

ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE.
OF THE
National Society for Women's Suffrage.

Presented to the General Meeting, May 29th, 1875.

In presenting their Annual Report your Committee have much pleasure in stating that the interest felt in the Women's Suffrage movement has greatly increased throughout the country during the past year, whilst the late division shows a marked advance in the House of Commons.

On the first day of the session Mr. Forsyth gave notice to re-introduce the Bill to remove the Electoral Disabilities of Women. It was read a first time on February 8th, and the second reading was fixed for April 7th.

The text of the Bill is as follows :—

“Be it enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows :—

“1. That in all Acts relating to the qualification and registration of voters or persons entitled or claiming to be registered and to vote in the Election of Members of Parliament, wherever words occur which import the masculine gender, the same shall be held to include females, for all purposes connected with and having reference to the right to be registered as voters, and to vote in such election, any law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.”

The debate was opened by Mr. Forsyth, who moved the second reading of the Bill in a clear and exhaustive speech. He was supported by Mr. Stansfeld with forcible and high-toned arguments, and also by Mr. O'Sullivan and Mr. H. M. Jackson. The rejection of the Bill was moved by Mr. Chaplin, seconded by Mr. Leatham, and supported by Mr. Smollett, Mr. Beresford Hope, Mr. Newdegate, and Sir Henry James. On a division being taken the numbers were:—

For the Bill	152
Against	187
	—
Majority	35

AYES.

Adderley, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles	Corry, James Porter (Belfast)
Allen, W. Shepherd (Newe, U.L.)	Cowan, James (Edinburgh)
Anderson, George	Cowen Joseph (Newcastle)
Anstruther, Sir Windhsm (L'k)	Cross, John Kynaston (Bolton)
Antrobus, Sir Edmund	Cubitt, George
Ashbury, James Lloyd	Dalway, Marriott Robert
Backhouse, Edmund	Deakin, James Henry
Bateson, Sir Thomas	Dickson, Major Alex. G. (Dover)
Bathurst, Allen Alexander	Dickson, Thos. A. (Dungannon)
Bazley, Sir Thomas	Dilke, Sir Charles Wentworth
Beaumont, Major Fred. (Durh. S.)	Dillwyn, Lewis Llewelyn
Beresford, Col. M. (Southwark)	Disraeli, Rt. Hon. Benjamin
Biggar, Joseph Gillis	Dixon, George (Birmingham)
Boord, Thomas William	Earp, Thomas
Bousfield, Major	Elliot, Sir Geo. Dur. Co. (N.F.)
Briggs, William Edward	Elliot, George, (Northallerton)
Brise, Col. Ruggles	Elphinstone, Sir James D. H.
Brooks, Maurice (Dublin)	Eslington, Lord
Brown, Alexander H. (Wenlock)	Ewing, Archibald Orr
Browne, George Ekins (Mayo)	Fawcett, Henry
Bruce, Rt. Hon. Lord Ernest (Marl.)	Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmund
Bruce, Hon. Thos. (Portsmouth)	Fordyce, William Dingwall
Burt, Thomas	Forester, Cecil Theodore Weld
Callender, William Romaine	Forster, Sir Charles (Walsal)
Cameron, Charles (Gls'gow)	Fraser, Sir William Augustus
Carter, Robert M.	Gardner, James T. Agg. (Chelms)
Cawley, Charles E.	Gardner, R. Richardson (W'sor)
Chadwick, David	Gordon, Rt. Hon. E. S. (Glas. U.)
Charley, William Thomas	Gorst, John Eldon
Clarke, J. Creemer	Gourley, Edward Temperley
Clifford, Charles Cavendish	Greenall, Gilbert
Cobbold, John Patteson	Grieve, James Johnstone
Collins, Eugene	Gurney, Rt. Hon. Russell
Corbett, John (Droitwich)	Hammond, Charles Frederic

Harrison, Charles (Bewdley)	O'Sullivan, William Henry
Harrison, J. Fortescue (Kilmarn'k.)	Palmer, Charles Mark
Henley, Rt. Hon. J. W.	Pender, John
Hernon, Edward	Pennington, Frederick
Hervey, Lord F. (Bury St. Edm.)	Perkins, Sir Frederick
Heygate, William Unwin	Phipps, Pickering
Hill, Alex. Staveley (Staff. W.)	Pim, Captain Bedford
Hill, Thos. Rowley (Worcester)	Playfair, Rt. Hon. Dr. Lyon
Hodgson, Kirkman D. (Bristol)	Polhil-Turner, Captain
Holker, Sir John	Power, Richard (Waterford)
Holms, William (Paisley)	Price, William E. (Tewkesbury)
Hopwood, Charles Henry	Puleston, John Henry
Ingram, William James	Ramsay, John
Jackson, Henry Mather	Richard, Henry
Jenkins, David James (Penryn)	Richardson, Thomas
Jenkinson, Sir George S.	Round, James
Johnston, William (Belfast)	Ryder, Granville Richard
Kinnaird, Hon. Arthur Fitzgerald	Samuelson, Bernhard
Laing, Samuel	Sanderson, Thomas Kemp
Lambert, Nathaniel Grace	Sandford, G. Montagu W.
Laverton, Abraham	Selwin-Ibbetson, Sir Henry J.
Lloyd, Morgan (Beaumaris)	Sheriff, Alexander Clunes
Lush, Dr.	Shute, General
Lusk, Sir Andrew	Simon, Mr. Serjeant
Mackintosh, Charles Fraser	Smith, Eustace (Tynemouth)
M'Arthur, Alexander, (Leic.)	Spinks, Mr. Serjeant
M'Kenna, Sir Joseph Neal	Stackpoole, William
M'Lagan, Peter	Stewart, Mark John (Wigton)
M'Laren, Duncan	Sullivan, Alexauder M.
Manners, Rt. Hon. Lord John	Taylor, Peter Alfred (Leicester)
Marten, Alfred George (Cam. B.)	Tennant, Robert
Mellor, Thomas W.	Tillett, Jacob Henry
Mills, Arthur (Exeter)	Torrens, W. T. M'Cullagh
Morley, Samuel	Trevelyan, George Otto
Mulholland, John	Villiers, Rt. Hon. C. Pelham
Mundella, Anthony John	Wait, William Killigrew
Neville-Grenville, Ralph	Watkin, Sir Edward W.
Noel, Ernest (Dumfries)	Wilson, Chas. (Kings. upon Hull)
Nolan Captain	Wilson, Sir Mathew (Yk. W. R.)
Norwood, Charles Morgan	Yeaman, James
O'Clery, Keyes	Yorke, John Reginald (Glou. E.)
O'Shaughnessy, Richard	

Tellers for the Ayes, Mr. Forsyth and Mr. Stansfeld.

NOES.

Adam, Rt. Hon. William Patrick	Baring, Thomas Charles
Agnew, Robert Vans	Barrington, Viscount
Alexander, Colonel	Bass, Arthur (Staffordsh. E.)
Allen, Major (Somerset, E.)	Bassett, Francis
Allsopp, Henry (Worc. E.)	Bates, Edward
Arkwright, Aug. P. (Derby) N.	Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir M. H. (Clo. E.)
Ashley, Hon. Evelyn M.	Bentinck, Geo. W. P. (Norf. W.)
Baggallay, Sir Richard	Bolckow, Henry W. F.
Balfour, Arthur Jas. (Hertf. Bo)	Brassey, Thomas (Hastings)
Barclay, Alex. Chas. (Taunton)	Bright, Rt. Hn. John (Birmingham)

Bristowe, Samuel Boteler
 Butt, Isaac
 Campbell, Colin
 Campbell-Bannerman, Henry
 Carington, Hon. Colonel Wm.
 Cartwright, Fairflax (Northamp)
 Cartwright, Wm. C. (Oxfords.)
 Cavendish, Lord G. (Derbysh. N.)
 Cecil, Lord Eustace H. B. G.
 Chaplin, Col. E. (Linc. City)
 Clive, Col. Hn. G. Windsor (Lud.)
 Clive, George (Hereford)
 Close, Maxwell Charles
 Cochrane, Alex. D. W. R. Baillie
 Colebrooke, Sir Thomas Edward
 Cordes, Thomas
 Corry, Hn. H. W. Lowry (Tyrone)
 Cowper, Hon. Henry F.
 Cross, Rt. Hn. Rd. A. (Lanc. S. W.)
 Dalkeith, Earl of
 Dalrymple, Charles
 Davenport, W. Bromley
 Davis, Richard (Anglesea)
 Denison, W. E. (Nottingham)
 Dick, Fitzwilliam
 Dodson, Rt. Hon. John George
 Duff, Mount. Elph. Grant (Elgin)
 Duff, Robert William (Banffish)
 Dunbar, John
 Dyke, William Hart
 Dyott, Colonel Richard
 Eaton, Henry William
 Edmonstone, Admiral Sir Wm.
 Edwards, Henry
 Egerton, Adm. Hn. F. (Derby E.)
 Egerton, Hon. Wilb. (Chesh. M.)
 Elcho, Lord
 Errington, George
 Fielden, Joshua (Yk. W. R. (E. D.)
 Ferguson, Robert
 French, Hon. Charles
 Gallwey, Sir Willian Payne
 Garnier, John Carpenter
 Goldney, Gabriel
 Goldsmid, Julian (Rochester)
 Gooch, Sir Daniel
 Gordon, William (Chelsea)
 Gore, J. Ralph Ormsby (Salop N)
 Gore, Wm. Rd. Ormsby (Leitrim)
 Gower, Hon. E. F. Leveson (Bod)
 Greene, Edward
 Gregory, George B.
 Hall, Alexander William
 Halsey, Thomas Frederick
 Hamilton, Lord Cl. J. (King's)
 Hamilton, Ion, Trant (Dublin Co.)
 Hamilton, Lord George (Midd'x)
 Hamilton, Marquis of (Donegal)
 Hankey, Thomson
 Harcourt, Sir W. Vernon
 Hardy, Rt. Hn. Gathorne (Oxf. U.)
 Hardy, John Stewart (Rye)
 Hartington, Marquis of
 Hay, Rt. Hn. Sir J. C. Dalrymple
 Herbert, Henry A. (Kerry)
 Hervey, Lord Aug. H. (Suff. W.)
 Holland, Sir H. T. (Midhurst)
 Hood, Capt. Hn. Arthur W. A. N.
 Hope, Alex. J. B. Beresford
 Horsman, Rt. Hon. Edward
 James, Walter H. (Gateshead)
 James Sir Henry (Taunton)
 Jolliffe, Hon. Sydney
 Kay-Shuttleworth, Ughtred Jas
 Kennard, Colonel
 Kingscote, Colonel
 Knatchbull-Hugessen, Rt. Hn. B.
 Knowles, Thomas
 Lawrence, Sir James Clarke
 Leatham, Edward Aldam
 Lefevre, George John Shaw
 Legh, Wm. John (Chesh. E.)
 Lewis, Chas. Edwd. (Londond'y)
 Lewis, Owen (Carlow Rorough)
 Locke, John
 Lowe, Rt. Hon. Robert
 Macduff, Viscount
 M'Arthur, William (Lambeth)
 Maitland, John
 Majendie, Lewis Ashurst
 Makins, Colonel
 Malcolm, John Wingfield
 March, Earl of
 Majoribanks, Sir Dudley C.
 Merewether, Charles George
 Mills, Sir Chas. Henry (Kent, W.)
 Monckton, Francis (Staffordshire)
 Monckton, Hon. Geo. (Notts.)
 Monk, Charles James (Glouc.)
 Moore, Arthur
 Mowbray, Rt. Hon. John Robert
 Mure, Colonel
 Naghten, Arthur Robert
 Newdegate, Charles Newdigate
 Newport, Vicount
 North, Colonel
 O'Connor, Denis M. (Sligo Co.)
 Onslow, Derzil
 Parker, Lt. Col. Windsor
 Peel, Arthur Wellesley (Warw.)
 Peel, Rt. Hon. Sir Rob. (Tamworth)
 Pell, Albert

Peploe, Major
 Plunket, Hon. D. R. (Dublin Univ.)
 Plunkett, Hon. R. (Glouc. W.)
 Praed, Chas. Tyring (St. Ives)
 Praed, H. Bulkeley (Colchester)
 Raikes, Henry Cecil
 Rendlesham, Lord
 Repton, George William
 Ritchie, Charles Thompson
 Robertson, Henry
 Roebuck, John Arthur
 Rothschild, Nath. M. de
 Russell, Lord Arthur (Tavistock)
 Scott, Montagu D. (Sussex, E.)
 Shaw, Richard (Burnley)
 Sidebottom, T. Harrop
 Simonds, William Barrow
 Smith, Wm. Hen. (Westminster)
 Smyth, Richard (Lond'y Co)
 Smollett, Patrick Boyle
 Stafford, Marquis of
 Stanhope, Hon. Edw. (Linc. M.)
 Starkey, Lewis R. (York, W. R.)
 Steere, Lee
 Stuart, Colonel (Cardiff)
 Sykes, Christopher
 Talbot, John Gilbert (Kent. W.)

Tellers for the Noes, Mr. Chaplin and Sir Charles Russell.

PAIRS.

For.	Against.
Sir W. Lawson	Lord R. Montagu
Sir F. Davie	Lord R. Churchill
Mr. Plimsoll	Mr. S. Lloyd
Lord Conyngham	Captain Hayter
Mr. W. Hunt	Mr. Childers
Mr. F. Arkwright	Mr. E. Allsopp
Mr. J. F. Leith	Mr. Pemberton
Col. Gilpin	Sir J. Astley
Mr. Birley	Mr. Cotes
Sir M. Lopes	Hon. A. Egerton
Mr. Meldon	Mr. A. Smith
Mr. Powell	Mr. Estcourt
Mr. Dodds	Mr. Watney
Mr. Fothergill	Mr. Herschell
Mr. Chapman	Mr. Walsh
Mr. Blennerhasset	Mr. S. Cave

The Bill was therefore lost. But whilst in 1873 it was lost by a majority of 67 in a House of 377 Members, it was defeated on this occasion by a majority of only 35 in a House of 339 members. That is to say, although the House was smaller than when a division was last taken by about one-tenth part, the hostile majority was reduced by one-half. The smallness of the House is amply accounted for by the date of the second reading falling only two days after the Easter recess.

Adding tellers and pairs to the above number of votes, we have a result of:—

IN FAVOUR.		AGAINST.	
Liberals	98	Liberals	76
Conservatives	72	Conservatives	129
<hr/>		<hr/>	
Total	170	Total	205

These votes analysed into their several nationalities are:—

IN FAVOUR.		AGAINST.	
English	126	English	172
Scotch	24	Scotch	15
Irish	20	Irish	18

Of the members who have been elected since the last division in 1873, there were:—

IN FAVOUR.		AGAINST.	
Liberals	44	Liberals	16
Conservatives	34	Conservatives	47
<hr/>		<hr/>	
Total	78	Total	63

It thus appears that a majority both of the Scotch and Irish members who voted or paired were in favour of the Bill, and of the new members who took part in the division a decided majority recorded their votes in its favour. Your Committee look upon this as an evidence that public opinion is steadily growing in favour of the principle of this measure.

Amongst those who voted for the Bill were the following members of the present Government:—Mr. Disraeli, Sir C. B. Adderley, Lord John Manners, the Solicitor-General, the Lord Advocate for Scotland, Sir J. Elphinstone, and Sir Selwyn Ibbetson, and Mr. Ward Hunt paired in its favour. Of the late Ministry, Mr. Stansfeld and Dr. Lyon Playfair voted in favour of the Bill.

Comparing the number of petitions presented this session with the number presented in favour of the Bill last year, it appears that in 1874 there were 1,404 petitions, containing 430,343 signatures. In 1875, 1,253 petitions have been presented, containing

a total of 410,178 signatures. Last year, however, petitioning continued up to the end of July, and this year, owing to the early date appointed for the second reading, only up to the end of April. If we compare the numbers sent in this year with those sent in at a corresponding date in 1874, we shall find an increase this year of 131,936 signatures; 225 of these petitions, signed by 124,681 persons, were forwarded to Parliament through the efforts of the friends and members of the Central Committee.

From Scotland 274 petitions were sent up, with an aggregate of 49,612 signatures. Eleven Scotch Town Councils sent petitions in favour of the Bill. From Ireland there were 207 petitions, containing 24,038 signatures. Petitions have also been sent to the House of Lords, but the number of signatures has not been ascertained. No petition whatever has been presented against the Bill from any part of the Kingdom, which justifies us in believing that there is an absence of any strong feeling of opposition to the measure in the country.

Your Committee have to record many influential meetings, amongst which are those held at Huntingdon, Canterbury, Horsham, and Bury St. Edmund's. In London, a large public meeting was held on December 8th, in Hanover-square Rooms, at which Sir Robert Austruther, Bart., M.P., presided. The meeting was addressed by Miss Anna Swanwick, Mr. Serjeant Cox, Miss Becker, Miss L. Ashworth, Miss C. A. Biggs, Miss Cobbe, Miss Rhoda Garrett, and others.

Your Committee feel that their thanks are especially due to those ladies who have held drawing-room meetings in their houses for the discussion of the question, and have thus brought the subject before many who had not had the opportunity of hearing it discussed at public meetings. Their sense of the valuable aid thus rendered induces your Committee to hope that many other ladies will be encouraged to do the same, and they would earnestly impress upon their friends the importance of extending this means of spreading light on the general question all over the Kingdom, believing the time has now arrived when it will prove the most effectual way of assisting the progress of the movement.

During the past year the Society has had to lament the death

of Canon Kingsley, who had written in support of the movement as early as 1869. It has lost also a warm friend by the death of Mrs. Blackburn, of Southport, who liberally contributed both time and money to the cause. We have also to regret Lord Romilly and Mr. Charles Gilpin, who were amongst the earliest advocates of Women's Suffrage.

Your Committee congratulate their friends on the greatly increased strength and activity which have been manifested in various parts of the country in behalf of the enfranchisement of women. They desire to take this opportunity of thanking the friends of the Society for their liberal aid to the funds in the past, and invite them to make increased efforts for the future. Your Committee, therefore, urgently appeal to the friends of the cause to assist them in raising funds in order to press forward the work in preparation for the division of next Session. It is of the greatest importance that funds should be raised, not only by means of large contributions, but also by a wide increase in the circle of small subscribers, and the formation of a Shilling League has been resolved upon, which it is hoped will spread an interest in the question amongst many who, though they may have little to give, may very materially help the cause.

In the desire to curtail the length of this Report, many details of the work of the past year have been omitted. It is with special gratification that your Committee point to the fact that an influential section of the Public Press now fully admits the justice of your cause. Relying on the progress of public opinion, and confident of the continued help of all those who have hitherto aided in the work, your Committee look forward with hope to the coming year, satisfied that the object of their exertions will be achieved at no distant date, and that each year will bring them nearer to the practical solution of the great question to which they are devoting their efforts.

National Society for Women's Suffrage.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

Receipts and Payments from June 18, 1874, to May 20, 1875

Dr.	RECEIPTS.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
From Balance in Bank			68 15 11	
" " " Petty Cash.....			20 0 0	
" " " Fund for Agents.....			0 17 10	
				89 13 9
" Subscriptions and Donations			1,180 15 6	
" Special Contributions to Lecturing Fund			40 0 6	
" Rent from Berner's Club			5 0 0	
" Sale of Tickets and Papers			13 18 7	
" Repayments of advances			7 1 6	
				£1,336 9 4

PAYMENTS.		Cr.
Salaries		104 5 8
Rent of Office		115 0 0
Office Expenses		28 11 5½
Expenses of Meetings		546 7 3
Payments to Agents.....		258 1 8
Printing		80 6 6
Postage and Telegrams		64 17 3
Newspapers.....		23 11 7
Stationery		12 7 5½
Advertisements		31 1 5
Incidental Expenses		6 14 10
	£ s. d.	
Balance in Bank.....	98 4 3	
Outstanding Order	50 0 0	
	£48 4 3	
Subscriptions in hand	10 0 6	
Cash in Secretary's hands.....	6 19 6	65 4 3
		£1,336 9 4

Vouchers examined and Balance found correct,

H. HAY HILL,

Auditor.

29th May, 1875.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, HELD IN THE SOCIETY'S

OFFICE, 294, REGENT STREET,

ON SATURDAY, MAY 29TH, 1875.

MR. W. FORSYTH, Q.C., M.P., IN THE CHAIR.

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

First Resolution.—Moved by Mrs. LUCAS, seconded by Miss C. BIGGS, supported by Miss REEVES :—

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

Second Resolution.—Moved by Miss WILLIAMS, seconded by Miss BABB :—

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

Third Resolution.—Moved by Mr. BENNETT, seconded by Miss TOD :—

“That the thanks of this meeting be given to Mr. Forsyth for presiding on this occasion.”

* For names of Executive Committee see Appendix.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS.

