W.	0	2	6	
Armstrong, Mrs.	0	2	6	
Andrews, Miss Marion	0	2	6	
Allen, Miss H.	0	2	6	
Anderson, Mrs. Hall (Shilling League)	0	3	0	
Agate, Mr. John	0	2	0	
Anderson, Mrs. Hall (Shilling League)	0	2	0	
Anderson, Mrs. C. (Shilling League)	0	1	0	
A. B.	0	1	0	
Bristol Committee (for fund)				4 10 0
Boncherett, Miss J. (2 years)	4	0	0	5 0 0
Branch, Mrs.	2	2	0	
Bernays, Dr. A. (2 years)	2	2	0	
Bostock, Miss (2 years)	2	2	0	
Babb, Miss C. E.	2	2	0	
Boddy, Miss	2	0	0	
Babb, Mr. J. Staines	1	1	0	
Bateson, Mrs.	1	1	0	

	Annual Subscriptions.			Donations.
	£	s.	d.	
Bennett, Mr. A. W.	1	1	0	
Biggs, Miss C. A.	1	1	0	1 18 6
Biggs, Mr. Joseph	1	1	0	
Bruce, Mrs.	1	1	0	
Buss, Miss	1	1	0	
Beddard, Mrs.	1	0	0	
Beale, Miss	...	...	...	1 0 0
Bolding, Mrs.	...	...	...	1 0 0
Bonham-Carter, Miss	...	...	...	1 0 0
Booth, Mr. C.	...	...	...	1 0 0
Boecker, Miss	1	0	0	
Benham, Mr. J.	0	10	6	
Butler, Miss	0	10	0	
Blair, Mr. W. T.	0	10	0	
Bergeron, Madame	0	6	0	
Bird, Miss	0	5	0	
Baines, Miss	0	5	0	
Baines, Mr. F. E.	0	5	0	
Bramley, Mr. W. F.	0	5	0	
Beavor, Miss	0	5	0	
Burmingham, Miss	0	5	0	
Buss, Rev. S.	0	5	0	
Brandreth, Mr. H. S.	0	4	6	
Barry, Mrs.	0	3	0	
Butterworth, Mr.	0	3	0	
Bassett, Mr. W. T.	0	2	6	
Baines, Miss Cowper	0	2	6	
Bevington, Mrs. A.	0	2	6	
Brown, Miss H. Veitch	0	2	6	
Belloc, Mme.	0	2	6	
Burrows, Mr. Herbert	0	2	6	
Butterworth, Mr.	0	2	6	
Burn, Rev. Robert	0	2	6	
Barretto, Mrs.	0	2	0	
Bell, Mr. A. G.	0	2	0	
Brooksbank, Mrs.	0	2	0	
Brown, Miss J. W.	0	1	6	
Briggs, Mrs.	0	1	6	
Boyle, Miss	0	1	6	
Beanham, Mrs.	0	1	0	
Butler, Mrs.	...	...	...	0 0 4
Courtenay, Miss	5	0	0	
Courtauld, Miss	2	2	0	
Cross, Mrs. Joseph	2	2	0	
Crook, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph	2	2	0	
Conway, Mr. and Mrs. Moncure	1	2	0	
Caird, Mrs. J.	1	1	0	
Courtney, The Misses	1	1	0	
Cross, Mr. J. Ashton	1	1	0	
Carpenter, Mrs. Russell	1	0	0	
Cobbe, Miss	1	0	0	
Cliffe-Leslie, Mr. T. E.	1	0	0	
Courtauld, the late Mr. S.	1	0	0	
Craig, Miss Liliat	1	0	0	
Chesson, Mr. and Mrs.	1	0	0	
Colbeck, Mr. Chas.	1	0	0	
Courtney, Mr. L., M.P.	1	0	0	
Cowen, Mr., Senr.	...	...	...	1 0 0

	Annual Subscriptions.		Donations.	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Craigen, Miss	1	0 0		
Chamberlain, Mrs. V. I.	0	10 6		
Clegg, Mrs.			0	10 0
Curtis, Mrs.	0	10 0		
Cobb, Mrs. H. P.	0	10 0		
Cowen, Mr. Edward	0	10 0		
Carver, Mr. James			0	10 0
Clodd, Miss (Shilling League)	0	8 6		
Cook, Mrs.	0	7 6		
Clark, Miss (through)	0	6 6		
Carter, Miss M.	0	6 6		
Clarke, Miss Isabella	0	5 0		
Corfield, Miss	0	5 0		
Charlesworth, Mr. and Mrs.	0	5 0		
Condon, Mrs.	0	5 0		
Cox, Mrs.	0	5 0		
Chant, Mrs.	0	5 0		
Clark, Mrs. Pickering	0	5 0		
Clark, Miss M. E.	0	5 0		
Clark, Mrs. (Oxford)	0	5 0		
Crewell, Mrs.	0	2 6		
Cowell, Mrs.	0	2 6		
Cockayne, Mrs.	0	2 6		
Cook, Miss	0	2 6		
Clark, Mrs.	0	2 6		
Cable, Mrs.	0	2 0		
Carter, Miss	0	1 6		
Colquhoun, Mrs.	0	1 6		
Crossman, Miss	0	1 6		
Davenport Hill, Miss Florence (Demonstration Fund)			2	0 0
Dilke, Sir Charles, M.P.	1	1 0		
Dixon, Mr. George	1	1 0		
Dalton, Mr. H.	1	1 0		
Davenport Hill, Miss	1	1 0		
Davenport Hill, Miss F.	1	1 0		
Dawson, Mr. M. T.			1	0 0
Drummond, Hon. Mrs. Maurice	1	0 0		
Dowson, Mr.	1	0 0		
Du Sautoy, Mrs.	0	10 0		
Davies, Rev. L. L.	0	5 0		
Downing, Mrs.	0	5 0		
Deacon, Mr. R.	0	5 0		
De Hersant, Mrs.	0	5 0		
Debenham, Mr. F.	0	5 0		
De la Cour Carroll, Rev.	0	2 6		
Ellis, Mrs.	5	0 0		
Eastwick, Mr. E. B., C. B. (2 years)	2	2 0		
Earle, Mrs. C.	1	0 0		
E. D.			1	0 0
Estlin, Miss	1	1 0		
Ellis, Miss Jane	1	1 0		
Eiloart, Mrs.	0	10 6		
Elliott, Miss	0	5 0		
Fawcett, Mrs. Henry	5	5 0		
Fletcher, Mr. S. H.	2	2 0		
Fawcett, Professor H., M.P.	1	1 0		

	Annual Subscriptions.		Donations.	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Fisher, Mrs.	1	1 0		
Fowler, Miss	1	0 0		
Finch, Miss M. A.	1	0 0		
Fawcett, Mrs. W. W.	0	10 0		
Fowler, Miss	0	10 0		
Friends, Two	0	5 0		
Fox, Mr. C. E.	0	5 0		
Fisher, Rev. S. W.	0	5 0		
Fowler, Mrs. Walter	0	5 0		
Fitzgerald, The Misses	0	5 0		
Fox, Mrs. Bridell	0	2 6		
Flint, Mrs.	0	2 0		
Furnau Mrs. I.	0	1 6		
Frewin, Miss	0	1 6		
Fenwick, Mrs.	0	1 6		
Garnett, Mrs.	50	0 0		
Glover, Mrs. R. R. (Demonstration Fund)	5	5 0	0	12 0
" " (Second Donation)			3	13 0
Goldsmid Lady	2	2 0		
Grey, Mrs. Wm	2	2 0		
Galpin Mr. T. D.	1	1 0		
G. H. (per Mrs. Leach)			1	0 0
Goldschmidt, Mr.			1	0 0
Goldsmid, Miss	1	0 0		
Gwynne, Miss Isabel	1	0 0		
Guilford, The Misses			0	10 0
Greaves, Miss	0	6 0		
Golds, Mr. Alfred	0	5 0		
Griffiths Mrs. G.	0	5 0		
Greg, Mrs.	0	5 0		
Grove, Miss	0	5 0		
George, Mrs. F. B.	0	2 6		
Greig, Mrs.	0	2 6		
Heywood, Mr. James	10	10 0		
Holland, Mrs. Charles	5	0 0		
Hill, Mrs. Frank	2	2 0		
Hopwood, Mr. C., M.P.	2	2 0		
Hullah, Mrs. John (Demonstration Fund)	2	0 0	6	0 0
Hopkins, The Misses	2	0 0		
Hales, Professor (2 years)	1	1 0		
Hare, Mr. Thomas	1	1 0		
Harrison, Mrs.	1	1 0		
Hancock, Mrs. Charles	1	1 0		
Hosken, Mrs. E.,	1	1 0		
Howard, Mr. James, M.P.	1	1 0		
Holland, Miss Mabel	1	1 0		
Holland, Miss F.	1	0 0		
Harberton, Vicountess	1	0 0		
Hill, Mr. Frederic	1	0 0		
Horn, Miss	1	0 0		
Hawkins, Mrs.	0	10 0		
Higgins, Mrs. Mary			0	10 0
Hinde, Mrs.	0	10 0		
Hutchinson, Miss			0	10 0
Hutchinson, Miss R. P.			0	10 0
Hallock, Mrs.	0	6 6		
Hart, The Misses	0	5 0		

		Annual Subscriptions.		Donations.	
		£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Hennell, Miss Sara	...	0	5 0		
Heatherley, Mrs.	...	0	5 0	0	5 0
Hall, Mr. S.	...	0	2 9		
Hart, Mr. P. M.,	...	0	2 6		
Hawkyard & Beaumont, The Misses (per Mrs. Greig)	...	0	2 6		
Hart, Miss	...	0	2 6		
Helps, Mrs. Somers	...	0	2 6		
Heblethwaite, Miss	...	0	2 6		
Hooper, Mrs.	...	0	2 6		
Hooper, Mrs. George	...	0	2 6		
Haviland, Mrs....	(Demonstration Fund)			0	2 0
Holt, Mrs.	...	0	1 6		
Harris, Mr. H.	...	0	1 0		
Impey, Mrs.	...	0	5 0		
Jackson, Mr. Arthur	...			3	3 0
Jones, Mrs. R. Compton	...	1	1 0		
Jones, Mr. Edwin	...	1	1 0		
Johnson, Mrs. S. S.	...	1	1 0		
Jacoby, Mr. A.	...	1	1 0		
Jeck, Mrs. (per Mrs. Leach), 2 years	...	1	0 0		
Jenkins, Mrs. E.	...	0	10 6		
Jarvis, Mrs.	...	0	5 0		
Johnson, Mrs. S. J.	...	0	3 0		
Jones, Miss	...	0	3 0		
Julians, Mrs.,	...	0	2 6		
Jackman, Mrs.	...	0	2 6		
Janion, Miss Elizabeth	...	0	2 6		
Justice, Miss	...	0	2 0		
Kitton, Miss	...	0	2 6		
Lusk, Sir Andrew, M.P.	...	1	1 0		
Lawrie, Mrs. A.	...	1	1 0		
Lucas, Mrs.	...	1	1 0	2	0 0
Lynch, Mrs.	...	1	1 0	0	5 0
Leon, Mrs. G. S.	...	1	1 0		
Lewis, Mrs.	...	1	1 0		
Leach, Mrs.	...	1	0 0		
Leonard, Mr. H. Selfe	...	0	10 6		
Lowe, Mrs.	...	0	10 0		
Lee, Mrs.	...	0	5 0		
Lawn, Mrs.	...	0	5 0		
Lawrence, Mr. W. H.	...	0	2 6		
Lechtie, Mrs.	...	0	2 6		
Lynch, Miss Hannah	...	0	2 6		
Lewis, Mr. F. K.	...	0	2 6		
Le Geyt, Miss	...	0	2 0		
Lewin, Miss	...	0	2 0		
Langdale, Mrs.	...	0	1 6		
Morrison Mrs. Frank	...	20	0 0		
M'Laren, Mrs. Charles	...			10	0 0
M'Laren, Mr. & Mrs. Charles	...	5	5 0		
Müller, Miss	...	5	0 0		
Malleson, Mrs. Frank	...	2	2 0		
Malleson, Mr. & Mrs. W.	...	2	2 0		

		Annual Subscriptions.		Donations.	
		£	s. d.	£	s. d.
M'Laren, Mrs.	...	2	0 0		
Marsden, Mr. M. E.	...	1	1 0		
Morris, Mr. Lewis	...	1	1 0		
Martin, Mrs.	(Demonstration Fund)				1 1 0
Molyneux, Lady	...	1	0 0		
Moye, Mrs.	...	0	10 6		
Moorson, Mr. Manven	...	0	10 0		
McKee, Miss	...	0	5 0		
Mylne, Miss Agnes	...	0	5 0		
Mylne, Miss A. M.	...	0	5 0		
Morgan, Mrs. Wm	...	0	5 0		
Meyer, Mrs.	...	0	5 0		
Moore, Mr. E. T.	...	0	5 0		
Macartney, Mrs.	...	0	5 0		
Medhurst, Mrs.	...	0	5 0		
Mountain, Miss	...				0 3 0
Meek, Miss	...	0	2 6		
Mills, Miss	...	0	2 6		
Major, Miss	...	0	1 6		
Mays, Miss	...	0	1 0		
Müller, Mrs.	...	0	1 0		
Nightingale, Miss (2 years)	...	2	2 0		
"	...	1	1 0		
Newnham, Miss	...	1	1 6		
Newcombe, Mrs. Prout	...	1	1 0		
Newman, Prof. F. W.	...	1	0 0		
Nicol, Miss L.	...	1	0 0		
Nesbitt, Mr. (2 years)	...	0	10 0		
Nicol, Mr. H. (the late)	...	0	5 0		
Norris, Miss	...	0	5 0		
Norman, Mrs.	...	0	1 6		
Pfeiffer, Mr. and Mrs.	...	25	0 0		
Pochin, Mr.	...	25	0 0		
Pennington, Mrs. F.	...	10	0 0		5 0 0
"	(Guarantee Fund)				5 0 0
Paulton, Mrs.	...	2	0 0		
P. O. W. (per Miss Hill)	...				1 10 0
Pidgeon, Mrs.	...	1	1 0		
Priestman, The Misses	...	1	1 0		
Paterson, Mr. and Mrs.	...	0	7 6		
Perrier, Mrs.	...	0	5 0		
Phillott, Mrs. A.	...	0	5 0		
Peppercorn, Miss	...	0	5 0		
Ponder, The Misses	...	0	5 0		
Pyall, Mrs.	...	0	3 0		
Pennack, Mrs.	...	0	2 6		
Pettitt, Mrs.	...	0	1 6		
Phillips, Mrs.	...	0	1 0		
Robertson, Miss (2 years)	...	2	2 0		
Ramsden, Mr. E. A.	...	2	0 0		
Ransom, Mrs. E.	...	1	1 0		
Rossetti, Mr. Wm.	...	1	1 0		
Roberts, Mr. Owen	...	1	1 0		
Roberts, Mrs.	(Demonstration Fund)				1 0 0
Rawlinson, Miss	...	0	10 0		
Rickover, Mrs.	(Demonstration Fund)				0 10 0

	Annual Subscriptions.			Donations.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Reid, Mr. J. S. ...	0	7	6			
Rees, Miss E ...	0	5	0			
Reid, Mrs. ...	0	5	0	0	5	0
Reid, Miss E. ...	0	5	0			
Raven, Miss ...	0	5	0			
Royce, Miss Mary ...	0	5	0			
Robson, Mrs. ...	0	4	0			
Rudd, Mrs. ...	0	2	6			
St. George's Hall Meeting ...				4	18	10
Sherriff, Miss ...	2	2	0			
Swanwick, Miss A. ...	1	1	0			
Surr, Mrs. ...	1	1	0			
Shaen, Mr. Wm. ...	1	1	0			
Sterling, Mrs. E. ...	1	1	0			
Stone, Miss Ellen ...	1	1	0			
Saul, Mr. G. T. ...	1	1	0			
Slack, Mrs. ...	1	1	0			
Shaen, Rev. R. ...	1	1	0			
Smith, Mr. E. H. ...	1	0	0			
Saville, Mrs. ...				1	0	0
Smith, Miss M. D. ...	1	0	0			
Smith, Miss Agnes ...	1	0	0			
South, Mrs. Wilton ...	1	0	0	0	10	0
Smithson, Mrs ...				1	0	0
Scull, Mrs. ...	0	11	6			
Sims, Mr. George ...				0	10	6
Stacpoole, The Misses ...	0	10	6			
Streatfield, Mis. ...	0	10	0			
Southall, The Misses ...	0	10	0			
Spokes, Lady ...	0	10	0			
Spokes, The Misses ...	0	10	0			
Swan, Mr. ...	0	6	0			
Stobert, Mrs. ...	0	5	0			
Sercombe, Miss ...	0	5	0			
Spears, Rev. R. ...	0	5	0			
Sharpe, Mrs. ...	0	2	6			
Sainsbury, Mrs. ...	0	2	6			
Sunter, Miss ...	0	2	6			
Southey, Mrs. ...	0	2	6			
Seakins, Mrs. ...	0	2	6			
Slatter, Miss ...	0	2	6			
Sharpe, Miss M. E. ...	0	2	6			
Sharpe, Miss M. ...	0	2	6			
Saunders, Miss ...	0	2	6			
Shipton, Mr. George ...	0	2	6			
Smith, Miss Ada ...	0	1	6			
Smee, Miss ...	0	1	6			
Samson, Miss ...	0	1	0			
Taylor, Mrs. P. A. ...	100	0	0			
Thomasson, Mr. J. P., M.P. ...	50	0	0	50	0	0
Thomasson, Mrs. ...				20	0	0
Taylor, Mrs. Thomas ...				5	0	0
Taylor, Miss Helen ...	3	0	0			
Tebb, Mr. and Mrs. W. ...	2	2	0			
Taylor, Mrs. Molyneux ...	1	1	0			
Taylor, Mr. Henry ...	1	1	0			

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	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Thomas, Mrs. Charles ...	1	1	0			
Tidman, Mrs. ...				1	1	0
Taylor, Dr. Charles Bell... ..	1	0	0			
Thomas, Miss ...	0	10	6			
Travers, Miss ...	0	10	0			
Tennant, Mrs. ...	0	10	0			
Turner, Mrs. ...	0	10	0			
Taylor, Mr. Benjamin ...	0	5	0			
Tebb, Mrs. ...	0	5	0			
Tebb, Mrs. Belalp ...	0	5	0			
Tolmé, Mrs. ...	0	5	0	0	2	6
Trantman, Mrs. ...	0	2	6			
Vincent, Miss ...	0	5	0			
Vialls, Miss Lucy ...	0	5	0			
Van Putten, Miss ...	0	2	6			
Vernon, Miss ...	0	2	0			
Williams, Miss ...	10	0	0	5	0	0
Winkworth, Mrs. S. ...				5	0	0
Williams, Mr. R. Price (2 years) ...	4	4	0			
Wharnccliffe, Dowager Lady ...	2	2	0			
Williams, Mr. Price ...	2	2	0			
Whittle, Mr. I. L. ...	2	0	0			
Whittle, Mrs. I. L. ...	1	1	0			
Wood Mrs. Emma ...				1	1	0
Williams, Mrs. H. M. ...				1	1	0
Williams, Mrs. Morgan ...	1	1	0			
Wedgwood, Mrs. H. ...	1	1	0			
Whitworth, Mrs. John ...	1	1	0			
Webster, Mrs. ...	1	0	0			
Well wisher, A ...	1	0	0			
Wansey, Miss ...	1	0	0			
Wilson, Mr. Arthur ...	1	0	0			
Whitworth, Mrs. John ...	1	0	0			
Webster, Mrs. Thomas ...	1	0	0			
Warren, Miss S. ...	0	10	6			
Williams, Mrs. Carvell ...	0	10	0			
White, Mr. G. ...				0	10	0
Walters, Miss ... (Demonstration Fund)				0	10	0
Wood, Mrs. ...	0	10	0			
Werry, Miss (2 years) ...	0	5	0			
Wates, Mrs. ...	0	5	0			
Walford, Mrs. Nevelle ...	0	5	0			
Woods, Miss ...	0	5	0			
Waterall, Mr. N. ...	0	5	0			
White, Mrs. Sidney ...				0	5	0
Wilson, Mr. T. ...				0	5	0
Walker, Miss ...	0	3	0			
Wood, Mrs. Charles ...	0	2	6			
Wates, Mrs. ...	0	1	6			
Watson, Mrs. ...	0	1	0			
Wallis, Mrs. ...	0	1	0			
Young, Mr. Thos. ...	0	10	0			
Yardley, Miss ...	0	4	0			
Yardley, Miss W. ...	0	2	6			



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

	Annual Subscriptions.			Donations.
	£	s.	d.	
Cobden, Miss ...	1	1	0	
Du Sautoy, Mrs. ...				0 7 0
Edgells, Rev. E. W. ...	1	0	0	
Eiloart, Mrs. ...	0	10	6	
Morrison, Mrs. Frank ...				10 0 0
Paterson, Mrs. ...	0	5	0	
Paterson, Mr. ...	0	2	6	
Ramsay Laye, Mrs. ...	1	1	0	
Wedgwood, Miss ...	0	10	0	

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## Office.