	Annual Subscriptions.	Donations.
Abercrombie, Mrs. Alexander	0 5 0	
Allen, Miss F., Tenby	..	.. 5 0 0
Amos, Prof. and Mrs. Sheldon	1 1 0	
Anderson, Miss ..	0 5 0	
Angus, Mrs	..	.. 1 1 0
Ashworth, The Misses, Bath	..	.. 100 0 0
Ashworth, Miss L.	..	.. 50 0 0
"	..	.. 2nd 50 0 0
Ashworth, Miss ..	..	.. 5 0 0
Anonymous	0 1 0	
A Friend	..	.. 70 0 0
A Friend, per Mrs. Jacob Bright	..	.. 40 0 0
" per Mrs. Sims	..	.. 3 3 0
" per Miss Hill	..	.. 0 10 0
" Boston	..	.. 0 5 0
" London	..	.. 0 5 0
"	..	.. 0 2 6
"	..	.. 0 2 6
A Lover of Justice	..	.. 1 0 0
A Working Woman	..	.. 0 5 0
Babb, Mr. J., Staines	1 1 0	
Babb, Miss C. E.	1 1 0	
Bailey, Mr. Thomas, Boston	0 2 6	
Baines, Miss, Yalding	0 5 0	
Balston, Mrs. Alfred, Poole	0 2 6	
Barry, Mrs., Sydenham	0 2 6	
Bastard, Mr. T. H. Charlton Marshall	..	.. 1 0 0
Bayly, Mr. Edric	1 1 0	
Benham, Mr. Jas.	1 0 0	
Bennett, Mr. A. W.	1 1 0	
Best, Mrs. Pycroft, Harrow	0 5 0	
Bigg, Miss L. Luton	..	.. 0 5 0
Biggs, Mr. Joseph	1 1 0	
Biggs, Miss Ashurst	1 1 0	
Biggs, Miss C. A.	1 1 0	.. 1 1 0
"	..	.. 2nd 2 0 0
Bird, Miss, Sydenham	0 5 0	
Blackburn, Mrs. B [the late]	0 5 0	
Blackburn, Miss, Walmer	0 5 0	
Boecker, Miss	1 0 0	
Bolton, Mrs., Torquay	0 5 0	
Bonus, Miss, Penge	0 5 0	
Boucherett, Miss J.	..	.. 5 0 0
Browne, Mrs. S. W.	..	.. 5 0 0
Bruce, Mrs.	1 1 0	
Buchan, Dowager Lady	..	.. 1 0 0
Burton, Frank	..	.. 0 5 0
Canning, Hon. Emmeline R.	..	.. 5 0 0
Carey, Miss, Guernsey	0 1 0	
Carpenter, Mrs., Bridport	1 0 0	
Cazalet, Mrs.	..	.. 5 0 0
Charlesworth, Mr. and Mrs., Sheffield	0 5 0	

	Annual Subscriptions.	Donations.
Clarke, Mrs. Pickering, Highgate	0 5 0	
Chesson, Mrs. F. W.	0 10 6	
Cobbe, Miss F. Power	1 1 0	5 0 0
Cooper, Mrs.	0 5 0	
Corbridge, Mrs.	1 10 0	
Corfield, Miss	0 5 0	
Courtauld, Miss	2 2 0	
Courtauld, Mr. S.		5 0 0
Courtenay, Miss		5 0 0
Craig, Miss, Edinburgh	1 1 0	
Crook, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph, Bolton	2 2 0	
Cox, Mr. Serjeant.	1 1 0	
Curtis, Mr. and Mrs.	0 2 0	
Davidson, Mrs., Braintree	1 1 0	
Davis, Mrs., Cambridge		1 0 0
Dennison, Mr. B., Peterborough	0 1 0	
Dixon, Mr. R. W., Hartlepool	0 10 0	
Donkin, Mrs.	0 10 0	
Donkin, Miss	0 5 0	
Dowling, Miss (by her Executors)		10 0 0
Drummond, Hon. Mrs. Maurice	0 15 0	
Drysdale, Lady	1 0 0	
Electoral Reformer		5 0 0
Edye, Mrs.	0 5 0	
Edye, Miss	0 5 0	
Edye, Miss Blanche	0 1 0	
Eiloart, Mrs.	0 10 0	
Ellis, Mr. Alexander J.	1 1 0	
Emerton, Mr. J. W., Boston	0 2 6	
Estlin, Miss, Clifton	1 1 0	
Everitt, Mr., Boston	0 2 6	
Fitch, Mr. J. G.	1 1 0	
Foa, Madame	0 1 0	
Gaffney, Miss	0 1 0	
Galpin, Mr. T. D.	1 1 0	
Gardner, Mrs.	0 1 0	
Glover, Mrs. R.	5 5 0	6 6 0
Goldsmid, Lady	2 2 0	3 3 0
Grove, Miss	0 5 0	
Gurney, Miss Mary	0 10 0	
Gurney, Miss Amy	0 2 6	
Hall, Miss, Edgware	2 2 0	
Hamilton, Mrs.		1 1 0
Hamilton, Mr. J.		1 0 0
Hargreaves, Mrs. William		5 0 0
Harris, Mr. H., Northampton	0 2 6	
Haslam, Mrs., Dublin	0 5 0	
Hill, Mr. Edwin	1 1 0	
Hill, Mr. Frederic	1 1 0	
Hill, Mrs. Frederic, collected by		3 0 0
Hill, Miss K.	0 10 0	
Hill, Misses R. & F.		1 0 0
Household Suffrage		100 0 0
Hodgson, Mrs. W. B.		5 0 0
Holtbrook, Mrs.	0 2 6	
Holditch, Mr. W., Peterborough	0 2 6	
Holland, Mrs. Charles		20 0 0
Holland, Miss	1 0 0	

	Annual Subscriptions.	Donations.
Holmes, Mr., Peterborough	0 2 6	
Hood, Mrs. Boston	0 2 6	
Hope, Miss, Noblehouse	0 10 6	
Hopwood, C. H., Esq.	2 2 0	
Horn, Miss	1 1 0	
Howell, Mrs. Amelia	0 5 0	
Hullah, Mrs. John	1 1 0	
Impartial Representation		100 0 0
Ingammels, Mr. C., Boston	0 2 6	
Jackman, Mrs.	0 2 6	
Jones, Mrs. R. C., Tunbridge Wells	1 1 0	
Johnson, Mrs. Thame	0 3 0	
Kelly, Lord Chief Baron, Sir Fitzroy	1 0 0	
King, Mrs. E. M.	1 1 0	
Kinnear, Mr. J. Boyd	1 0 0	
K.		0 12 6
Langton, Lady Anna Gore		50 0 0
"		2nd 21 0 0
"		3rd 10 0 0
Lapworth, Mr., Stafford	0 5 0	
Lawrence, Miss	0 5 0	
Lawrie, Mrs. Andrew	1 1 0	
Leach, Mrs., Yarmouth	0 5 0	
Lee, Mr., Boston		0 0 6
LeGeyt, Miss Alice, Bristol	0 2 0	
Leon, Mrs.		5 0 0
Lewis, Mrs.	2 2 0	
Lowe, Mrs.	0 10 0	
Lucas, Mrs. S.	1 1 0	1 0 0
Lucraft, Mr. and Mrs.	0 3 0	
Lynch, Mrs. collected by		5 0 0
MacArthur, Alex., Esq., M.P.		2 2 0
MacCance, Mrs.	0 5 0	
Malleson, Mr. and Mrs. F.	2 2 0	
Malleson, Mr. and Mrs. W.	3 3 0	
Maltby, Mr. John, Boston		0 2 0
Man, Mr. W., Woodford	1 0 0	
Mar, Countess of		1 0 0
Marsden, Mr. Mark		2 0 0
Martineau, Mrs. Harriet	1 1 0	
Mondy, Miss M.	0 2 0	
Mulholland, Miss	0 10 0	
Müller Mrs.	0 1 0	
Murray Rev. Alexander, Peterboro'	0 2 6	
Newman, Prof. F. W., Weston-super-Mare	2 0 0	
Nicol, Mr. Henry	1 1 0	
Obbinson, Miss, Boston	0 1 0	
Ogden, Mrs.		2 0 0
Ohlsen, Mrs.	1 0 0	
Parry, Herbert, Esq., and Lady Maude		1 1 0
Paterson, Mr. Thos.	0 2 6	
Paterson, Mrs.	0 5 0	
Pattison, Mrs. Mark, Oxford		1 0 0
Paulton, Mrs.	2 0 0	
Pellew, Miss		1 0 0
Pennack, Mrs.	0 2 6	

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 Women's Disabilities Removal Bill.

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

R U L E S

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

OFFICE OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE.—~~204, REGENT STREET,~~
LONDON, W. *64, BARNES STREET*

TREASURER.—ALFRED W. BENNETT, ESQ., M.A., 6, Park Village East, N.W.

BANKERS.—LONDON AND WESTMINSTER BANK, 217, Strand.

SECRETARY.—MISS H. BLACKBURN.

Publications to be obtained at the Office of the Central Committee.

THE POLITICAL DISABILITIES OF WOMEN.—Reprinted, by permission, from the "Westminster Review," of January, 1872. Price 1d., or 6s. 6d. per 100.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.—By Mrs. Arthur Arnold. A Paper read at the Birmingham Conference, December 6th, 1872. Price 1d.

THE RIGHT OF WOMEN TO EXERCISE THE ELECTIVE FRANCHISE.—By Mrs. H. D. Pochin. Price 3d.

MRS. FAWCETT ON WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.—Speech at the Birmingham Public Meeting, December 6th, 1872.—Price 9d.

THE WOMAN QUESTION.—Twelve Papers reprinted from the "Examiner." Price 1s. Post free for 13 stamps.

WORDS OF WEIGHT ON THE WOMAN QUESTION.—8vo., bound in cloth, 2s. 6d.

SHOULD WOMEN TO LEARN THE ALPHABET?—By T. W. Higginson. Price 3d.

WHY WOMEN DESIRE THE FRANCHISE.—By Miss Frances Power Cobbe. Price 1d.

SIXTEEN REASONS FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.—Price One Halfpenny.

OPINIONS OF EMINENT PERSONS ON WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.—Containing Extracts from the Speeches of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., Right Hon. Lord John Manners, M.P., Right Hon. B. Disraeli, M.P., Sir Wilfred Lawson, M.P., Sir George Jenkinson, M.P., Baron Coleridge, Lady Amberley, Lady Anna Gore Langton, Mrs. William Grey, Miss Cobbe, Mr. Herbert Spencer, Right Hon. J. W. Henley, M.P., Right Hon. G. Ward Hunt, M.P., Dr. Lyon Playfair, M.P., Professor Fawcett, Mrs. Garrett Anderson, M.D., Rev. F. D. Maurice, Mr. Jacob Bright, Mr. R. Cobden, Canon Kingsley, and Mrs. Fawcett. Reprinted as Leaflets for distribution. Price 1s. per 100.

WOMEN FARMERS AND THE FRANCHISE.—Price 1s. per 100.

REASONS FOR AND AGAINST THE ENFRANCHISEMENT OF WOMEN. By Mrs. Bodichon. Price 1d., or 6s. 6d. per 100.

SPEECHES BY MR. J. S. MILL.—Delivered in the House of Commons, May 20th, 1867, and at a Meeting in Edinburgh, Jan., 1871.—Price 1d. each.

SPEECHES OF MR. JACOB BRIGHT, M.P., AND PROFESSOR FAWCETT, M.P., in Parliament, April 30th, 1873. Price 1d. each.

REPORT OF PUBLIC MEETING IN HANOVER-SQUARE ROOMS, April 28th, 1873. Price 1d.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.—A Reply, by J. E. Cairns, LL.D. Price 3d.

THE CITIZENSHIP OF WOMEN, SOCIALLY CONSIDERED.—Reprinted from "Westminster Review." Price 6d.

ANNUAL REPORT OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE, June, 1875.

EIGHTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

OF THE

MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

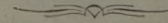
PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,
NOVEMBER 10th, 1875.

MANCHESTER:

ALEXANDER IRELAND & CO., PRINTERS.

1875.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.



IN presenting the eighth Annual Report of the Manchester National Society for Women's Suffrage, your Committee have to record the judgment of the new Parliament on the Women's Disabilities Bill, which the promoters of the measure were unable to obtain last Session; and they report with satisfaction that the result may be regarded as very favourable to the prospects of the measure. Although the second reading was lost, the majority against it was so greatly diminished as to afford a presumption that the present House of Commons is more favourable to the principle than was its predecessor; and the Bill enjoys the distinction of being the only question of political reform which has appealed to the new Parliament with greater success than to the previous one.

The Bill was brought in and read a first time on February 8th, and the second reading fixed for April the 7th. This, although dangerously near the termination of the Easter recess, was the most favourable day that Mr. Forsyth was able to secure, as members must take the chances of the ballot with regard to priority in selecting days for the second reading of their bills. Notice of opposition to the Bill was given by Mr. Leatham and also by Mr. Chaplin.

On April 7th Mr. Forsyth moved the second reading of the Bill in a speech marked by great ability and discretion, which was received with approbation in a House that was better filled than on any former occasion at the commencement of the debate. Mr. Chaplin moved and Mr. Leatham seconded the rejection of the measure. The Bill was further supported by Mr. Stansfeld, Mr. Jackson, and Mr. O'Sullivan; and opposed by Mr. Smollett, Mr. Beresford Hope, Mr. Newdegate, and Sir

Henry James. On a division the numbers were : for the Bill, 152; against, 187; majority against, 35. The numbers last division were 155 to 222; majority against, in the old Parliament, 67. It will be seen by comparison with the last division that, while the supporters of the Bill remain at about the same number as in 1873, the number of opponents shows a considerable diminution. During the last Parliament the numbers who voted against the Bill remained for four successive years persistently at from 220 to 222; while in the new Parliament the opponents, in spite of the most energetic whipping of both sides of the House, only mustered 187.

Counting tellers and pairs in the four divisions of 1871, 1872, 1873, and 1875, there were—

	FOR THE BILL.				AGAINST.				ABSENT.					
	1871.	1872.	1873.	1875.	1871.	1872.	1873.	1875.	1871.	1872.	1873.	1875.		
English.....	109	112	121	122	...	172	191	180	163	...	197	160	165	173
Welsh	6	4	3	4	...	8	9	11	7	...	17	17	13	18
Scotch	25	25	26	24	...	14	14	15	16	...	22	21	19	20
Irish	19	22	22	20	...	34	28	33	19	...	53	55	50	63
Totals.....	159	163	172	170	...	228	242	239	205	...	289	253	247	274

The following table shows the numbers for and against the Bill in five divisions beginning with 1870 :—

	FOR THE BILL.			AGAINST.		
	Liberal.	Con.	Total.	Liberal.	Con.	Total.
Votes	60	34	94	137	83	220
Tellers	2	—	2	2	—	2
Pairs	17	6	23	11	11	23
	79	40	119	150	94	245
1871.						
Votes	96	55	151	118	102	220
Tellers	1	1	2	1	1	2
Pairs	3	3	6	4	2	6
	100	59	159	123	105	228
1872.						
Votes	105	38	143	114	108	222
Tellers	1	1	2	1	1	2
Pairs	7	11	18	8	10	18
	113	50	163	123	119	242

	FOR THE BILL.			AGAINST.		
	Liberal.	Con.	Total.	Liberal.	Con.	Total.
Votes	109	46	155	116	106	222
Tellers	1	1	2	1	1	2
Pairs	11	4	15	6	9	15
	121	51	172	123	116	239
NEW PARLIAMENT.—1875.						
Votes	89	63	152	72	115	187
Tellers	1	1	2	—	2	2
Pairs	9	7	16	4	12	16
	99	71	170	76	129	205

The Irish Home Rulers, of whom twelve voted for the Bill and seven against, are here classed as Liberals.

The above table shows that in the successive divisions the number of opponents has gradually declined and the number of supporters gradually increased; also, that this increase of support has been from both sides of the House. The number of Liberals who voted for the Bill steadily increased up to the last division in the old Parliament; and if there appears to be a diminution in the numbers now, it is sufficiently accounted for by the fact that there are not nearly so many Liberals now in the House to vote. But though the actual number of Liberal supporters is less, the proportionate number is greater. For the first time in the Parliamentary history of the Bill, it has obtained a majority of the Liberal votes recorded. There is a gain also on the other side. There are more Conservatives in the House than there were in 1873; consequently more Conservatives voted both for and against the measure. But the proportion of friends to opponents is considerably increased. In 1873 about three-quarters of the Conservatives who took part in the division voted against the Bill. This year less than two-thirds of the number who voted opposed the measure, and this out of a larger total of votes.

It is another hopeful circumstance that a majority of the new members, not in the last Parliament, who took part in the division, voted for the Bill. The number of members returned to the House of Commons since April, 1873, who voted on

Mr. Forsyth's Bill is 141. Of these 78 voted for the second reading, and 63 against, being a majority of 25 new members in favour of the Bill. The strength of the opposition appears to lie in the remnant of the old House of Commons.

Turning from members to constituencies, we find increased support for the measure. In the following calculations we take not only those members who voted in the last division, but those who supported it in the last Parliament, and those new members who have pledged or declared themselves in favour of the principle, but who from one cause or another were absent from the division. On this basis we find that, of the three-cornered constituencies, six—namely, Birmingham, Buckinghamshire, Glasgow, Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester—give either their full vote, or each a majority of their vote, in support of the Bill. Thirty-five constituencies, as against twenty-four in the last Parliament, give their full voice of two each in favour of the Bill, namely :—

Barnstaple	Essex, E.	Preston
Belfast	Exeter	Salford
Bolton	Edinburgh	Salisbury
Brighton	Finsbury	Scarborough
Bristol	Kingston-on-Hull	Southampton
Cavan	Leicester	Stockport
Cork Co.	Macclesfield	Waterford
Devonport	Mayo	Wenlock
Devon, E.	Merthyr	Wexford Co.
Dover	Newcastle-on-Tyne	Worcester
Dundee	Penryn & Falmouth	York
Durham, N.	Portsmouth	

Eighty-seven constituencies, as against seventy in the last Parliament, give their full voice of one each in favour of the measure, namely :—

Aberdeen, East	Athlone	Caithness
Aberdeen, West	Banbury	Calne
Aberdeen, City	Beaumaris	Cardigan Co.
Abingdon	Bewdley	Cardigan Dist.
Ashton-under-Lyne	Buckingham	Carrickfergus

Chatham	Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities	Newport I. W.
Cheltenham	Gravesend	Newry
Chichester	Greenock	Northallerton
Cirencester	Grimsby	Orkney & Shetland
Cockermouth	Haddington Dist.	Paisley
Coleraine	Hartlepool, The	Pembroke Dist.
Darlington	Haverfordwest	Perth
Devizes	Hawick	Portarlington
Dewsbury	Helston	Richmond
Downpatrick	Hythe	Rochdale
Drogheda	Invernesshire	Stockton-on-Tees
Droitwich	Inverness Dist.	Swansea
Dudley	Kidderminster	Tewkesbury
Dumbarton	Kilmarnock	Tynemouth
Dumfries	Kinsale	Wakefield
Dundalk	Lanark, S.	Wallingford
Dungannon	Launceston	Walsall
Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities	Leith	Warrington
Ennis	Linlithgow	Westbury
Falkirk	Louth	Wexford
Fife	Maldon	Wick
Flint Dist.	Malmesbury	Wigton
Forfarshire	Marlborough	Wilton
	Morpeth	Windsor
		Youghal

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

Blackburn	Hackney	Newcastle under-Lyme
Carmarthen	Halifax	
Clare	Hants S.	Northampton N.
Devon N.	Ipswich	Northumberland S.
Derby	Kildare	Oldham
Dublin	Lancashire N.E.	Somerset Mid
Durham S.	Leicester N.	Sunderland
Galway	Limerick Co.	Yorkshire West
Grantham	Louth Co.	Riding N.D.
Greenwich	Marylebone	

Twenty-four constituencies gave one vote for and one against the Bill, being twenty-four votes on each side :—

Bedford	Devon S.	Northampton
Boston	Essex W.	Sheffield
Bury St. E.	Gloucester E.	Somerset W.
Cambridge	Gloucester	Southwark
Carlisle	Kerry	Stafford West
Chelsea	Leicester S.	Surrey West
Coventry	Limerick City	Wells N.
Derby E.	Newark	Wolverhampton

We see that 117 constituencies, as against 94 last Parliament, give clear and full votes for the Bill; and 27 clear, though not full, votes for it. We have, therefore, 144 constituencies clearly ranged in favour of the Bill.

Your Committee venture to regard as a testimony to the strength of their position, the circumstance that the opponents of the measure appear to be so greatly alarmed at the progress of the question that they have deemed it necessary to form an Association of Peers, Members of Parliament, and other influential persons, for the purpose of resisting the claims of women to the suffrage. The following circular has been issued by them :—

“ MINUTES OF A MEETING AT THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

“ 23rd JUNE, 1875.

“ *Present* :—The Right Hon. E. P. Bouverie, in the chair.
And the following Members of Parliament: Right Hon. H. C. Childers, Marquis of Hamilton, Lord Randolph Churchill, Hon. E. Stanhope, Mr. Bentinck, Mr. Beresford Hope, Mr. Chaplin, Mr. Hayter, Sir Henry Holland, Sir Henry James, Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth, Mr. Leatham, Mr. Merewether, Mr. Newdegate, Mr. Raikes, Mr. de Rothschild, Mr. Scourfield, Mr. Whitbread.

Resolved :—

I. “ That a committee of Peers, Members of Parliament, and other influential men be organised for the purpose of maintaining the integrity of the franchise, in opposition to the claims for the extension of the Parliamentary suffrage to women.”

II. “ That Mr. E. P. Bouverie be requested to act as chairman, and Lord Claud John Hamilton and Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth as honorary secretaries.”

“ The following members have since joined those named above: Lord Elcho, Right Hon. E. Knatchbull-Hugessen, Right Hon. J. R. Mowbray, Sir Thomas Bazley, Mr. Butt, Mr. Gibson, and Colonel Kingscote.”

During the session of 1875 there were presented to the House of Commons 1,273 petitions, signed by 415,622 persons, in favour of the Bill. No petitions were presented against the measure. The petitions sent through the agency of the Manchester society and their friends were 269 with 153,697 signatures. The petitions from Manchester received 33,342, and from Salford 13,564 signatures. Your Committee would strongly urge on all their friends the necessity for renewed and increased petitions.

Your Committee have to report that the following meetings were held, since the last report, during the autumn and winter of 1874-5, in the following places:—Chester, Warrington, Southport, Blackburn, Preston, Kidderminster, Wolverhampton, Walsall, Lichfield, Dudley, Derby, Ironbridge, Bridgnorth. The campaign for this season has begun by large and enthusiastic meetings in Wigan and Burnley. Petitions and memorials in favour of the Bill were adopted at all these meetings.

Your Committee report with satisfaction that in consequence of these meetings the Society has received a considerable accession of members during the past year. After every meeting steps have been taken to enrol fresh subscribers, with such success that not only have the expenses of many of the meetings been nearly covered, and in some cases exceeded, by the donations obtained at once, but the subscriptions have been renewed next year; and your Committee may, therefore, regard every meeting promoted by them as a permanent source of income to the Society. As all such subscribers receive the *Women's Suffrage Journal* monthly, the interest roused by the meetings is kept alive, and the foundation laid for future work.

During the summer and autumn the plan which had proved so useful in the season of 1873—of instituting lectures at watering places—was resumed with satisfactory results. A special fund was subscribed by a few friends who were impressed with the value of this mode of agency, and lectures were delivered by Miss Becker, in July and August, at Llandudno, Rhyl, Pensarn, Bettws-y-Coed, Saltburn-by-the-Sea, Redcar, and Harrogate. A lecture was also delivered at Colne.

Miss Becker was supported in the Yorkshire towns by the valuable co-operation of Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd, hon. sec. of the Yorkshire Society, who also addressed the meetings.

The circulation of the *Women's Suffrage Journal* has been steadily increasing, and your Committee continue to receive gratifying indications of the favour with which it is regarded by the public.

The income of the Society shows an increase over that of last year. More money has been received in subscriptions and more on account of the *Journal*. But the expenses have been unusually heavy, and therefore your Committee close their financial year with a smaller balance in hand than that with which they began their work. They trust, however, that their friends will continue to extend to them the confidence and support which have enabled them thus far to maintain a vigorous agitation. The condition and financial position of the Society are sound and healthy, and if the same support should be extended to them in the future as in the past, your Committee look forward with a reasonable and confident hope of being able to meet at the end of the next financial year with a satisfactory report of progress made and work accomplished.

Mr. Forsyth has intimated his intention to re-introduce the Women's Disabilities Bill early next Session; and your Committee conclude with an earnest appeal to the friends of the cause to enable them to strengthen the hands of their Parliamentary leaders, by a vigorous movement, which will assure them that those on whose behalf they are acting are earnest and determined to give them adequate support, and be a practical proof that women, all over the land, desire, and are earnestly striving to obtain, the Parliamentary franchise.



ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Of the Society, held in the MAYOR'S PARLOUR, TOWN HALL,
MANCHESTER, November 10th, 1875.

JACOB BRIGHT, Esq., in the Chair.

The Secretary read the Report of the Executive Committee.

The Treasurer read the Statement of Accounts.

Resolution I.—Moved by Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd, seconded by W. T. Charley, Esq., M.P.:

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 J. P. Thomasson, Esq., seconded by Rev. J. Freeston:

That the following persons be the Executive Committee for the ensuing year:—Jacob Bright, Esq., Mrs. Jacob Bright, Miss Maria Atkinson, Miss Becker, Mrs. Butler, Thomas Chorlton, Esq., Mrs. Gell, Rev. B. Glover, Mrs. Lucas, Mrs. J. R. Moore, Dr. Pankhurst, Rev. S. A. Steinthal, Mrs. Sutcliffe, Thos. Thomasson, Esq., Mrs. J. P. Thomasson, Miss Alice Wilson, with power to add to their number.

Resolution III.—Moved by Miss Becker, seconded by Dr. Pankhurst:

That the cordial thanks of this meeting are hereby rendered to Mr. Forsyth, Q.C., the Right Hon. James Stansfeld, the Right Hon. the Recorder of London, Sir Robert Anstruther, Bart., Mr. Jackson, and Mr. O'Sullivan, for introducing and supporting the Women's Disabilities Bill, also to the Members of the House of Commons who voted or paired in its favour in the division on the second reading of the measure on April 7th, 1875, and this meeting respectfully requests Mr. Forsyth and his coadjutors to take steps for the re-introduction of the Bill at an early period of the forthcoming session.

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

Resolution IV.—Moved by Mrs. Buckton, seconded by Rev. W. A. O'Connor:

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

THE MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.
STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st OCTOBER, 1875.

Dr.	INCOME.	£	s.	d.	EXPENDITURE.	£	s.	d.	Cr.
To Balance in hand		474	0	5	By Salaries and Office Expenditure	548	1	8	
Subscriptions and Donations		1,415	2	3	Postage and Telegrams	178	3	1	
Journal	£125 13 5½				Public Meetings	73	10	2	
Postage	22 5 10½				Lectures	358	8	5	
Advertisements	104 18 10				Canvassing	363	18	7	
		252	18	2	Printing	47	11	3	
Pamphlets, &c...		11	14	8	Office Furniture, Rent, Gas, Coal, &c.	9	9	3	
Tickets at Public Meetings	36 17 0				Pamphlets and Publications	25	0	0	
Lectures	30 16 6				Deputation Expenses	17	2	6	
Banker's Interest		67	13	6	Commission on Advertising	23	10	6	
		1	3	5	Reporting Debate, &c.	21	13	6	
					Agents' Expenses Collecting Subscriptions				
					Other Expenses, viz. :-				
					Binding Memorials	£9	10	0	
					Banker's Commission	1	12	0	
					Advertising Journal	3	0	6	
									14 2 6
									£2,087 3 5
					Balances: In hands of Treasurer	125	5	5	
					Secretary	10	3	7	
									135 9 0
									£2,222 12 5
		£2,222	12	5					

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

November 6th, 1875.	£381 1 0	Subscriptions, etc., received since the accounts were made up	£213 0 0
Liabilities		Amount owing to the Society	30 0 0

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS.
FINANCIAL YEAR, 1874-1875.

A Friend	100	0	0
A Lancashire Merchant	100	0	0
An Old Radical	50	0	0
L. M. R.	50	0	0
Sympathiser (for Wigan and Barnley Meetings)	20	0	0
A Friend in Fife	5	0	0
R. W.	2	0	0
H. S.	2	0	0
J. S. (Liverpool)	1	1	0
Omega	1	1	0
R. L.	1	1	0
A Friend	1	1	0
H. S. (Blackburn)	1	0	0
J. R.	1	0	0
S. S. (Liverpool)	1	0	0
Peatess	1	0	0
A Friend (Deansgate)	0	10	6
Cape Cornwall	0	10	6
Anonymous (Kidderminster)	0	10	0
J. A. B.	0	10	0
S. J.	0	10	0
Collected at Mrs. Cronkshaw's (Barnley)	0	5	6
A Friend (Liverpool)	0	5	0
Anonymous (Colne)	0	5	0
B. E.	0	5	0
Miss C. (Southport)	0	5	0
L. W. D.	0	5	0
A Friend (Southport)	0	2	6
A Friend (Oxford)	0	2	6
Donation towards Derby Meeting	0	2	6
G. B. (Dudley)	0	2	6
H. K. (Grimsby)	0	2	6
H. R.	0	2	6
J. B. (Salford)	0	2	6
T. G. (Grimsby)	0	2	6
X. Y. Z. (Barnley)	0	2	6
A. W.	0	2	0
J. R.	0	1	0
A Friend	0	1	0
Anonymous	0	1	0
A Subscriber	0	1	0
Small sums	4	19	6

	£	s.	d.
Atkinson, Mr. J.	2	0	0
Aldis, Professor W. S.	1	1	0
Ashworth, Miss	1	1	0
Ashworth, Miss L. S.	1	1	0
Atherton, Mr. Councillor	1	1	0
Adamson, Miss	1	0	0
Ashworth, Mrs. J.	1	0	0
Avison, Mr. Thomas	1	0	0
Archibald, Mr. R.	0	10	6
Adam, Mr. W.	0	10	0
Armstrong, Mrs. (Colne)	0	10	0
Atkinson, Miss	0	10	0
Atkinson, Miss Maria	0	10	0
Ayrton, Mrs. (Colne)	0	10	0
Alexander, Mrs.	0	5	0
Allan, Mr. W.	0	5	0
Ayre, Mrs. W. (Thirsk)	0	4	0
Alward, Mr. J.	0	3	0
Adams, Mrs. J. B.	0	2	6
Addison, Mrs. (Chathill)	0	2	6
Allen, Mr. H.	0	2	6
Alward, Mr. Geo.	0	2	6
Atherton, Mrs. (Wigan)	0	2	6
Aulton, Mr. A. D.	0	2	6
Addison, Mrs. (collected by)	0	12	0
Bright, Mr. Jacob	100	0	0
Brooke, Miss Edith	10	0	0
Borchardt, Dr. (6 years)	6	0	0
Boucherett, Miss J.	5	0	0
Browne, Mrs. S. W.	4	0	0
Birch, Mr. W., junr.	3	3	0
Barton, Mr. Edwin	2	2	0
Behrens, Mrs.	2	2	0
Briggs, Mr. J. (Blackburn)	2	2	0
Buchan, The Dowager Countess	2	0	0
Barlow, Mr. J.	1	1	0
Barlow, Mrs. Gordon	1	1	0
Bennett, Mr. Alderman	1	1	0
Bennett, Mr. Garnett	1	1	0
Benson, Mr. R.	1	1	0
Bent, Mr. John (Dudley)	1	1	0
Binney, Mr. E. W.	1	1	0
Brown, Mr. W. Scott	1	1	0
Bedlington, Mr.	1	0	0
Biggs, Mr. H.	1	0	0
Bowman, Mrs. Charles	1	0	0
Bradney, Mrs.	1	0	0
Browne, Miss Annie	0	10	6
Beads, Mr. James	0	10	6
Blunt, Mr. George	0	10	6
Bowron, Mr. J., junr.	0	10	6
Brankston, Mrs.	0	10	6
Brown, Mr. W.	0	10	0
Barnett, Mr. J.	0	10	0
Barrow, Mr. J.	0	10	0
Baumann, Mr. H. W. G.	0	10	0
Bayliss, Mr. M.	0	10	0
Bellis, Mr.	0	10	0

	£	s.	d.
Berry, Mr. J.	0	10	0
Bingham, Mrs.	0	10	0
Borchardt, Miss (2 years)	0	10	0
Branton, Mr. W.	0	10	0
Bucknall, Mr. J. S.	0	10	0
Baird, Mr. A. J.	0	10	0
Baker, Mr. W. Howard	0	5	0
Baldwin, Mr. W.	0	5	0
Bannerman, Miss	0	5	0
Barker, Captain	0	5	0
Barron, Mr. John	0	5	0
Barron, Mr. W. (Blackburn)	0	5	0
Bell, Mr. J. H. (Darlington)	0	5	0
Bevington, Mrs.	0	5	0
Binnian, Messrs. J. and Son	0	5	0
Blackburn, Mr. W. (Preston)	0	5	0
Bleakley, Mrs.	0	5	0
Blumer, Mr. J. G.	0	5	0
Boden, Mr. W., junr.	0	5	0
Boult, Miss Lucy	0	5	0
Booth, Mr. E. H.	0	5	0
Bowling, Miss L. A.	0	5	0
Bracewell, Miss (Colne)	0	5	0
Bracewell, Mr.	0	5	0
Bramley, Mr. W. F.	0	5	0
Brown, Miss M. A. (Wigan)	0	5	0
Brown, Miss (Brighton)	0	5	0
Bruce, Mrs.	0	5	0
Bulpit, Mr.	0	3	0
Barralett, Mrs.	0	2	6
Beale, Mr. A. W.	0	2	6
Bell, Mr. C. (Middlesborough)	0	2	6
Biggs, Miss C. A.	0	2	6
Blacker, Mr. Geo.	0	2	6
Blinkhorn, Mr. Thos. (Walsall)	0	2	6
Bolton, Mr.	0	2	6
Bond, Miss	0	2	6
Boston, Mr. J.	0	2	6
Bradley, Mr. J.	0	2	6
Brevitt, Miss	0	2	6
Bridge, Mr. Jno.	0	2	6
Briggs, Mr. J.	0	2	6
Brine, Mrs.	0	2	6
Brook, Mr. W. (Kidderminster)	0	2	6
Brooks, Mr. H. (Darlington)	0	2	6
Brown, Miss Ann (Ripon)	0	2	6
Brown, Mr. W. D.	0	2	6
Busby, Mrs.	0	2	6
Ball, Mr.	0	1	6
Babb, Miss	0	1	0
Bates, Mr.	0	1	0
Bufham, Captain	0	1	0
Bond, Miss L.	0	0	6
Crook, Mr. J.	10	0	0
Caine, Mr. W. S.	5	0	0
Colling, Miss	3	0	0
Chorlton, Mr. Thos.	1	11	6
Callender, Mr. W. R., M.P.	1	1	0

	£	s.	d.
Clark, Mrs. Helen Bright	1	1	0
Cleckley, Mr. Thos.	1	1	0
Cooke, Mr. T. B.	1	1	0
Cooke, Mr. Thos.	1	0	0
Carslake, Mrs.	1	0	0
Chambers, Mr. W.	1	0	0
Chandler, Mrs.	1	0	0
Clarke, Mr. Chas F. (Wolverhampton)	1	0	0
Courtauld, Mr. S.	1	0	0
Crawford, Miss Mabel Sharman	1	0	0
Cudworth, Mr. W.	0	10	6
Carlill, Mr. B.	0	10	6
Corbett, Mr. Miller	0	10	0
Chandler, Mrs. (Collected by)	0	10	0
Coppock, Mrs.	0	10	0
Corney, Miss	0	10	0
Cowgill, Mr. G. (Burnley)	0	10	0
Cottrell, Mr. G.	0	10	0
Crabtree, Mr. Jonas	0	10	0
Crosskey, Mr. R. (Lichfield)	0	10	0
Crowther, Mr. W. A.	0	7	6
Copestick, Mr. Thos.	0	5	0
Carter, Miss	0	5	0
Cash, Mrs. J.	0	5	0
Chapman, Miss	0	5	0
Cheetham, Miss M. E.	0	5	0
Cooper, Mr. Thos. (Wigan)	0	5	0
Cowen, Mr.	0	5	0
Crippen, Rev. T. G.	0	5	0
Cronkshaw, Miss	0	5	0
Crook, Miss	0	3	0
Crosbie, Rev. W.	0	3	0
Cogan, Misses	0	2	6
Carr, Mr. W. H. (Colne)	0	2	6
Carr, Mr. Thos.	0	2	6
Chatterton, Mrs.	0	2	6
Christie, Mr. J.	0	2	6
Cochrane, Mr. R.	0	2	6
Constantine, Mr.	0	2	6
Cooke, Mr. Thos. (Grimsby)	0	2	6
Crawshaw, Mr. E.	0	2	6
Crook, Miss (Southport)	0	2	0
Clarke, Mrs.	0	2	0
Crook, Miss (Southport)	0	1	0
Chattaway, Mrs.	2	0	0
Dale, Mr. Thomas	1	1	0
Dewes, Rev. Dr.	1	1	0
Duignan, Mr. W. H.	1	0	0
Dean, Mr. John	1	0	0
De Hersant, Mrs.	1	0	0
Dick, Miss Mary	1	0	0
Dolby, Mr.	0	10	6
Daniell, Mrs.	0	10	6
Dowsing, Mr. Alderman (Hull)	0	10	6
Dyer, Mr. (Grimsby)	0	10	0
Dale, Mr. D. (Darlington)	0	10	0
Dean, Dr.	0	10	0
Dixon, Mrs.	0	10	0

	£	s.	d.
Donkin, Mrs.	0	10	0
Davies, Mr. Thos.	0	5	0
Dawson, Mrs. (Wigan)	0	5	0
Dixon, Mr. Jos.	0	5	0
Drewry, Miss Ellen	0	5	0
Drewry, Mrs. W. H.	0	5	0
Dunnill, Mr. H. P.	0	5	0
Dalby, Miss Alice	0	2	6
Davies, Miss M. (Wigan)	0	2	6
Dewe, Miss	0	2	6
Dixon, Rev. J. M.	0	2	6
Dobson, Mr. Jno. (Grimsby)	0	2	6
Duke, Mr. Jas.	0	2	6
Dunkin, Miss	0	2	6
Dunn, Mrs.	0	2	0
Davies, Mr. (Walsall)	0	1	0
Eastwood, Mrs.	1	1	0
Eccles, Mrs. (Lower Darwen)	1	1	0
Edwards, Mr. W.	1	1	0
Edmondson, Mr. James	1	1	0
Every, Mr. John	1	1	0
Eccles, Mrs. Jas. (Blackburn)	0	10	0
Earle, Miss A. M.	0	5	0
Earp, Mr. F.	0	5	0
Elam, Mr. E.	0	5	0
Ellis, Mr. A. C. (Derby)	0	5	0
Egginton, Miss	0	2	6
Elliott, Mr. John	0	2	6
Evans, Mr. J. B.	0	2	6
Evans, Miss M. A. (Alderley Edge)	0	2	6
Evans, Rev. S. (Ironbridge)	0	2	6
Ellis, Mr. Jonathan (Walsall)	0	2	0
Evans, Mr. W. (Ironbridge)	0	2	0
Fry, Mrs. Theo.	2	0	0
Finch, Mr. John	1	1	0
Fryer, Mr. Chas. (Preston)	1	0	0
Falconer, Mr. Thos.	0	10	0
Fletcher, Mr.	0	10	0
Folds, Mrs.	0	10	0
Fisk, Rev. Thos.	0	5	0
Fogg, Mr.	0	5	0
Fothergill, Mrs. W. (Darlington)	0	5	0
Fox, Mrs.	0	5	0
Freeston, Rev. J.	0	5	0
Freeston, Mrs.	0	5	0
Frost, Mr. A. (Hull)	0	5	0
Fuller, Mrs.	0	5	0
Furness, Mr. T.	0	5	0
Franks, Rev. E.	0	4	0
Foggett, Mr. W.	0	3	0
Farmer, Mr. G. E.	0	2	6
Fisher, Mr. S. G. (Darlington)	0	2	6
Fox, Mr. D. (Darlington)	0	2	6
Francis, Mr. Jos. (Hull)	0	2	6
Furnivale, Mrs.	0	2	6
Glover, Rev. B.	5	5	0

	£	s.	d.
Gell, Mrs.	5	0	0
Goldschmidt, Mr. P.	5	0	0
Grey, Mrs. W.	2	2	0
Garton, Mrs.	1	1	0
Griffiths, Mr. Thos. P. (Southport)	1	1	0
Greenall, Mr. G., M.P.	1	0	0
Greener, Mr. Thos.	1	0	0
Gregson, Dr.	1	0	0
Gregson, Mr. Thos. (Hull)	0	10	6
Gammage, Dr.	0	10	0
Gay, Mrs.	0	10	0
Gillett, Mr. Jos.	0	10	0
Goffey, Mr. Thos.	0	10	0
Goodman, Mr. D. W.	0	10	0
Graham, Mr. J.	0	10	0
Garrett, Mr. Geo.	0	5	0
Gasquoine, Rev. J.	0	5	0
Gee, Mr.	0	5	0
George, Mr.	0	5	0
Gerrard, Miss H. C.	0	5	0
Gibbs, Mr. G. S.	0	5	0
Gilbert, Mr. J. W.	0	5	0
Gledhill, Mrs.	0	5	0
Glendinning, Mr. H.	0	5	0
Goouch, Miss	0	5	0
Gregson, Mrs. S. E. (Hull)	0	5	0
Griffiths, Mrs. Thos.	0	5	0
Grundy, Mr. Jas.	0	5	0
Gendall, Mr.	0	2	6
Gibbon, Mr. W. (West Hartlepool)	0	2	6
Gidley, Mr. Jno.	0	2	6
Gidley, Mr. Jno., jun.	0	2	6
Gillard, Mr. Chas.	0	2	6
Golding, Mrs.	0	2	6
Griffith, Mrs.	0	2	6
Guest, Mr. Ebenezer	0	2	6
Gurney, Miss Amy	0	2	6
Gurney, Miss Mary	0	2	6
Green, Mrs.	0	2	0
Glover, Mr. J.	0	1	0
Hargreaves, Mrs. W.	15	0	0
Heywood, Mrs. Abel	7	0	0
Hunter, Mrs. Stephenson	3	2	0
Hunter, Mrs. Stephenson	3	0	0
Harwood, Mr. J. J. (3 years)	2	2	0
Hall, Miss Rose	2	0	0
Hervey, Miss Rosamond	2	0	0
Humble, Miss	2	0	0
Hetherington, Mrs.	1	3	6
Haworth, Mr. Abraham	1	1	0
Holden, Mr. E. T.	1	1	0
Holme, Mr. Geo.	1	1	0
Harris, Dr.	1	0	0
Hart, Mr.	1	0	0
Holland, Mr. and Mrs. C. M.	1	0	0
Hall, Miss Emily	0	10	6
Higson, Mr. Thos.	0	10	6
Holbrook, The Misses	0	10	6
Holloway, Mr.	0	10	6

	£	s.	d.
Howat, Mr. D.	0	10	6
Hall, Dr. and Mrs. Spencer	0	10	0
Hawker, Miss	0	10	0
Hindle, Mrs. E. (Blackburn)	0	10	0
Holden, Mr.	0	10	0
Howarth, Miss (Burnley)	0	10	0
Hurtley, Mr. R. J.	0	10	0
Haddock, Mrs.	0	5	0
Hall, Mr. W.	0	5	0
Hardcastle, Mr. F. A.	0	5	0
Harding, Mrs. W. (Darlington)	0	5	0
Hare, Mr. S. (Darlington)	0	5	0
Hartley, Mr. Francis	0	5	0
Hedley, Mr.	0	5	0
Hewison, Miss	0	5	0
Hickes, Miss Frances	0	5	0
Hill, Mr. Jas.	0	5	0
Holderness, Mr.	0	5	0
Holland, Mr. (Preston)	0	5	0
Husband, Mr. R.	0	5	0
Hyde, Mr. W.	0	5	0
Harwood, Mr. W. (Blackburn)	0	4	0
Hall, Mr. S. (Derby)	0	2	6
Haller, Mr. Thos.	0	2	6
Handson, Miss M. A.	0	2	6
Hanning, Miss Jessie	0	2	6
Hargreaves, Miss M.	0	2	6
Harvey, Mr. J. P.	0	2	6
Haulgate, Mr. J.	0	2	6
Heap, Mr. J.	0	2	6
Heaton, Mrs.	0	2	6
Hill, Mr. J. H. (Hull)	0	2	6
Hobson, Mr.	0	2	6
Hopps, Rev. J. Page	0	2	6
Houghton, Miss M.	0	2	6
Howe, Mrs.	0	2	6
Hubbard, Mr. F. P.	0	2	6
Huntrod, Mr.	0	2	6
Hutchinson, Mrs. E. (Darlington)	0	2	6
Heape, Mrs.	0	2	0
Heaton, Mr. James	0	2	0
Hill, Miss S.	0	2	0
Horsfield, Mr. Jno.	0	2	0
Hickson, Mrs.	0	1	0
Ireland, Mr. A.	1	1	0
Ingham, Mr. S.	1	0	0
Jacques, Mr. (Wigan)	0	10	0
Jacson, Mr. C. R.	0	10	0
Johnson, Miss (Wigan)	0	10	0
Jones, Miss (Wrexham)	0	10	0
Jones, Mr. Jno. (Wolverhampton)	0	10	0
Jordison, Mr. J.	0	10	0
Joy, Mrs.	0	10	0
Jeffs, Mr. Geo., Jun.	0	5	0
Jones, Mr. T. W. (Chester)	0	5	0
Jackson, Mrs. (Wigan)	0	2	6
Jacob, Mrs.	0	2	6