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## NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

## CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

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

The Society seeks to achieve this object—

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

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

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

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 RULES

PASSED AT THE GENERAL MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND  
SUBSCRIBERS TO ITS FUNDS, HELD JULY 17TH, 1872.

1. The Central Committee shall consist of the present members, and such others as the Executive Committee may, from time to time, elect.
2. The Executive Committee shall consist of members of the Central Committee, to be elected at the Annual General Meeting, and of single delegates, the same being members of Local Committees, appointed by Local Associations to represent them; the Executive Committee having power to add to the Central Committee, and to its own number, and to appoint the officers.
3. A subscription of any amount constitutes membership of the National Society.
4. A General Meeting of the Central Committee shall be held once a year, to appoint the Executive Committee, to receive the Annual Report and the Financial Statement, and to transact any other business which may arise.
5. The Executive Committee shall, at its first meeting, appoint the Officers.
6. A Special General Meeting may be called by the Executive Committee at any time; or, at the written request of not less than twenty-five members of the Central Committee, the Secretary or Secretaries shall call a Special General Meeting, to discuss such matters only as are mentioned in the notice of such meeting.
7. Eight days' public notice shall be given of all General Meetings.
8. The above Rules shall not be altered except at a General Meeting, after fourteen days' notice of the proposed alteration, given to the Executive Committee.

The Queen Printing and Publishing Company, Limited, (Employment of Women) 7, Fisher Str  
Red Lion Square.

## FOURTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

OF THE

MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR  
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,  
NOVEMBER 9th, 1881.

MANCHESTER:  
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1881.

MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY  
FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

Executive Committee :

Miss MARIA ATKINSON.	Dr. PANKHURST.
Miss BECKER.	Mrs. PANKHURST.
Miss CARBUTT.	Mrs. PEARSON.
THOMAS CHORLTON, Esq.	Mrs. ROBY.
Mrs. JOSEPH CROSS.	Mrs. OLIVER SCATCERD.
THOS. DALE, Esq.	Rev. S. ALFRED STEINTHAL.
Mrs. GELL.	A. G. SYMONDS, Esq.
Miss HIBBERT.	J. P. THOMASSON, Esq.
Mrs. LUCAS.	Mrs. J. P. THOMASSON.
Mrs. J. MILLS.	Mrs. BARTON WRIGHT.

SECRETARY : Miss BECKER.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY : Miss S. M. BACKHOUSE.

ORGANISING AGENT : Mrs. M'CORMICK.

TREASURER : Rev. S. ALFRED STEINTHAL.

OFFICE :

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

BANKERS :

THE MANCHESTER AND LIVERPOOL DISTRICT BANKING COMPANY LIMITED,  
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REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

THE year's work of which your Committee have now to render an account has been unmarked by any striking feature, inasmuch as circumstances have precluded any discussion in Parliament of the question of women's suffrage during the past session.

Just before the opening of Parliament Mr. Courtney accepted a position in the Administration, which rendered it impossible that he could continue in charge of any independent measure. By his advice and suggestion, application was made to Mr. Hugh Mason to introduce the Women's Disabilities Bill. A deputation from your Committee waited upon Mr. Mason, at his residence, on December 31st, and after some negotiation, arising from the circumstance that the honourable gentleman had already taken charge of another Bill, he consented to introduce the measure in the shape of a Resolution. This announcement was made on the occasion of his receiving a deputation from the Central and other Committees in London on January 20th, and on the same day Mr. Mason placed on the notice book of the House of Commons a resolution in the following terms:—"That in the opinion of this House the parliamentary franchise should be extended to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote, and who, in all matters of local government, have the right of voting."

As soon as the exceptional condition of parliamentary business arising out of the vote of "urgency" for the Peace Preservation Bill was at an end, Mr. Mason began to ballot for a day, and ultimately obtained a second place on May

27th. But the state of public business was such that the Government began before that date to take morning sittings on Fridays, and as Mr. Mason's resolution did not stand first on the paper for the evening sitting, it was found unadvisable to bring on the question at the late hour after midnight at which it could have been reached. Mr. Mason continued to ballot for a more favourable opportunity, but was unable to get a place for his resolution before the close of the long and troubled session.

Your Committee had reason to hope that the Bill for the prevention of Boiler Explosions, which Mr. Mason had pledged himself to introduce before he was asked to take charge of the Women's Disabilities Bill, would have passed last session, and that he would then be free to introduce their Bill. But, unfortunately, the Boiler Explosions Bill, which met with general approval from both sides of the House, was blocked through the operation of the half-past twelve rule by two gentlemen who appear to use this rule for the purpose of indiscriminate obstruction of a great number of private members' Bills. Consequently, Mr. Mason will not be free to bring forward the women's suffrage question next session in the form of a Bill, but will again proceed by Resolution. This course is not without special advantages, and is frequently adopted by the advocates of measures of reform.

But although no discussion on the main question took place last session, a very important step was made by the extension of the municipal franchise to the women of Scotland. A Bill with this object was introduced by Dr. Cameron, M.P. for Glasgow, and successfully piloted by him through the House of Commons. It passed without debate or division, and was introduced in the House of Lords by the Earl of Camperdown. The Act received the Royal assent on June 3rd, and comes into force on the first of January, 1882. The practical operation will not, however, begin until after the expiry of the registers for the present year; but the new registers for 1882, which will be compiled in July, will include women ratepayers, and for the first time in Scotland

the names of women will be published in the list of persons entitled to vote in the election of local governing bodies.

The Electoral Reform Act passed last year by the Legislature of the Isle of Man received the Royal Assent on the 6th of January, and became law on January 31st, when it was formally promulgated from the Tynwald Mount. The first general election under its provisions began on March 21st. Your Committee observed with great satisfaction that the first votes recorded were those of women, and that a very large proportion of the women on the register went to the poll. In Ayre Sheading, which was the first contested election, all the women electors but one recorded their votes.

The women's franchise in the Island is restricted to the ownership of property, women occupiers not being as yet allowed to exercise the suffrage, although there is reason to hope that the full measure of justice will be consummated at no distant date. Under this restricted franchise the number of women electors in the Island approaches 1,000, and a copy of the following circular was forwarded to each lady whose name appeared on the register:—

“TO THE WOMEN ELECTORS OF THE ISLE OF MAN.

“Ladies,—We beg to offer to you, in the name of the friends of the enfranchisement of women, hearty congratulations on the proud position you occupy as being the first women within Her Majesty's dominions whose rights as parliamentary electors have been recognised and legally secured.

“The great victory which has been won for you by the sense of justice and the generous exertions of the House of Keys is hailed by us as an earnest of the coming recognition of the same principle in the next electoral Act for the United Kingdom. The action taken by your Insular Legislature, and the manner in which you make use of your newly acquired rights, will be of material significance, not only in regard to the further extension of the principle of

women's suffrage in the Isle of Man, but also in the forthcoming struggle for the recognition of the claim of women to parliamentary representation in this country.

"The eyes of the friends and opponents of the movement all over the world are bent on you, watching with eager interest the result of the great experiment of women's suffrage in the election of the Legislature of a free country, which you are now about to afford. We look with confidence and hope to your action, to demonstrate the fitness of women for the exercise of political rights, and the baselessness and futility of the objections which have been brought against the proposal to recognise these rights.

"We, therefore, especially and earnestly desire to call your attention to the extreme importance of the act you will be shortly called upon to perform. We trust that on the polling day it may be found that no woman whose name is on the electoral list has failed to record her vote, and that every woman will use her vote to the best of her judgment and ability for the preservation of the ancient liberties of her country, the good government of the Insular Kingdom, the promotion of measures calculated to improve the condition of the people, and, more especially, with a view to the amendment of laws which are unjust and injurious to women, and thereby hurtful to the general weal.

"We ask you to vote for candidates who will support in the House of Keys the extension of the electoral franchise to women occupiers, the passing of a just law respecting the property of married women, the amendment of the law in any other department in which it fails to secure for women adequate protection, and also for giving to women the full benefit of every educational provision in the island, for securing to them full industrial rights, freedom to maintain themselves, or those dependent on them, by any work which they are capable of performing, and the right to develop, untrammelled by legal disabilities, all the faculties and capacities with which they are endowed. We also ask you to make your influence felt in other measures not especially

affecting women, on which you may have formed your opinions and judgment.

"We do not presume to suggest to you the names of any particular candidates, but we are satisfied that, if you are resolved to be diligent and faithful in the discharge of the great trust committed to you, the knowledge that they will be required to submit their qualifications to the judgment of good and thoughtful women will have an ennobling influence upon all the candidates who may seek your suffrages. It will then be seen that the extension of the franchise to women means not simply the addition of so many more names to the electoral roll, but the infusion into political life of those higher moral and spiritual influences which it is the mission of women to diffuse in family and social life.

"We cannot doubt that these influences will be as beneficial in politics as experiment has proved them to be in society. Hitherto every advance that has been made in the elevation of women from a servile and subject condition has tended to the benefit of the people among whom it has taken place; and the degree of civilisation to which a nation has attained corresponds to the degree in which the condition of women has been raised.

"To your hands is committed the proud and glorious privilege of sounding the first note of the political freedom of women in the British Empire. We rejoice with you while we envy you, and we pray you to regard the exercise of this privilege as a most solemn and sacred duty.—We are, yours faithfully,

"LYDIA E. BECKER.

"ALICE SCATCHERD.

"Manchester, March 21st, 1881."

Your Assistant Secretary, Miss Backhouse, visited the island for the purpose of circulating the letter and observing the results of the election, and your Committee desire to express their acknowledgments to the authorities at Douglas and at Castle Rushen for the courtesy they displayed in per-

mitting Miss Backhouse to make use of the original registers of electors, also in providing a room in the Castle and other facilities for the purpose of directing the letters to the women on the electoral roll.

Petitions are never so numerous when there is no certainty of a parliamentary debate. The total number presented last session for women's suffrage was 457 petitions, with 22,435 signatures. Of this number 98 petitions and 3,636 signatures were presented through the agency of friends and correspondents of your Committee.

Public meetings have been held since your last annual meeting at Kendal and Penrith; lectures at Knaresborough, Scarborough, and Whitby; and meetings of women municipal electors at Hyde, Chorley, Bradford, and in three contested wards in Manchester. More meetings could have been arranged, had not your Committee's agent, Mrs. M'Cormick, devoted her time during November, 1880, to co-operation with the Central Committee in the grand demonstration of women in the Albert Hall, Nottingham, on November 30; and in February given similar aid to the Birmingham Society in promoting the demonstration in the Town Hall, Birmingham. Both these demonstrations were magnificent gatherings, and as usual on these occasions, overflow meetings had to be arranged to accommodate the numbers for which there was no room in the large halls.

Your Committee are now engaged in preparations for a demonstration of women in St. George's Hall, Bradford, which is fixed for the 22nd of this month, and they hope it will prove worthy to rank with its predecessors.

Your Committee record with satisfaction the formation of a local branch of the Society at Hyde, of which Miss Ellen Hibbert is President, and Miss Smith Secretary. This branch has collected among themselves the funds which have been necessary to hold large and successful meetings in Hyde; and the local committee, without attaching itself to either political party, did useful work in connection with the first municipal election in the newly created

borough, by arousing the women on the burgess roll to a sense of the duties and responsibilities of the municipal vote, and thereby the movement for obtaining the franchise for women has obtained a firm footing in the borough.

During the year ended October 31, 1881, your Secretary has attended and spoken at meetings arranged by your Committee at Manchester and district, Kendal, Penrith, Knaresborough, Scarborough, Whitby, Hyde, Chorley; has attended meetings arranged by other committees at Bristol, Nottingham, Birmingham, and London; has lectured on the claim of women to the parliamentary franchise at meetings organised in connection with the National Reform Union at Millom, Stamford, and Berry Brow; and has also given lectures in the Congregational Schoolroom, Openshaw, and in the Unitarian Chapel, Astley.

Your Secretary having in January received a proposal from the Central Committee to become their Secretary conjointly with Manchester, your Committee assented to the proposal, believing that the close co-operation thus secured would tend to increased efficiency and economy in the general work of the Society. Miss Becker has, therefore, during the greater part of the past year conducted the correspondence of both societies, and has continued to write for and edit the *Women's Suffrage Journal*.

Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd has spoken at the following meetings arranged by your Committee:—Kendal, Penrith, Knaresbro', Scarbro', Whitby, Hyde, Chorley, Bradford; at meetings arranged by herself at Guiseley, Cleckheaton, Zion School, Leeds; arranged by other Committees—Nottingham (2), Mansfield (2), Bristol (4), London (1). She, together with Mrs. M'Cormick and others, in May last, waited on Mr. Milnes Gaskell, the Liberal candidate for Knaresbro', and brought the claim of this society before him. She has addressed large meetings of women municipal voters at Leeds and York, such meetings being arranged by local bodies.

Miss Carbutt has attended and spoken at the following

meetings :—Guiseley, Zion School, Leeds ; Rawdon, and Bradford ; and also has addressed large meetings of municipal voters at Leeds and Bradford.

During the past year your Committee's agent, Mrs. M'Cormick, has visited the following places :—Nottingham, Bury, Ripon, Thirsk, Northallerton, Middlesbrough, Darlington, West Hartlepool, Sunderland, South Shields, Durham, Accrington, Southport, Birmingham, Burnley, Church, Preston, Coventry, Huddersfield, Blackburn, Crewe, Hull, Grimsby, Hyde, Knaresborough, London, Liverpool, Chorley, Bollington, Macclesfield, Leek, Hanley, Stafford, Lichfield, Tamworth, Retford, Boston, Newark, Chesterfield, Scarborough, Stockton-on-Tees, Bishop Auckland, Derby, Wigan, Gainsborough, Grimsby, Market Rasen, Louth, Brigg, Whitby, Kendal, Penrith, Bacup, and Bradford. Mrs. M'Cormick arranged and attended the meetings and lectures organised by your Committee, and devoted 116 days to office and other work in Manchester. Your agent assisted the Central Committee in arranging the Nottingham demonstration in November, and meetings in London in May ; she also visited the towns in North Lincolnshire during the election, in September last, on behalf of the Central Committee ; and helped the Birmingham Committee with their demonstration in February.

Members of debating societies in the following towns have applied for and received papers and information for use in discussions on women's suffrage :—Dumfries, Wrexham (2), Rotherham, Huddersfield, Ardrossan, Stretford, Runcorn, Ellesmere, Earlstown, London (4), Kirkealdy, Manchester (3), Aintree, Shanklin, Everton, Burnley, Southport, Dundee, Wigan, Nottingham, Hull, Newport, Birmingham (2), Leicester, Liskeard, Coventry (2), Carmarthen, Rawtenstall, Paisley, Rochdale (2), Liverpool, Higher Broughton (4), Grimsby, Slaithwaite (2), Darlington, Eccles, Norwich (4), Derby, Sale, Salford.

Your Committee observe with satisfaction, as an indication of the condition of public opinion in regard to their

principle, that at the recent annual meeting of the National Liberal Federation, at Liverpool, a resolution was adopted on the motion of Mr. Barran, M.P., seconded by Mr. Joseph Arch, urging the federated associations to promote parliamentary reform extending the suffrage to *all* householders.

In conclusion, your Committee earnestly plead for continued and increased support in their efforts so to present the claim of women to exercise the suffrage on the same conditions as it is, or may be, given to men, that it shall be found impossible to exclude the consideration and settlement of this claim when the wisdom of Parliament shall endeavour to amend the laws relating to the representation of the people.





MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE, YEAR ENDED 31st OCTOBER, 1881.

	Dr.			Cr.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balance	121	10	9			
Subscriptions and Donations	1,264	7	5	521	5	8
Journals				46	8	4
Postage	£334	5	11			
" Advertisements	31	19	9			
	49	17	5			
Pamphlets, &c.	416	3	1			
Tickets Sold:—	2	5	4			
Public Meetings						
Lecture	£6	19	3			
	4	4	0			
Bankers' Interest	11	3	3			
	1	9	7			
EXPENDITURE.						
Salaries and Office Expenses				567	14	0
Office Furniture, Rent, Gas, Coal, &c.				56	9	9
Postage and Telegrams				161	16	9
Public Meetings				91	3	5
Printing				200	0	0
Publications Bought—Journals				25	4	10
Deputation Expenses				29	19	3
Agents' Expenses, Collecting, &c.				40	17	8
Lectures				2	8	2
Bankers' Commission, &c.						
Journal Account:—						
Printing				£333	16	1
Postage				131	6	4
Distribution, &c.				140	10	3
Reporting, &c.				15	15	0
				621	7	8
Balance in hands of Petty Cash Keeper				1,797	1	6
Less Amount Owing to the Treasurer				£42	15	5
				19	17	11
				£1,816	19	5

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

S. ALFRED STEINTHAL,  
TREASURER.

9th November, 1881.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Of the Society, held in the TOWN HALL, MANCHESTER, November 9th, 1881.

HUGH MASON, 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 the Chairman, seconded by Mr. Symonds, supported by Miss Carbutt.

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 Mrs. Ashton Dilke, seconded by Mr. Slatter.

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

Resolution III.—Moved by Mr. Councillor Windsor, seconded by Miss Hibbert.

That this meeting records with satisfaction the step which has been made in the extension of the municipal franchise to women in Scotland by an Act passed last session, and hereby expresses cordial thanks to Dr. Cameron, M.P., and to the Earl of Camperdown, for the energy and ability with which they conducted the measure in the House of Commons and the Lords respectively.

Resolution IV.—Moved by Dr. Samelson, seconded by Rev. Professor Craig.

That the following persons be the Executive Committee for the ensuing year:—Miss Maria Atkinson, Miss Becker, Miss Carbutt, Thomas Chorlton, Esq., Mrs. Joseph Cross, Thos. Dale, Esq., Mrs. Gell, Miss Hibbert, Mrs. Lucas, Mrs. J. Mills, Dr. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pearson, Mrs. Roby, Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd, Rev. S. Alfred Steinthal, A. G. Symonds, Esq., J. P. Thomasson, Esq., Mrs. J. P. Thomasson, Mrs. Barton Wright, with power to add to their number.

The Chair was taken by the Rev. S. Alfred Steinthal.

Resolution V.—Moved by Mr. J. P. Thomasson, M.P., seconded by Dr. Borchardt.

That the best thanks of the meeting be given to Mr. Hugh Mason, M.P., for taking charge of the question in the House of Commons, and for presiding on the present occasion.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS.

FINANCIAL YEAR, 1880-1881.