	£	s.	d.
Jenkyns, Rev. E.	0	2	6
Jennings, Mr. W.	0	2	6
Jones, Mr. Jno. (Wolverhampton)	0	2	6
Jones, Mr. Jos. (Derby)	0	2	6
Jones, Mr. R. (Kidderminster)	0	2	6
Jones, Rev. T. (Ironbridge)	0	2	6
Jones, Miss E. (Weare Gifford)	0	2	0
King, Mrs. E. M.	1	1	0
Kitching, Mrs.	1	0	0
Knott, Miss	1	0	0
Kenderdine, Mrs.	0	10	0
Kay, Mr. Councillor	0	5	0
Kippling, Miss	0	5	0
Kilmister, Mrs.	0	2	6
Kippax, Mr. J.	0	2	6
Kirby, Mr. W. H.	0	2	6
Langton, Lady Anna Gore	25	0	0
Lightbown, Mr. Henry	3	3	0
Lee, Mr. Alderman (Prestwich)	2	2	0
Long, Mrs.	2	0	0
Lytton, The Dowager Lady	2	0	0
Lawson, Mr. W.	1	1	0
Lester, Mr. C. L.	1	1	0
Lister, Mrs.	1	1	0
Lucas, Mrs.	1	0	0
Layton, Mrs.	1	0	0
Leake, Mr. John, jun.	0	10	6
Lester, Mr. Thos.	0	10	6
Longden, Mr. J.	0	10	6
Lane, Mr. A.	0	10	0
Leighton, Mr. A.	0	10	0
Liddell, Hon. Mrs. Thomas	0	10	0
Lloyd, Mr. Alderman (Kidderminster)	0	10	0
Lomas, Mr. W. (Burnley)	0	5	0
Lamb, Mr. John	0	5	0
Lambert, Rev. Brooke	0	5	0
Lascaridi, Mr. P. T.	0	5	0
Latham, Dr.	0	5	0
Lea, Mrs. W.	0	5	0
Leathart, Mrs.	0	5	0
Leather, Mrs.	0	5	0
Leech, Mrs.	0	5	0
Leech, Mrs.	0	5	0
Letherbrow, Mrs.	0	5	0
Littlecote, Rev. S. G.	0	5	0
Livens, Mrs.	0	5	0
Lloyd, Mr. J.	0	5	0
Lupton, Miss H.	0	5	0
Lyon, Mr. J. A.	0	2	6
Lawson, Mr. R. P. (Blackburn)	0	2	6
Lawson, Mrs. (Blackburn)	0	2	6
Lawton, Mr. John	0	2	6
Lohner, Mad. Emilie	0	2	6
Lomas, Miss	0	2	6
Lomas, Mrs.	0	2	6
Lowndes, Miss Mary	0	1	6
Lloyd, Mr.	0	1	0
Lawton, Mrs.	0	1	0

	£	s.	d.
Mason, Mr. Hugh	10	10	0
Mather, Mr. W.	2	2	0
Mills, Mrs. (Tooting)	2	2	0
M'Culloch, Mrs.	2	1	0
M'Kinnel, Mrs.	2	1	0
Machlachan, Dr.	1	1	0
M'Kerrow, Mr. J. B.	1	1	0
Mallet, Sir Louis, C. B. (<i>Journal</i>)	1	1	0
Mander, Mr. S. C.	1	1	0
Marsden, Mr. Jas. (Wigan)	1	1	0
Measham, Mr. H.	1	1	0
Morrell, Mr. Jno.	1	1	0
Marsden, Mr. Jno.	1	0	0
Marshall, Miss (Edinburgh)	1	0	0
Melling, Mr.	1	0	0
Milne, Mr. J. D.	1	0	0
Muirhead, Dr.	1	0	0
M'Kerrow, Rev. Dr.	0	10	6
Mills, Miss H.	0	10	6
Marshall, Miss	0	10	0
Marshall, Mr. Frank E.	0	10	0
Marshall, Mr. S.	0	10	0
Martin, Mr. E.	0	10	0
Mawson, Mrs.	0	10	0
Medley, Mr. Ed.	0	10	0
Moore, Mrs.	0	10	0
Moore, Dr.	0	10	0
Munroe, Dr. (Hull)	0	10	0
Myers, Mr. Alderman (Preston)	0	10	0
McKerrow, Mrs. (Southport)	0	9	6
Mylne, Mrs.	0	5	2
Mackenzie, Miss S. P.	0	5	0
Massey, Mrs.	0	5	0
Macleay, Mr. J. C.	0	5	0
Meadows, Mr. J.	0	5	0
Meeke, Mrs.	0	5	0
Melling, Mrs.	0	5	0
Melling, Mr. S.	0	5	0
Moody, Mr. Walker	0	5	0
Morgan, Mr. J. H.	0	5	0
Mudd, Mr. H.	0	5	0
Mudd, Mr. W.	0	5	0
Murray, Mrs. (Dumfries)	0	5	0
Murray, Mrs. (Lecture Fund)	0	5	0
Moses, Mrs. (collected by)	0	4	6
Mount, Mr. J.	0	4	0
Markland, Mr. R.	0	3	0
Mc Ilwrath, Mr.	0	2	6
M'Ilquaham, Mrs.	0	2	6
Mackie, Miss S.	0	2	6
Mellor, Mr. B.	0	2	6
Micks, Mr. R. (Hull)	0	2	6
Molyneux, Mr.	0	2	6
Moore, Mr. H. (Grimsby)	0	2	6
Moorehouse, Rev. J. P.	0	2	6
Morrison, Miss	0	2	6
Martin, Miss	0	2	0
Marsden, Miss S. H. (Colne)	0	1	6
Madeley, Mrs.	0	1	0
Markby, Mrs.	0	1	0

	£	s.	d.
Nicholson, Mr. Richard	2	0	0
Nichol, Mr. H.	1	11	6
Newman, Professor F. W.	1	1	0
Nutt, Mr. S. (2 years)	1	0	0
Nicol, Miss Louisa (London)	0	10	0
Norderling, Mrs. (collected by)	0	6	6
Nicholson, Miss (Bourton-on-the-Hill)	0	5	0
Nutter, Mr. H.	0	5	0
Nixon, Miss	0	3	0
Nelson, Mrs. A. A.	0	2	6
Newbould, Mr. J. J.	0	2	6
Noton, Mr. J.	0	2	6
Newton, Mr.	0	2	0
Oates, Mrs.	5	0	0
Ogden, Mrs.	2	2	0
Ogden, Messrs. H. & Son	1	1	0
Ord, Mrs. (Lecture Fund)	1	0	0
Oliver, Mr. J. S.	0	10	0
Owen, Mr. W. R. (West Hartlepool)	0	10	0
Olney, Miss R. Allen	0	6	0
Oldham, Mrs.	0	5	0
O'Sullivan, Dr.	0	5	0
Owen, Mr. Jas. (Derby)	0	5	0
Oxley, The Misses	0	5	0
Orchard, Mr. Wm.	0	2	6
Pochin, Mr. H. D.	25	0	0
Pease, Mr. Arthur	20	0	0
Pease, Mrs. Gurney	5	0	0
Praed, Miss E. L. M.	4	0	0
Palmer, Mr. J. Hinde (2 years)	2	2	0
Pochin, Mrs.	2	2	0
Pease, Mrs. Fell	2	0	0
Peek, Mr. Francis	2	0	0
Pankhurst, Dr.	1	1	0
Peiser, Mr. J.	1	1	0
Potter, Mr. T. B., M.P.	1	1	0
Park, Mr. W. P.	1	0	0
Pease, Mrs. S. B.	1	0	0
Pease, Mrs. E. L.	1	0	0
Powell, Mr. Thomas	1	0	0
Price, Mr. Mark	1	0	0
Peel, Mr. Thomas	0	10	6
Parker, Mr. W. Coor (Darlington)	0	10	0
Pattinson, Mrs. J.	0	10	0
Pease, Mr. Hy.	0	10	0
Parsons, Miss	0	6	0
Phillips, Miss	0	6	0
Page, Mr. Jas.	0	5	0
Peachey, Mrs.	0	5	0
Pearson, Mr. R.	0	5	0
Peck, Mr. Geo.	0	5	0
Peick, Miss	0	5	0
Penfold, Mr. A. E.	0	5	0
Plimsaul, Mrs.	0	5	0
Pollard, Mr.	0	5	0
Porter, Mr. A.	0	5	0
Porter, Miss	0	5	0

	£	s.	d.
Prideaux, Miss G. M.	0	5	0
Procter, Miss	0	5	0
Park, Miss A.	0	2	6
Parkinson, Mr. Giles	0	2	6
Patterson, Mr. J.	0	2	6
Percy, Mr. H. J.	0	2	6
Porter, Mrs. (Birkenhead)	0	2	6
Pratt, Mr. A. C.	0	2	6
Purcell, Miss (Middlesborough)	0	2	6
Prideaux, Miss (Brighton)	0	2	0
Pearse, Mr. W. (Grimsby)	0	1	6
Peterkin, Mrs.	0	1	0
Pidgeon, Mrs.	0	1	0
Quinn, Miss (Kidderminster)	0	0	6
Rigbye, Miss	10	0	0
Roe, Mr. J., Jun.	3	3	0
Ramsbottom, Miss	1	1	0
Reckitts, Mr. Jas. (Hull)	1	1	0
Rhys, Mrs.	1	1	0
Roberts, Mr. Jas. (Burnley)	1	0	0
Roberts, Mr. J. F.	1	0	0
Robinson, Mrs.	1	0	0
Roper, Mr. W. B.	1	0	0
Ryley, Mrs.	1	0	0
Renals, Mr. J.	0	10	6
Rentoul, Rev. J. L.	0	10	6
Rossetti, Mr. W. M.	0	10	6
Richards, Miss R. (collected by)	0	10	0
Richardson, Mrs. J. W. (Newcastle)	0	10	0
Ridley, Mrs.	0	10	0
Roe, Mrs.	0	10	0
Rowley, Mr. C., junr.	0	10	0
Ragg, Mr. J.	0	5	0
Ready, Mr. T.	0	5	0
Rhoades, Mr. James	0	5	0
Rhoades, Mr. J. (Thirsk)	0	5	0
Richardson, Mr. G. (Warrington)	0	5	0
Ridgway, Mr. Jos.	0	5	0
Ridgway, Mr. M.	0	5	0
Rimmer, Mrs.	0	5	0
Roberts, Mr. D. (Chester)	0	5	0
Roby, Mrs.	0	5	0
Raven, Mr. George	0	2	6
Rawson, Mr. P. L.	0	2	6
Robinson, Mr. H. (Hull)	0	2	6
Roberts, Mrs. (Carnarvon)	0	2	0
Rawson, Mr. J.	0	2	0
Randall, Mr. Jno.	0	1	6
Steinthal, Mr. H. M. (Lecture Fund)	20	0	0
Satterthwaite, Miss	5	0	0
Steinthal, Rev. S. A.	5	0	0
Scholefield, Mrs.	2	2	0
Sargent, Miss E.	1	10	0
Stephens, Mr. H. C.	1	1	0
Scott, Mr. (Burnley)	1	0	0
Sharman, Mrs. N. Pearce	1	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Shepherd, Miss E. C.	1	0	0
Shepherd, Mr. John, (Southport)...	1	0	0
Simpson, Mr. Charles	1	0	0
Smith, Mrs. G. H. (Highbury)	1	0	0
Spence, Mr. Peter	1	0	0
Steains, Mr. Arthur	1	0	0
Stephenson, Mrs.	1	0	0
Stuart, Mr. James (Hull)	0	10	6
Sawyer, Mrs.	0	10	0
Simpson, Mrs. (Southport)	0	10	0
Simpson, Mr. William (Liverpool)	0	10	0
Smith, Mr. James (Liverpool)	0	10	0
Smith, Mr. W. (Southport)	0	10	0
Smith, Mr. William (Southport)	0	10	0
Stooke, Mr. John	0	10	0
Stuart, Miss	0	10	0
Senior, Mr. George	0	7	6
Sagar, Mr. Thomas	0	5	0
Samuel, Miss (Lecture Fund)	0	5	0
Scanlan, Mr. W. R.	0	5	0
Shepley, Mr. Thomas	0	5	0
Simpson, Mr. H. (West Hartlepool)	0	5	0
Sinclair, Mrs.	0	5	0
Smery, Miss	0	5	0
Smethurst, Mr.	0	5	0
Smethurst, Mr., junr.	0	5	0
Smith, Mr. James	0	5	0
Stephenson, Mr. Thomas (Grimsby)	0	5	0
Stratten, Mr.	0	5	0
Sutcliffe, Mrs. R.	0	5	0
Sutcliffe, Mr. R.	0	5	0
Sinclair, Mr. F. (Grimsby)	0	4	0
Salsbury, Mr.	0	2	6
Saunders, Mr. J.	0	2	6
Scott, Mr. J.	0	2	6
Seager, Mr. W.	0	2	6
Shelton, Miss	0	2	6
Smith, Mr. T. C.	0	2	6
Southern, Mr. J.	0	2	6
Stroyan, Mrs.	0	2	6
Sergeant, Mrs. (Southport)	0	2	0
Scott, Miss Elizabeth K.	0	1	0
Slatter, Mrs.	0	1	0
Sturge, Mrs. E.	0	1	0
Spencer, Mrs. (collected by)	0	9	0
Thomasson, Mr. Thomas	330	0	0
Thomasson, Mr. and Mrs. J. P.	60	6	0
Todd, Mrs. (Chester)	5	0	0
Todd, Miss E. A.	5	0	0
Todd, Miss L.	5	0	0
Thorpe Bros., Messrs.	2	2	0
Talbot, Captain Pemberton	1	1	0
Taylor, Mrs. Henry	1	1	0
Taylor, Mrs. Thomas	1	1	0
Tennent, Lady Emerson	1	1	0
Thompson, Mr. Geo. (Dudley)	1	1	0
Tozer, Mr.	1	1	0
Talbot, Mr. W.	1	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Thomson, Miss Dora	1	0	0
Turner, Mr. J. Fox	1	0	0
Taylor, Mr. C. F. (Preston)	0	10	6
Taylor, Mr. W. (Blackburn)	0	10	6
Towle, Miss M. H.	0	10	6
Thompson, Mr. John (Burnley)	0	10	0
Thompson, Miss L. (Preston)	0	10	0
Turnbull, Rev. J.	0	10	0
Taylor, Mr. Jno.	0	7	6
Turner, Mrs. (collected by)	0	6	0
Tanfield, Mr. D.	0	5	0
Tatham, Mr. C.	0	5	0
Taylor, Mrs. (Wigan)	0	5	0
Thomas, Miss (London)	0	5	0
Thompson, Mr. Jno. (Kendal)	0	5	0
Thorpe, Mr. J. (Grimsby)	0	5	0
Threlfall, Mrs.	0	5	0
Tootal, Miss	0	5	0
Turnbull, Mr. E. (West Hartlepool)	0	5	0
Teschemacher, Mrs. (collected by)	0	3	0
Taylor, Mr. S.	0	2	6
Thomas, Mrs.	0	2	6
Thomason, Mr. G. (Kidderminster)	0	2	6
Thompson, Mr. (Blackburn)	0	2	6
Thompson, Mr. Alderman	0	2	6
Thompson, Mrs. (Dudley)	0	2	6
Todd, Mrs. (Leeds)	0	2	6
Tongue, Mr. B.	0	2	6
Turner, Mr. Thos. (Dudley)	0	2	6
Turton, Mr. Geo.	0	2	6
Thorburn, Mrs. Margt.	0	2	0
Uttley, Mr.	0	10	0
Unwin, Mrs.	0	2	0
Winkworth, Mrs.	5	0	0
Williams, Mr. Philip	1	1	0
Winder, Mrs. R.	1	1	0
Wright, Mr. Owen	1	1	0
Weiss, Mrs.	1	0	0
Whitehead, Mrs. J. B.	1	0	0
Winston, Mr. T.	1	0	0
Whiteside, Dr.	0	10	6
Wintringham, Mr.	0	10	6
Woodruff, G.	0	10	6
Worthington, Mr. Alderman	0	10	6
Walton, Mrs.	0	10	0
Walton, Miss	0	10	0
Whittaker, Mr. (Burnley)	0	10	0
Wilson, Mr. and Mrs. H. J.	6	10	0
Wood, Mrs (Lisbon)	0	10	0
Whitwell, Mr. C. J.	0	7	0
Watson, Miss Julia	0	5	0
Webb, Mr. A.	0	5	0
Whitelegge, Miss	0	5	0
Whittle, Dr.	0	5	0
Wilkes, Mr. Jno.	0	5	0
Willis, Mr. T.	0	5	0
Wilson, Miss A.	0	5	0

	£	s.	d.
Witty, Mr. Thos.	0	5	0
Worthington, Rev. A. W.	0	5	0
Wraith, Mr.	0	5	0
Wright, S. (Middlesborough)	0	5	0
Wright, Mrs. L. (Darlington)	0	3	0
Walmsley, Mr.	0	2	6
Waugh, Mr. Jas.	0	2	6
Webster, Mr. Jos. (Darlington)	0	2	6
Wenney, Mr.	0	2	6
White, Mr. Geo.	0	2	6
White, Mr. D.	0	2	6
Whyte, Mr. J. (Dudley)	0	2	6
Wilcox, Mr. Reuben	0	2	6
Williams, Mr. Jno.	0	2	6
Woodhead, Mrs. (Leeds)	0	2	0
Wade, Miss	0	2	0
Wake, Mr.	0	2	0
Walton, Mr. (Grimsby)	0	2	0
Waugh, Mr. Jas.	0	2	0
Wheeler, Mrs.	0	1	6
Whital, Mrs. H. A.	0	1	6
Whiteway, Mr. Geo.	0	1	0
Wadsworth, Mr. C.	0	1	0
Wells, Miss A.	3	0	0
Yates, Mrs. R. V.	1	0	0
Yates, Miss	0	2	6
Yeardley, Mr.			

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

G. T. S.	100	0	0
Onlooker ...	100	0	0
Mr. Measham ...	1	1	0
Sir W. Lawson, Bart., M.P.	1	0	0
Mr. B. Mellor... ..	0	2	6
Mrs. Wayham	0	2	6
Mr. and Misses Woodhead	0	15	0
Mr. J. B. Martin	0	5	0
Mr. J. Gilbert... ..	0	5	0
Rev. Brooke Lambert	0	5	0
Miss Porter	1	1	0
Mrs. Wm. Smith	0	2	6
Mrs. Barber	0	10	0
Mrs. Leaf	0	2	6
Mr. Henry Harris... ..	0	5	0
Mr. F. Hardcastle... ..	0	10	6
Braim, Mr. Joseph	0	10	6
Jennings, Mr. J.	0	10	6
Taylor, Mr. Wm.	0	10	0
Baynes, Mrs.	0	10	0
Leaf, Mrs.	0	10	0
Muller, Mr. C. E.	0	10	0
Smallpage, Mrs.	0	10	0

	£	s.	d.
Akers, Mr. H. T.	0	5	0
Awde, Mrs. J.	0	5	0
Ayre, Mrs. (Northallerton)	0	5	0
Ayre, Mrs. W. (Thirsk)	0	5	0
Gatenby, Mrs.	0	5	0
Guthrie, Mr. Jas.	0	5	0
Hardcastle, Mr. F.	0	5	0
Heal, Mrs.	0	5	0
Hutchinson, Mr. W. A.	0	5	0
Lea, Mr. J. A.	0	5	0
Middleton, Mr. R. M.	0	5	0
Rhoades, Mr. Jno.	0	5	0
Severs, Mr. Jno.	0	5	0
Severs, Mrs. G.	0	5	0
Smith, Mrs. Alfred	0	5	0
Smith, Mr. B.	0	5	0
Stainsby, Mr. J.	0	5	0
Ayre, Mrs.	0	2	6
Ayre, Mr. Geo.	0	2	6
Ayre, Mr. T.	0	2	6
Barber, Mrs. (collected by)	0	2	6
Calvert, Mr. J. S.	0	2	6
Clarkson, Mr. G. F.	0	2	6
Crookall, Rev. R.	0	2	6
Dowson, Mr. Geo.	0	2	6
Ebdell, Mrs.	0	2	6
Fairburn, Mrs.	0	2	6
Fairburn, Mr. Jos.	0	2	6
Guthrie, Mrs. A.	0	2	6
Hall, Mrs.	0	2	6
Hall, Mr. J. W.	0	2	6
Harris, Mr. Henry	0	2	6
Hodgson, Mr. C.	0	2	6
Horner, Mrs. R.	0	2	6
Jacques, Mr.	0	2	6
Severs, Mrs. (Ripon)	0	2	6
Cooper, Mr.	0	2	0
Snow, Mrs.	0	2	0
Thompson, —	0	2	0
Hebden, Mrs.	0	1	0
Walker, Mrs.	0	1	0



MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

RULES.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S
SUFFRAGE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

VIII. By endeavouring to increase the number of members.

IX. By promoting the circulation of the Women's Suffrage Journal.

X. By extending the organization 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.

NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.
CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

£5,000 FUND.

The object of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, is, to obtain the Parliamentary franchise for women, on the same conditions as those on which it is or may be granted to men.

To support the Bill introduced by Mr. Forsyth, Q.C., Sir Robert Anstruther, Mr. Stansfeld and Mr. Russell Gurney, the Central Committee desires to raise at once a sum of £5,000. They therefore earnestly appeal to all who believe that sex should be no disqualification for the suffrage, to help them to carry on their rapidly extending work.

The Committee believe that many who sympathise with their object would gladly give them a donation if they knew how urgently it is needed to meet the heavy and increasing pressure on their resources.

Secretary, Miss Helen Blackburn.

Treasurer, Alfred W. Bennett, Esq., M.A., 6, Park Village East, Regent's Park.

Office of Central Committee, 64, Berners-street, London, W.
Bankers, London and Westminster Bank, 217, Strand.

SPEECH OF
MISS FRANCES POWER COBBE,

AT THE
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE MEETING, ST. GEORGES HALL,
MAY 13TH, 1876.

RIGHT HON. RUSSELL GURNEY IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. Chairman : I had no intention of taking part this year in the proceedings of my friends on this platform, having other special interests on hand. I expected that the debate would go on as usual ; that we should hear calm, and well-delivered, and (as they seem to us) unanswerable arguments from our advocates, and receive from our opponents in reply that playful shower of remarks wholly beside the question, of solemn platitudes and rather offensive jokes (the brickbats and rotten eggs of controversy) which a few gentlemen in the House of Commons seem to consider proper for the use of masculine senators. We could afford to leave these "Chartered Libertines of Debate," as the *Morning Post* elegantly styles one of them, to enliven Parliament as to them seemed fit. But the case is changed when our cause is gravely condemned by a great and generous-hearted statesman—a man whom those who differ from him politically as widely as I do, yet regard with unfeigned admiration and warm personal sympathy and respect. It is because *such* a man as John Bright can misunderstand our case so astoundingly as his speech proves him to do, that I feel bound to come forward and say, "No! things are *not* all smooth and right with women. No! their interests are *not* always consulted or provided for by men. No! there is no justice in describing their demand for a share in the constitution of their country in the odious light of an hostility between the sexes, or of pitting women against their fathers, brothers, and husbands." With all my soul, I believe that the interests of women are really the interests of men; that (as Tennyson says) the "Woman's cause is Man's;" and that it is no more the interest of men that women should be wronged, than it is for the good of my right hand that my left should be maimed, or held in a sling. But does not the same truth hold as regards every limb of the social body? Is not the interest of the sovereign that of the subject?—of the nobles, that of the people?—of employers, that of the employed?—of the capitalist, that of the labourer? Can one member suffer without other members sooner or later suffering with it? Surely not. And yet we have a huge system of political balances and safeguards, and endless laws destined to prevent the trespass of each one on every other! Why is this? For the familiar reason

that these deep underlying *common* interests are for ever forgotten in the shortsighted selfishness of the struggle of life. I have yet to learn that, as between men and women, this same shortsighted selfishness has not at least an equal place. Mr. Bright says that it is a "*scandalous and odious libel to say that Women are a class,*" or that they "*suffer the least from not having direct representation.*" I am prepared to maintain that they form, on the contrary, *the class of all others which needs the protection of direct representation, seeing that their special interests not only concern money and land but things tenfold dearer; personal rights and rights over children.*

Mr. Chairman, the aspect of the Woman Question to my eyes is this: On one side I see some eight or ten or twenty thousand women, lapped in every comfort which the hands of loving parents and husbands can provide—the winds of Heaven never visit their cheeks too roughly. Some few of these women are among the most unselfish and excellent of human beings, and live as truly for God in their palaces as ever a nun lived in her cell. But the greater number of them are spoiled by the indulgences which their vanity, their luxuriousness, their selfishness, receive every hour of the day, while all their nobler faculties lie dormant, and the rough but wholesome realities of life never come near them. Thus we have "Girls of the Period," who have become a proverb already, and "Matrons of the Period," who will be likewise proverbial very soon. I do not say these women are wicked, I say they are silly, idle, heartless—leading the lives of butterflies in a world of toil. They are like the gods of Epicurus, too "bright and blooming in their own blue skies" (or shall we say drawing-rooms, with blue plates crawling up to the ceiling?) to heed the groans of their sisters in the sordid streets below. These exquisite ladies pass over the miry places of mortal life like Queen Elizabeth treading on Raleigh's cloak. And then they sweetly assure Members of Parliament, at their own splendid dinner tables, that Women have *everything* they want, that this is the *meilleur des mondes possible* for women, and that they desire nothing to be changed in it. As for the demand for the Suffrage, they regard it with horror—as something between a Joke and a Sin, that worst kind of sin in all the modern Decalogue, a sin against the great god Taste.

And on the other side, Mr. Chairman, I see—not ten or twenty thousand, but—several hundred thousand women struggling sorrowfully, painfully, often failing under pressure of want of employment, of underpaid, unhealthful, unhelpful employment, or of grinding oppression and cruelty from those whose duty it is to protect and cherish them. With all the burdens and fetters physical and mental of womanhood, they have to fight a far harder battle than ever falls to the lot of a man. When I look in the faces of these women and see the peculiar expression they so often bear, of hopeless, patient, acceptance of toil and

misery and oppression, I say unhesitatingly that there is wrong, grievous wrong, *somewhere*. I say that the state of things is bad for rich women and bad for the poor; and it is bad for men because it is bad for women. I do not know or believe that the Suffrage will cure all these evils, either at once or even eventually, but I believe it will tend more than any other measure which human ingenuity can devise to do so. I believe it will make the rich women at least a shade less frivolous, and give the better ones amongst them an intelligent interest in graver things than blue plates and the last new opera. And I feel assured that it will relieve many of the burdens of the poor, both indirectly and by obtaining speedily legislation upon all matters affecting them. *Indirectly*, it will give even brutal men somewhat more of respect for them, and we shall have no more the cry of one recent murderer, "Do you think they would hang a man for killing an old woman?" And, *directly*, I believe that from the hour we possess the power to press our wants on legislators we shall never again hear of the House being counted out when our questions come before it, six times running, as it was when the Married Women's Property Bill was under debate a year or two ago.

I must not occupy your time with many remarks, either concerning those feminine privileges which have been cited in this controversy as balancing our loss of the rights of citizenship, or the grievances which that loss causes to remain unredressed. The two most splendid privileges which Mr. Bright cites seem to be, first, that maidservants are not taxed like footmen and grooms (a benefit, I should think, much on a par with that which ponies under thirteen hands high enjoyed till last year over larger horses, more felt by the master than the servant) and, secondly, that in trials for breach of promise of marriage women obtain iniquitously favourable verdicts. This last privilege, I must confess, is real. Masculine judges and juries are cold enough when a woman loses her property, her limbs, or even her life. But when she loses a MAN their sympathy and sense of indignation at her wrong is to the last degree affecting and instructive! To these great privileges, I observe, the *Times* adds that of telling lies with impunity, or (as it delicately expresses it) "surviving the broken word which brands the man with ignominy." I confess I am rather interested to know the gentleman who writes these high-minded articles against us, and who thus honestly avows that *he*, at all events, thinks it a privilege to be allowed to speak falsehoods without peril of being kicked.

As to our grievances, I will not recite the list of them; our educational disadvantages (ninety-five per cent. of the public endowments being devoted to boys), or the various injustices under which we suffer as regards property. I will only touch on one matter in conclusion, which I think sufficiently proves the position we take up, as against Mr. Bright,

namely, that Women *have* wrongs, and *do* "suffer from not having direct representation."

There is one interest in a woman's life (when God gives it to her) supreme and above all others—the love of her Mother when she is a child, the love of her Child when she is a mother. I need not dilate on the dearness and the holiness of this tie, the image here upon earth of God's own love. Even in the poor brutes we honour the maternal devotion which gives courage to the timid bird or sheep; and there are few human hearts, I hope, which would not burn with indignation at putting such love to the test, like that eminent physiologist who cut to pieces a dog nursing her young, and then in her uttermost agony brought her puppies to her to see what she would do with them. The dying beast, it appears, licked and fondled her little ones—and so "Science" acquired the fact that mothers love their offspring! Well, in human parents' hearts this love is of course ennobled, sanctified, and made immortal by all the higher elements of our moral nature. No one dreams of questioning its sacredness or its importance; nay, women are sometimes told that they are born for nothing else than for this crown of life. How, then, do the laws of England—the old laws which have come down to us from stern old heathen Rome; but which are but little changed to this day on our statute books—how do they treat this one supreme interest of women? They tell each English mother (you will correct me, Mr. Recorder, if I err) that her child is *not* hers, but her husband's; that he may take it from her arms while he lives; and that it is to be wrenched from her when he dies by his heirs, if there be even a *presumption* that he desired it to be educated in a different faith from her own. Of late years some exceptions and mitigations of these laws have been made in cases where so great a personage as the Lord Chancellor may see fit to intervene; but the *principle* of the law, and its deadly educational action,—making men deem a human mother's rights no greater than those of the poor cow, whose calf they may sever from her at will—*this* has never been changed. That it *would* be changed during the first Session after the passing of Mr. Forsyth's Bill, when *widows* would have votes for Members of Parliament, I have very little doubt indeed; nor that with such change would begin a worthier estimate and a deeper reverence for motherhood and womanhood together.

I advocate Woman Suffrage as the natural and needful constitutional means of protection for the rights of the weaker half of the nation. I do this, as you have heard, as a woman pleading for women. But I do it also, and none the less confidently, as a citizen and for the sake of the whole community, because it is my conviction that such a measure is no less expedient for men than just for women, and that it will redound in coming years ever more and more to the happiness, the virtue, and the honour of our country.

A LETTER

TO THE

RT. HON. JOHN BRIGHT, M.P.

FROM

A LADY IN "THE GALLERY"

London:

PRINTED BY E. MATTHEWS & SONS,
54, BERWICK STREET, & 377, OXFORD STREET, W.

1876.

TO THE RT. HON. JOHN BRIGHT, M.P.

London, May, 1876.

SIR,

I listened to your Speech in the Women's Suffrage debate with painful interest.

If I had any personal feeling with regard to your public opposition to a reform which you once supported, and for which your nearest relatives have given years of labour, this feeling was second to another. My chief regret lay in my belief that history would have to record that your long and useful career had been stained at its close by an ungenerous act to your countrywomen.

I felt "the pity of it" when you rose with pale face and laid a trembling hand on the table before you for support, whilst, with hesitating accents, you repeated against us the worn out arguments you have so often, and so mercilessly, exposed when uttered by your opponents.

The bench on which you sit has often, as you know, done its utmost to obstruct the cause of the Representation of the People. If it is to play that part again, should it not be represented by some other voice than yours?

I watched you, and I watched the faces on our side the House. If you looked ill at ease in your novel *rôle*, the liberal benches contained anxious and constrained countenances. They reminded me of those we used to see on the other side of the House when Mr. Disraeli was engaged in the process of "educating" the conservatives to "Household Suffrage." You are now submitting the liberal party to an opposite species of training, and this is the doctrine you wish to enforce:—that it would be a most dangerous thing for the Constitution and social life if Household suffrage should become a reality.

If it were less pathetic, there would be something irresistibly comic in these two pictures of the education of the conflicting parties of the State by their respective leaders in principles radically opposed to those they commonly profess. On the one hand we have a great conservative statesman diligently educating his party to liberalism; on the other we have a great liberal statesman industriously training his followers in the traditions of toryism. All that is wanted to complete the parallel is that Mr. Disraeli should rise and retort on you the taunts you have so often hurled at him for poaching on other people's manors.

I wish to address you with the greatest respect, for the women who are now working for the right of representation owe you much.

You have been in the past the true expounder and defender of political justice; you have fearlessly assailed power in high places which oppressed the weak; you have contended against privilege on behalf of the people; you have denounced class legislation, and you have destroyed the theory of "virtual representation;" you have made the English people care for, and understand the meaning and use of representative institutions.

Who ever thought to see John Bright plead for privilege! Who ever thought to hear him praising indirect or "virtual representation!" or saying that people "did not suffer in the least from not having what was called direct representation in that House," and expounding to his astonished audience that it is "no advantage" to the governed to be able to select their governors!

You say that our "Bill is based on an assumed constant and irreconcilable hostility between the sexes." It is, on the contrary, based on the belief in the constant and trustful sympathy between the sexes. We believe that it is entirely owing to this sympathy, and to the necessary mutual dependence of men and women that the present unjust legal position of women does not make every home wretched.

We are assured that men are willing to do us justice; we are equally assured that they don't know how. You, who came forward as the defender of family peace and male justice, are still obliged to confess that men fail in justice, sometimes through ignorance. That confession is all we require. Is it possible you can believe that men alone ought to have the prerogative of declaring what is just and what is unjust in legal relations of the sexes, or in the laws which govern women? If men were to carry out such a theory in our houses, what would become of us? Why, all the life and joy and heart of the household would die out, if women had no voice in its interests, but were in fact—what they are in law—the dull slaves of their master.

Our Bill is based, then, on faith in men, not on hostility to them. Do we assert hostility when we affirm that we are likely to be better judges of our own feelings, and views, and interests, and grievances than anybody else can be? And do not millions of women love men and care for their interests, and work day and night for them, as much and more than men do for women? Yet would you think a demand for the entire exclusion of men from political representation on the ground of this devotion reasonable?

Our Bill is based on the belief inspired by your own words, "no class can legislate for another class." You say women are not a class. Let us not quarrel about words. If a woman believes she has a right to something, and the law allows a man to take it from her by force, it will take a great deal to persuade her that she does not belong to a class widely separated from the robber, even though he should bear the name of "husband."

Women are more than half the nation, and when they tell you in gentle and dignified language that they are treated as a class, that they are legislated for as a class, that the delicate instincts and feelings you are so anxious to shield are daily outraged by the Acts of a Parliament of which you were a Member, and of a Government in which you held high

office; when they can say that, though thus deeply responsible and holding your own female relatives so "near to your heart," you have, yet, during eight years, never raised your voice in protest, nor lifted a finger in this matter on behalf of the miserable daughters of the people, how can you ask them to believe that the House of Commons, as at present constituted, is better able than yourself to represent the honour and safety of their countrywomen?

You say the House is disposed to judge fairly on all questions affecting the property of married women. It is true that the "Married Women's Property Bill," which professed to give women equal rights of property and contract with men, passed a second reading in 1873, and was voted into Committee, where it remained entombed till the close of the Session. Why? There was a large majority in its favour, and the only reason I can find is, that every time it came up for discussion not 40 Members could be got to take the trouble to keep a House and vote it through Committee. It was counted out six times in that Session. Do you think if it had been a "Married Men's Property Bill" this would have happened? Yet the Members of the last House were as well supplied with mothers and wives and daughters and sisters as the Members of the present House. The conclusion we are driven to is in strict accordance with the principles you have always preached, and which you now appear shocked to find that we have learned by heart. Human nature is a curious study. Some months ago a man murdered his wife in a savage manner. When asked his motive for the crime, he said, because he "*loved her so much!*" It is obvious from this, that even love requires sometimes to be controlled and directed in the particular mode of its manifestation. It is true, however, that the tenderest and kindest feelings may exist in the hearts of men towards women, and yet that men may act in a way distinctly prejudicial to women's interests. It is the moving force of direct political responsibility to women that is required in the

House of Commons. Effusive tenderness is seen to most advantage at home, where it never need be hurt by any signs of incredulity.

Now I have no intention of detailing our grievances to you, because you evidently consider it "monstrous" that we should have anything to complain of, and—if I may judge from the tone of your speech—still more monstrous that we should think fit to make our complaints public. You also deny that if cause for complaint existed, it would be a "sufficient argument for asking for a vote." I will only remark that it is one of the main grounds upon which men have hitherto asked for votes, and it is the reason which you have always deemed unanswerable when demanding the enfranchisement of your own sex.

Your main argument against our plea appears in the form of an indignant question why we should not be able to trust ourselves absolutely in the hands of our male relatives. Well, I may say in answer that you yourself consider these male relatives so "fierce and unscrupulous" that you are unwilling even to allow us once in five years to be canvassed by them, lest the "taint" of their social and political corruption should infect us. Do I speak too strongly? I only use your own words, "humiliation," "shame," "disgust," "taint and pollution." If these words are rightly applied to the political doings of our husbands and fathers and sons, we are sorry for them; but we don't understand why, under the circumstances, we should be called upon to give them, unhesitatingly, absolute control over the greatest interests and over the most secret actions of our lives. You cannot, I think, in consistency, tell us that men who would be willing to degrade us in order to obtain our votes, are yet sure to act towards us like chivalrous gentlemen in the House of Commons.

Another inconsistency strikes me—but your speech is so full of them that if it had been spoken by a woman it would have been used by our opponents as a perpetual peg on

which to hang the charge of the logical incapacity of the sex—you give us your theory, that the interests of men and women are identical, and yet you say you “would vote for the measure if you were voting solely in the interests of men.” Surely this throws up the case, for it distinctly implies that men have interests, not only separate from, but antagonistic to those of women.

Although I shall not detail our grievances, I will take one case—the case of the law of primogeniture, because as you have a deep rooted hatred to that system, it will serve as an illustration to bring to your mind the added indignity which women suffer, as women, in connection with it. You ask, “What can be more unjust than that?” And I answer, the position of women in relation to that law is more unjust than the position of the younger sons. In the first place, men have it in their power to alter this law whenever it pleases them so to do; in the second, not all the sons are disinherited, though only one succeeds to the property. There is always a chance for each. But although a woman is the first-born she may never inherit the patrimony. She is ignominiously thrust on one side in favour of her younger brother, or sometimes of the more distant male relation. “What can be more unjust than that?”

You allude to the greater mercy shown to women criminals than to men; but in the cases you have mentioned it is not the law (for women are tried under the same laws in these cases as men), but the administrators of the law who are what you call “merciful.” To avoid a difficulty, however, let us grant that the English law—though, as Judge Coleridge says, “a disgrace to a civilized country” when it deals with the poor toiling mothers of the nation—is soft and lenient to women murderers and other criminals. You shall have all you can get out of that argument. Still I find it a little hard that because your sex is too weak to deal impartially with criminals who are women, that this should be given as a reason for refusing the small measure of justice

we ask for your wives, your sisters, your mothers, and your daughters. Is it not truly astounding that husbands and brothers and fathers and sons should be so terribly afraid of giving votes to duly qualified relatives so “near to their hearts and sympathies?”

But who are the women who are asking this boon? It appears that an Hon. Member has told you that “wherever he goes all the best women seem to be against this measure.” Did you inform him that your own daughter, Helen Bright Clarke, is working and speaking before large audiences on behalf of the enfranchisement of her sex?—or that you own sisters, Mrs. McLaren, wife of the Member for Edinburgh, and Mrs. Lucas, have given it their constant and hearty support?—or that the daughter of your old friend, Charles Sturge, is a strenuous advocate of this measure. If there are any better women than these, they have not happened to cross my path.

You might have told that Hon. Member that there is hardly a woman engaged in any work for the good of her sex or mankind, from Frances Power Cobbe and Mary Carpenter to Josephine Butler, who does not believe that this measure is necessary. It has received also the warm approval of such women as Harriet Martineau, Mrs. Somerville, Mrs. Grote, and Florence Nightingale. Who and where are the “best women” who oppose it?

You say “the country has a right to decide how it will be governed.” How is it deciding? I appeal to public opinion out of doors shown by the yearly increased mass of petitions in favour of the “Bill to Remove the Electoral Disabilities of Women.” I appeal to the hundreds of crowded meetings that have been held in every part of the country, which have passed resolutions affirming the equal electoral rights of men and women, on grounds even of political expediency. I appeal to the Reform Union Conference lately held in Manchester, which has adopted an equal Suffrage as a part of its platform. This Union, I

believe, represents over seventy towns. I appeal, lastly, to the decision—the unanimous decision—of the “Council of Four Hundred” at Birmingham—your own constituency—which you do not represent in this matter, as it has repeatedly, in public meeting, pronounced its verdict in favour of our cause.

Do not say that we wish “to arm the women of this country to defend themselves against their husbands, their brothers, and their sons.” Rather say, We wish to send true men, armed through the ballot box, with power and right to speak authoritatively in our behalf to the House of Commons, and so to put an end to the unseemly differences of Members, who, judging each by the gossip of his own little coterie, presume now to speak in our name without having received our authority.

In conclusion, here is the criticism of a Birmingham paper on your doctrine of physical force :—

“Mr. Bright says, ‘If all men and women voted, the general result must be the same, for by an unalterable natural law strength was stronger than weakness, and in the end, by an absolute necessity, men must prevail.’ Here is the open and undisguised advocacy of the law of force as opposed to the law of right. It is not a new argument, but one which has been used as long as we have had any political history. The only new feature is the promulgation of the worst principles of Toryism in the name of Liberalism. It would, however, be unfair to call such a principle Toryism—it is barbarism. The vital principle of civilised life is the admission of right irrespective of power.”

I am, Sir,

A LADY IN THE GALLERY of the House of Commons on the 26th of April, and a devoted adherent of the principles for which you have suffered and toiled for forty years.

AN ANSWER

TO

M^R. JOHN BRIGHT'S SPEECH

ON THE

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE,

"The special movements that have hitherto prevailed, the admission of Jews to Parliament, the secularisation of the Universities, the ballot, the abolition of church rates and the like: have been instances of *Victories over Privilege*; and . . . the Women's Disabilities Bill will, in due time, become law through the power of the same principle."

"Political Machinery and Political Life" an article in the last *Fortnightly Review* by L. Courtney.

BY

ARABELLA SHORE.

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PRICE TWOPENCE.

THE following remarks were penned almost immediately after the debate on the Women's Suffrage had been given to the public but their appearance in print was from various causes delayed till now. I come therefore rather late into the field, but not I hope too late, as the influence of Mr. Bright's speech, which we have been told was "so fine that it would probably make an era in political discussion" may still be lingering in minds that would otherwise have been willing to admit the women's claims, or still encouraging others to say that the cause has been disposed of by him.

AN ANSWER TO MR. BRIGHT ON THE
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

Are there any who read Mr. John Bright's speech on the Women's Suffrage to whom it seemed in any way an answer to the demands made by women, or made, as they were then, for them, or to the arguments on which those demands are based? Are there any to whom he did not seem to be playing merely with the subject, fighting with the air, that is dwelling almost entirely on considerations outside the Bill? Are there many on whom the impression was not mainly that of surprise, first that he should thus contradict the liberal tenets of a whole life, secondly that doing so, urged as we must suppose, by a most profound conviction, he had nothing more nor better to say?

Vague alarms as to what might result should something happen that was never contemplated in the Bill; vague assertions as to the state of mind that produced, or would be produced by, the women's claim; vague assurances of the present satisfactory position of women and of our legislators' general care of their interests; together with some good sound Tory doctrine on the right of the governing party to limit the classes to be admitted within the pale of the Constitution—these things made up the staple of his speech.

Mr. Bright says, "I suppose the country has a right to determine how it will be governed, whether by one man, or by few, or by many." It would have sounded more strangely from a Liberal, but would have been more strictly correct, had he said "I suppose half the nation has a right to decide, whether that half shall govern the whole nation or not". That is, it *would* sound very strange if by the other half or the whole to be decided for, he meant "men;" as it is, we

know he means by the "country" which is to decide, the men, and that they are to decide for the women, who it seems are not the "country".

Not one of these positions that we have just enumerated but he would have utterly scouted as applied to a class of unrepresented *men*; indeed he has just disposed of them all in the debate on the agricultural franchise in the very words we should use in our own case.

But first of all he protests, most justly, against women being regarded as a class; it has always been one of our strongest points that they are *not* a class, that all the objections brought against them as a separate class, a distinct body, a race, a species apart, in fact, vanish before the plain fact that they belong to all classes, and partake of the influences that affect them all. Unquestionably they are not even legislatively a class, as regards exemption from taxation or punishment or any other burdens, restraints or penalties. But legislation has made them politically a class by selecting them for exclusion from certain rights and privileges. And so, while agreeing that they are not a class in any other sense, I must, with Mr. Bright's leave, continue to use this word, because it describes their position.

Mr. Bright denies the possibility of women being at any disadvantage under men's legislation. But I would ask him—Are there not cases in which men's and women's immediate rights and interests do actually conflict, and does not legislation in these cases give the advantage to men? It is curious that the only class of women that he seems in this point of view to recognise are those who, as he said, are "sisters, wives and daughters of our legislators" and therefore sure to be properly looked after. That is, he ignored the existence of the very great majority not only of the women who would have the vote, but of the whole sex in England.

But indeed it little mattered whether he recognised their existence, or not, for he set aside all the points in

the condition of women generally, which have been regarded as grievances, as "very small things". Personal ill-treatment, inequalities in the struggle for life and livelihood, legislative inequalities, he puts them all by with a slight wave of the hand. The especial typical case which he dismissed thus slightly was that of the female workers in the Potteries, who in painting the china are, or were * not allowed by the men the rest for the arm which all the stout male workers enjoy,—this he said was "a very small thing," regardless that it was but one instance of what may be said to be the rule in all the handicrafts at which women work in common with men, that they are to have the hardest drudgery joined with the scantiest pay.

But against these trifles Mr. Bright set what seemed to him advantages special and solid enough to outweigh anything that we may regard as legislative disadvantages. And so far he improved on his first generalisation about women that he certainly introduced, as the objects of this special favour, classes that cannot be ranked as the near relations of our legislators, and are therefore, I suppose, all the stronger proofs of the signal kindness of our laws to women. These advantages are three.