	£	s.	d.
"Popgun"...	100	0	0
"Mitrailense"...	100	0	0
"Sympathiser" ...	100	0	0
R. L. ...	1	1	0
A Friend (Huddersfield)...	1	1	0
A "Rightful Claimant" ...	1	0	0
A "Very Sincere Friend" ...	1	0	0
O. A. C. ...	0	5	0
Delta ...	0	5	0
H. E. ...	0	5	0
A Friend, M. W. C. ...	0	5	0
N. W. J. ...	0	5	0
One who Attended the Kendal Meeting ...	0	5	0
Lover of Justice ...	0	4	0
B. B. ...	0	2	6
V. H. ...	0	2	6
Beta ...	0	2	6
C. B. M. ...	0	2	6
A. J. T. (Liverpool) ...	0	2	6
W. R. A. ...	0	2	6
M. D. ...	9	2	6
Neutral ...	0	2	6
A. J. T. (Scarborough) ...	0	2	6
G. E. G. ...	0	2	6
J. R. ...	0	2	0
Collected by the Hyde Committee towards expenses of the Meeting at Hyde ...	3	18	1
Collected by Miss Bancroft, Philadelphia, U. S. A., towards the expenses of the Free Trade Hall Demonstration, per Mrs. Lucas ...	2	0	0
Anderson, Mrs. (London) ...	1	1	0
Atkinson, Mr. Joseph ...	1	1	0
Astley, Mr. A. F. ...	0	12	6
Atkinson, Miss Maria ...	0	10	6
Atkinson, Miss Jane ...	0	10	6
Alderson, Mr. ...	0	10	0
Archibald, Mr. R. ...	0	5	0
Ayre, Mrs. (Northallerton) ...	0	5	0
Ainsworth, Mr. (Crewe)...	0	5	0
Allwood, Mr. ...	0	5	0
Ainsworth, Mr. T. H. (Stockton) ...	0	5	0
Aldridge, Mrs. ...	0	5	0
Alexander, Mr. (Wigan) ...	0	5	0
Altham, Miss ...	0	5	0
Alward, Mr. James... ..	0	5	0
Alward, Mr. G. ...	0	5	0
Allen, Mrs. (Nottingham) ...	0	2	6

	£	s.	d.
Awde, Mrs. J. ...	0	2	6
Allman, Mr. J. ...	0	2	6
Addison, Mrs. ...	0	2	6
Antcliff, Mr. ...	0	2	6
Atherton, Mrs. ...	0	2	6
Ayrton, Mrs. ...	0	2	6
Atkinson, Mr. W. (Kendal) ...	0	2	6
Atkinson, Mrs. (Penrith) ...	0	2	6
Atkinson, Mr. H. ...	0	2	6
Anderson, Mr. J. ...	0	2	0
Abernethy, Mrs. ...	0	1	6
Allen, Miss ...	0	1	6
Brooke, Miss Edith... ..	10	0	0
Browne, Mrs. S. W. ...	4	0	0
Brough, Mr. Edwin (two years) ...	2	2	0
Barlow, Mrs. Gordon (two years) ...	2	2	0
Brooke, Mr. Thomas ...	2	0	0
Binney, Mr. E. W. ...	1	1	0
Brooke, Mrs. Edward ...	1	1	0
Barran, Mr. John, jun. ...	1	1	0
Baines, Sir Edward ...	1	1	0
Benson, Mr. R. ...	1	1	0
Boucherett, Miss J. ...	1	1	0
Browne, Miss Annie ...	1	1	0
Buss, Miss F. M. ...	1	1	0
Barlow, Mr. James ...	1	1	0
Borchardt, Dr. ...	1	1	0
Broad, Messrs. Jesse & Co. ...	1	1	0
Biggs, Mr. Henry ...	1	0	0
Burt, Mr. Jonathan ...	1	0	0
Brooke, Miss Octavia ...	1	0	0
Bowling, Miss L. A. ...	1	0	0
Bingham, Mrs. ...	1	0	0
Bowman, Mrs. Charles ...	1	0	0
Burkell, Mrs. (two years) ...	0	10	6
Brankston, Mrs. ...	0	10	6
Brocklebank, Mrs. T., jun. ...	0	10	6
Bevington, Mr. A. ...	0	10	6
Butler, Mrs. ...	0	10	6
Butterworth, Mr. C. ...	0	10	6
Booth, Mr. George, J.P. ...	0	10	6
Bramwell, Mr. J. ...	0	10	0
Barnes, Miss ...	0	10	0
Bewicke, Miss ...	0	10	0
Bruce, Mr. (Stafford) ...	0	10	0
Blair, Mr. G. Y. ...	0	10	0
Brown, Mr. John (Stockton) ...	0	10	0
Brown, Miss M. A. (Wigan) ...	0	10	0
Brown, Miss Helen (London) ...	0	10	0
Burrows, Dr. ...	0	10	0
Box, Mr. A. M. ...	0	5	0
Blacker, Mr. G. O. ...	0	5	0
Barber, Mrs. ...	0	5	0
Biggart, Dr. ...	0	5	0
Baynes, Mrs. ...	0	5	0
Bell, Mr. J. H. (Darlington) ...	0	5	0
Boult, Miss Lucy ...	0	5	0
Brooke, Mrs. C. J. ...	0	5	0
Barrow, Mr. John ...	0	5	0
Blumer, Mr. J. G. ...	0	5	0
Braithwaite, Mrs. ...	0	5	0
Baron, Mr. (Burnley) ...	0	5	0
Baldwin, Mr. William ...	0	5	0
Baron, Mr. William (Blackburn) ...	0	5	0
Briggs, Mr. Alderman (Crewe) ...	0	5	0

	£	s.	d.
Bramley, Mr. G. F. ... ..	0	5	0
Brown, Miss Rachel ... ..	0	5	0
Brough, Mr. Joshua ... ..	0	5	0
Blott, Mrs. ... ..	0	5	0
Bleakley, Mrs. ... ..	0	5	0
Boddington, Mr. T. ... ..	0	5	0
Barwise, Mr. John ... ..	0	5	0
Blacow, Mr. J. ... ..	0	5	0
Bigger, Mrs. ... ..	0	5	0
Beacock, Mr. W. ... ..	0	5	0
Boston, Mr. Joseph ... ..	0	5	0
Broughton, Miss (two years) ... ..	0	4	6
Brine, Mrs. ... ..	0	4	0
Bridges, Mr. ... ..	0	3	0
Bryan, Rev. Guy ... ..	0	2	6
Briggs, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	6
Brooks, Mr. H. (Darlington) ... ..	0	2	6
Brandreth, Mr. H. S. ... ..	0	2	6
Brunt, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	6
Barrows, Mrs. (Leeds) ... ..	0	2	6
Butler, Mr. E. ... ..	0	2	6
Blamires, Mr. ... ..	0	2	6
Brooks, Mrs. (Hyde) ... ..	0	2	6
Brown, The Misses (Hull) ... ..	0	2	6
Busby, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	6
Biggs, Miss C. A. ... ..	0	2	6
Burton, Mr. R. ... ..	0	2	6
Briggs, Mr. Joseph (Ulverston) ... ..	0	2	6
Booth, Miss ... ..	0	2	6
Balgarnie, Miss F. ... ..	0	2	6
Baker, Mr. J. P. ... ..	0	2	6
Beckwith, Mr. J. ... ..	0	2	6
Barralet, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	6
Bell, Mr. Wm. (Penrith) ... ..	0	2	6
Barker, Mrs. (Marske) ... ..	0	2	6
Brocklesby, Mr. C. ... ..	0	2	6
Bygrave, Mr. J. ... ..	0	2	6
Brocklesby, Mr. J. ... ..	0	2	6
Bates & Quash, Messrs. ... ..	0	2	6
Brusey, Mr. J. ... ..	0	2	6
Browning, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	0
Brooke, Mrs. Ellen ... ..	0	2	0
Bate, Mr. ... ..	0	1	6
Burniston, Mrs. ... ..	0	1	6
Barrett, Mr. F. ... ..	0	1	6
Banks, Mr. N. ... ..	0	1	0
Blakey, Miss ... ..	0	1	0
Crook, Mr. Joseph ... ..	5	0	0
Carbutt, Miss ... ..	2	2	0
Clark, Mrs. Wm. ... ..	1	1	0
Carslake, Mrs. ... ..	1	1	0
Cross, Mrs. Joseph ... ..	1	1	0
Chorlton, Mr. Thomas ... ..	1	1	0
Cooke, Mr. Isaac (Liverpool) ... ..	1	1	0
Cooke, Mr. Thomas (Tamworth) ... ..	1	1	0
Cudworth, Mr. ... ..	1	0	0
Crossley, Mr. Richard ... ..	1	0	0
Courtauld (late), Mr. S. ... ..	1	0	0
Crosland, Mr. (Bury) ... ..	0	10	6
Carlill, Mr. B. ... ..	0	10	6
Common, Mr. A. ... ..	0	10	0
Cameron, Mr. ... ..	0	10	0
Chandler, Mrs. ... ..	0	10	0
Cowgill, Mr. G. ... ..	0	10	0
Craggs, Mr. G. F., J.P. ... ..	0	10	0

	£	s.	d.
Copestick, Mr. T. ... ..	0	7	6
Carpenter, Mr. T. ... ..	0	6	6
Carter, Mr. T. B. ... ..	0	5	0
Crow, Rev. T. ... ..	0	5	0
Christie, Mr. John (two years) ... ..	0	5	0
Cronkshaw, Miss ... ..	0	5	0
Crabtree, Mr. E. ... ..	0	5	0
Clayton, Dr. ... ..	0	5	0
Cameron, Dr. ... ..	0	5	0
Cronkshaw, Mrs. ... ..	0	5	0
Cooke, Mr. F. (Crewe) ... ..	0	5	0
Cotterill, Mr. A. P. (Crewe) ... ..	0	5	0
Cohen, Mr. ... ..	0	5	0
Cooke, Mr. H. J. (Liverpool) ... ..	0	5	0
Cogan, The Misses ... ..	0	5	0
Crappier, Mr. ... ..	0	5	0
Cheetham, Miss M. E. ... ..	0	5	0
Clark, Mrs. J. Edmund (York) ... ..	0	3	0
Carter, Miss Laura ... ..	0	2	6
Calvert, Mr. J. S. ... ..	0	2	6
Cochran, Mr. ... ..	0	2	6
Clarkson, Mr. G. F. ... ..	0	2	6
Cameron, Mr. R. ... ..	0	2	6
Cook, Mr. W. (Newtown) ... ..	0	2	6
Chapman, Miss Fanny ... ..	0	2	6
Chattaway, Mrs. Thos. ... ..	0	2	6
Curfew, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	6
Coatsworth, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	6
Cox, Mr. J. T. (Stafford) ... ..	0	2	6
Cockerill, Mr. H. M. ... ..	0	2	6
Cross, Mr. H. M. ... ..	0	2	6
Carr, Mr. W. H. ... ..	0	2	6
Constantine, Mr. J. ... ..	0	2	6
Cooper, Mr. (Northallerton) ... ..	0	2	6
Class, Mr. P. ... ..	0	2	6
Cook, Mr. Thomas (Grimsby) ... ..	0	2	6
Cooke, Mr. John (Grimsby) ... ..	0	1	6
Carwood, Mr. C. F. ... ..	0	1	6
Dale, Mr. Thomas ... ..	1	1	0
Dalby, Mr. ... ..	1	1	0
de Hersant, Mrs. ... ..	1	0	0
Denham, Mr. Thomas ... ..	1	0	0
Dick, Miss ... ..	1	0	0
Dodds, Mr. M. B. ... ..	0	10	6
Dale, Mr. D. (Darlington) ... ..	0	10	0
Dixon, Mrs. ... ..	0	10	0
Douglas, Mr. G. ... ..	0	5	0
Davies, Mr. Hugh ... ..	0	5	0
Drury, Miss E. B. ... ..	0	5	0
Drurey, Mr. H. R. ... ..	0	5	0
Dulley, Mrs. David ... ..	0	5	0
Dewé, Miss ... ..	0	5	0
Dawson, Mrs. (Wigan) ... ..	0	5	0
de Rome, Mr. ... ..	0	5	0
Dolby, Mr. E. (Leeds) ... ..	0	2	6
Dickson, Mrs. James ... ..	0	2	6
Dowson, Mr. (Northallerton) ... ..	0	2	6
Dodd, Mr. Thomas (Sunderland) ... ..	0	2	6
Dean, Messrs. & Son ... ..	0	2	6
Dunlop, Miss ... ..	0	2	6
Dixon, Miss (Birmingham) ... ..	0	2	6
Darbyshire, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	6
Dowson, Mrs. (Hyde) ... ..	0	2	6
Dixon, Mrs. J. M. (Hull) ... ..	0	2	6
Danson, Mrs. F. C. ... ..	0	2	6

	£	s.	d.
Danson, Mr. F. C. ...	0	2	6
Dunkin, Miss ...	0	2	6
Dean, Mrs. (Penrith) ...	0	2	6
Dobson, Mr. G. S. ...	0	2	6
Dyer, Mr. T. ...	0	2	6
Douglas, Mr. Bowrey ...	0	2	0
Dunn, Mrs. (Hyde) ...	0	1	6
Dobbs, Mr. F. ...	0	1	6
Eastwood, Mrs. Fred. ...	1	1	0
Eccles, Miss (Darwen) ...	1	1	0
Every, Mr. J. ...	1	1	0
Eccles, Mrs. A. E. ...	1	0	0
Eccles, Mrs. James ...	0	10	6
Evans, Mr. E. T. (Earlstown) ...	0	5	0
Empson, Mr. ...	0	5	0
Eaton, Mr. J. (Crewe) ...	0	5	0
Elam, Mr. E. ...	0	5	0
Earle, Miss A. M. ...	0	5	0
Ellis, Mr. E. (Derby) ...	0	5	0
Earp, Mr. F. ...	0	5	0
Ellis, Miss (Leicester) ...	0	4	0
Ebdell, Mrs. ...	0	2	6
Elliott, Rev. W. ...	0	2	6
Eddison, Mrs. ...	0	2	6
Evans, Mrs. (Bredon) ...	0	2	6
Ellis, Mrs. C. (Batley) ...	0	2	6
Evans, Miss M. A. ...	0	2	6
Emptage, Mr. J. ...	0	2	6
Ford, Mrs. ...	1	1	0
Ford, Mrs. J. R. ...	1	1	0
Firth, Miss ...	1	1	0
Fowler, Mr. Alderman (Durham) ...	0	10	0
Fowler, Mr. M. (Durham) ...	0	10	0
Fisher, Mrs. ...	0	10	0
Fothergill, Miss Jessie ...	0	10	0
Fairgreave, Mr. James ...	0	10	0
Fordyce, Mrs. ...	0	10	0
Fox, Mrs. B. J. ...	0	6	6
Furness, Mr. T. (West Hartlepool) ...	0	5	0
Fothergill, Mr. W. ...	0	5	0
Foster, Mr. G. ...	0	5	0
Flint, Mr. John (Ayr) ...	0	5	0
Finch, Miss M. A. ...	0	5	0
Furness, Mr. R. (Accrington) ...	0	5	0
Furness, Mr. C. (W. Hartlepool) ...	0	5	0
Frost, Mr. Alfred ...	0	5	0
Flint, Mr. F. L. (London) ...	0	5	0
Fuller, Mrs. ...	0	5	0
Foggitt, Mr. ...	0	3	0
Fisher, Mr. S. G. ...	0	2	6
Fothergill, Mr. S. ...	0	2	6
Fawcett and Acomb, The Misses ...	0	2	6
Fairburn, Mrs. ...	0	2	6
Fairburn, Mr. ...	0	2	6
Folds, Mrs. ...	0	2	6
Fenton, Mr. J. M. ...	0	2	6
Fraser, Dr. ...	0	2	6
Field, Miss M. E. ...	0	2	6
Forbes, Mr. J. ...	0	2	6
Garnett, Mrs. ...	100	0	0
Gell, Mrs. ...	5	0	0
Goldschmidt, Mr. P. ...	5	0	0
Grey, Mrs. Wm. ...	2	2	0

	£	s.	d.
Graham, Mr. C. H. (Penrith) ...	1	1	0
Gwynne, Mrs. ...	1	1	0
Gowland, Mr. G. H. ...	0	10	6
Grist, Mr. ...	0	10	6
Goodwin, Mr. Stephen ...	0	10	6
Gilman, Messrs. T. & R. ...	0	10	6
Grey, Mr. W. (West Hartlepool) ...	0	10	0
Graham, Mr. J. (Burnley) ...	0	10	0
Goffey, Mr. T. ...	0	10	0
Greg. Mrs. ...	0	10	0
Griffith, Mrs. ...	0	10	0
Grece, Dr. ...	0	10	0
Gooch, Mrs. (London) ...	0	6	6
Gibbs, Mr. G. S. ...	0	5	0
Guthrie, Mrs. J. ...	0	5	0
Gammage, Dr. ...	0	5	0
Glover, Mr. Alderman (S. Shields) ...	0	5	0
Gradon, Mr. G. ...	0	5	0
Glasspool, Mr. ...	0	5	0
Gillett, Mr. (Southport) ...	0	5	0
Glaisyer, Mrs. ...	0	5	0
Glover, Mr. G. (Crewe) ...	0	5	0
Goouch, Miss ...	0	5	0
Gibson, Mrs. ...	0	5	0
Gascoyne, Mr. ...	0	5	0
Gee, Mr. W. T. ...	0	5	0
Grundy, Mr. James ...	0	5	0
Gillett, Mr. C. (Banbury) ...	0	5	0
Grange, Mrs. ...	0	5	0
Glover, Mr. J. (Hull) ...	0	3	0
Gidley, Mr., sen. ...	0	3	0
Garnett, Mrs. (Ripon) ...	0	2	6
Gibbon, Mr. ...	0	2	6
Glendinging, Mr. ...	0	2	6
Gale, Mrs. ...	0	2	6
Guthrie, The Misses ...	0	2	6
Gurney, Miss Amy ...	0	2	6
Glossop, Mrs. ...	0	2	6
Gregson, Mrs. S. E. ...	0	2	6
Griffiths, Mr. Will (London) ...	0	2	6
Godsman, Mrs. ...	0	2	6
Gillard, Mr. ...	0	2	6
Greensmith, Mr. ...	0	2	6
Gidley, Mr., jun. ...	0	2	6
Graves, Mr. A. P. ...	0	2	0
Giles, Miss ...	0	1	6
Greenwood, Mrs. ...	0	1	6
Green, Mrs. ...	0	1	6
Gardiner, Mrs. Ellen ...	0	1	6
Hunter, Mrs. Stephenson ...	5	7	0
Holland, Mrs. (Liskeard) ...	5	0	0
Hargreaves, Mrs. William ...	5	0	0
Heywood, Mrs. Abel ...	2	2	0
Hetherington, Mrs. ...	1	2	6
Hall, Mr. Robert (Bury) ...	1	1	0
Hinners, Mrs. ...	1	1	0
Haworth, Mr. Jesse ...	1	1	0
Hewson, Mrs. ...	1	1	0
Haworth, Mr. A. ...	1	1	0
Hewitt, Mr. W. H. ...	1	1	0
Hollingworth, Mr. J. ...	1	0	0
Haworth, Messrs. T. & Sons (Accrington) ...	1	0	0
Haslam, Mrs. William (Bolton) ...	1	0	0
Hulley, Mrs. ...	1	0	0
Hart, Mr. G. H. ...	1	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Helm, Mr. S. L.	0	10	0
Hill, Mr. E. (York)	0	10	0
Hunter, Rev. John	0	10	0
Hartley, Mr.	0	10	0
Hindle, Mr. (Accrington)	0	10	0
Herald, Mr. W. H.	0	10	0
Heath, Mr. (Crewe)	0	10	0
Hibbert, Miss	0	10	0
Hewit, Mr. R. P.	0	10	0
Haigh, Mr.	0	10	0
Hallam, The Misses (two years)	0	10	0
Hinton, Mr. A.	0	5	0
Harding, Mr.	0	5	0
Hills, Mr. John (Sunderland)	0	5	0
Horan, Mr.	0	5	0
Hodgson, Mr. S. S.	0	5	0
Hudson, Mr. T.	0	5	0
Hill, Mr. J. (Castleton)	0	5	0
Hey, Ven. Archdeacon	0	5	0
Hill, Mr. John (York)	0	5	0
Hodgson, Dr. (Crewe)	0	5	0
Hickes, Miss F.	0	5	0
Hindley, Mr. (Retford)	0	5	0
Hall, Mr. Wm. (Derby)	0	5	0
Husband, Mr.	0	5	0
Howarth, Mr. G.	0	5	0
Henderson, Mrs.	0	5	0
Hurtley, Miss	0	4	6
Holtschneider, Mrs. (Kansas)	0	4	0
Howell, Mrs.	0	4	0
Heaton, Mrs. (Wigan)	0	4	0
Heap, Mr. Thomas (Kendal)	0	3	6
Holland, Mrs. L. C. (London)	0	2	6
Heal, Mrs.	0	2	6
Hall, Mr. J. W. (Thirsk)	0	2	6
Hutchinson, Mr.	0	2	6
Horsley, Mr. J. P. (West Hartlepool)	0	2	6
Houlgate, Rev. W. J.	0	2	6
Hibbert, Mrs. J. C.	0	2	6
Heath, Mrs. R.	0	2	6
Hopkinson, Mrs.	0	2	6
Hampson, Mrs.	0	2	6
Howarth, Miss	0	2	6
Holden, Mr. R.	0	2	6
Heap, Mr. J.	0	2	6
Haigh, Mr. Joseph (Huddersfield)	0	2	6
Hughes, Miss	0	2	6
Hibbert, Mrs. C.	0	2	6
Higginbottom, Mrs.	0	2	6
Hibbert, Mrs. William	0	2	6
Haller, Mr. Thomas	0	2	6
Harris, Mr. Henry	0	2	6
Hadley, Mr. J.	0	2	6
Henry, Mr. R.	0	2	6
Higginbottom, Mr. J. (Chesterfield)	0	2	6
Hall, Mr. S. (Derby)	0	2	6
Heaton, Mr. William (Kendal)	0	2	6
Hildyard, Mr.	0	2	6
Hawke, Mr. G. O.	0	2	6
Hilton, Mr. E.	0	2	6
Hulme, Mr. W. G.	0	2	0
Hill, Miss L. (Norwood)	0	2	0
Hill, Mr. C. (Crewe)	0	2	0
Hollowell, Mr. W. C.	0	2	0
Hodgkiss, Miss Emma	0	2	0
Hurst, Miss Alice	0	1	6