First, that the employers of domestic service are taxed for men-servants but not for women. This distinction, being simply on the principle of taxing luxuries rather than necessities, was not meant for the benefit of women, and as they are as a rule paid about half what men in service receive, and work about as hard again, I do not suppose they are very sensible of being a favoured class.

Secondly, that, in actions for breach of promise of marriage, women mostly get damages, and often high ones. He intimated, indeed, that the favour was very often undeserved, and I am sorry that he should expect us to be pleased with getting injustice done in our favour, or to regard as a compensation for other cases where we

* I am given to understand that this usage has been very recently put an end to.

are not favoured, (the whole class of married women, for instance), a privilege, which no woman of dignity or delicacy would wish to claim.

Thirdly, female criminals are not so often hanged as male criminals. As we must enter the criminal class to enjoy this distinction, I am afraid the majority of women will hardly appreciate it. But such as they are, these two last advantages are through no favour of the legislature, which was the point in question. Legislation makes no difference and no exemption for women; the distinction is prompted by the good-nature or the human feeling of judges, juries, or the Home Secretary, especially where, as is so often the case, the criminal is a young weak creature helpless, ignorant, and poor. Had it not been the great Mr. Bright that made these statements, should we have thought them serious enough for notice?

Then he says pathetically "have not men their legal grievances too?" and he mentions primogeniture as hard upon the younger sons. So it is, but still harder on the daughters who cannot earn their livelihood as the young men can, who are perhaps really the better off for having to do so. Besides, one or other of them has a chance of succession; the daughter by the fact of her birth has none. And these injured sons, having their political rights, have at any rate the chance of getting their wrongs attended to.

I come now to the only two objections that, as far as I can see, Mr. Bright had to urge, not even against the Bill, but against something that might follow it. These were, that the demand for female enfranchisement assumed the existence of a "hopeless irreconcilable hostility between men and women" and that the granting it would increase that hostility; and that the whole business of choosing representatives was too bad for women to have anything to do with.

The charge of hostility, I confess surprises me. What hostility is there in asking to co-operate with men in a work that concerns us all, a work that we hope all the

community will be benefited by our joining in? Surely the hostility is not in the asking for this privilege, but in the refusing it, especially in the manner and on the grounds on which this refusal is so frequently made, that is by taunts against the women who ask it and by assertions of the incompetency and inferiority of women in general. Hostility! Why, all we ask is to be gained from and through men; and men are helping us now; husbands and wives are working side by side. We ask only that we may help in the choice of men to maintain a masculine Government; we are not demanding to elect women instead and in opposition.—But Mr. Bright thinks, as soon as men have shown this generosity, this justice, and raised women to a level with themselves, that the women will be armed against them and there will be enmity everywhere. Surely Mr. Bright does not really *think* this; it must be merely a *façon de parler*.

But he paints this future discord in alarming colours; he pictures a household with the father and mother voting different ways and the brothers and sisters quarrelling in consequence. Does he really mean that we are to legislate to prevent there being a difference of opinion between the men and women of a family, or rather, to prevent the women from expressing a different opinion from that of the men? What is there in this vote given at an interval of years and done with, to change human nature so entirely? Love depends on the thousand daily incidents of life, not on our political views. Mr. Bright thinks the fact that our legislators have mothers, sisters and wives quite prevents their ever being unfair to women; will he not allow that women's having fathers, brothers and husbands may prevent their arming themselves against men?

But Mr. Bright's second objection—that against women having anything to do with the business of election—touches deeper considerations. If such grossness, violence and corruption are, as he says, inherent in our present political system, it becomes a serious question,

whether Representative Government is a thing that ought to continue, or whether *men* are fit to conduct it. I need not say that *I* do not at all admit either alternative; but in taking for granted that the whole thing is necessarily so bad that even a man must feel shame in having had any share in it, Mr. Bright makes the most serious admission I ever heard from the lips of a Liberal. But have we not found, to the credit both of men and women, that on many social occasions whether of business or pleasure, the presence and participation of women help to soften, purify, regulate; will it not be the case here? It is allowed that since the ballot, elections no longer present the objectionable features that they once did; may we not hope that the previous process *need* not be such as will disgrace a woman to have to do with? The women who will be called to this function of helping to choose one or two gentlemen to represent the county or the borough, will be for by far the greater part, steady, responsible householders, many of them women of good property, of high education, of excellent social standing. Are we to suppose that this vote given once in four or five years will so demoralise, so transform them all, that they shall cease to be sober, and honest, and womanly? Surely, surely Mr. Bright libels his countrymen in the present, his countrywomen in the future!

And it is on arguments of such a kind as to imply scarcely an hour's consideration having been given to the subject, that Mr. Bright, who has been the noblest champion in the House of *men's* liberties that our time has seen, has determined to blight the hopes of thousands of women, many of them of the very "best," who have embraced this cause in the belief that it would benefit, not so much themselves, as their less fortunate sister-women!

I am &c.

May 10th.

ARABELLA SHORE

FEMALE SUFFRAGE:

AN ARTICLE REPRINTED FROM THE
"VICTORIA MAGAZINE" OF 1874,

WITH SOME REMARKS ON THE

Late Debate in the House of Commons,

BY

W. T. BLAIR, ESQ.,

Magistrate for Somerset.

LONDON:

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1876.

PRICE TWOPENCE.

Fiat Justitia, ruat Cælum.

ALTHOUGH the question of giving the parliamentary vote to women has been frequently and largely discussed already, I wish to offer a few remarks on the subject through the medium of the *Victoria Magazine*. I do this, not because I think the cause lacks any additional argument to demonstrate either its reasonableness or its justice, but simply because the reiteration of a plea often prevails with a certain class of persons who are utterly impervious to the voice of reason. There are those who have turned a deaf ear to your argument for the nineteenth time who will yield to the twentieth appeal from its sheer importunity, like the unjust judge, who, though he feared not God nor man, yet said, "because this woman troubleth me, I will avenge her, lest by her continual coming, she weary me." These persons are only to be won over by *wearying* them.

I have no intention of entering on the question of what may be termed women's rights in the abstract—whether they involve equality or subordination in the marriage relation, or whether there is any such natural and fundamental difference in the mental powers of the two sexes as indicates such an inferiority on the part of women as should disqualify them for the exercise of certain professions and occupations that have been hitherto closed against them. I leave it to the philosopher or the psychologist to show whether there

is any radical inferiority in the intellectual powers of women, or whether any mental differences supposed to exist between the sexes are to be attributed to their different education and circumstances. My task is a much humbler one, and is entirely independent of any such considerations. Stripped of all adventitious circumstances, the question I propose to discuss really lies in a nut-shell. I would state it thus: Representation being now reduced to a property or household qualification, it is unjust and unconstitutional to exclude from the parliamentary franchise on the ground of *sex* only those householders who fulfil all the conditions which entitle to a vote for members of Parliament. Under whatever conditions men are admitted to the suffrage, there is not, I contend, a shadow of justification for not admitting women under the same.

But the assumed inferiority, and the actual subjection of women to men has created so deep and general a feeling, that to attempt any departure from long established rule or custom appears unnatural. It is difficult to obtain a patient hearing against such deep-rooted prepossessions and feelings. To show how slowly established customs and institutions give way before advancing civilization and the progress of Christianity, it is only necessary to call to mind the fact that within the memory of those now living it was the law of Christian England that persons might hold human beings, like cattle, in bondage, and work them to death for the love of gain, unmixed and undisguised, and this abomination well nigh survived the life-long labours of Wilberforce and Clarkson and other noble-minded philanthropists. Can we wonder, then, that established custom and the general feeling of society should have hitherto denied the parliamentary suffrage to all women, irrespective of qualification, from the mere accident of birth? To say that an individual being born a girl instead of a boy shall disqualify from exercising the franchise would only be equalled by

the folly and injustice of the slave holders in America, who maintained that the colour of the skin determined the question of freedom or slavery—that the dominion of the white man over the black was *natural*—that the black or African race is by nature incapable of freedom, and is marked out for slavery. This fact of birth determining the question at issue can only be regarded as the law of the strongest—the exercise of might over right—a remnant of that barbarism which once condemned the whole of the female, and a great majority of the male, sex to slavery, and cannot be shown to conduce in any way to the good order or advantage of society. It stands almost a solitary and striking instance of unequal legislation, to which women are exposed by the mere fact of their birth, and it is one which we may hope will soon disappear, like many other prejudices and customs, social, commercial, and political, that have ceased to exist. Indeed evidence is not wanting that this relic of a barbarous age is fast giving way before the advancing claims and interests of humanity, in the fact that the municipal suffrage has been already conceded to women, and their eligibility to act as members of School Boards has been recognised; and it is, I believe, universally acknowledged that these functions have been exercised by them with manifest advantage to the public service. This, I take it, completely governs and settles the question of parliamentary suffrage, and is a guarantee that it will be used with equal benefit to the country.

But it is time briefly to consider some of the most popular objections that are made against the measure for which we contend. One of the most common is that women ought to have nothing to do with politics. Now, admitting this for the sake of argument, I would ask how far women are likely to be drawn into the vortex of politics by the fact that, once in five, six, or seven years, they may be called upon to deposit a voting paper in the ballot box, an act that will occupy

about five or ten minutes of their time, and is unattended with the slightest excitement or outward display. The ballot system having been established, and all the main sources of riot and tumult at elections having been got rid of, one of the stock arguments against the enfranchisement of women is removed. Our position under this head is greatly strengthened when we remember that the voting at municipal and School Board elections comes round every three years, and yet we do not find that this function withdraws women from any of their domestic and feminine occupations.

Another objection very frequently urged is, if you begin in the sliding scale of concession, where are you to stop? A sagacious remark which, if acted upon, would be an effectual bar to all reforming movements, civil or religious. All experience, however, shows that the real danger consists in letting evils and wrongs alone, and not in attempting prudently to remove them. Nothing can be more unfair than to argue against the legitimate use of anything from the possibility of its abuse.

The right to share in the choice of those who are to exercise a public trust is altogether a distinct thing from that of competing for the trust itself. It is one thing to have a vote in choosing a member of Parliament and quite another thing to claim admission to Parliament itself.

I have now briefly considered two of the objections that we meet with every day amongst the ordinary class of unthinking and unreasoning people; but what are the objections that have been put forward by men in Parliament—by our “most potent, grave, and reverend signiors?” If one takes the trouble to run through the debates in the House of Commons of '72 and '73, it is impossible not to be struck with the marked difference in the style of the speeches of the advocates and opponents of the measure. On the one side is earnestness, fact, and argument, founded on

justice and the principles of the constitution. On the other side we see reckless assertions, sarcasm, banter, and levity, showing how hard certain persons are driven for excuses in opposing a just and reasonable demand. It is seldom, however, as Lord Macaulay observes, that oratory changes votes. A member of Parliament is reported to have said that he had heard many speeches that had changed his opinion, but never one that had changed his vote. And so we may presume it to have been on this occasion. It was asserted by more than one honourable gentleman that Englishwomen did not desire the measure to become law, and that all the agitation in its favour was confined to a few itinerant ladies, who went about the country lecturing. But what is the evidence in support of this sweeping assertion? It is absolutely *nil*; for while petitions have been presented in its favour from all parts of the country, bearing nearly half a million of signatures, scarcely a single petition has been presented against it: and it is worthy of particular notice that petitions in favour of Mr. Jacob Bright's Bill have been presented from the very place which one of the honourable members who makes the above assertion represents, so un-informed would he appear to have been of the views and feelings of his own constituents. Another member told the House that in the evening after he had voted for the bill, in 1870, he met a lady and said to her, “I have been working for your cause to-day; I have been endeavouring to remove the electoral disabilities of women;” and her answer was, “You might easily have been better employed.” And so, regarding this lady as the mouth-piece of all the women of England, he voted against the bill.

It is to be hoped, for the credit of the sex, that there are very few ladies who would have exhibited the same fickleness and inconstancy of purpose on such slender grounds as the gentleman in question.

Again, we are gravely assured that the mental faculties of women are inferior to those of men, and

that they would be incapable in the choice of representatives of considering the important questions of finance, commerce, or politics, foreign and domestic, that are discussed in the Houses of Parliament. In regard to this assumption I would observe, let any one take an equal number of men and women of the same class, and then say if the latter, morally and intellectually, are less capable than the former of forming a sound judgment on any matters on which they would be called upon to decide. But in order to place in the strongest light the folly and the injustice of the present state of the law, let us take the case of the Baroness Burdett-Coutts. There we see a lady of immense possessions and boundless benevolence, which she administers with great wisdom, yet is considered incapable of exercising the humble function of giving a vote, while perhaps just outside her gates some clodhopper is living who may be unable to write his name, but who being a householder, and belonging to what Lindley Murray calls the "more worthy gender" (for which Miss Edgeworth terms him the uncourtly grammarian), he is entitled to a vote. Another sagacious remark made by one gentleman is, that the measure would be unexceptionable if it were intended to go no further, but he should vote against it, because it was the commencement, not of a new reform, but of a revolution in the country. *Mirabile dictu!* Two or three hundred thousand women, if admitted to the exercise of the franchise, are about to revolutionize the country! The same humorous speaker also tells us that if the question of female suffrage were carried, women would not only claim to be returned to the House of Commons, but that to balance the Constitution they must be allowed to sit in the House of Lords, and, he presumed, to occupy seats on the Episcopal Bench!!

All this might be very amusing, and well calculated to raise a smile, but was hardly worthy of a serious debate in the House of Commons.

On the whole I think the state of the question is highly encouraging. "Hope deferred may make the heart sick," but that is no cause for despair, or even despondency, for if truth and justice lie at the foundation of our claim, we shall surely "reap if we faint not." *Magna est veritas, et prævalebit.* "Faint, yet pursuing" has been the motto of the patriot and philanthropist in many an arduous struggle—witness Anti-Slavery, Anti-Corn Law, the Ballot, and numerous other reformatory movements. Of this we may be assured, that no high and generous purpose,—no sincere attempt to promote either the glory of God or the good of our fellow creatures, shall ultimately fail. "Cast thy bread upon the waters, for thou shalt find it after many days." Both the present and the late Prime Minister may be expected to support the measure. The principal objection urged by Mr. Gladstone has been removed by the adoption of the ballot system, and Mr. Disraeli has stated, in reply to a memorial signed by 11,000 women of England, that he believes the anomaly of withholding the parliamentary suffrage from women, while it is given to men, to be injurious to the best interests of the country, and he trusts to see it removed by the wisdom of Parliament. I cannot conclude this article better than in the words with which Mr. Maguire wound up an eloquent appeal in favour of the measure in the debate that took place in the House of Commons in 1872. He said: "I support this bill with all my heart, because I believe its passing would infuse into politics a higher tone of feeling than that which at present exists, and because I regard the demand which it makes as alike logical and constitutional."

THE foregoing article was published in the *Victoria Magazine* for April 1874. During the present Session another debate took place in the House of Commons on the Female Suffrage question, which was decided adversely by a majority of 87. I am induced, in consequence, to reprint the article, as a separate paper, for the purpose of adding a few brief comments on the speech of Mr. Bright, who was the chief opponent of the measure, whose opinion, doubtless, told considerably on the division. But before doing this, I cannot pass over in silence the speech of a man of a very different stamp; one who, I suppose, must from courtesy be called the *Hon. Member* for Cambridge, or, as he has been styled by the *Morning Post*, one of the *chartered Libertines* of debate. It is to be hoped that this individual stands almost alone in the House of Commons for the ribald coarseness with which he ventured to cast the most offensive aspersions upon women, and for his gross indelicacy in mentioning by name the relatives of some of the most respected Members of the House, and attributing to ladies of their taste and refinement a desire to revel in prurient matter, and for which he was justly rebuked by Mr. Fawcett. Such language will not, it is confidently hoped and believed, be forgotten when next he presents himself to his constituents. But enough of Mr. Smollet.

I turn now to a very different opponent;—a man and a statesman, who is held in the highest respect by all parties and classes wherever his name is known, not merely for his distinguished abilities, but for his lifelong labours in the cause of justice and humanity, and constitutional liberty, and who has laid his country under obligations that can never be forgotten as long as public virtue and personal dignity are held in honour amongst us. I need scarcely say that I refer to Mr.

Bright; and just in proportion as I honour and respect him, in the same degree am I pained to see him, for once in his long and benevolent career, (and now, as I believe, only through an error of judgment), arrayed on the side of what I must term political and moral wrong and injustice. But it is time to notice some of the most salient points of Mr. Bright's speech.

The first point that strikes one is the assertion that Mr. Forsyth's Bill is based on an assumed irreconcilable hostility between the sexes. That this opinion may have been expressed, like many other extravagant and erroneous opinions, by certain persons in public and in private, I am not prepared to deny, but this view is expressly disavowed by all the men and women who have taken a prominent part in advocating the measure, and it is placing the question on a totally false issue. The interests of men and women are, I believe, identical, and yet no one knows better than Mr. Bright, that there has been in former days a great deal of class legislation, owing to the unequal and unjust bestowment of the suffrage amongst the male population of the country, and no one has done more than Mr. Bright to redress this wrong. The same partial and unjust state of things exists now to the prejudice of women, without supposing there is any war between the sexes. The cases in which women suffer under the present system are too well known to render it necessary to enumerate them in detail. I will only mention one, the crowning wrong; and that is, the right which the law gives to the husband, not only while living, but to his heirs after he is dead, to snap the nearest and dearest and most sacred of all human ties, by taking the child away from its mother. That this cruel and iniquitous law would be repealed in the first Session of Parliament after the franchise was conferred upon women, I cannot doubt for a moment. As a set off against the injustice of the law which affects the property of married women, Mr. Bright cites the injustice

of the laws which affect the property of men, and asks if younger sons have no reason to complain under the operation of the law of primogeniture, which, if a man dies without a will, gives the whole of his real estate to his eldest son, leaving, it may be, the rest of his family, sons and daughters, in a state of destitution. Mr. Bright would, I have no doubt, say there was great reason to complain in this case; but whether he does or not—two or more blacks can never make a white—one wrong can never be pleaded to justify another wrong. Nor can one case of injustice be cited to justify or balance another case of injustice. And there is this great difference between the two cases, that these younger sons have the means, that are denied to women, of making their grievances known to those who have the power to remedy them.

But the favourite weapon employed by our opponents, and Mr. Bright does not disdain to use it, is, that there are ulterior objects contemplated by the supporters of the Bill, that are not avowed in the Bill itself. Mr. Bright must have been familiar enough with this sort of language, when pleading for many of those measures of reform and progress of which he has been the distinguished advocate. But if these prognostics of ulterior objects and dangerous results had been allowed to prevail, we might have waited till doomsday before we should have seen Law Reform, or Army Reform, or Municipal Reform, or Parliamentary Reform, or Household Suffrage, or the repeal of the Test Act, or the abolition of the Corn Laws, or Church Rates; and yet, in spite of this bugbear of the danger of concession, and all the predictions of evil that were to follow in its train, we have seen these measures, and many others, carried, not only without any hurtful consequences, but with the greatest benefit to the country, giving peace and contentment to all classes, in the place of a chronic state of sullen discontent and factious disaffection to the Government. Let us, then, in the case before us,

be just and fear not. Let us generously concede, at once, what is generous, and just, and reasonable, and in harmony with the recognised lines of the constitution, and when any thing is demanded that is unjust, or unreasonable, or unconstitutional,—then it will be time to make a stand.

I prefer to rely on the declaration of the Hon. the Recorder of London at the meeting in St. George's Hall on the 14th May, and on the ladies and gentlemen who spoke on that occasion, as to the simple and single object sought by the Bill that was submitted to Parliament this year, rather than on any loose and vague notions of ulterior objects that may be imputed to its supporters.

Mr. Bright mentions two or three particulars in which he considers women to be specially favoured, and as compensating for any disabilities under which they may labour. One is, that women servants are not taxed, while men servants are taxed, which, he says, is an advantage to women as against men. To this I answer, that if the men servants themselves paid the tax, while the women servants were exempt from the payment, the advantage on the side of the latter would be obvious enough; but when it is considered that the tax is paid by the master or mistress of the man servant, I don't see what advantage the woman possesses over the man. Again, Mr. Bright said that in cases of breach of promise of marriage, the advantage on the side of women seemed to be enormous, for that they almost always get a verdict, and very often he was satisfied when they ought not to have got it. My only reply to this must be, that I think it would be far safer and more reasonable to trust to the decision of a court of law, including judge and jury, as to the merits of such cases, than to the opinion of any private individual. Mr. Bright further urges as an advantage that women possess over men, the greater lenity shown to them in the matter of

capital punishment. Admitting this to be the case, the instances in which it might occur, are so few and far between as to weigh as nothing as between the sexes, and as less than nothing if the distinction is meant to be applied to the class of women likely to exercise the suffrage. But after all, a question of this kind, involving grave moral and political considerations, never can be settled, and ought not to be attempted to be settled, by this balancing of *pros* and *cons*, or on the comparative advantages and disadvantages of the respective parties. The question, I conceive, is one of right or wrong, of justice or injustice, and Mr. Bright put it on that ground when he said, "a man lives in this house and votes; a woman lives in that house, and why should she not have a vote? That was a very plain question, which it was not always easy for a man to answer." There Mr. Bright spoke like himself. The gist of the matter really lies, as Mr. Bright truly says, in the difficulty of answering this question, the impossibility I should say of answering it satisfactorily on any view, consistent with justice and the principles of constitutional right and equity. No doubt, as Mr. Bright stated, the country had a right to determine how it should be governed, whether by one, or by few, or by many; but it would be a new doctrine in England if such questions were to be determined in an arbitrary, despotic, or capricious manner, without regard to the principles of judicial impartiality, of sound reason, and the general welfare of the country. These are the principles on which Mr. Bright has himself always acted in pleading for those measures of reform in which he has taken so prominent a part. All we ask is that the same principles should be applied to the question before us; and if they are, I cannot for the life of me see why the suffrage should be denied to women to the extent asked in Mr. Forsyth's Bill.

It can hardly be doubted, I think, that the cause of

Education and of Temperance, bearing as they do on the peace and happiness of domestic life, and on national morality generally, would be largely promoted by the addition of the female vote to the present constituency, and it should constantly be borne in mind in considering this question, that the connection between *votes* and *laws* lies at the very root of the representative system, and those free institutions of which the country is at once so jealous and so proud.

One word more and my task is finished. The present Prime Minister is reported to have expressed himself as follows, in a speech delivered a few years ago: "I say that in a country governed by a woman—where you allow women to form part of the other estate of the realm—peeresses in their own right, for example where you allow a woman to hold land, to be a lady of the manor, and to hold legal courts—where a woman by law may be Churchwarden and Overseer of the poor—I do not see, where she has so much to do with State and Church, on what reasons, if you come to right, she has not a right to vote." After so strong, and I venture to think, so unanswerable an expression of opinion, should we not be justified in expecting from the Right Hon. gentleman something more than a silent vote in favour of the measure for which we plead? Without making it a party question, and nothing is further from the wish of its friends and supporters than this, if the Prime Minister should see it consistent with his position to give it his support openly in the House, no one, I imagine, can doubt what the result would be. While I believe it would settle the question in the House, it would, outside its walls, be the means of conferring an important boon on a highly respectable class of the community, and thus of adding another element to the harmonious and happy working of the constitution.

W. T. BLAIR,

Magistrate for Somerset.

Twickenham Park,
July, 1876.

LATEST INTELLIGENCE

FROM

THE PLANET VENUS.

REPRINTED, BY PERMISSION, FROM FRASER'S MAGAZINE.

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LATEST INTELLIGENCE FROM THE PLANET
VENUS.

(Reprinted, by permission, from Fraser's Magazine.)

It may be reckoned among those things not generally known that within a short time direct telescopic communication, by means of signals, has been established between the earth and the planet Venus, and that at certain stations regular interchange of intelligence is now carried on. The results have hitherto been kept secret, partly, it is said, owing to the disappointment of the astronomers at finding in the new country but a mirror of our own, with an hereditary constitutional monarchy, two Houses, a civilisation in about the same stage of advancement as ours, and political and social institutions generally similar. The single remarkable difference presented to their notice is one they are loth to reveal, for fear, we believe, of the family discords it might possibly excite at home, and we are the first to acquaint our readers with the curious fact that in the planet Venus, though the present sovereign happens to be a king, all political business, electoral and parliamentary, is allotted to the women. Women only have the right to vote or to sit in the House of Commons, and the Upper House is formed of the eldest daughters of deceased Peers. Politics, therefore, are included among the usual branches of ladies' education, but except in this respect their social condition presents no unusual features.

This monopoly by women of political power is as old as their system of government, and until a few years ago no one dreamt

of complaining or of questioning of its wisdom. But a pamphlet advocating the enfranchisement of males has lately been published by a clever female agitator, and caused a considerable stir. It is not pretended that a majority of the sex ask or even desire the privilege. The plea put forward is abstract justice backed by possible expediency, and, the cry once sounded, arguments are not wanting, petitions flow in, idle men have taken the matter up and find supporters among the younger women, and last night a member of the Government redeemed the pledge made to her constituents last election, to bring forward a bill for removing the electoral disabilities of men. She has no lack of supporters, some sincere, some interested. Her greatest difficulty was in persuading the House to treat the measure seriously. The notion of admitting young cornets, cricketers, and fops of the Dundreary pattern to a share in the legislation, the prospect of Parliamentary benches recruited from the racecourse, the hunting-field, and the billiard-room, was a picture that proved too much for the gravity of the Commons. A division, however, was insisted upon by the original proposer. At this juncture the leader of the Opposition, a lady as distinguished by her personal attractions as by her intelligence, moderation, common sense, and experience, arose, and made the following forcible speech, which we transcribe for the benefit of all such as it may, directly or indirectly, concern :

“Madam,—Before proceeding to state my opinions on this question, or my reasons for holding them, I wish to impress on you a sense of the importance of the measure just brought forward, that it may at least obtain from you the attention it deserves. I must urge you not to allow party or personal motives to blind you to its nature and bearings. The supporters of Male Suffrage are seeking not only to introduce a

startling innovation into a system of government that has hitherto worked remarkably well, but in so doing they would tamper with the foundations of society, and in a blind cry for equality and suppositious justice ignore the most elementary laws of nature. The question is not a political, it is a scientific and physiological one. About the equality of the sexes we may go on disputing for ever, but with regard to their identity there can be no manner of doubt. No one has ever ventured to assert it. Each sex has its special sphere—mission—call it what you will, originally assigned to it by nature, appropriated by custom. What now are the special and distinguishing natural characteristics of the male sex? Assuredly muscular strength and development. With less quickness of instinct, flexibility and patience than women, men are decidedly our superiors in physical power. Look at individuals, men of all classes—mark their capability for, nay their enjoyment of, exertion and exposure. If these do not naturally fall to their lot they find artificial employment for their faculties in violent games and athletic exercises; some indeed go as far as to seek it in the distant hunting grounds and prairies of uncivilised continents. This quality of theirs has its proper outlet in the active professions. To man, therefore, war and navigation, engineering and commerce, agriculture and trade, their perils and toils, their laurels and gains; to man, in short, all those callings in which his peculiar endowment of greater physical force and endurance of physical hardships is a main and necessary element. Those with superior mental gifts will turn to such scientific pursuits as specially demand courage, exposure, and rough labour. It is most essential that their energies should not be diverted from these channels. We should then have bad soldiers, bad ships, bad machines, bad artisans. Government, on the other hand, is no game to be played at by

amateurs. The least of its functions claims much honest thought and watchfulness. Either, then, the manly professions will suffer, or else—and this is the worst danger of the two—the suffrage will be carelessly exercised, and the mass of new voters, without leisure to think and judge for themselves, will be swayed by a few wire-pullers, unprincipled adventurers, who, seeking only to feather their own nests, will not hesitate to turn to account the ignorance and preoccupation of the electors.

“Now turn to the woman. Her organisation no less clearly defines her sphere. With finer natural perceptions than man, less ungovernable in her emotions, quicker and clearer in intellect, physically better fitted for sedentary life, more inclined to study and thought, everything seems to qualify her specially for legislation. For the judicious application of general rules to particular cases, peculiar delicacy of instinct is required, and in no capacity have any but women been known to approach the ideal of government—that perfect rule—all-efficient, yet unfelt.

“Take the family as a rough type of the nation. To whom, at home, is naturally allotted the government of young children? To the mother. To whom that of the domestic household? To the mistress. Widowers and bachelors are proverbially the slaves and victims of spoilt children and ill-trained servants. In all such home matters the husband defers to his wife, and would as soon expect to have to instruct her in them as she to teach him fortification, boxing, or mechanics. Little time or thought, indeed, has the professional man to spare for household superintendence; how much less for matters requiring such careful study as the government of a nation. The clergyman, wearied with his day’s visiting of the sick, teaching or preaching; the doctor after his rounds; the merchant or tradesman

overwhelmed with business; what they require when their daily toil is over is rest, relaxation, not to be set down to work out complex social and political problems, to study the arguments for and against the several measures to which members offer to pledge themselves, and to form a judgment on the merits of respective candidates. What time or opportunity have they for qualifying themselves to do so? But the wives of these men, on the other hand, have lives comparatively unoccupied, and of physical and intellectual leisure enough and to spare. Here, then, is a commodity; there a demand and a field for it, and this surplus, so to speak, of time, strength, and attention with us has been always applied to the science of government, nor do I see how a happier or more judicious arrangement could have been made.

“I will proceed now to enumerate a few of the dangers to which the enfranchisement of men would inevitably expose us. Male voters will view each political question in a narrow professional light, irrespective of its justice or general expediency. Large proprietors will stand up for the game laws, eldest sons for primogeniture. Publicans, brewers, and railway directors will exercise a baneful, blind, one-sided influence on our counsels. An impartial debate or decision will soon become a thing of the past, fairness sink into the shade, and a majority of direct pecuniary interest turn the scale in all cases.

“Again, the bulk of the national property being in the hands of the men, the openings and temptations to bribery would be enormously increased. Few women have the power, had they the will, to offer bribes sufficient to suborn a constituency, but when millionaires are admitted to the suffrage we may expect to see parliamentary elections bought and sold, and going, like other wares, to the highest bidder.

“But there is a more alarming danger still. The muscular

force of the community being male, an opportunity would be afforded for an amount of intimidation it would shock us now even to contemplate. Right has ever been might in our land. Shall we reverse our motto? Shall we, who have ever taken pride in the fact that our counsels are swayed by reason and judgment alone—a fact from which men have benefited at least as much as women—invite the fatal indefensible element of force to enter in and meddle with our elections, and let the hustings become the scene of such struggles and riots as in certain countries where, by a singular distortion of judgment, the management of political affairs is thrust entirely on the men? Supposing that the suffrage were irrespective of sex, and supposing it to happen that the men in a wrong cause were arrayed against and outvoted by the women in a right, would they not, as they could, use force to compel the women to submit? And here we are threatened with a relapse into barbarism from which the present constitution of our State affords so admirable a guarantee. And that something of the sort would ensue I have little doubt. Probably the next step would be to oust women altogether from the legislature—the standard of female education would then decline, and woman would sink lower and lower both in fact and in the estimation of men. Being physically weak, she must always, among the rough and uneducated classes, be especially exposed to ill-treatment. Of this in our country, I am happy to say, there are but rare instances, nevertheless. But there are lands where men monopolise the suffrage, and where a state of things exists among the lower classes—let us hope the upper and civilised orders do not realise it, for their apathy would otherwise be monstrous—which if widely and thoroughly known would be recognised as the darkest page of modern history, something to which a parallel must be sought

in the worst days of legalised slavery. Penal laws have utterly failed as a remedy, and it is obvious that they must always do so. What has been our guard against this particular evil? Is it not that point in our social system which raises woman's position, both actually and in the eyes of the men of her class, by entrusting to her functions of general importance, which she is at least as well qualified by nature to fill as man, and which we take care that her education shall fit her for, as a man's, necessarily unequal, semi-professional, and engrossing, can never do? Thus men have an irksome, thankless, exacting, life-long labour taken off their hands, which are left free to work out their fame and fortune; educated women their faculties turned to the best account; while among the lower orders, the artificial superiority conferred on the female sex by its privilege of the suffrage, raising the woman's status in fact and in the eyes of her husband, acts as an effectual check on domestic tyranny of the worst sort, and the nation has the advantage of being governed by that section of the community whose organisation, habits, and condition best enable them to study political science.

“That any wrong is done to men by the existing arrangement, I entirely deny. Most of them are married, and it is so seldom that a wife's political opinions differ materially from her husband's, that the vote of the former may fairly be said to represent both. The effect on the sex itself would be most undesirable. It is a fatal mistake to try to turn men into women, to shut them up indoors, and set them to study blue-books and reports in their intervals of business, to enforce on them an amount of thought, seclusion, and inaction, so manifestly uncongenial to their physical constitution, which points so plainly to the field, the deck, the workshop, as the proper theatre for their activity. The best men are those who are most earnest and laborious in their professions, and do not

trouble themselves with politics. Already they have sufficient subjects to study—special studies imperatively necessary for their respective occupations. Do not let us put another weight on the shoulders of those who, from the cradle to the grave, have so much less leisure than ourselves for reflection and acquiring political knowledge, or else, let us look no more for calm and judicious elections, but to see candidates supported from the lowest motives, and members returned by a majority of intimidation, bribery, private interest, or at best by chance, all through the ill-advised enfranchisement of an enormous body of muscular indeed, but necessarily prejudiced, ignorant, and preoccupied members of society.”

The honourable member here resumed her seat amid loud cheers. On a division being taken, the motion was rejected by an overwhelming majority, and the question of Male Suffrage may be considered shelved for the present in the planet Venus.

B. T.

ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE
National Society for Women's Suffrage.

Presented to the General Meeting, May, 13th, 1876.

In presenting their report of the work of the past year, your Committee have to record that there was an increased majority against the second reading of the Bill to remove the Electoral Disabilities of Women in the present session. Nevertheless, the increased activity amongst the opponents of the measure has its encouraging aspect.

After the division of last session a Committee was formed amongst Members of Parliament "for the purpose of maintaining the integrity of the Franchise in opposition to the claims for the extension of the Parliamentary suffrage to women." This unusual proceeding has, perhaps not unjustly, been deemed a sign that the growth of the movement is creating alarm among its adversaries. The increased majority against the Bill this year points to the same conclusion.

The Bill was read a first time on April 9th, and was brought forward by Mr. Forsyth for second reading on April 26th. The debate, which was generally characterised by an earnestness exceeding that of previous years, was continued in support of the Bill, in speeches of distinguished ability and dignity, by Mr. Jacob Bright, Mr. Ward, Mr. Fawcett, Sir Robert Anstruther, and Sir Charles Legard. The rejection of the Bill was moved by Viscount Folkestone, seconded by Mr. E. A. Leatham; and supported by Mr. Smollett, Mr. Newdegate, Mr. Chaplin, Mr. Egerton Hubbard, and Mr. John Bright.

On a division being taken the numbers were—

For the Bill	152
Against	239

The Bill was therefore lost by a majority of 87.

The number of votes recorded in favour of the Bill this year is exactly the same as in 1875. Adding tellers and pairs to the numbers given above, we find

<i>In favour</i>		<i>Against</i>	
Liberals	92	Liberals	88
Conservatives	69	Conservatives	160
Total	161	Total	248

It appears, therefore, that of the Liberal votes recorded, the majority were in favour of the Bill. Of the Irish votes recorded, as will be seen by the following figures, a majority were also given in favour of the Bill.

<i>In favour</i>		<i>Against</i>	
English	115	English	195
Welsh... ..	4	Welsh	13
Scotch	20	Scotch	20
Irish	22	Irish	20

Petitions in favour of the Bill have flowed in very numerously during the session. Their abundance is the more remarkable from the continued absence (with one single exception) of any petitions to maintain the disabilities of women. Among the petitions were the following: from the Birmingham Liberal Association, from 43 Professors and 3 Lecturers of the University of Cambridge, from all the Masters of King Edward's School, and from 19 Masters of Harrow School. Twenty-two Town Councils and Municipal Corporations have petitioned for the Bill—twelve English and ten Scotch—namely: Aberdeen, Batley, Cupar, Denbigh, Dewsbury, Dumbarton, Edinburgh, Forfar, Hanley, Huddersfield, Hull, Kirkaldy, Lincoln, Linlithgow, Montrose, Middlesborough, Northampton, Paisley, Selkirk, Southampton, Sunderland, and Wrexham. One Town Council, namely, Kilmarnock, petitioned against the Bill. The total number presented up to May 2nd was 1,033 petitions, of which 98 were official or under Seal. The number of signatures was

363,694. This number exceeds, in the proportion of more than three-and-a-half to one, the number of signatures to any one other series of petitions before the House, and is in proportion of seven to ten of all the other petitions together. The number sent from Ireland were 45 petitions containing 4,539 signatures; from Scotland 226 containing 29,363 signatures. Of the total number of petitions, 258 containing 121,127 signatures are due to the efforts of friends of the cause in direct communication with your Committee.

During the past season meetings have been held at Buckingham, Ipswich, King's Lynn, Knaresborough, Lincoln, Malton, and Wallingford, and in many other places also in connection with other Committees. Your Committee report with satisfaction that these meetings have created great interest in their respective localities, and been of essential service to the cause.

The leading Committees throughout the three Kingdoms have, during the past year, continued their work of promoting public meetings, and circulating petitions and literature with energy and success.

Your Committee desire to express their cordial thanks to Miss Beedy, for the assistance she has given in connection with the meetings, and their sense of her great ability and the unselfish earnestness with which she has devoted herself to the work.

Your Committee have satisfaction in stating that numerous Drawing-Room Meetings have been held in London during the past winter. While tendering their grateful thanks to the friends who have come forward to help in this manner they desire to press on all who sympathise with their endeavours the importance of extending this excellent method of arousing interest and calling attention to the subject.

The past year has been sorrowfully marked by the death of one who, from the earliest foundation of this society, has been its generous supporter. The loss of Mr. Thomas Thomasson will be widely felt, but nowhere more truly than by those who have known his active, unflinching sympathy for the cause of women.

Your Committee would urge all who seek for the more complete union of the sympathies and interests of men and women

especially those women who would receive votes by this measure, to come forward and testify to their sense of its extreme importance.

They trust to see the work of the coming year marked by increased activity corresponding to the more serious light in which the question has come to be regarded both in Parliament and throughout the country.

DIVISION LIST.

AYES.

Anderson, George	Disraeli, Rt. Hon. Benjamin
Archdale, William Humphreys	Dixon, George (Birmingham)
Bateson, Sir Thomas	Dodds, Joseph
Bathurst, Allen Alexander	Downing, M'Carthy
Beach, W.W. Bramst. (Hants, N.)	Dundas, John Charles
Beaumont, Major Fred. (Durh. S.)	Elliot, Sir Geo. (Dur. Co. (N.D.))
Beresford, Col. M. (Southwark)	Elliot, G. W. (Northallerton)
Biggar, Joseph Gillis	Ennis, Nicholas
Birley, Hugh	Eslington, Lord
Blake, Thomas	Ewing, Archibald Orr
Bourne, Colonel	Fawcett, Henry
Bousfield, Major	Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Briggs, William Edward	Forester, Cecil Theodore Weld
Bright, Jacob (Manchester)	Forster, Sir Charles (Walsall)
Brooks, Maurice (Dublin)	Fraser, Sir William Augustus
Bruce, Rt. Hn. Lord Ernest (Marl)	Gardner, James T. Agg. (Chelt.)
Bruce, Hon. Thos. (Portsm'th)	Gardner, R. Richardson (W'sor)
Burt, Thomas	Goldsmid, Sir Francis (Reading)
Cameron, Charles (Glasgow)	Gordon, Rt. Hon. E. S. (Glas. U.)
Carter, Robert M.	Gorst, John Eldon
Cawley, Charles E.	Gourley, Edward Temperley
Chadwick, David	Greenall, Sir Gilbert
Chapman, John	Gurney, Rt. Hon. Russell
Charley, William Thomas	Hamond, Charles Frederic
Cholmeley, Sir Hugh	Harrison, J. Fortescue (Kilm'k)
Clarke, J. Creemer	Henley, Right Hon. J. W.
Clifford, Charles Cavendish	Hervey, Lord F. (Bury St. Edm.)
Cobbold, Thomas Clement	Heygate, William Unwin
Collins, Eugene	Hodgson, Kirkman Daniel
Conyngham, Lord F. (Clare)	Holker, Sir John
Corbett, John (Droitwich)	Hopwood, Charles Henry
Cowan, James (Edinburgh)	Ingram, William James
Cowen, Joseph (Newcastle)	Jackson, Sir Henry Mather
Crawford, J. Sharman	Jenkins, David James (Penryn)
Cross, John Kynaston (Bolton)	Jenkins, Edward (Dundee)
Cubitt, George	Kenealy, Dr.
Davie, Sir H. R. Ferguson (Hadd.)	Kinnaird, Hn. Arthur Fitzgerald
Deakin, James Henry	Knightley, Sir Rainald
Dickson, Thos. A. (Dungannon)	Lambert, Nathaniel Grace
Dilke, Sir Charles Wentworth	Laverton, Abraham
Dillwyn, Lewis Llewelyn	Leeman, George

Legard, Sir Charles	Redmond, William Archer
Leith, John Farley	Reed, Edwd. James (Pembroke)
Lloyd, Morgan (Beaumaris)	Richard, Henry
Lopes, Sir Massey (Devon, S.)	Ripley, Henry William
Lusk, Sir Andrew	Round, James
Mackintosh, Charles Fraser	Ryder, Granville Richard
M'Arthur, Alexander (Leic.)	Rylands, Peter
M'Kenna, Sir Joseph Neal	Sanderson, Thomas Kemp
M'Lagan, Peter	Sandford, G. Montagu W.
M'Laren, Duncan	Sheridan, Henry B.
Manners, Rt. Hn. Lord John	Shute, General
Marten, Alfred George (Cam. B.)	Simon, Mr. Serjeant
Mellor, Thomas W.	Sinclair, Sir John G. Tollemache
Milbank, Frederick Aclom	Smith, Eustace (Tynemouth)
Mills, Arthur (Exeter)	Smyth, Richard (Lond'dy Co.)
Morley, Samuel	Spinks, Mr. Serjeant
Mundella, Anthony John	Stacpoole, William
Muntz, Philip Henry	Stansfeld, Rt. Hon. James
Neville-Grenville, Ralph	Stewart, Mark John (Wigton)
Nolan, Captain	Taylor, Peter Alfred (Leicester)
Norwood, Charles Morgan	Temple, Rt. Hon. W. Cowper
O'Byrne, William Richard	Tennant, Robert
O'Clery, Keyes	Thwaites, Daniel
Palk, Sir Lawrence	Torrens, W. T. M'Cullagh
Pateshall, Evan	Trevelyan, George Otto
Pennington, Frederick	Villiers, Rt. Hon. C. Pelham
Perkins, Sir Frededeick	Ward, Michael Francis
Phipps, Pickering	Wells, Edward
Pim, Captain Bedford	Wheelhouse, William S. J.
Playfair, Rt. Hon. Dr. Lyon	Whitworth, Ben. (Kilkenny City)
Polhill-Turner, Captain	Wilson, Chas. (Kings, upon Hull)
Potter, Thomas Bayley	Wilson, Sir Mathew (Yk. W. R.)
Powell, Walter	Yeaman, James
Puleston, John Henry	Yorke, John Reginald (Glou. E.)
Ramsay, John	

Tellers for the Ayes, Mr. Forsyth and Sir Robert Anstruther.

NOES.