	£	s.	d.
Harrison, Mrs. (Hyde)	0	1	6
Holt, Mrs.	0	1	6
Hopkins, Mr. W.	0	1	6
Heath, Mrs.	0	1	0
Henthwaite, Mrs.	0	1	0
Hudson, Miss	0	1	0
Hough, Miss	0	1	0
Illingworth, Mrs. Alfred	2	2	0
Ireland, Messrs. A. and Co.	1	1	0
Ingham, Mrs. (Southport)	0	5	0
Irwell, Mr.	0	5	0
Ives, Mrs.	0	3	0
Imrie, Mr.	0	2	6
Jacoby, Mr. (two years)	2	2	0
Jaffray, Miss	2	0	0
Jacques, Mr. Amos	0	10	0
Johnson, Miss (Wigan)	0	7	0
Jordison, Mr. J.	0	5	0
Jackson, Mr. S. P. (Liverpool)	0	5	0
Joyce, Miss Agnes	0	5	0
Jefferies, Mr. G.	0	5	0
Jackson, Mr. W.	0	5	0
Jones, Miss (Wrexham)	0	2	6
Johnson, Mrs. E. S. (Derby)	0	2	6
Johnson, Miss (Wapley)	0	2	6
Jackson, Miss Sara	0	2	6
Jacob, Mrs.	0	2	6
Jackson, Mrs. (Hyde)	0	2	6
Julian, Mr. J. W.	0	2	6
Jeffreys, Miss	0	2	6
Jones, Mr. J.	0	2	6
Jones, Miss E. (Woolton)	0	2	6
Jenkinson, Mrs. (Patterdale)	0	2	0
King, Mrs. E. M.	1	2	6
Kitching, Mrs.	1	0	0
Kerr, Mr. James	1	0	0
Kilner and Crossland, Messrs.	0	10	6
Kenderdine, Mrs.	0	10	0
Kitchiner, Mr. and Mrs.	0	10	0
Kipling, Miss	0	5	0
Kitchin, Mrs. W. H.	0	5	0
Knott, Mr. J. (Crewe)	0	5	0
Kelsall, Mr.	0	5	0
Kilmister, Mrs.	0	5	0
Kelley, Mr. H.	0	2	6
Kent, Mrs.	0	2	0
Kendal, Mr. James	0	1	6
Kirkpatrick, Mrs.	0	1	6
Lightbown, Mr. Hy.	3	3	0
Long, Mrs.	2	0	0
Lupton, Mr. Jos.	1	1	0
Lupton, Mr. Darnton	1	1	0
Longdon, Mr. Alderman (Derby)	1	1	0
Lawson, Mr. Wm.	1	1	0
Lightfoot, Mr. (Accrington)	1	0	0
Lucecock, Mrs.	1	0	0
Lucas, Mrs.	1	0	0
Lupton, Mr. E. A.	0	10	0
Lytton, Dowager Lady	0	10	0
Lamplough, Miss	0	5	0
Lucas, Mrs. (Darlington)	0	5	0
Lawson, Mr. G. S.	0	5	0

	£	s.	d.
Lyall, Mr., F.R.S. ....	0	5	0
Lomas, Miss .....	0	5	0
Lawson, Mrs. (Leeds) .....	0	5	0
Lloyd, Mrs. (Dumfries) .....	0	5	0
Leather, Mrs. ....	0	5	0
Lyon, Mr. J. A. ....	0	5	0
Lanes, Mrs. Anne .....	0	5	0
Leach, Mrs. (Chorley) .....	0	5	0
Lingford, Mr. Joseph .....	0	5	0
Lingford, Mr. S. S. ....	0	5	0
Lamb, Mr. John .....	0	5	0
Lea, Mrs. (Wigan) .....	0	5	0
Lupton, Miss Matilda .....	0	5	0
Lohner, Madame .....	0	3	2
Lucas, Miss C. (Darlington) .....	0	2	6
Lucas, Miss A. (Darlington) .....	0	2	6
Lowndes, Miss Mary .....	0	2	6
Linsley, Mr. G. W. ....	0	2	6
Leetham, Mrs. Henry .....	0	2	6
Lundy, Mrs. ....	0	2	6
Lowe, Mr. J. ....	0	2	6
Langhorne, Miss .....	0	2	6
Limb, Mrs. ....	0	2	0
Leach, Mrs. M. A. (Batley) .....	0	1	6
Leadbeater, Mr. J. ....	0	1	6
Mason, Mr. Hugh, M.P. ....	21	0	0
Mather, Mr. Wm. ....	2	2	0
Muir, Mrs. ....	2	0	0
Mills, Mrs. John .....	2	0	0
Mele Barese, Princess .....	1	1	0
Marshall, Mrs. John .....	1	1	0
March, Mr. J. O. ....	1	1	0
McCulloch, Mrs. ....	1	1	0
McKinnel, Mrs. ....	1	1	0
Marshall, Miss (London) .....	1	1	0
Marsden, Mr. James .....	1	1	0
Mordan, Miss .....	1	0	0
Mason, Mrs. (York) .....	1	0	0
Milne, Mr. J. D. ....	1	0	0
Melling, Mr. Wm., J.P. ....	1	0	0
Muirhead, Dr. ....	1	0	0
Mathers, Mr. J. S. ....	0	10	6
McConnel, Mrs. ....	0	10	0
Marshall, Mr. Stephen .....	0	10	0
Medley, Mr. (The late) .....	0	10	0
Moore, Dr. ....	0	10	0
Marshall, Mr. Frank .....	0	10	0
McKerrow, Mrs. ....	0	7	0
McKill, Mr. ....	0	5	0
Massey, Mrs. (Derby) .....	0	5	0
Middleton, Mr. R. M. ....	0	5	0
Mackenzie, Rev. James .....	0	5	0
Moore, Mrs. R. R. ....	0	5	0
March, Mrs. Colley .....	0	5	0
Martin, Miss Lilly .....	0	5	0
Minshall, Mr. Philip .....	0	5	0
Morrison, Miss .....	0	5	0
Maltby, Mr. ....	0	5	0
Mackenzie, Mr. (Newark) .....	0	5	0
Melling, Mrs. ....	0	5	0
Melling, Mr. S. ....	0	5	0
Mackenzie, Miss G. ....	0	5	0
Milner, Mrs. ....	0	5	0
Mitchell, Miss Kate .....	0	5	0
Mudd, Mr. Harrison .....	0	5	0

	£	s.	d.
Molyneux, Mr. ....	0	5	0
Meadows, Mr., J.P. ....	0	5	0
Moss & Son, Messrs. ....	0	5	0
Moody, Mr. Walker .....	0	5	0
Mundahl, Mr. C. M. ....	0	5	0
McKitrick, Miss .....	0	3	0
Mudd, Mr. Simon .....	0	2	6
Mudd, Mr. William .....	0	2	6
Marsh, Mrs. ....	0	2	6
Maloney, Mrs. ....	0	2	6
Monkhouse, Mrs. ....	0	2	6
Mellor, Rev. Wm. ....	0	2	6
Meakin, Mr. J. ....	0	2	6
Moss, Mrs. ....	0	2	6
Murgatroyd, Mr. ....	0	2	6
Mandall, Mr. ....	0	2	6
Moseley, Mr. ....	0	2	6
Monkhouse, Mr. John (Kendal) .....	0	2	6
Monkhouse, Mrs. (York) .....	0	2	6
Musgrove, Mr. W. ....	0	2	6
McKay, Mr. ....	0	2	6
Moses, Mrs. ....	0	2	0
Mawer, Mrs. ....	0	1	6
Mawson, Mrs. ....	0	1	6
Martin, Mrs. (Kirkby Stephen) .....	0	1	6
Mawby, Mrs. ....	0	1	6
Merritt, Mrs. ....	0	1	0
Nicholson, Mr. J. O. (Macclesfield) .....	1	1	0
Nichol, Miss M. ....	0	10	0
Nicholson, Mr. Arthur (Leek) .....	0	10	0
Nuttall, Mr. ....	0	5	0
Newbegin, Mr. ....	0	5	0
Nicol, Mr. H. (The late) .....	0	5	0
Needham, Mrs. Thos. ....	0	5	0
Nevins, Dr. ....	0	5	0
Nicholson, Dr. (Penrith) .....	0	5	0
Nichol, Miss (Hartlepool) .....	0	5	0
Norton, Mr. ....	0	2	6
Netherwood, Mrs. ....	0	2	6
Nicholson, Miss (Southport) .....	0	2	6
Neville, Mrs. ....	0	2	6
Newton, Miss M. ....	0	2	0
Newling, Miss .....	0	1	6
Newton, Mrs. James .....	0	1	0
Ogden, Mrs. (Sawrey) .....	2	2	0
Oates, Mrs. ....	2	2	0
Ogden, Mr. Henry (Southport) .....	1	1	0
Oxley, The Misses .....	0	10	0
Owen, Mr. W. R. ....	0	5	0
Oldham, Mrs. John (Hyde) .....	0	5	0
Owen, Mrs. Jane (Conway) .....	0	5	0
Owen, Mr. J. (Derby) .....	0	5	0
Oldham, Mrs. (Ditton) .....	0	5	0
Oldham, Mrs. Orlando (Gee Cross) .....	0	2	6
Oldham, Mrs. Joseph (Hyde) .....	0	2	6
Pease, Mr. Arthur, M.P. ....	10	0	0
Pease, Mrs. Gurney .....	5	0	0
Palmer, Mr. J. Hinde, M.P. ....	1	1	0
Phythian, Mr. Joseph .....	1	1	0
Pankhurst, Dr. ....	1	1	0
Pankhurst, Mrs. ....	1	1	0
Peiser, Mr. J. ....	1	1	0
Potter, Mr. T. B., M.P. ....	1	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Pain, Mr. William	0	10	6
Pease, Miss	0	10	0
Powell, Mr. Thomas (Southport)	0	10	0
Petrie, Mrs. Joseph (Scarborough)	0	10	0
Pollard, Mr. A. (two years)	0	10	0
Pontifex, Mrs. (two years)	0	10	0
Pearson, Mr. R.	0	5	0
Procter, Miss	0	5	0
Prideaux, Miss (Darlington)	0	5	0
Pilcher, Miss	0	5	0
Philips, Miss	0	5	0
Parsons, Miss	0	5	0
Parker, Mr. T. (York)	0	5	0
Procter, Mr. John	0	5	0
Pullar, Mrs. Edmund	0	5	0
Pedley, Mr. R.	0	5	0
Prideaux, Miss E. B.	0	5	0
Pearson, Mr. T. (Chesterfield)	0	5	0
Pearson, Miss (Chesterfield)	0	5	0
Parker, Mrs. (Chesterfield)	0	5	0
Preston, Mr. John (Wigan)	0	5	0
Plaistow, Mr. J.	0	5	0
Pick, Mr. D.	0	3	6
Patterson, Mr. E. F.	0	2	6
Pyke, Captain	0	2	6
Peter, Mrs.	0	2	6
Priest, Mr.	0	2	6
Potts, Mrs. A. W.	0	2	6
Parker, Mr. (Batley)	0	2	6
Parker, Mrs. (Batley)	0	2	6
Pointon, Mrs.	0	2	6
Paterson, Mr. John (Paisley)	0	2	6
Partridge, Mr. E.	0	2	6
Pope, Mr. (Wigan)	0	2	6
Pearce, Mr.	0	2	6
Parkinson, Mr.	0	2	0
Puckering, Mr. Wm.	0	1	6
Quick, Mr. J.	0	1	6
Rylands, Mrs. John	5	0	0
Roe, Mr. T.	2	2	0
Rigbye, Miss H.	2	0	0
Richardson, Mr., M.P.	1	1	0
Richardson, Mrs. Henry	1	0	0
Renals, Mr.	0	10	6
Roeder, Mrs.	0	10	0
Rowley, Mr. Chas., jun.	0	10	0
Radford, Mr. C. H.	0	6	6
Robertson, Mr. W. L.	0	5	0
Roberts, Mr. David	0	5	0
Rae, Mr. Russell	0	5	0
Rotherford, Mrs. J.	0	5	0
Robinson, Mr. G. H. (Huddersfield)	0	5	0
Reiss, Mr.	0	5	0
Rowntree, Mr. Wm.	0	5	0
Rowntree, Mr. Joshua	0	5	0
Ridgeway, Mr. M.	0	5	0
Rawlinson, Mr. R.	0	5	0
Russell, Mr. J.	0	5	0
Rowcroft, Mrs.	0	4	0
Rodwell, Mr. J. W.	0	3	0
Rymer, Mrs.	0	2	6
Robinson, Mr. G. J. (Northallerton)	0	2	6
Rollin, Mr. J. G.	0	2	6
Robinson, Mr. H. (Hull)	0	2	6

	£	s.	d.
Raven, Mr. G.	0	2	6
Robinson, Mr. W. B. (Chesterfield)	0	2	6
Russell, Mrs.	0	2	6
Robinson, Mr. John (Kendal)	0	2	6
Ready, Mr. T. W.	0	2	6
Richardson, Miss (Dublin)	0	2	0
Roberts, Rev. W. L.	0	2	0
Robinson, Mr. C. H. (Batley)	0	2	0
Roberts, Mr. R. G. (Grimsby)	0	2	0
Scatcherd, Mrs. Oliver	25	0	0
Smithson, Mrs. E. W.	5	0	0
Sykes, Mr. D. F. E.	3	3	0
Sargent, Miss	2	1	6
Slagg, Mr. John, M.P.	1	1	0
Samelson, Dr.	1	1	0
Sheffield, Mrs.	1	1	0
Scott, Mrs.	1	1	0
Spence, Mrs.	1	1	0
Saxton, Miss Harriet	1	1	0
Stephens, Mr. H. C.	1	1	0
Smith, Mr. J. Stores	1	1	0
Steintal, Mr. H. M.	1	1	0
Steintal, Mr. A. E.	1	1	0
Scott, Mr., The late (Burnley)	1	0	0
Scholefield, Mrs.	1	0	0
Sharman-Crawford, Miss	1	0	0
Swanwick, Mrs.	1	0	0
Simpson, Mr. C. (Lichfield)	1	0	0
Sharman, Mrs. Pearce	1	0	0
Shadforth, Mr. R.	0	10	6
Samuelson, Mr. James	0	10	6
Southern, Mr. J. W.	0	10	6
Shackleton, Miss	0	10	0
Smith, Mr. W. (Accrington)	0	10	0
Stead, Mrs. Geo.	0	10	0
Shore, Miss A. S.	0	10	0
Smithson, Mr. E.	0	10	0
Smarey, Miss	0	10	0
Spence, Mrs. Alfred	0	10	0
Smith, Miss (Hyde)	0	10	0
Simpson, Mr. William	0	10	0
Smith, Mr. James (Liverpool)	0	10	0
Smith, Mr. Alderman (Stockton)	0	10	0
Stothart, Mr. J.	0	10	0
Shaw, Mrs. (Colne)	0	10	0
Seatree, Mr. William	0	5	0
Smith, Mrs. A. (Ripon)	0	5	0
Smallpage, Mrs.	0	5	0
Smith, Mr. B. (Thirsk)	0	5	0
Swanwick, Dr.	0	5	0
Shewell, Mr. (donation)	0	5	0
Stainsby, Mr. J.	0	5	0
Scott, Mr. A., B.A.	0	5	0
Smith, Rev. G. H. (Accrington)	0	5	0
Sherwood, Mrs.	0	5	0
Swaine, Miss	0	5	0
Shepley, Mr. Thomas	0	5	0
Sager, Mr. Thomas	0	5	0
Senior, Mr. George	0	5	0
Shatwell, Miss	0	5	0
Shaw, Mr. Thomas (Leek)	0	5	0
Sugden, Mr. William	0	5	0
Shenton, Mr. G.	0	5	0
Silvester, Mr.	0	5	0
Sharp, Mr. (Stockton)	0	5	0

	£	s.	d.
Sutton, Mr. John	0	5	0
Sheard, Mr. F.	0	5	0
Stephenson, Mr. Thomas	0	5	0
Smethurst, Mr. S.	0	5	0
Smethurst, Mr. H., sen.	0	5	0
Smethurst, Mr. H., jun.	0	5	0
Stroyan, Mrs.	0	4	0
Sinclair, Mr. Francis	0	4	0
Swindells, Mrs.	0	3	0
Singleton, Miss Lucy	0	3	0
Snowdon, Miss	0	2	6
Slater, Mr. Thomas	0	2	6
Snow, Mrs.	0	2	6
Shout, Mrs.	0	2	6
Smith, Miss (Darlington)	0	2	6
Smith, Mr. W. Herbert (Durham)	0	2	6
Shadforth, Mr. W.	0	2	6
Smith, Mr. William (Accrington)	0	2	6
Sidway, Mrs. A.	0	2	6
Stanton, Mrs.	0	2	6
Smith, Mrs. (York)	0	2	6
Smith, Mr. T. P. (Burnley)	0	2	6
Stephens, Mr.	0	2	6
Sheard, Mrs. P.	0	2	6
Senior, Mr. William	0	2	6
Swaine, Mrs. (Hyde)	0	2	6
Sidway, Mrs.	0	2	6
Swinton, Miss	0	2	6
Smith, Mrs. J. R. (Hyde)	0	2	6
Smith, Mrs. (Kettering)	0	2	6
Shaw, Miss Susan	0	2	6
Small, Dr.	0	2	6
Saunders, Mr. (Newark)	0	2	6
Smethurst, Mr. (Scarboro')	0	2	6
Sanderson, Mr. (Stockton)	0	2	6
Smith, Miss (B. Auckland)	0	2	6
Schofield, Miss Ann	0	2	6
Simpson, Mr. T. (Kendal)	0	2	6
Sharpe, Mr. T. (Kendal)	0	2	6
Simpson, Mr. (Kendal)	0	2	6
Scott, Miss (Penrith)	0	2	6
Seatree, Mrs. George	0	2	6
Smith, Mr. R. (Grimsby)	0	2	6
Sinclair, Mr. R.	0	2	6
Solomons, Miss	0	2	0
Sherlock, Mr.	0	2	0
Starling, Mr. H.	0	2	0
Sunley, Mrs.	0	1	0
Thomasson, Mr. Thomas, The Executors of the late	200	0	0
Thomasson, Mr. and Mrs.	180	0	0
Todd, Miss	5	0	0
Thomasson, Mrs. (donation)	4	7	0
Taylor, Mrs. Thos. (Tetsworth)	1	1	0
Taylor, Mrs. Henry (Manchester)	1	1	0
Tozer, Mr. Alfred	1	1	0
Tatham, Mr. G.	1	0	0
Taylor, Mrs. Whateley Cook	1	0	0
Thompson, Mr. R. (York)	0	10	0
Thompson, Miss (Preston)	0	10	0
Taylor, Mr. John (Blackburn)	0	10	0
Taylor, Mr. Jas. (Sunderland)	0	5	0
Turnbull, Mr. E.	0	5	0
Thorp, Mrs. Fielden	0	5	0
Thompson, Mr. (Burnley)	0	5	0
Taylor, Mr. John (Burnley)	0	5	0

	£	s.	d.
Townson, Mr. James	0	5	0
Taylor, Rev. W. J. (Preston)	0	5	0
Teale, Mr. J. W., M.A.	0	5	0
Thompson, Mr. John (Kendal)	0	5	0
Tweedale, Mrs.	0	5	0
Thorpe, Mr. James	0	5	0
Tranmar, Miss	0	3	0
Townend, Rev. J. (two years)	0	3	0
Taylor, Mr. Wm. (Middlesboro')	0	2	6
Thorniley, Mrs.	0	2	6
Thompson, Mr. Ald. (Blackburn)	0	2	6
Thorley, Mrs.	0	2	6
Tommy, Mr. Geo.	0	2	6
Tewson, Mrs.	0	2	6
Tongue, Mr. B.	0	2	6
Turner, Mrs. (Hyde)	0	2	6
Theedam, Miss	0	2	6
Tanner, Mr. Jacob	0	2	6
Tannahill, Mrs.	0	2	6
Thompson, Mrs. (Ripon)	0	2	0
Villiers, Right Hon. C. P. (two years)	2	2	0
Vincent, Mdlle. Mary	0	6	8
Vero, Mrs.	0	2	6
Winkworth, Mrs. Stephen	5	0	0
Wright, Mrs. Barton	1	2	6
Weiss, Mrs.	1	1	6
Woodhead, Mr. Alderman	1	1	0
Woodall, Mr., M.P.	1	1	0
Wilson, Mr. Henry (Stockton)	1	1	0
Wintringham, Mr. John	1	1	0
Wintringham, Mrs. John	1	1	0
Walker, Miss Carrie	1	0	0
Walker, Mrs. Edward	1	0	0
Wilson, Mr. and Mrs. H. J. (Sheffield)	1	0	0
White, Mr. Alderman (Macclesfield)	0	10	6
Worthington, Mr. Alderman Thos. (Manchester)	0	10	6
Ward, Mr. A.	0	10	6
Wintringham, Mr. Alderman W. T.	0	10	6
Wilkinson, Miss (York)	0	10	0
Wilkinson, Mr. E. T. (York)	0	10	0
Whittaker, Mr. Alderman (Burnley)	0	10	0
Whittle, Miss Laura	0	10	0
White, Mr. Geo. (Norwich)	0	10	0
Wright, Mr. T. (Boston)	0	10	0
Whitehead, Mr. J. W.	0	10	0
Wintringham, Mrs.	6	10	0
Walton, Mrs.	0	5	0
Walton, Miss	0	5	0
Wright, Mr. L. (Middlesboro')	0	5	0
Welsh, Mr. W. E.	0	5	0
Whitmell, Mr.	0	5	0
Williams, Rev. C.	0	5	0
Whittaker, Mr. James (Accrington)	0	5	0
Watts, Dr. John	0	5	0
Wilkinson, Miss Sophia	0	5	0
Worthington, Mrs. (York)	0	5	0
Wood, Miss Alice	0	5	0
Wilkinson, Mrs. G. B. (Bolton)	0	5	0
Wilkinson, Mr. John (Accrington)	0	5	0
Whittle, Mr. (Crawe)	0	5	0
Whittle, Dr. (Liverpool)	0	5	0
Whittle, Miss (Liverpool)	0	5	0
White, Mr. John (Retford)	0	5	0
Whitelegge, Miss	0	5	0



	£	s.	d.
Woodhead, Mrs. (Manchester) ... ..	0	5	0
Woodhead, Miss Lucy (Manchester)... ..	0	5	0
Woodhead, Mr. Henry (Manchester)... ..	0	5	0
Wilson, Mrs. Whitwell .. ..	0	5	0
Whiting, Mrs. ... ..	0	4	0
Withall, Mrs. ... ..	0	4	0
West, Mr. George ... ..	0	3	0
Wood, Mrs. F. W. (Darlington)... ..	0	2	6
Willan, Mr. John ... ..	0	2	6
Watson, Miss ... ..	0	2	6
Wright, Miss L. ... ..	0	2	6
Walker, Mr. Thos. (Huddersfield) ... ..	0	2	6
Wood, Mrs. (Batley) ... ..	0	2	6
Wood, Mrs. (Marske) ... ..	0	2	6
Worthington, Mrs. (Hanley) ... ..	0	2	6
Woodhouse, Mr. S.... ..	0	2	6
Wyatt, Mr. C. ... ..	0	2	6
Winder, Mr. J. (Kendal) ... ..	0	2	6
Watkinson, Mr. T. R. ... ..	0	2	6
Wray, Mr.... ..	0	2	6
Wheeler, Mrs. (Darlington) ... ..	0	2	0
Wood, Mr. Henry (Crewe) ... ..	0	2	0
Woodhead, Miss ... ..	0	2	0
Whitwell, Mr. (Darlington)... ..	0	2	0
Yates, Mrs. R. V. ... ..	2	0	0
Yeadley, Mr. ... ..	0	2	6
Yeoman, Mr. P. ... ..	0	2	6



MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR  
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

—  
RULES.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S  
SUFFRAGE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

VIII. By endeavouring to increase the number of members.

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

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

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

MANCHESTER :  
A. IRELAND AND CO., PRINTERS,  
PALE MALL.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS  
AS PREACHED BY WOMEN

PAST AND PRESENT

BY  
*A LOOKER ON*

NEW EDITION

LONDON  
KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, & CO., 1 PATERNOSTER SQUARE  
1881

towns, we arrive at the total of between 300,000 and 400,000, who being householders and rated for the relief of the poor, are rightfully entitled to exercise the vote.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS

PREACHED BY WOMEN

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

TO

COLONEL T. W. HIGGINSON

LATE OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY

NEW EDITION

LONDON

1851

WOMEN'S RIGHTS AS PREACHED BY WOMEN

PAST AND PRESENT.

PAST.

SINCE the day when Mary Wollstonecraft published her *Vindication of the Rights of Women*,\* her name has been held in honour by all believers in the equality of the sexes as that of the female Pioneer who was the first in modern times to demand social and political justice for her sex. I also shared the belief that she was such, until convinced of my error by the discovery of a rare, if not unique, copy of a book bearing the title of 'Woman not inferior to Man,' † which very remarkable volume had, I observe, reached its second edition in 1740. The author styles herself '*Sophia*, a person of quality'; and I think my readers will feel indebted to me for making her known to them. Her mind is logical and daring; her style quaint and original; and although, occasionally, she somewhat fails in command over her temper, she is very truly a person of quality in a far higher sense than that in which she herself claims to be such.

Sophia lacks the judicial calmness which distinguishes her greater sister, who views the question of Women's Rights from the high standpoint of the moral advantages to the whole human race which must necessarily follow in the train of justice. Sophia starts at once from the point of view that women are

\* 1792.

† 'Woman not inferior to Man; or, a short and modest Vindication of the natural Right of the Fair Sex to a perfect Equality of Power, Dignity, and Esteem with the Man.' (Printed for John Hawkins, at the Falcon, in St. Paul's Churchyard, MDCCXL.)

towns, we arrive at the total of between 300,000 and 400,000, who being householders and rated for the relief of the poor, are rightfully entitled to exercise the vote.

deprived of their rights through man's prejudice, selfishness, and quite unwarranted pride. 'If,' she exclaims, 'this haughty sex would have us believe they have a natural right of superiority over us, why don't they prove their charter from Nature by making use of reason to subdue themselves? . . . if we were to see the *Men* everywhere masters of themselves, and their animal appetites in a perfect subordination to their rational faculties, we should have some colour to think that Nature designed them for Masters to us, who cannot, perhaps, always boast of so complete command over ourselves; but how is it possible to give in to such a notion while we see those very *Men*, whose ambition of ascendancy over us nothing less than absolute dominion can satiate, court the most abject slavery by prostituting reason to their grovelling passions?'

I confess to having been much struck by the novelty as well as vigour of this thrust, by which the tables are so unexpectedly and adroitly turned. The invariable argument of the opponents of female equality has been that the power of reason is, in women, subordinate to feeling, passion, or prejudice; while the advocates of women's rights have stood on the defensive, explaining the actual inferiority of the sex by inferiority of education and opportunity, and only claiming for them the power to equal men if granted equality of position and circumstance. But Sophia is not content with this: she carries the war into the enemy's camp with quite startling effect, and I think that every unprejudiced man, however great his individual self-control, will admit the dexterity and force of this attack upon his sex's subjection to 'the animal appetites and the grovelling passions,' and cry: '*a hit! a very palpable hit!*'

But little reflection is needed to convince us that women's control over the animal appetites—whether it be the result of a natural insensibility to the grovelling passions or of reason—as Sophia seems to think—has been, and is the safeguard of moral order in society, because the safeguard of the most sacred of social institutions—the Family. It is easy to imagine a state of society in which women as well as men should, at least during the early years of womanhood, act upon the assumption that *il faut que jeunesse se passe*; set up the theory

that a reformed female rake makes the best wife, and proceed to sow their wild oats accordingly. And as it is equally easy to foresee what such a society must come to, it may well have been from an unconscious instinct of self-preservation that men, and especially those men who are most lax in their own conduct, have ever been rigid in their requirements from the women of their own families and their own class, and uneasily adverse to the notion of granting to them any portion of the liberty which has degenerated into license in their own case. The dread—always most conspicuous in the dissipated man—lest woman should fashion herself in his image if granted like freedom with himself, is probably a perverted form of homage to those household gods against whom he has offended, but whose holiness he secretly acknowledges, and whom he desires vicariously to propitiate.

Sophia is of opinion that 'it must appear to everyone who has but a degree of understanding above the idiot, a matter of the greatest surprise to observe the universal prevalence of prejudice and custom in the minds of the *Men* . . . how many things do these mighty wise creatures hold for undoubted truths without being able to assign a reason for any one of their opinions? . . . The Religion they were bred up in they blindly prefer to all others, without being able to give any stronger proof of its being the best, than that it was the Faith of their forefathers. Upon the strength of this prejudice they adhere to it as the only true one; and, without ever examining into it, or comparing it with others, they condemn all beside it as erroneous. . . No country pleases a man so well as his own; nay, so far is he apt to carry prejudice that he can seldom be induced to do justice to any other nation, even where truth is on its side, if the honour and interest of his own is at stake. . . In a word, as they suppose without reason, so they discourse without grounds; and therefore would have as strongly maintained the negative of what they assert if custom and the impression of the senses had determined them to it after the same manner. . . We know we have reason, and are sensible that it is the only prerogative nature has bestowed upon us to lift

towns, we arrive at the total of between 300,000 and 400,000, who being householders and rated for the relief of the poor, are rightfully entitled to exercise the vote.

us above the sphere of sensitive animals. And the same reason, which points us out our superiority over them, would light us to discern the superiority of *Men* over us if we could discover in them the least degree of sense over what we ourselves possess.'

But as Sophia would 'never have done' were she to reckon up the many absurd notions into which 'the *Men*' are led by the prevalence which custom, ever so wrongly introduced, has over their minds; and as the notion of woman's equality must, she thinks, appear to them as difficult of acceptance as, formerly, the notion that on the nether side of the globe there are men who walk with their heads downwards to us, she asks: 'Whom shall the matter be tried by? To what Judge shall we have recourse, and what evidence can be admitted in an affair which concerns half the creation whatever side may prevail?' Women themselves are, she thinks, too nearly concerned in the decision to be admitted even as witnesses at the trial, much less as judges; and the same consideration equally excludes the *Men* from acting in it in either capacity.\* But although by so doing they have constituted themselves judges in their own cause, nevertheless the *Men*† have presumed boldly to decide the question in their own favour, because possession empowered them to make violence take the place of justice. And she complains that the *Men* of our times, without trial or examination, have taken the same liberty from the report of other men, forgetting that the reporter is a *party* to

\* Sophia seems here to forget that in reason and justice, as well as in law, the onus of proof lies with those who make the charge; and that, therefore, since it is the *Men* who have charged women with inferiority to themselves, the onus of proof lies with them. And the same is true with regard to every privileged or aristocratic class; all of which owe their origin to individual superiority of strength or craft, and have been perpetuated by claiming for the incidental fact the force of a general rule, and asserting the natural inferiority of those whose rights had been wrested from them by force or won from them by fraud.

† When summarising or quoting Sophia's words I have preserved her quaint use of capital letters and *italics*.

the case and one immediately concerned. 'If a *Man* could thus divest the partiality attached to the Self, and put on, for a minute, a state of neutrality, he would be able to see and forced to acknowledge that *Prejudice* and *Precipitance* are the chief causes of setting less value upon *Women* than *Men* . . . but as there are few among them capable of such an abstracted way of thinking, they have no more right to act the Judges in this matter than ourselves, and therefore we must be obliged to appeal to a more impartial Judge; to one incapable of siding with either side, and, consequently, unsuspected on both. *This* I apprehend to be *rectified Reason*, as it is a purely intellectual faculty, elevated above the consideration of any sex, and equally concerned in the welfare of the whole rational species, in general and in particular. *To this Judge* we leave our cause: by the decision of *this* we are prepared to stand or fall; and if, upon the evidence of *truth*, Reason should declare us inferior to *Men*, we will cheerfully acquiesce in the sentence.'

But in order to set the whole matter in as true a light as possible, Sophia reminds us that it will be necessary to 'clear our ideas from all that is huddled and confused, by separating the fictitious from the real, the obscure from the evident, the false from the true, supposition from matter of fact, seemings from entities, practice from principle, and interest and prejudice from justice.'

Excellent advice; but had it not been somewhat difficult advice for either man or woman to follow, probably many other questions that have long troubled humanity would now be less huddled and confused than they still appear to the eye of rectified reason.

In the course of her brilliant little treatise, Sophia also examines whether there be any *essential difference between the sexes* which can authorise the superiority which the *Men* claim over the *Women*, and what are the causes of, and who are accountable for, the seeming difference which makes the sum of their plea. 'And if upon mature consideration, it appears that there is no other difference between *Men* and *Us* than what their tyranny has created, it will appear how unjust they are in excluding us from that power and dignity we have a right to

towns, we arrive at the total of between 300,000 and 400,000, who being householders and rated for the relief of the poor, are rightfully entitled to exercise the vote.

share with them ; how ungenerous in denying us the equality of esteem which is our due ; and how little reason they have to triumph in the base possession of an authority which unnatural violence put into their hands. Then let them justify, if they can, the little meannesses, not to mention the grosser barbarities, which they daily practise towards that part of the creation whose happiness is so inseparably linked with their own.'

Sophia believes that were every individual man to divulge his thoughts about woman, they would all be found unanimous in thinking that women are made only for their use ; are fit only to breed and nurse children in their tender years, to mind household affairs, and 'to obey, serve, and please their masters, *themselves* forsooth !' And although she admits that, 'amidst a seraglio of slaves, this could not but sound mighty big from a Mussulman's mouth,' she dismisses it as 'of a stamp with all those fantastical expressions more easily advanced than proved.' She points out that, for the propagation of human nature, either without the other would be entirely useless, and cannot therefore see any reason for underrating women, or claiming a superiority over them for an office in life in which men bear so equal a proportion with them. 'It is too well known to be dissembled that the office of nursing children is held by the *Men* in a despicable light, as something low and degrading. Whereas, had they Nature for their guide, they would not need to be told that there is no employment in a commonwealth which deserves more honour, or greater thanks and rewards. Let it but be considered what are the advantages accruing to mankind from it, and its merit must stand confest. Nay, I know not whether it may not appear to render *women* deserving the first places in civil society. Why, or to what end, do the individuals of human species associate together, but for the better preservation of life and the peaceful enjoyment of everything conducive to that purpose ?'

Sophia proceeds to show that princes, and those nearest under them, have been considered the first persons in the State because they were 'at least supposed' to have the greatest share of toil, care, and foresight for the public weal, and as the respect

of mankind is thus conceded on the theory of usefulness to the State, she holds that women are entitled to the greatest share in public esteem, as incomparably the greatest contributors to the public good. Men can absolutely dispense with princes, merchants, soldiers, lawyers, &c., as they did in the beginning, and as savages do still. 'But can they,' she asks, 'in their infancy do without nurses? *Women* will never cease to be useful so long as there are *Men*, and those men have children. Of what use are judges, magistrates, &c. . . . but to secure property to persons . . . . but *Women*, more truly useful, are employed in preserving their lives to enjoy that property. Soldiers are esteemed and rewarded because engaged in defending full-grown *Men*, who are equally and often more capable of defending themselves. How much more, then, is our sex worthy their esteem and gratitude who labour for their defence when as yet they know not what they are, are unable to distinguish between friends and foes, and naked of every defence but that of tears !' And as Sophia sometimes gets a little angry, she adds that men are rewarded if they succeed in taming a tiger, an elephant, or such like animals, and exclaims: 'Shall *Women* be neglected for spending years in the taming of that fiercer animal *MAN*? . . . That they are our masters they take for granted, but by what title they are so, not one of them is able to make out. . . . Certain it is that bare strength entitles the *Men* to no superiority above us, otherwise brutes would deserve the pre-eminence of them, and among themselves the strongest man ought to be the chief in power. . . . So weak are their intellectuals, and so untuned are their organs to the voice of reason, that custom makes them more absolute slaves of their senses than they can make of us. . . . If from immemorable time the *Men* had been so little envious and so very impartial as to do justice to our talents, by admitting us to our right of sharing with them in public action, they would have been as accustomed to see us filling public offices as we are to see them disgrace them ; and to see a lady at a bar or on a bench, would have been no more strange than it is now to see a grave judge whimpering at his maid's knees, . . . or a peer of Great Britain playing with his *garter*.'

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But it is Sophia's chief honour that the right she most earnestly demands for her sex is the right to equality of education, and this on the noble ground that true knowledge and solid learning must, cannot but, make *women*, as well as men, more humble and more virtuous; that the same Creator, by the same laws, unites the souls of women and men to their respective bodies, and the soul, operating in the same manner in the one and in the other, is capable of the very same functions in both. 'Our brain,' she exclaims in language that recalls the plea of Shylock, 'is perfectly like theirs; we receive the impressions of sense as they do; we marshal and preserve ideas for imagination and memory as they do; we hear with ears, see with eyes, and taste with a tongue as well as they.' She considers that it can only be 'a mean, dastardly jealousy' that makes men so industrious to debar women from that learning they have an equal right to, 'for fear of our sharing with and outshining them in those public offices they fill so miserably.' Men, she says, by thinking women incapable of improving their intellects, have entirely thrown them out of all the advantages of education, and thereby contributed as much as possible to make them the senseless creatures they imagine them; so that, for want of education, women are rendered subject to all the follies men dislike in them, and are loaded with men's ill-treatment for faults of their own creating, and which women are denied the means of learning to avoid. 'Besides, let it be observed, what a wretched circle this poor way of reasoning among the *Men* draws them insensibly into. Why is learning useless to us? Because we have no share in public offices. And why have we no share in public offices? Because we have no learning. They are sensible of the injustice they do us, and are reduced to the mean shift of cloaking it at the expense of their own reason.'

It is interesting to observe that while thus claiming education for her sex in the name of rectified Reason, Sophia anticipates a portion of the progress realised in our own century. She says: 'Our sex seems born to teach and practise physic; to restore health to the sick and to preserve it to the well. Neatness, handiness, and compliance are one half of a patient's cure,

and in this the *Men* must yield to us. Indeed, in our turns, we must yield to them in the art of inventing hard names, and puzzling a cure with the number, as well as adding to a patient's grievance with the costliness of remedies. . . . And an *old woman's recipe*, as it is termed, has often been known to remove an inveterate distemper which had baffled the researches of a college of graduates. In a word, the observations made by *Women* in their practice have been so exact, and built upon such solid reason, as to show more than once the useless pedantry of school systems.'

I take leave of Sophia with regret, for I fear that I have done but little justice to her wit and wisdom in this necessarily imperfect review of a treatise which my readers are unlikely to be able to study for themselves. But I cannot close her fascinating volume without quoting the following sparkling flash of scorn at the vanity and presumption of '*the Men*. Were we to express our conception of God, it would never enter into the head of one of us to describe Him as a venerable old man.'

Mary Wollstonecraft's *Rights of Woman* has been so widely read that we shall need to recall but few passages of that work to the minds of our readers in support of our view that she is something more than the most illustrious champion of the equality of women's rights with those of men, though this were distinction enough. But Mary founds her claim upon a higher equality than this: she has a profound belief in the equality of all humanity before the moral law. She asserts the duty of every human being to fulfil that law, and the consequent right of every human being to such full development of all its faculties and powers as shall enable it to fulfil the law voluntarily and intelligently. And as she is too logical not to know that freedom is an essential element of all voluntary obedience to law, she is, in the best sense of the word, a democrat. Any assumption of authority by man over his fellows which is not based upon the free consent of all the governed, is as hateful to her as the assumption of authority by man over woman, and for the same reason—that all such authority is a violation of human dignity, which consists in self-guidance and responsibility. Her book might as fitly be termed a vindication of the

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rights of humanity as of woman, since she bases every argument upon the fundamental principle of 'the equality of all the children of the same parent.' The prerogative of man, which she calls 'the original sin of tyrants, resting upon a chaotic mass of prejudices,' does not offend her keen sense of justice more than any other claim to hereditary power, for she 'declares against all power built on prejudices, however hoary.' Her complaint is that from women are withheld the rights belonging to the whole human species; rights which she, like Sophia, believes they must enjoy 'when improveable reason is allowed to be the dignified distinction which raises man above the brute creation.' She therefore 'first considers women in the grand light of human creatures who, in common with men, are placed on this earth to improve their faculties,' reminding her readers that 'the first object of a laudable ambition is to obtain a character as a human being, regardless of the distinction of sex; and all secondary views should be brought to this simple touchstone. . . . Reason is consequently the simple power of improvement, or, more properly speaking, of discerning truth. Every individual is, in this respect, a world in itself. More or less reason may be conspicuous in one being than another; but the nature of reason must be the same in all, if it be an emanation of divinity, the tie that connects the creature with the Creator . . . the soul of woman is not allowed to have this distinction, and man ever placed between her and reason, she is always represented as created to see through a gross medium and to take things on trust. But, dismissing these fanciful theories, and considering woman as a whole, let it be what it will, instead of a part of man, the inquiry is: Whether she have reason or not?\*' If she have, which for a moment I will take for granted, she was not created merely to be the solace of man, and the sexual should not destroy the human character.' Into this error Mary believes that men have been led by viewing education in a false light; 'not con-

\* *i.e.* whether she is responsible for herself, or he is responsible for her, or, as Milton impietously phrases it:

'He for God only, she for God *in him*.'

sidering it as a step towards perfection, but only as a preparation for life.' She proceeds to show that woman has hitherto been a slave or a despot, and that each of these situations equally retards the progress of reason. The very constitution of civil government has, she says, put almost insuperable obstacles in the way to prevent the cultivation of the female understanding, 'yet virtue can be built on no other foundation.'

Necessity has been proverbially termed the mother of invention, and Mary tells us that the aphorism may be extended to virtue. '*It is an acquirement*: an acquirement to which pleasure must be sacrificed. . . . Pleasure is the business of a woman's life according to the present modification of Society, and, while it continues to be so, little can be expected of such weak beings. . . . Confined in cages like the feathered race, they have nothing to do but to plume themselves and stalk with mock majesty from perch to perch.\* It is true they are provided with food and raiment for which they neither toil nor spin; but health, liberty, and virtue are given in exchange. . . . A king is always a king; and a woman always a woman. His authority and her sex alike shut them out from rational converse.'

Mary thinks that if the existence of an evil being were allowed, who, in the allegorical language of Scripture, went about seeking whom he should devour, he could not more effectually degrade the human character than by giving a man absolute power. 'Birth, riches, and every extrinsic advantage that exalts a man over his fellows, sink him below them. . . . Slavery to monarchs and ministers, which the world will be long in freeing itself from, and whose deadly grasp stops the progress of the human mind, is not yet abolished.'

It is not surprising that keeping for ever in view her grand principle of the equal rights of all the children of the same parent, Mary has not one word to say of the so-called 'rights' of *property*. She troubles herself no more with such arguments than with the remark of 'a lively writer' (whose name she

\* Mary is here speaking of the upper classes. For *workers* she has much sympathy and respect.

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cannot remember) and who obtains but a passing word of contempt for having inquired: *What business women of forty have in the world?* She would, we think, have felt a similar, though sadder contempt for an equally lively writer of her own sex who, in a surpassingly silly and ignorant article, published about two years since in the *Nineteenth Century*, classed all unmarried women together as 'superfluous women.' But Mary towers above such lively writers as high as 'rectified Reason' towers above the paltry vanity that moves them to stalk with mock majesty on their *Nineteenth Century* perch. The noble purpose of her book may be summed up in her dignified reproval of Rousseau's objection to the education of women. 'The more they resemble our sex (says he) the less power will they have over us.' 'This' (says Mary) 'is the very point I aim at: I do not wish them to have power over men, but over themselves.'

#### PRESENT.

A MISTRUST of general principles appears to be a characteristic of the English mind. It is impossible to read the parliamentary debates without perceiving that the large majority of our representatives hold that practical policy is a thing independent of, if not opposed to principle; not a few of them deliberately argue that much that is true in theory is false in practice. If stated as a general proposition, most Englishmen will admit that Justice is sacred, absolute and eternally right, yet how many of us are ready to declare justice to be inexpedient in any special case wherein it clashes with established precedent, long-cherished opinion, or immediate interest. Such reasoners were they who admitted the right of black men to freedom, yet declined to set them free lest the re-establishment of right should bring disaster upon those who had perpetrated or perpetuated wrong. Mr. Auberon Herbert, speaking of that shortness of mental vision which prevents many men from seeing anything in the prospect before them save the objects nearest at hand, says: 'They cannot see the forest on account of the

trees, and their horizon is inexorably bounded by the immediate struggle in which their party is engaged.'

The advocacy of women's rights has undergone a singular modification in our own day, a modification by which it has lost much of its dignity without gaining in power. It would, unquestionably, have been too exacting to expect the present leaders of the movement to surpass the writers whose works have been considered above, either in logic or eloquence, but it might, not unreasonably, have been hoped that an agitation undertaken for the purpose of gaining a first step towards the practical realisation of the principles laid down by Mary Wollstonecraft, should have been based upon and guided by those principles. Such, however, has not been the policy adopted.

That female householders, who possess the same property qualification which entitles male householders to the franchise, should be denied the same civil rights is manifestly unjust; but, precisely because, in our political system, the franchise is, in every case, a privilege attached to property, and changes hands with it without reference to the character or capacity even of the male holder of it, it appears to us that the non-representation of the property held by female householders is but an insignificant fraction of the great question of Women's Rights. But this fraction of the great whole has, of late years, been thrust into such strong relief as to cast every other into the shade; and the ladies who, upon public platforms, urge payment of this small instalment of the world-old debt owed by the dominant to the subjected half of the human race, are careful to assume, even when they do not assert, their readiness, should their humble request be granted, to give a receipt in full. It may be that some immediate, partial advantage to the selected branch of the subject has resulted from this method, but it appears to me that the cause itself—the vindication of the rights of women—has achieved little, if any, moral advance through the efforts made to extend the property qualification to women.

The position taken up by Mary Wollstonecraft on the high ground of universal justice, was dignified logical, and impres-

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sive. Man, being the stronger, decreed the 'prerogative' of his sex, and upon this usurpation his social, legal, and political dominion is founded. Mary, therefore, troubled herself but little about the details of the superstructure, but, with the unerring intuition of genius, set herself to undermine the foundation of the edifice, and overthrow the theory of prerogative, by proclaiming the unity of the human family, 'the equal rights of all the children of the same parent,' an argument which could in no way be affected by the fluctuations of social opinion or the calculations of political expediency at a given time. But the banner raised by that noble champion of her sex proved too weighty for the weaker grasp of those who have held the position of leaders in our own day, and finding themselves unable to lift it, they at once assumed that it would be rash and impolitic to do so: that to display so lustrous a flag would render them a mark, not merely for the sharpshooters, but for the heaviest artillery of those adversaries whose fortress they were not strong enough to storm, and must, therefore, seek to surprise; and that a single shred of the original ensign would suffice to lead their followers through the by-paths they purposed to pursue. Then, having once torn off the fragment suited to their use, they seem to have become oblivious or regardless of the fact that it bore upon it but a single letter of the grand device emblazoned throughout the banner's length by their great precursor. Certain it is that having begun by endeavouring to persuade the public that a part is worthier than the whole, they have either persuaded themselves that such is the case, or have become so enamoured of the policy of tactics and stratagem, and so hopeful that by its means they may either sap or mine the single outpost before which they have sat down, as to believe that if they—the members of the staff—were once secure within its walls, the victory would be complete and the rank and file of the army might well rest and be thankful on the unsheltered plain.

But the battle, meanwhile, has lost much of its true significance; many watchfires have been left untended in the centre, flank, and rear: and the struggle for the principle—for social and political justice to women—has gradually dwarfed and

dwindled in the public eye to the insignificant dimensions of a question of parliamentary expediency.

It should not, however, be forgotten that if the actual leaders of the women's movement have exaggerated, they did not initiate the tactics of expediency. I yield to none in reverence for the memory of Mr. J. S. Mill; I hold that the debt owed to him by women for his splendid advocacy of their rights is eternal; but I feel, nevertheless, bound to express the opinion that if, in introducing the original Women's Suffrage Bill, he had linked the first practical step taken towards the realisation of Mary Wollstonecraft's great claim with her magnificent assertion of the Principle upon which that claim was founded, by naming the first Women's Suffrage Bill, *a Bill to vindicate the political Rights of Women*, I believe, I say, that, although the momentary triumph might have been less, the effect produced upon the country by his logic and daring would have been a thousand-fold greater and more enduring. Many of the members who followed Mr. Mill into the lobby on that occasion were false to his idea on the next division, and subsequent divisions have shown that the transitory effect produced by his admirable address was due to no sincere conviction awakened, but solely to the powerful personality and splendid reputation of the speaker. No errors are more lasting in effect than errors of initiative, of direction; and the mistaken direction given to the movement at that time has seriously impeded its progress during succeeding years, and cramps the action of its leaders at the present day.

But it is easy to be wise after the event, and I may be told that I have learned experience from the superior success of suffrage agitation carried on by the working men. I admit the significance of their example, and gladly appeal to it in support of my contention. Their vigorous assertion of the principle of manhood suffrage did undoubtedly extort from their rulers a far wider extension of household suffrage than the limited demand would have done. But the same is true of every successful reform movement. They who withhold any right from their fellow men, are naturally anxious to silence all appeal to the principle upon which that right is founded, and consequently

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compelled to a larger concession than could be won from them without its aid. Moreover, public opinion has greatly advanced with regard to the whole question of representation since the success of the working man, and this fact—far from invalidating—strengthens my assertion, that a corresponding advance is requisite in the methods employed to win recognition of the rights of woman. Meanwhile, it is well, for future guidance, to note that nothing was gained by Mr. Mill's adoption of the limited programme; his lance was shivered none the less against the tough parliamentary breast-plate of prejudice and pride; a disaster which could not have been more complete if his Bill had asserted the principle of women's rights; but in that case the principle so formulated would thenceforward have become the watchword of the party; it would have been proclaimed, not ignored, at every public meeting during succeeding years, to the beneficial education of the public mind, and would thus have rendered impossible the degrading retrogression signalled by the sanction given to Mr. Forsyth's attempt to confirm and perpetuate the political subjection of married women by statutory law.

All who have studied the speeches delivered at the Women's Suffrage meetings which have taken place during the past fourteen years must have gladly noted how much of logic, wit, and truth, and how little of mere verbiage has fallen from women's lips on those occasions. It might, no doubt, be said that the majority of the female orators were picked women; exceptional alike in capacity and education; but whatever the explanation of the fact may be, I think that all impartial judges would admit that the ladies have generally shown themselves superior both in wit and arguments to their male opponents; that they have displayed a quite special aptitude for debate, and have proved themselves able to rival male politicians in the adoption of those tactics which are the recognised methods of political success. And it is especially noteworthy that in none of the able addresses, and still abler replies spoken by women, can one detect any trace of that sentimentalism which it was customary to assume that they would introduce into political life. I might almost go so far

as to say that they have introduced neither sentiment nor imagination into the question. As if acting on a preconcerted plan, they have argued out their—to my thinking—narrow view of their case, in a peculiarly hard-headed and common-sense way, leaving all such oratorical penny trumpets as the cry that the electoral enfranchisement of woman would 'thwart the intentions of nature, and upset the foundations of society,' etc. etc., to be blown by their male opponents.

I must, however, regretfully add that the leaders of the movement have struck out no new line for their sex. They have, on the contrary, ostentatiously copied the other sex, and I think they would have done better service to both, if they had given freer rein to nature and illustrated the advantages likely to ensue from the introduction of an entirely new element into the Government of the Commonwealth, by some feminine originality of method and idea. It is not the likeness, but the unlikeness of the two minds that will avail for good when the representatives of each take counsel together upon a footing of equality and mutual respect.

It is, then, because we hold it to be essential to the just government of the human race that the mind and heart of the mother of the race should have full expression in the councils of her children, that outsiders, like myself, regret that representative women should have abandoned Mary Wollstonecraft's demand for full justice towards her sex, and substituted for it the mere reiteration of the narrow claim that a political privilege enjoyed by a large number of their countrymen, should be conceded to a favoured few of their countrywomen. They do well to demand the suffrage: the right to be heard is the first step towards the acquirement of their fitting place in the human family; but it is grievous that they should stoop to demand it on the paltry plea that the material superiority over their less fortunate sisters which they already possess—the property, which, in the case of spinsters and widows, is not a fiction but a reality—is liable to the same form of direct taxation as the property of men.\*

\* Taxation without representation is an injustice, but it is not only

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We are told that the speakers at the suffrage demonstrations in Manchester and London were eminently representative women, carefully selected to plead the women's cause, with a view to the effect of those demonstrations upon Parliament, the press, and the country. I may, therefore, fairly illustrate my position by remarking that the key-note of these meetings was sounded by the declaration made by one of the most conspicuous leaders of the movement, that 'all they asked' was a modification of our political system which would concede to 500,000 women the electoral franchise now enjoyed by three millions of men. No allusion was made to the fact that the remainder—the vast majority of Englishwomen—would still be classed by the electoral law of England with 'criminals, idiots, and children'; nor did any of the other speakers, who, after varying modulations, invariably 'resolved' into the original key, venture to claim even this restricted privilege on the same terms with men. It may be that the ladies were constrained to this humble attitude by the fact that they had, a few years earlier, deliberately given their consent to the conversion of an incidental into a statutory limitation of the privilege to unmarried women, although marriage in no way affects the political status of men. If, then, the House of Commons were to pass a Bill embodying the little 'all' that is asked by the leaders of the movement, a woman householder who should remain unmarried until the age of thirty, would be recognized as a citizen for nine years, but be reduced to a condition of political slavery on her wedding day. Should her husband die, she would again become a responsible human being, and should she marry a second time, sink once again to her former political level with criminals, idiots, and children.

such, although it is more palpably such where the taxation is direct. The amount of value received by the poorest classes in exchange for the pitiful coppers laid by them upon the counter of the provision shop of their neighbourhood is influenced by the amount of rates and taxes paid by the shopkeeper; nay, the quantity and quality of the food and raiment granted to our very paupers is regulated by the not unnatural effort made by the householders of the parish to 'keep down the rates.'

No word of protest was uttered at either of the women's demonstrations against the ignominy and absurdity of the position thus claimed for their sex by the representative ladies of England in public meeting assembled; these ugly facts were ignored from the beginning to the end of the proceedings. The silence of the married women present is mysterious, but perhaps it is not surprising that the spinsters and widows should have avoided all allusion to a subject that might have compelled public proclamation of the fact that they had but recently consented to sell their sisters' birthright for a mess of political pottage to be consumed by themselves.

It is true that when the ignoble compromise which 'provided always' for the political slavery of wives, was first distinctly embodied in a Bill to be laid before the House of Commons, very many of the ladies who accepted it declared themselves to be *theoretically* offended by it, and only *practically* willing to adopt it 'as a step towards something better.\*' Some whispered that it was a *safe policy* to accept it, because men themselves would not allow it to endure; men themselves would not like to see their own wives hold an inferior position to spinsters and widows, and thus married women would probably be relieved in time from this crowning indignity attached to the marriage state, by a side wind. I think that neither Sophia nor Mary Wollstonecraft would have stooped to this.

It is to be hoped that at a future 'demonstration,' some women will come forward to declare themselves not content to beg such crumbs from their master's table as they believe he may be willing to concede to a favoured few among them; some women who will dare to look that master frankly and proudly in the face and demand their sex's right. We believe that the educational effect upon the public, should even one representative woman thus dare to do all that becomes a soul that claims its own, would vindicate the rights of woman not only more nobly, but more effectually than the immediate concession of the parliamentary franchise to 500,000 spinsters and widows could do.

It is true that one of the most eloquent and distinguished

\* As if to step aside from the straight path could shorten the route.

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speakers urged her sisters to retain all that was noblest in the part hitherto allotted to them in life, and to aim at acquiring only that which is worthiest in the man's part. But are these half-truths, these politic reticencies, these pseudo-parliamentary tactics, the worthiest part? I think they are not, and I think, moreover, that if the ladies had imitated men less, they would have converted them more. The distinctive qualities and characteristics of one sex are complementary of the distinctive qualities and characteristics of the other; and for this reason it is that neither will ever be able rightly to rule and fashion the national life alone, and that justice and policy alike demand for each an equal voice in the conduct of the State. The liberal axiom that all just government is founded on the consent of the governed, is doubly true in cases where the sex of the governor and governed being different, the desires, habits, and even necessities of the ruler and the ruled will occasionally be different also. The question of the intellectual equality or inferiority of women is of no moment here. An assembly of agricultural labourers will have a clearer idea of the wants of agricultural labourers than an assembly of Newtons could have; for the simple, old-fashioned reason that the wearer knows best where the shoe pinches.

We believe that the suffrage cause would rise in dignity and gain in power if its advocates would imitate the absolute sincerity of Mary Wollstonecraft, and, bearing in mind the fact that they come forward as reformers, show themselves above all diplomatic subterfuge (for diplomacy is merely cunning in court dress), dare to state their true aim and to pursue the straight path towards it. They may be very sure that not a man among those who withhold the scanty instalment of freedom actually claimed, believes that the claimants have really declared to themselves: *thus far will we go but no farther*, unless there be—as I have heard it hinted—some few spinsters who have smarted so keenly under the unjust inferiority of their social position to that of their married sisters, that they would gladly grasp an exclusive political franchise in order to readjust the scale, to some extent, in their own favour. I do not believe this; and I regret that a certain

amount of colour is lent to the suspicion by the fact that it has been their invariable system to support the various Bills that have been introduced for the enfranchisement of spinsters and widows on the ground that these measures would 'remove the inequality of sex before the law,' forgetting, as it would seem, that the concession of the vote to unmarried women would not remove that inequality unless it were coupled with a ridiculous proviso that marriage should disfranchise men.

The *Saturday Review*, a journal which cannot be accused of having ever advocated justice to women, remarked\* that 'the half-way people who suggest spinsters and widows as suitable people to represent the female sex in the constituencies, like all half-way people, satisfy nobody,' and added, 'if the woman's suffrage movement has any meaning at all, it is as being part of a larger movement for the assertion of complete legal, social, and political equality for both sexes.' An Eastern proverb tells us that 'a fool cannot learn from his friends, but a sage can learn from his enemies,' and the ladies who head the suffrage movement have already shown themselves possessed of so much wit and wisdom that they need not scruple to take the hint, even from the retrograde pages of the *Saturday Review*, that the half-way position they have taken up 'satisfies nobody.'

For their enemy spoke truth. Thinkers who sincerely believe that the legal, social, and political rights of women are identical with those of men, cannot rouse themselves to struggle with much enthusiasm for the mere enfranchisement of the few spinsters and widows who are already possessed of an amount of personal, legal, and municipal freedom denied to their less fortunate sisters; while many members of Parliament who might possibly consent to accord the franchise to the limited number of female householders, are rendered distrustful by the fact that the words 'Women's Suffrage' are retained on the placards and advertisements issued by those who seek to reassure them by protesting that they do not desire the *thing*. *De deux choses, l'une*; if imitation of men be, indeed, the best card the ladies have to play, why not copy those working men

\* May 8, 1880.

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who fought their suffrage fight more frankly yet more successfully? Many of their best friends believe that even the compromise of a female householder's suffrage would be more quickly won, and that the ladies would gain over more hearts to their cause if, bearing in mind how far the greater wrongs of women dwarf the less, they would support their appeal for this first instalment of justice by nobler arguments than their taxgatherer's book; assert the political rights of womanhood with as much dignity as their working-class brothers displayed in asserting the rights of manhood, and cease to proclaim on every platform that all they ask is a privilege for the 500,000 spinsters and widows who have the most money in their purses. So long as they loudly profess that they do not desire the thing, their constant reiteration of the words 'Women's Suffrage' irresistibly reminds one of the single phrase incessantly repeated by Pip's demented sister in *Great Expectations*, who uttered it, we are told, 'with about as much meaning as an electioneering cry,' and of whom the author quaintly says: '*I do not know that I could give a darker picture of her state of mind.*'

It is the habit of Englishmen confidently to assert that their own is the freest country in the world, and to attribute their superiority over other nations in this respect to 'our admirable representative system.' However admirable the system may be, it is none the less a fact that not a single man is represented in England. Let us take the case of the richest commoner in the land. If he were ruined in commercial enterprise without fault on his own part, the day which should see him penniless would see his electoral privilege annulled. He would find that it was not he, but his money that availed, and that, as a mere man, he would count for naught—even as the manhood of a Shakespeare or a Newton would count for naught—were either of them to be beggared by the failure of a fraudulent bank. It is true that mere poverty would not deprive our peers of their hereditary privilege to make laws for their fellow men; but that privilege is theirs, not in virtue of their manhood, but of their descent from those who either seized it for themselves or were ennobled by one who claimed to be something more than man, inasmuch as he ruled by 'right divine.' And the wisest

peer among our aristocracy, were his descent called in question, would be shorn of his share of legislative power on the day which should prove him illegitimate, and remain as voteless as the humblest labourer on the hereditary estate, unless possessed of property extraneous to the ancestral acres, and esteemed more worthy of representation by this purse-ruled nation than the man himself. Nay, if, as in a sensation novel, the humblest labourer aforesaid were suddenly proved to be the rightful heir, that labourer would at once be able to exercise the hereditary privilege, and pass laws for the government of his former ruler. The question of the rights of man would be equally irrelevant in either case; 'our admirable representative system' takes no note of so small a matter.

Much verbiage is still uttered in Parliament, and much misconception exists in society and is fostered by the press on the subject of parliamentary franchise. 'The masses are ignorant,' men cry, 'and to give the vote to the ignorant is to concede to the ignorant the power to govern the wise.' A shudder thrills through the refined lordling on his way to the wholesale slaughter of tame pigeons at Hurlingham, at the bare idea of being governed by brutal roughs; a growl of contempt denotes the raised gorge of the stock-jobber at the notion that such as he should be governed by stupid ploughmen to whom the intellectual operations of 'Bulls' and 'Bears' are a mystery. But let us consider for a moment whether, if universal suffrage were decreed to-morrow, the brutal roughs and stupid ploughmen would really 'govern' one whit more than they do now. Lordling, stock-jobber, and society, alike forget—as it seems to me—what the dreaded vote amounts to. It is simply that right of free speech which all Englishmen theoretically allow to their brother men, exercised according to another method. Under the *régime* of universal suffrage, the roughs and the ploughmen would be asked once in a given number of years: *Which of these two gentlemen do you choose to speak for you in a place wherein your own voice may not be heard?* Should rough and ploughman take no interest in the matter, they would express no opinion; *i.e.*, they would not vote at all. Should the perception that political questions are of some moment,

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even to them, at length dawn upon their brains, probably the more plausible and less scrupulous of the two candidates would gain the greater number of votes. I might ask whether this is not sometimes the case even under the actual household suffrage *régime*, but I will content myself with reminding the timid, that society's safeguard against the disruption feared from the enfranchisement of the ignorant lies in the political helplessness of ignorance. So long as men are fools they will vote according to their folly: that folly will be different in kind: the same fair promises that seduce the one will leave the other unmoved, and their votes—given on personal, not political grounds—will be given as much at random and to as little serious, concentrated purpose, as if scattered broadcast among the candidates throughout the whole country; and thus the elements of danger involved in their individual errors will effectually neutralise each other. Universal suffrage, when not exercised under terror of bayonets or pressure of official patronage, as during the late French Empire, will never make of the masses a vital, political force, until they have acquired such capacity for voluntary organisation, through reflection and self-control, as will render them deserving of the amount of power they may thus be enabled to exercise. The capacity for self-restraint and for organisation in view for the realisation of a common aim, will always be in direct proportion to the moral and intellectual development of a given population. The only immediate value of the suffrage to the masses would be its educational effect in rousing the faculty of reason, and gradually awakening in them the sense of responsibility. It is the citizen, not the outlaw, who has a stake in the well-being of the commonwealth.

At the risk of being accused of exaggeration, I venture to confess that—to my thinking—if there be any class to whom the suffrage might, with less comparative injustice, be temporarily denied, it would be the wealthiest; and if there be any to whom it might, blamelessly, be conceded as a privilege, it would be precisely to that despised 'residuum' which is at present destitute, not merely of property, but of every legal means of making its wants, its wishes, and its sufferings known. The influence of mere wealth is so enormous in England, that if our

largest property holders were deprived of the electoral franchise, their wealth could still make its power and influence felt through a thousand political and social channels; a power and influence which the septennial concession to the poorest and lowliest of the right to give free utterance to their wishes upon a single subject could in no way diminish, until—after many generations—the slow, educational effect of finding themselves called upon to exercise a political right, should gradually awaken in them a sense of political duty, and thus transform idle and helpless human animals into men and citizens.

I hope not to be misunderstood. I have too much faith in 'the divine expediency of justice' to advocate class franchise in any shape; I simply say that, given the right of society to exclude any class from the rights and duties of citizenship, that exclusion would tell with far less injurious effect upon those who are able to exercise every other form of social and political power.

I believe universal suffrage to be the most potent, because the most peaceful agent of political reform. It is true that even reform—in the case of traditional and hoary abuses—involves a certain amount of social peril; but it should not be forgotten that the concession of the suffrage to all who have not forfeited the right of free speech by guilt, would develop the human element—the sense of responsibility—in man, and involve less ultimate danger than now darkly smoulders beneath the store of silent hatred and rebellious feeling unceasingly garnered up in the hearts of the very poor by our condemning them, as we now do, to perpetual silence, while handing them over to the hydra-headed despotism of the police.\*

\* It is impossible to take up any newspaper without perceiving that the police do, daily, arrest without warrant, and prosecute *poor* men and women without bringing forward witnesses to prove the offence charged against them; and that magistrates do, daily, commit poor men and women to prison, on the unsupported evidence of the policeman who has thought fit to arrest them. These things are done in virtue of *unconstitutional* legislation. The Magna Charta, which has been rightly named the corner-stone of the English Constitution,

towns, we arrive at the total of between 300,000 and 400,000, who being householders and rated for the relief of the poor, are rightfully entitled to exercise the vote.



A deep and very solemn meaning underlies Mary Wollstonecraft's assertion that 'the education of a being gradually advancing towards perfection' needs to be something more than 'a mere preparation for life.' The human beings destined to that gradual advance are something more than the foredoomed victims of a sin in which they had no share, and the monstrous conception of a 'wrath divine,'\* pursuing the infringement of an arbitrary and incomprehensible decree, which has come down to us from a barbarous age when men fashioned the Deity after their own image, is giving place to the gradual revelation of a law of infinite progress as the LAW which was in the beginning, although the darkness comprehended it not. The passive acceptance of the sacrifice of a sinless One for his unworthy sake no longer satisfies the soul of man, which is conscious of potential worthiness, and athirst for action to achieve it, even at the cost of labour and sacrifice; which already dimly perceives that *evil* is only such imperfection as is the necessary condition of human *merit*; because progress can only be achieved, necessarily, through the conscious and voluntary *conquest* of good.

The first step towards this conquest is the recognition of individual responsibility in the collective advance. Material laws may be fulfilled by organised human machines; progress—the moral law—can only be fulfilled in freedom, which is, therefore, as Mary Wollstonecraft reminds us, the equal right of every child of the same parent; and so long as a single sister or brother is denied the right of voluntary co-operation in the general task, that task will remain unfulfilled. Inferiority of intellect in no way affects this right, which is

provides (s. 42) that 'No Bailiff for the future shall put any man to his law upon his single accusation without credible witnesses to prove it.' Those opponents of woman's suffrage who consider that the votes of women would upset the foundations of society would do well to consider whether the votes of men have done nothing to upset the foundations of the English Constitution, by continually passing laws which enable the officials, whose sole duty it should be to enforce the observance of law, to override the provisions of Magna Charta.

\* The incongruous combination of the two words would be ludicrous, if it were not impious.

based on duty. Be the light star or glowworm, it is bound to shine.

It was, then, with considerable regret that I learned that in urging their sisters to increased exertion many of the speakers at the late demonstration in London laid great stress upon the probability—apparently regarded as of further humiliation to their sex—that if the suffrage were not speedily won for spinsters and widows, they might actually see the uneducated agricultural labourers enfranchised before themselves. I know not what meaning they attached to the word uneducated, but I confess that, to my thinking, every agricultural labourer who has shown so true and deep a sense of the rights of his simple manhood as to have cheerfully endured increased privation, toil, and self-sacrifice, in the endeavour to win the responsibilities of citizenship for himself and his fellows, is already educated in a far higher sense of the word than is implied by any amount of mere erudition.

To sum up—the leaders of the women's movement ask that the suffrage be accorded to them 'on the same terms as it is, or may be, accorded to men.' Wherefore? If the Rights of Woman be not an empty phrase, women have no cause for such reverence for the law as it is, or even as it may be, so long as it is framed exclusively by men. In their eagerness to grasp the fruit upon its lowest branches, I think the ladies have forgotten to nourish the root of the great tree. From the day of their first public meeting, down to the recent demonstrations in Manchester and London, the 'cry of the women' has never been raised in the name of the dignity and rights of womanhood. They have not said to their brothers: *Respect in us the distinctive qualities of heart and mind, the special aptitudes, intelligence, and aspirations of our sex.* Their cry has been and is: *Respect our property: let not the sex of the possessor interfere with the sacred rights of property.* One might fancy the leading ladies to be lineal descendants of the celebrated *Northern Farmer*, and that their carriage wheels echo in their ears the *refrain* sounded in his by his horse's hoofs: 'Proputty, proputty, proputty!'

\* I am no communist, but it should never be forgotten that no material thing is sacred save as the symbol of something higher than

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I say it with deep conviction—the proposal to grant the parliamentary vote to 500,000 more property holders, *notwithstanding* their sex, in this England of ours, wherein a single rood of land is valued more than the lives which the land should nourish and sustain, is *not* the change for which the times are ripe; for which the hour has come, but not, as yet, the woman.

It should be the glory, and it would be the true policy, of a real woman's movement, frankly and fearlessly to proclaim that the introduction of an entirely new element of moral force into the government of the State, must and will imply—a new departure.

And come it will for a' that—the hour upon which the serfs of sex will not shrink from, but join hands with the serfs of the soil, and preach, not a mere Parliamentary reform, but a Revolution; a revolution the like of which has not been since the world began; the sacred rebellion of human beings proclaiming the supremacy of moral right over chartered might; over every prejudice, every monopoly that mars the full and free development of the lowliest amongst them, and demanding the equal birthright of 'all the children of the same parent.'

it, and property is only sacred because the right to acquire, to hold, and (within certain limitations) to bequeath it, is one of the sacred rights of man. In proportion as the rights of man are held sacred will property be held sacred in a far higher and truer sense than now, because it will become, as it ought to be, the sign and symbol of honest industry, forethought, and thrift. But in a society like our own, when the moneys of an idle fool may double themselves without merit or effort on his part, while numbers of his fellow-creatures can barely sustain a joyless existence by unremitting toil, the 'property qualification,' as it is called, is no just sign of the worth or merit of the qualified, and it is not well to strive to build up a reform on the sandy foundation of an abuse. Hence it is that I would demand the vote for all honest men and women, and say: Here, in our midst, stand human beings, children of God like ourselves, for whom no amount of labour, forethought, or thrift can win the material sign and just reward of their well-doing; there is, then, something rotten in the state of England so far as they are concerned, and it is but simple justice that we should take counsel with them as to what that rottenness is.

Since the above was written a friend has pointed out to me that the *Woman's Journal*, Boston, U.S., published some months since, an interesting account of 'a book written nearly a hundred years before the "Rights of Woman,"' by a Mrs. Mary Astell, who wrote in 1696: 'An Essay in Defence of the Female Sex, in a Letter to a Lady written by a Lady.' The Reviewer says: 'My edition is the third and bears the date 1697.' He gives many interesting quotations from this essay, amongst others the following, which, as he remarks, 'might well be painted on the walls of some of our Universities: "A man ought no more to value himself upon being Wiser than a Woman, if he owe his advantage to a better Education and great means of Information, than he ought to boast of his Courage for beating a Man when his hands were bound.—Page 20."'

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towns, we arrive at the total of between 300,000 and 400,000, who being householders and rated for the relief of the poor, are rightfully entitled to exercise the vote.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It is generally admitted that the efficiency of a

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

**NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE**

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## WOMAN'S CLAIM.

*(Reprinted from "The Contemporary Review," for February, 1881.)*

BY EMILY PFEIFFER.

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## WOMAN'S CLAIM.

**H**ITHERTO, when the women to whom the larger interests of Society are dear, have expressed their desire for an extension of the suffrage in their own direction they have very commonly been met by the assurance that they belonged to an insignificant minority, the sex being on the whole indifferent, if not averse to, the active assumption of citizenship. The overflowing meetings which have taken place successively at Manchester, in London, and elsewhere, must at this stage of the discussion go far to silence objections founded on a premise which every passing year is rendering more erroneous. But, whatever might be the show of hands if the issue were polled throughout the country, it is not so much the amount as the quality of adherents which determines the success of a movement, and it would not be impossible to show that the greater part of all the force of intellect and character known by public proof to exist among Englishwomen, is warmly pledged to this woman's cause.

It may be conceded then as a fact, that the desire on the part of the daughters of England to be no longer excluded from participation in one of the rights which her sons hold dear, is a genuine and increasing one; and in face of the manifest mental and moral worth of its chief advocates, the assertion—a favourite retreat of nonplussed disputants—that the "best women" are still hostile to the change, must be acknowledged to be likewise untenable. I will not darken counsel by affecting to misunderstand what is meant in this connection by the "best women." They are the home-loving and tender creatures to whom fate has been good, and who find their highest joy—no very difficult strain, as it may be thought—in the performance of the duties of wifhood and motherhood, undeniably the most accordant to Nature of any that can plenish a woman's lot, and at the same time so bodily and spiritually engrossing,

that those who well fulfil them may be forgiven if they tend to somewhat narrow the view and contract the sympathies. But whether the outlook of these fortunate sisters may happen to be narrow or wide, it is probable that the larger-hearted advocates of women's right to make their political judgments regarded, would think little of yielding the place of honour, in the estimate of the selfish or unthinking, to the happy band from whose ranks it is possible that chance or a more fastidious taste have exiled themselves. A circle which includes a large contingent of unpaid workers who are helping forward the best interests of humanity in many fields, and whose representative woman may be taken to be Florence Nightingale, will in any case be felt to be sufficiently select.

The men whose pleasure it is to affirm that "good women" are in want of nothing, are far however from disclaiming the testimony to the same effect of beings who cannot be called "good," without putting an undue strain upon language, and who have of women neither the pitiful heart nor the helpful hand, but only the weakness and arrested development. These are the careless sisters of the millions who "work and weep," for working and weeping are only separately apportioned in a ballad, or in the quasi-poetical atmosphere which stagnates in places about masculine thought; these are the "sitters at ease," whose lives are given to self-pleasing as an end, and to flattering the humours of the men of whom they are the complement, as a means; who are callous to misery which they deem not likely to affect themselves, and have no aspiration higher than the false ideal which is the negative of manly vices. It is in the nature of such factions to be loud and prominent, and so to create a false notion of their numbers and weight; but happily for our hopes and for the prospects of humanity, those of the sex who, while neglecting their nearest ties, are utterly without what in the cant of science is now known as the "tribal conscience," are a minority, unworthy to be counted in the sum of opinion on a question of this nature and extent.

It may be taken, then, as a fact to be dealt with, and one which is presenting itself with increasing urgency, that a vast number of those who represent the noblest and tenderest womanhood among us, are dissatisfied with what has come to be the injustice of their position in view of the new social developments which have brought with them new needs. They are dissatisfied, that while they have no choice but to obey the natural law of development, the arbitrary laws under which they live remain rigid in their regard. It is no great thing that is required to put the lives of women in harmony with their altered conditions. The claim that widows and spinsters, when independent holders of property, should exercise the right of voting for Members of Parliament, carries so much of reason on its face, that it is difficult to see on what ground it could be withstood, other than that of a panic fear of results against which it might be supposed that Nature had sufficiently provided. This demand for the possession of the suffrage by widows and spinsters was the whole of the plea advanced at the meetings referred to, — a plea not

simply put forward for the nonce, as we are sometimes warned, but one which there is reason to think honestly represents the extent of the claim as made by the majority of its female advocates. That widows and spinsters, as women, and possible wives, are in a better position for judging of the wants of women, whether single or married, than men, who must always view them chiefly in relation to themselves, few I think will contest. It is not asserted that the arrangement which would restrict the suffrage to single women householders would be a perfect one, but only that it appears to be the best which the nature of things permits of, and it may be presumed that a certain intuitive sense of fitness, together with a feeling of the sacredness of ideals possessed largely by women, would help them to cut the Gordian knot of a logic more tough than that presented by the limitations which marriage would be suffered to impose upon them.

Marriage is something more than a partnership—it is ideally a union; and if in the imperfection of all human relations, it fails in part, sometimes fails wholly, to fulfil its promise, it remains, fiction or truth, the lever which beyond all others has been effective in raising the moral nature of man to the height at which the sacrifice it enforces, can alone maintain it. Whatever may be the diversity of opinion in the domestic interior, however much the "No," pertinent or impertinent, may enliven the sameness of marital discourse, it will be felt I think as seemly, that while the marriage tie remains in force, no authenticated record of disagreement should go forth from the home to the world. But the sphere of a woman is so enlarged by marriage, her dignity so increased by motherhood, that it is little likely this renunciation of one of the rights of citizenship on accepting a partnership for life, would be accounted so deep a hardship as objectors would have us believe. The ear of the husband is found by most wives to be very conveniently within reach, and if the quickened interest in political questions which the change would inevitably spread among women, bond and free, should furnish another subject of possible variance, the same may be said of each one of those interests, intellectual or moral, which separate the cultivated women of our own clime and age from the odalisque and the squaw. That the too-tardily effected, and still very imperfect regulations in regard to the property of wives, imply a possible separation of interests incompatible with perfect union, is self-evident, but all our dealings are with an imperfect order of things, of which it is our difficult endeavour to make the best. This imagined union can, in Protestant countries, be openly dissevered, and the bitterest wrong has resulted in cases where the rupture of personal bonds has been confessed, while the legal tie maintaining the community of property—by which is meant its absorption by the man—has been held intact. When injustice, gross as that which can even now creep in under existing laws, has been rendered impossible, not by an invidious special act of the woman purporting to be married, or of her friends, but by the

providence of a protecting law—no more than an honest confession will have been made, that we are seeking to provide against possible flaws in work which has to be built up of doubtful material. It is no part of the duty of society, in the abstract, to enforce upon its members by external means, the undeviating cultus of its purest ideals; the piety which exalts them must be the growth of the individual conscience.

Women are still sometimes roundly told that they have no grievances, and asked what it is they can want which it lies within the competence of the suffrage to give them. Like Shylock, "I will not answer that." There is little to be gained by going over that ground of old wrongs which has often led to bitter question. I will not even more than point in passing at the burning injustice which can wrest from the woman's grasp the child who, bone of her bone and flesh of her flesh, is the fruit of her labour and sorrow. It is, or ought to be, sufficient that women are awaking to a consciousness that their interests are unrepresented, and suffer in consequence; that they feel themselves aggrieved by their position—illogically maintained in the face of altered conditions—of a separate caste; and that they demand to join their judgment to the opinions of men on questions of social policy, and to add their experience to those same opinions on matters with which it is their special function to deal. To this end they seek to give weight to their views in the authorized fashion; they claim to count as an element in the constituencies with which members of the Lower House have to reckon. There are rocks ahead, no less than evils behind and abreast of us, and the dangers which threaten society in the shaking of the old faith, the loss of the old sanctions of conduct, and the overturning of the old ideals, are dangers which must press with something more than equal force upon its weaker half. If women must labour, and run risks with men, they demand to have something of their security, or at least to have free hands for the fight. They do not wish to struggle in bonds or to fall helpless into any pit which may open. They are not likely to exhibit a dangerous impatience, such as could be supposed to imperil the vessel of State, even if the share of power demanded by them were to be more than that fractional one of which there is now question. Their natural position in the scheme of things may be taken for a guarantee that the impact of their influence upon political questions would be consolidating rather than destructive. But if they presumably will not hurry on the wheels of progress, it is something that they may be expected to help in keeping them upon the rails. It is reasonably certain that the interests of marriage, for instance, would be more jealously guarded by women, single or widowed, than they would be by men; and is it too much to say that on the *maintenance of that institution rest the higher hopes of the race?* Life has this in common with Art: that the continent of a supreme law, to which voluntary obedience is rendered, is essential to its most perfect development. Time was when the praise of marriage would have been superfluous as the praise of sun-light; now it seems not

wholly irrelevant to point out in what its essence consists, and what its observance has done for us. It has its source in the highest capacities of our nature, love and faith, of which last it is on the man's side the most signal human expression. The heirs to a man's worldly possessions and to the treasure of his affections, the beings for whom he works and strives, and for whose abundance he is contented often to go bare, he takes as his own upon the trust reposed in the woman of his choice. That this sacred trust is on the whole so rarely betrayed, that the marriage bond is so widely respected as to cause the sense of risk to pass practically out of view, is a circumstance which is adding, slowly and surely as the generations succeed each other, to the sum of that faith by which man as man must live. Let the elected partnership once lose its nobly sacrificial and sacramental character, let the caprice of man or woman claim to be its own law, the discordance of habit or opinion felt on the satiety of passion its own dispensation, let the man be free to shake off a yoke that irks, and the woman be emancipated from the guardianship of herself as the shrine of his dearest hopes, and what becomes of the strength of individual will, increased by struggle and conquest, which has been lifting us higher and higher above the unregulated instincts of the brute? If the woman of the future is to be held, and rightly held, accountable primarily to herself for the preservation of her own truth, and if the notion that dishonour can come to any separate soul through other than his own act should be exploded, it can never be forgotten that the companion of man is the priestess of a temple whose desecration is his ruin. No State is known to have risen to greatness, that has not had "the family" working to its own increase, and diffusing itself as a vital organic element within it, and the family can only exist with the definition necessary to its effective action, through the state of marriage. The woman alone will not suffice for its head; without the husband the circle of family is incomplete, and without the family there can be no order in human relations, no permanence in human affections, no strength of self-restraint or forbearance—in a word, no virtue. The nomad of social institutions would spread disorder as a plague. As for love, the great regenerator, love which is

"Half dead to think that he could die,"

it is easy to conceive the sorry figure that he would be likely to make in any such time-bargain in place of marriage as that which finds advocates among certain moralists. In such a case there would be no lover's vows to move even the laughter of Jove; at which I think the earth no less than the heaven would be sadder. When the time shall come that we have cast away the marriage pledge to progress, it is presumable that we shall have commenced our downward course, and be on our way back to the ascidian, and through that to some wholly molluscous creature preparatory to the final extinction. It can hardly be doubted that the sentiment of love is deepened and exalted by the voluntary sacrifice brought to it by lovers in marriage. What is here



contended is, that a human pair, in placing this seal upon love and faith, taken in its moment of efflorescence, are unconsciously drawn into the current of that stream which sets towards progress, and are making, unknown to themselves, an offering of individual liberty in the interests of the race. That a philosopher here and there, his vital energies having chiefly run to brain, should find rest by his own fireside with the companion of his experiment in life and their offspring, proves nothing for the probable permanence of unlegalized relations among the masses, with whom erratic fancy might be expected to be rather stimulated than controlled by culture, and who would in any case not be living under the check—stronger than law itself—of a thesis to uphold.

All women must deeply feel the plague-spot on our social system, for which, according to the moralists cited, the abolition of marriage is the remedy; it is a grief and shame to the best of them; but it is too vile a thing to be cured by *dispersion*. A French writer has said: "The virtue of woman is the finest invention of man." The thing is indeed so good, and men owe so much of the firmness of their moral fibre (by inheritance) to the particular power of self-restraint which goes under the name, that they would be entitled to high credit if it were of their making. Regarding it, however, not in the light of invention but discovery, we may hope that before humanity finally deflects from its upward course, it will be found that there exists a due capacity for its evolution in men; and every social movement crediting the authority of women would naturally tend to encourage the spread of such a growth.

It is possible that the men who have so long elected to be the visible providence of the other sex, have done what they could in its behalf; but it is difficult to estimate human needs wholly from the outside, and having always been legislated for as creatures apart, our common humanity has failed our "keepers" as a serviceable guide to our requirements.

Women are dissatisfied not only with what has been done, and with what has been left undone for them, they are also dissatisfied that they, toilers and sufferers, should be left to the self-dependence of labour and sorrow without a voice in the Government to which they are accountable. Their right to labour on other fields than the barren patch into which they were until lately crowded, has been tardily conceded; they now demand to have a word to say in the making and administering of the laws by which the fruits of labour are protected. It is not well that there should be this widening breach, this growing sense of hardship.

If there is no class of men possessing to the full what they stand in need of, or with whom changing circumstances are not perpetually calling into play new requirements which demand to be met by new expedients, the conditions and necessities of women are even more fluctuating, and they feel that the time is come when light should be shed upon these intricate problems from within. They inherit faculties trained by house-

hold and educational cares, and know themselves fitted for the exercise of the function they demand to share. It is not a matter which calls for the employment of the comparative scale which men in our day seem so eager to apply to the endowments of their female companions. There is no earthly need that an intending voter should give proof of high dramatic or musical genius. It may be that the creative energy is less strong in women than in men, but that is quite beside the point at issue, and carries with it no implication that the female understanding is less proper than the male for nourishing the germs of thought, for forming a nidus for the ideas everywhere present in the air, and for presenting them clothed in shapes well fitted to act upon the material forces around us. As a matter of fact worth much theorizing, the women now employed in offices of trust, whether on the School Board or elsewhere, are proving themselves good administrators, steady workers, and as sober of judgment as their male coadjutors.

The evils of a complicated social system are great, and the difficulty of dealing with them sore. It may well be that such contingent of help as women could furnish, if they were more fully free to do so, would have a very inadequate effect in mitigating human ill. But many of those who are not called upon to bear the brunt of ills in their own persons, feel the burthen of them as pressing upon others; and it is waste of motive power, as it is pain and wrong to the modern woman, whose cultivated sympathy is often alive in every nerve to the shames and sorrows of society, to deny her right to put her untried strength to the wheel. If there be anything on which all noble-hearted human beings, whether men or women, are agreed, it is in a vast regret that the alleviation of social suffering, the purgation of social sin, is a work of such slow advance. It is folly in such a case to repudiate the help of willing workers, the folly becomes cruelty when the power to act upon circumstances is denied to those upon whom the suffering presses most hardly, and of whom the payment of sin is demanded with overwhelming interest. But while the women at the front of this movement, women who have long been fighting an unequal battle, and have had their training in a school of trouble and disappointment, are not rash enough to expect miracles from that partial possession of the suffrage by their sex for which they are contending, they are justified in looking for some appreciable result, which may increase with the growing time. If they do not conceive that the wilderness is to blossom as the rose when, in place of overt influence, they have come to the open exercise of a certain modicum of power, it is permitted reasonably to hope that feminine thought, practically directed to politics, may occasionally cast some glimpse of light on subjects which, not commending themselves to masculine attention, have heretofore remained obscure. And there is a further issue which, if more recondite, is of equally sure promise and of even deeper significance. I allude to the effect on character—on that character which the mothers and early teachers of mankind transmit to

their descendants of both sexes, which may be looked for as a result of the recognized expression of woman's thought and will—in a word, from the exercise of the human right of freedom.

Speaking once with an Oriental of high mark, on the position of the women of his people, he said to me: "In India women are all-powerful, even as they are here." I believed and do believe him. The women of India are nimble-witted and acute, or they were no match for their husbands and brothers; and, smooth and subtle as snakes, they fold the limbless strength of their degraded souls about every question, which appeals with sufficient force to their passions or interest. Held by men in a condition of abject subjection, deprived by jealous supervision of all moral self-support, the Nemesis of the virtues which have been killed within them appears in the characters of craft and subtlety which they *print upon the race*. It is not too much to say of the women of a nation, that they are the moulds in which the souls of its men are set. Their very moods are reflected in the infant that is born into the world; the young child is surrounded by the mother's mind as by an atmosphere; her judgments are his code, her example his authority. Scarcely out of school, when the passions are in a state of fusion and make the whole being plastic, the youth falls under the operation of this law of life in another shape. The woman who is loved of boy or man, unconsciously prescribes the form of her own worship, and the character of the worshipper is modified, more or less, by the result. Let it never be dreamed that emotional contact can take place between two human beings without leaving a lasting impress on both. The frail creature who is believed to be the object of little else than scorn, is a factor in the sum of circumstances which determines a man's walk, and that which he seems to see in it, to the latest hour of his life. It is thus that society suffers throughout its length and breadth from wrongs which to the superficial thinker may seem to press only upon a part of it.

It will hardly be supposed that I am confounding the condition of women in our Western World with that of their cruelly crippled sisters in the East. The illustration they have furnished to me has been used only to give point to the argument that it is essential to the dignity of human character generally, that all voluntary forces which affect human action shall be duly accredited and openly applied. Nor is it in morals alone that the frank embodiment of opinion is of sound and invigorating effect; it is good also for the sanity of the intellect, that thought and action should suffer no divorce. The mind that is coquetting with questions to which it acknowledges no external tie, is less likely to form just views, than one which knows itself in responsible relation to them. It would seem that at the point of progress we have now reached, there is special need of some new inlet of ideas, stimulating to larger and more healthy interests. In view of our yearly increasing wealth and the perpetual additions which are thereby made to the idle and luxurious

classes, every countercheck to corrupting frivolity is to be hailed as an element of salvation. It is this large amount of female energy run wild, disfranchised of the little active cares which formerly employed it, and having found no substitute for them but the daily round in the treadmill of pleasure, that is spreading a pernicious example at home, and lowering the character of our countrywomen abroad. The affairs of the world, under the name of politics, in which the withdrawal of the disqualifications of sex would give to women a more intelligent interest, may not be greatly more ennobling than those of the household, when they are viewed from the standpoint of party; but questions of wide, impersonal relation are involved in them, which could not always be shut out from the minds even of the narrowest partisans; and this widening of the mental horizon would be among the incalculable consequences of the removal of those arbitrary restrictions, which constitute an infringement of liberty. There can be no call to hymn the praises of freedom to English men or women; the former have always deemed it worthy of their struggle and sacrifice; and, for the latter, whatever virtues they possess are owing to the share they have enjoyed of it. But what was in a way freedom to women under the old order, is bondage now; and if even more women than men, standing in a position which should render them responsible, are wasting life and leisure on pursuits wholly selfish and trivial, it is that wealth has loosened the claims of former duties, before liberty has given authority to the new. It is thus clear that the continued refusal to women of their demands for a more active citizenship, is the denial to them of a sacred human right to perfect and harmonious development.

A great deal has been said, is still being said, about the alteration of the relations of the sexes which might be expected to result from any extension of the franchise in the manner demanded. I own I find it difficult to respond to these fears with becoming seriousness. If there be any one thing of which Nature is careful, she is careful of her types, and while that "likeness in unlikeness" subsists, which is at the base of physical attraction, there is little fear of sexual relations being either reversed or annulled. So long as the maternal function continues tenderly to fashion the hearts of women, so long as the voices of men retain their resonance, and until their bodies lose their superior power of action and endurance, and their capacity for food and sleep, so long will there be little doubt that the saying of our neighbours, "*La barbe impose,*" will remain substantially correct. These quasi-material causes might be out of place in a system where abstract justice answered to a rigid logic, but in this world of incalculable movements, of checks and counterchecks, they present themselves as something more than the "windage" for which in all reasoning we are bound to allow. It would seem that the alarmists above-mentioned are reckoning without that great primal force which binds together men and women, and for which

the higher developments of reason are for ever forging stronger if more spiritual links. I would bid them take courage in remembering the comparative stability of the operations of Nature, judged by the shortness of the days of man; in any case, to plant a quiet hope in the largeness of those grants of time demanded for the changes she is supposed to effect. If men and women are finally either to grow into a dull resemblance or become inimical to each other, it will not presumably happen until the planet which they jointly inhabit has advanced far upon the process of cooling down; a contingency too remote for adjustment in regard to it, to come within the province of state-craft.

I am loth to accept as truly meant on the part of the men even most opposed to liberal views on this matter, the inconsiderate dictum that the possession of equal rights by those who can never be gifted with equal strength, should be held to exclude them from all chivalrous service and manly observance. If certain of those who have been the pioneers of this movement have used the rough and ready methods of speech and action which are perhaps proper to the nature of the work they have had to do in its beginnings, it affords no argument that those who enter upon tranquil possession of the good for which these others fought, would need to abandon any graces or gentlenesses which belong—let me say—to *contented* womanhood. But—

“A woman moved is like a fountain troubled,  
Muddy, ill-seeming, thick, bereft of beauty.”

And, be it said, by the way, the poet who has best held the mirror to the nature he has left us to interpret for ourselves, has given us, in the play wherein these lines occur, a picture of the lying subservience resulting from acquiescence in despotism, which would furnish a keener sting than could be found in any words of mine, to some of the foregoing remarks.

Women are demanding a fair field wherein to labour, and they make no claim for favour so far; but life is not all made up of labour and sorrow, and even labour and sorrow do not exclude mutual help.

Let it never be said that the daughters of Albion have had to choose between justice and mercy; the alternative would be hard, but the election could not be long doubtful. The grace which one sex arrogates to itself the right of according to the other, while its exercise has in all time been partial and self-regarding, has become, in relation to the exigencies of modern female life, little better than a sop to Cerberus. It is justice, simple, and, as is now scarcely denied, obvious justice, which the *femme sole* of our modern society, and through her womanhood at large, in such a degree as natural laws render expedient, is seeking to secure.

There was a time when physical force ruled the world, when law was feeble, and only the strong hand could make itself respected. A woman

then who had got no man to marry her was forced to seek the refuge of the cloister; married or immured, in either case she was externally cared for and protected, as was needful in her unfitness to barbarous conditions; and in either case she gave herself wholly, and was swallowed up, whether of the Church or her liege lord, in return for shelter, suit, or service. It was an agreement, and when fulfilled according to the letter, it left no ground for complaint.

The laws which were made or redressed from time to time, were shaped in accordance with the demands of the ruling sex. That one of their chattels, which from the beginning has possessed a sad faculty of feeling, and was learning by degrees to think, was taken no heed of by the State, but left, with the rest of a man's personal property, entirely at his own discretion. And, perhaps on the whole, the possession of an object, if it happen to be of value to the holder, may be taken as a fair guarantee for its receiving a reasonable amount of care. But now a day has come when, if the “seven women” of the prophet would not “take hold on one man,” some of them must be resigned to belong only to themselves, and prepared to stand up and fight the battle of life alone. That they are to a certain extent handicapped by Nature in this struggle of opposing interests is not, cannot be, denied; but no one, I think, will say that any plea for undue allowance is put forward on this account by the brave women who are already in the arena. On the contrary, their demand is only that the terms of conflict shall be something like equalized where that is possible; and this is precisely the justice that is denied them. The rate-paying, law-abiding, property-holding, professional, or working woman, is suffered to have no voice in the regulation of the taxes or the laws under which she must live or die; and if she would influence them at all, must have recourse to the nearest man—possibly her butler, coachman, gardener, or the labourer in her fields—as the stalking-horse of her own unrecognized personality. It is no wonder if the moment has at length arrived when society, having outgrown the gross appetites which placed its physically weaker half in a state of dependent tutelage, women are showing themselves impatient of the persistence of limitations which, beneficial in their time and season, have now become as oppressive as they are unmeaning, and insulting to rational intelligence.

“There is a divinity which shapes our ends.”

Had it so continued that every woman in these isles could have “dropped into the jaws” of some one man, and so “ceased” as a social unit, it is highly probable that no word would have been heard among us of any further suffrage. But necessity has presented itself to the women of our generation with talons and beak more formidable than those of the eagle who drives the young one from the nest. They have not sought the shelterless strife with opposing prejudices

and interests, but have been forced into it by the incontrovertible law which pushes the tribes of men over barren continents, and out upon stormy seas. It is *Hunger*, the mighty *Maker*, which is urging our women upon new paths, and driving them upon a way which they would not, to the fulfilment of a destiny which they know not. With this force behind them it is impossible that they should turn back, impossible that those before them should resist their impulsion. They have been crowded by their own numbers out of the penfold in which their activity was enclosed, and forced to seek the equivalent of their labour in an ever-widening sphere. In making the experiment of their fitness for untried work, they have had to face odium and abundant ridicule from those whose approval they hold dear. Their efforts to train themselves for higher and more remunerative labour have encountered the opposition of a jealously-guarded monopoly; and the claim for citizenship now formulated—though enforced independence has rendered it a right—may be met, seeing that it lacks the element of material force which still enters largely into human affairs, on many sides with indifference, and on some with scorn. It would not be thus if there existed a threat behind it. Meetings of men of any class, upon the scale of the women's meetings which have lately assembled, would be held sufficiently representative of their mind and will to enforce respect for their demands. But the stream of tendency which sets in the way of women's advance is irresistible, and the vital rational principles incorporated in her claim could in the end win alone in the struggle with material resistance—

"The soul of things is strong:  
A seedling's heaving heart has moved a stone."

The march of civilization is one sure, if slow, progression from the rule of the strongest to the equal right divine, and it will not stop short of its legitimate end. But with ends, as ends, we have nothing to do; our progress is step by step, our only guide the awakening conscience of humanity. It were vain to deny that seemingly moderate and wholly reasonable as is the demand now put forward, such exercise of reason would be a new and strange thing in the history of the already old world, and that some degree of faith in right is needed to enable men to commit themselves confidently to the unknown. We may win much, we must lose something, by this as by every other change; but change is a law of life, and this one has long been gathering force to make itself obeyed. Neither men nor women can finally resist the momentum of circumstances, but women at least could be made to suffer unduly by the presence of prolonged opposition.

I will not deal to my countrymen such scant measure of the justice often invoked, as to doubt that there are generous souls among them with whom the appeal of reason and feeling, gains more than it loses by

the knowledge that it emanates from a region wherein the power to enforce it brutally, has no existence. It would only be entirely worthy of the men whose fathers have fought and died for liberty on many fields, to share the precious heirloom on the basis of moral right, with companions who could never wrest it from their unwilling grasp, or, prizing it however truly, baptize it with their blood in contact with such opponents. The place of a people in the scale of human development is determined by the condition of its women: it would be a meet crown to a long career of freedom, if the country of which it is the chosen home, should be the first among the nations to yield that which no one of them in the end may be able to withhold.