Adam, Rt. Hon. William Patrick	Biddulph, Michael
Adderley, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles	Blackburne, Col. John Ireland
Agnew, Robert Vans	Bolckow, Henry W. F.
Allsopp, Charles (Staff. E.)	Brassey, Henry A. (Sandwich)
Allsopp, Henry (Worc. E.)	Brassey, Thomas (Hastings)
Amory, Sir John Heathcoat	Bright, Rt. Hn. John (Birmingham)
Arkwright, Aug. P. (Derby, N.)	Bright, Richard (Somers. E.)
Ashley, Hon. Evelyn M.	Bristowe, Samuel Boteler
Bagge, Sir William	Broadley, William H. Harrison
Balfour, Arthur Jas. (Hertf. Bo.)	Brown, James Clifton (Horsham)
Barclay, Alex. Chas. (Taunton)	Burrell, Sir Percy
Barrington, Viscount	Butler-Johnstone, Hen. A.
Bartelot, Sir Walter B.	Butt, Isaac
Bass, Arthur (Staffordsh. E.)	Buxton, Sir Robert Jacob
Bass, Michael Thomas (Derby)	Campbell, Colin (Staffordsh. N.)
Bates, Edward	Campbell, Sir Geo. (Kirkcaldy)
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir M. H. (Glo. E.)	Campbell-Bannerman, Henry
Beaumont, W. B. (Northum. S.)	Carington, Hon. Colonel Wm.
Bell, Isaac Lowthian	Cartwright, Wm. C. (Oxfords.)
Bentinck, Geo. W. P. (Norf. W.)	Cave, Rt. Hn. S. (New Shoreham)

Cavendish, Lord G. (Derbysh. N.)
 Cecil, Lord Eustace H. B. G.
 Chaplin, Henry (Lincolnsh. M.)
 Childers, Rt. Hon. Hugh
 Churchill, Lord Randolph
 Clifton, Thomas Henry
 Clive, Col. Hn. G. Windsor (Lud.)
 Clowes, Samuel William
 Cobbett, John Morgan
 Cole, Henry Thomas (Penryn)
 Colebrooke, Sir Thomas Edward
 Corbett, Colonel (Salop, S.)
 Cordes, Thomas
 Corry, Hn. H. W. Lowry (Tyrone)
 Cotes, Charles Cecil
 Cotton, Rt. Hon. William J. R.
 Crichton, Viscount
 Cruss, Rt. Hn. Rd. A. (Lanc. S. W.)
 Dalkeith, Earl of
 Dalrymple, Charles
 Davenport, W. Bromley
 Davies, Richard (Anglesey)
 Denison, W. E. (Nottingham)
 Dodson, Rt. Hon. John George
 Douglas, Sir George
 Duff, Mount. Elph. Grant (Elgin)
 Duff, Robert William (Banffsh.)
 Dunbar, John
 Dyke, Sir William Hart
 Dyott, Colonel Richard
 Eaton, Henry William
 Edmonstone, Admiral Sir Wm.
 Edwards, Henry
 Egerton, Hn. Alg. Fulke (Lan. S.)
 Egerton, Adm. Hn. F. (Derby, E.)
 Elcho, Lord
 Errington, George
 Fellowes, Edward
 Foljambe, Francis John Savile
 Forster, Rt. Hn. W. E. (Bradford)
 Foster, Wm. Hen. (Bridgnorth)
 Gallwey, Sir William Payne
 Galway, Viscount
 Garnier, John Carpenter
 Goddard, Ambrose Lethbridge
 Goldney, Gabriel
 Goldsmid, Julian (Rochester)
 Gooch, Sir Daniel
 Gordon, Sir Alex. H. (Aberdeen)
 Gordon, William (Chelsea)
 Gower, Hon. E. F. Leveson Bod.
 Greene, Edward
 Gregory, George B. (Sussex, E.)
 Grey, Earl de
 Halsey, Thomas Frederick
 Hamilton, Lord Cl. J. (King's L.)
 Hamilton, Lord George (Midd'x.)

Hamilton, Marquis of (Donegal)
 Hamilton, Hon. R. Baillie (Berw.)
 Hankey, Thomson
 Harcourt, Sir. W. Vernon
 Harcastle, Edward
 Hardy, Rt. Hn. Gathorne (Oxf. U.)
 Hardy, John Stewart (Rye)
 Havelock, Sir Henry
 Hay, Rt. Hon. Sir J. C. Dalrymple
 Hayter, Arthur Divett
 Herschell, Farrer
 Hildyard, T. Blackb. Thoroton
 Hinchbrook, Viscount
 Holford, J. Price Gwynne
 Holland, Sir H. T. (Midhurst)
 Holms, John (Hackney)
 Hood, Capt. Hn. Arthur W. A. N.
 Hope, Alex. J. B. Beresford
 Hubbard, Egerton (Buckingham)
 Hubbard, Rt. Hn. John (London)
 James, Walter, H. (Gateshead)
 James, Sir Henry (Taunton)
 Johnstone, Sir Harcourt (Scarb.)
 Jolliffe, Hon. Sydney
 Kavanagh, Arthur Mac M.
 Kay-Shuttleworth, Ughtred Jas.
 Kingscote, Colonel
 Knowles, Thomas
 Lawrence, Sir J. Clarke (Lamb.)
 Lawrence, Sir Trevor (M. Sur.)
 Lee, Major, Vaughan (Som. W.)
 Lefevre, George John Shaw
 Legh, Wm. John (Chesh. E.)
 Lewis, Chas. Edwd. Londond'y
 Lewis, Owen Carlow Borough
 Lindsay, Lord (Wigan)
 Lloyd, Thomas E. (Cardigansh.)
 Lopes, Henry C. (Frome)
 Lorne, Marquis of
 Lowe, Rt. Hon. Robert
 Macartney, J. W. Ellison
 MacIver, David
 M'Arthur, William (Lambeth)
 Maitland, J. (Kirkcudbrightsh.)
 Maitland, Wm. Fuller (Breconsh.)
 Majendie, Lewis Ashurst
 Makins, Colonel
 Malcolm, John Wingfield
 Marling, Samuel Stephens
 Massey, Rt. Hon. Wm. Nathaniel
 Merewether, Charles George
 Mills, Sir Chas. Henry (Kent, W.)
 Monckton, Francis
 Monk, Charles James
 Montgomerie, Roger (Ayrshire)
 Montgomery, Sir G. G. (Peebles)
 Moore, Arthur (Clonmel)

Morgan, Hon. Fred. (Monm. Co.)
 Morgan, G. Osborne (Denbighsh)
 Mowbray, Rt. Hon. John Robert
 Mulholland, John
 Mure, Colonel
 Naghten, Lt.-Colonel
 Newdegate, Charles Newdigate
 Newport, Viscount
 Noel, Rt. Hn. Cerard J. (Rutland)
 North, Colonel
 O'Callaghan, Hon. Wilfrid
 O'Connor, Denis M. (Sligo Co.)
 Paget, Richard Horner
 Parker, Lt. Col. Windsor
 Pease, Joseph Whitwell
 Peel, Arthur Wellesley (Warw.)
 Peel, Rt. Hn. Sir Rob. (Tamworth)
 Pell, Albert
 Pemberton, Edward Leigh
 Pennant, Hon. George
 Peploe, Major
 Percy, Earl
 Plunkett, Hn. D. R. (Dublin Univ.)
 Plunkett, Hon. R. (Glouc. W.)
 Portman, Hon. W. Henry B.
 Præd, Chas. Trying. (St. Ives)
 Præd, H. Bulkeley (Colchester)
 Raikes, Henry Cecil
 Ridley, Matthew White
 Ritchie, Charles Thomson
 Robertson, Henry
 Roebuck, John Arthur
 Rothschild, Sir Nath. M. de
 Russell, Lord Arthur (Tavistock)
 Russell, Sir Chas. (Westminster)
 Salt, Thomas
 Samuda, Joseph D'Aguiar
 Scott, Montagu D. (Sussex, E.)
 Scourfield, Sir John Henry
 Sidebottom, T. Hyrrop
 Simonds, William Barrow

Smith, Samuel Geo. (Aylesbury)
 Smith, Wm. Hen. (Westminster)
 Smyth, Patrick Jas. (Westmeath)
 Smollett, Patrick Boyle
 Somerset, Lord Henry R. C.
 Sotheron-Estcourt, George
 Stanhope, W. T. W. S. (Y'k, W. R.)
 Starkie, J. Pierce C. (Lanc. N. E.)
 Steere, Lee
 Stevenson, James Cochran
 Stuart, Colonel (Cardiff)
 Swanston, Alexander
 Sykes, Christopher
 Talbot, John Gilbert (Kent, W.)
 Tavistock, Marquis of
 Thornhill, Thomas
 Thynne, Lord Henry Fred.
 Torr, John
 Tracy, Hn. Chas. R. D. Hanbury
 Tremayne, John
 Trevor, Lord Arth. Edwin Hill
 Walker, Thomas Eades
 Wallace, Sir Richard
 Walsh, Hon. Arthur
 Walter, John
 Waterlow, Sir Sydney H.
 Watney, James
 Weguelin, Thomas M.
 Wellesley, Captain
 Whitbread, Samuel
 Whitelaw, Alexander
 Williams, Sir Fred. M. (Truro)
 Williams, Watkin (Denbigh)
 Wilmot, Sir Henry (Derbysh. S.)
 Wilmot, Sir J. Eardley (Warw. S.)
 Winn, Rowland (Linc. N.)
 Wolff, Sir H. Drummond
 Wood, Basil Thomas
 Wynn, Chas. W. Williams (Mont)
 Yarmouth Earl of
 Yorke, Hon. Eliot (Camb. Co.)

Tellers for the Nees, Viscount Folkestone and Mr. Leatham.

PAIRS.

For	Against
Mr. W. Johnston	Lord H. Scott
Rt. Hon. G. W. Hunt	Hon. W. Egerton
Mr. Ashbury	Mr. Onslow
Mr. Parnell	Mr. Sackville
Capt. G. E. Price	Mr. Floyer
Major Dickson	Mr. T. W. Evans
Sergeant Sherlock	Sir Colman O'Loughlen

National Society for Women's Suffrage.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

Receipts and Payments from May 20, 1875, to May 11, 1876.

Dr.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	Cr.
Balance in hand			65	4	3		133
Donations and Subscriptions			992	16	1		95
Sale of Tickets			38	5	4		17
" " Publications			14	2	0		41
" " Shilling League			6	7	9		8
							4
							0
							1
							0
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ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING
HELD IN THE SOCIETY'S OFFICE, 64, BERNERS STREET,
ON SATURDAY, MAY 13TH, 1876.
MR. W. H. ASHURST IN THE CHAIR.

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

FIRST RESOLUTION.—Proposed by Mrs. Lucas, seconded by the Hon. Miss Canning:—

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

SECOND RESOLUTION.—Proposed by MISS BEEDY, seconded by MR. BENNETT—

“That the Executive Committee for the ensuing year consist of the following persons:

- | | |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Professor Sheldon Amos | Mrs. R. R. Glover |
| Mrs. Sheldon Amos | Miss K. Hill |
| Sir Robert Anstruther, Bart., M.P. | Frederick Hill, Esq. |
| Lady Anstruther | C. H. Hopwood, Esq., Q.C., M.P. |
| Miss Ashworth | Lady Anna Gore Langton |
| Miss L. Ashworth | Mrs. Samuel Lucas |
| W. H. Ashurst, Esq. | W. Johnston, Esq., M.P. |
| Miss Becker | Mrs. E. M. Lynch |
| Alfred W. Bennett, Esq. | Duncan McLaren, Esq., M.P. |
| Miss Ashurst Biggs | Mrs. Duncan McLaren |
| Miss Caroline Biggs | Miss Agnes McLaren |
| Miss J. Boucherett | Frederick Pennington, Esq., M.P. |
| Jacob Bright, Esq., M.P. | Mrs. Frederick Pennington |
| Mrs. Jacob Bright | Miss Ramsay |
| Hon. Emmeline Canning | Miss Reeves |
| Miss F. Power Cobbe | Mrs. George Sims |
| Miss Courtenay | Mrs. James Stansfeld |
| Hon. Mrs. Maurice Drummond | Miss Sturge |
| E. B. Eastwick, Esq., C.B. | J. S. Symon, Esq. |
| W. Forsyth, Esq., Q.C., M.P. | Mrs. Thomas Taylor |
| Mrs. Forsyth | Miss Tod |
| Miss Rhoda Garrett | Mrs. Webster |
| Miss Agnes Garrett | Miss Williams |

and of delegates, the same being members of Local Committees, appointed by Local Associations to represent them.”

THIRD RESOLUTION.—Proposed by MRS. SIMS, seconded by MISS C. BIGGS:—

“That the thanks of the meeting be given to Mr. Ashurst for presiding on this occasion.”

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS.

	Donations.	Subscriptions.
Abercrombie, Mrs. Alexander	...	0 10 0
Amos, Prof. and Mrs. Sheldon	...	1 1 0
Anderson, Miss	...	0 5 0
Apps, Miss (Dover).	...	0 5 0
Armstrong, Mr. H. B. (Killylea).	...	1 0 0
Ashworth, The Misses (Bath).	100 0 0	
Ashurst Mr.	5 0 0	
Askey, Mrs	...	1 0 0
Astley, Miss	1 0 0	
Anonymous	1 0 0	
"	...	0 10 0
Babb, Miss	...	0 1 0
Babb, Mr. J. Staines	...	
Barrett, Dr.	0 2 0	1 1 0
Barry, Mrs. (Sydenham)	...	0 2 6
Bayley, Mr. Edric	...	1 1 0
Beedy, Miss	...	1 1 0
Bennett, Mr. A. W.	...	1 1 0
Best, Mrs. Rycroft (Harrow).	...	0 5 0
Biggs, Mr. Joseph	...	1 1 0
Biggs, Miss Ashurst	...	1 1 0
Biggs, Miss C. A.	...	1 1 0
Bird, Miss (Sydenham).	...	0 5 0
Black, Mrs.	...	0 5 0
Blackburn, Miss (Walmer)	...	0 5 0
Blair, Mr.	...	0 2 0
Bolton, Mrs. (Torquay).	...	0 5 0
Bostock, Miss	...	1 1 0
Boucherett, Miss J.	10 0 0	
Boecker, Miss	...	1 0 0
Bright, Mrs. Jacob	26 8 0	
Branch, Mrs.	...	2 2 0
Brooke, F. T. Mr.	0 10 0	
Buchan, Dowager Lady	2 0 0	
Bunting, Mr. Percy...	...	1 1 0
Bruce, Mrs.	...	1 1 0
Burt, Mrs. (San Francisco).	0 16 8	
Butler, Miss (Waterville, Kerry).	...	0 10 0
Canning, Hon. Emmeline	2 0 0	1 0 0
Carey, Miss (Guernsey).	...	0 1 0
Carpenter, Mrs. R. (Bridport).	...	1 0 0
Chambers, Miss J. M.	0 5 0	
Charlesworth, Mrs. (Sheffield).	0 5 0	
Chesson, Mrs.	...	0 10 6
Cobbe, Miss F. Power	...	1 0 0

	Donations.	Subscriptions.
Corfield, Miss	...	0 5 0
Courtauld, Miss	...	2 2 0
Courtenay, Miss	2 2 0	
Cox, Mr. Sergt.	...	1 0 0
Craigie, Mrs.	0 10 0	
Craig, Miss (Edinburgh).	...	1 1 0
Crook, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph (Bolton).	...	2 2 0
Curtis, Mr. and Mrs.	...	0 2 0
Deacon, Mr. R.	0 5 0	
Dixon, Miss (Seaton Carew).	...	0 10 0
Drummond, Hon. Mrs. Maurice..	...	1 0 0
Drysdale, Lady	...	1 0 0
Dunbar, Miss (Dover).	...	0 5 0
Dunlop, Miss A. R.	...	0 10 0
Eiloart, Mrs.	...	0 10 0
Ellis, Mr. Alexander J.	...	1 1 0
Ellis, Miss E. (Leicester).	...	1 1 0
Elmslie, Mrs.	...	0 5 0
Estlin, Miss	...	1 1 0
Fawcett, Mrs. W. W.	...	0 10 6
Flint, Mrs.	...	0 2 0
Finch, Miss	...	1 0 0
Fisher, Mrs.	...	0 10 6
FitzGerald, Miss F. (Valencia).	0 2 6	
Friend, A (Buckingham).	...	0 2 0
" " (London).	0 2 6	
" " "	0 1 0	
" " per Mrs. Lynch	0 10 0	
" " (Lynn).	...	0 2 6
" " (Wallingford)	...	0 2 6
" " in need	0 10 0	
Galpin, Mr. T. D.	...	1 1 0
Garrett, The Misses	5 0 0	0 2 0
Gay, Miss S. E.	...	0 2 0
Glover, Mrs. R. R.	1 0 0	
Golds, Mr. Alfred	...	0 5 0
Goldsmid, Lady	5 0 0	2 2 0
" "	2nd Don 3 3 0	
Greig, Mrs.	...	0 2 6
Grove, Miss	...	0 5 0
Gurney, Miss	...	0 5 0
Gurney, Miss A.	...	0 2 6
G. S. per Mr. Bennett	0 5 0	

	Donations	Subscriptions
Hall, Miss	...	2 2 0
Hall, Mr. S. (Eastbourne)	0 1 6	...
Hamilton, Miss	...	0 5 0
Hargreaves, Mrs.	5 0 0	...
Harris, Mr. Henry	...	0 2 6
Harrison, Mrs. (Beckenham)	0 10 0	...
Handscombe, Miss (Buckingham)	...	0 5 0
Hassall, Dr.	1 1 0	...
Hawkins, Mrs. (Wallingford)	0 10 0	...
Heblewhite, Miss	...	0 2 6
Herbert, Lady Florence	1 0 0	...
Hill, Mr. Edwin	1 1 0	...
Hill, Mr. Frederick	1 0 0	...
Holland, Mr. H.	0 10 6	...
Holland, Miss	...	1 0 0
Hood, Mrs. (Boston)	...	0 2 6
Hooper, Mrs.	...	0 2 6
Howe, Mr.	...	0 1 0
Howitt, Mrs. (Beckenham)	0 10 0	...
Household Suffrage	100 0 0	...
Hullah, Mrs.	...	1 1 0
Imray, Mr. and Mrs.	...	2 2 0
Impartial Representation	100 0 0	...
Jenkins, Mr. E.	...	0 10 6
Jones, Mr. Crompton	...	1 1 0
Kerry, the Knight of	...	...
Kinnear, Mr. J. Boyd	2 0 0	...
Knight, Mrs.	...	1 0 0
Larner, Mrs.	...	0 2 0
Lascaridi, Mr. G. P.	...	0 5 0
Lascaridi, Mr. P. T.	...	0 5 0
Lawrie, Mrs. Andrew	...	0 5 0
Leon, Mrs.	...	1 1 0
Leon, Mr. F. P.	2 2 0	...
L'Estrange, Rev. A. G.	1 1 0	...
Lewin, Miss	...	1 1 0
Lewis, Mrs.	...	0 2 0
Lord, Mrs.	1 1 0	...
Lowe, Dr.	0 10 0	...
Lucraft, Mr. and Mrs.	0 5 0	...
Lucas, Mrs.	...	0 3 0
Malleson, Mr. and Mrs. F.	...	2 2 0
Marsden, Mr. Mark	...	2 2 0
Martineau, Mrs. Harriet	1 0 0	...
	...	1 1 0

	Donations	Subscriptions
Marshall, Dr. (Wallingford)	0 5 0	...
Marshall, Mr. Mitchell	0 5 0	...
Mellor, Mr. J. P.	100 0 0	...
" "	2nd Donation 100 0 0	...
Mills, Mr. Arthur	2 2 0	2 2 0
Mills, Mrs.	2 0 0	...
Morty Mr.	0 5 0	...
Molyneux, Lady	1 0 0	...
Mulholland Miss	...	0 10 0
Müller, Mrs.	...	0 1 0
Murietta, Mrs.	...	1 0 0
Murray Rev. A. (Peterborough),	...	0 2 6
Nelson, Mr. A.	...	0 2 6
Newman, Prof. F. W.	...	2 0 0
Neymann Mrs.	...	0 10 0
Newnham, Miss.	...	1 0 0
Nicol, Mr. Henry	...	1 1 0
Nichol, Mrs. (Edinburgh)	10 0 0	...
Nicholls, Mrs. Gough	10 0 0	...
Oakes, Mrs.	5 5 0	...
Obbinson, Miss	...	0 1 0
Olding, Mr. R. S.	...	0 5 0
Oxford and Mortimer. Countess of	...	1 0 0
Payne, Mr. W.	...	0 5 0
Paulton, Mrs.	...	2 0 0
Pennington, Mrs. Frederick	20 0 0	...
Pettitt, Mr.	0 5 0	...
Perrier, Mrs.	...	0 5 0
Pochin, Mrs.	25 0 0	...
Poole, Mr. Stanley Lane	...	1 1 0
Plowright, Mr. H. P. (Lynn.)	...	0 5 0
Praed, Miss E. M.	...	2 0 0
Prideaux, Miss	0 5 0	...
Priestman, the Misses, (Bristol)	...	1 1 0
Rae, Miss	...	0 1 0
Raven, Miss	...	0 10 0
Rennick, Mrs. Charles	...	0 5 0
Ricketts, Mr. E. B.	3 3 0	1 0 0
Ridgway, Mrs.	0 5 0	...
Rigbye, Miss (Ambleside)	...	1 1 0
Roberts, Mr. Owen	...	1 1 0
Salmon, Mr.	...	0 1 0
Saunders, Mr.	...	0 1 0
Sims, Mrs.	...	2 2 0
Scott, Miss	...	0 10 0

		Donations	Subscriptions.
Scull, Mrs.	.. ..	..	0 10 0
Scholefield, Mrs	.. ..	2 0 0	..
Southall, the Misses	.. ..	..	0 10 0
Sparling, Miss	.. ..	..	1 1 0
Spender, Mr. Edward	.. ..	..	1 1 0
Stansfeld, Mrs.	.. ..	5 0 0	..
Sterling, Mrs. E. C.	.. ..	..	1 1 0
Stobart, Mrs	.. ..	..	0 5 0
Taylor, Mrs. Thos.	.. ..	..	5 0 0
Taylor, Miss Edith H.	.. ..	..	0 10 0
Taylor, Miss W. (Cork)	.. ..	..	0 5 0
Taylor, Mr. Benjamin	.. ..	..	0 5 0
Taylor, Mrs. E. M.	.. ..	1 0 0	..
Tebb, Mrs.	.. ..	..	2 2 0
Tewson, Mrs.	.. ..	1 0 0	..
Tennent, Mrs.	.. ..	..	0 10 0
Thomas, Miss	.. ..	..	1 1 0
Thomas, Mrs. Charles	.. ..	..	1 1 0
Thomasson Mr. J. P.	.. ..	50 0 0	..
" "	2nd donation.	100 0 0	..
Thomson Mr. Walter	.. ..	10 0 0	..
Trevelyan, Mr. A.	.. ..	..	2 0 0
Troupe, Mrs.	.. ..	0 5 0	..
Turner, Mrs.	.. ..	..	0 10 0
Wansey, Miss E.	.. ..	..	1 0 0
Wharncliffe, Dowager Lady	.. ..	2 0 0	..
Wedgwood, Mrs. Hensleigh	.. ..	..	1 0 0
Wills, Mr. Howel	.. ..	..	1 1 0
Wilkins, Mr. S. C.	.. ..	..	0 5 0
Wilkinson, Mrs. Garth	.. ..	..	1 1 0
Williams, Mrs. Carvell	.. ..	..	0 10 0
Williams, Mr. A. J.	.. ..	..	1 1 0
Williams, Miss	.. ..	10 0 0	..
" "	2nd donation	10 0 0	..
" "	3rd "	5 0 0	..
Williams, Mrs. Morgan	.. ..	..	1 1 0
Wilson, Sir Roland K. Bt.	.. ..	..	0 10 0
Wilson, Mr. T.	.. ..	..	0 5 0
Widow, A.	.. ..	0 5 0	..
Wyatt-Edgell, Rev. E.	.. ..	..	1 0 0
Young, Mr. T. S.	.. ..	..	0 10 0
Young, Admiral	.. ..	0 4 0	..

	Donations	Subscriptions.
Received after balance-sheet made up.		
Mr. Anderson	0 5 0
Mrs. Cable	0 1 0
Lord Chief Baron Sir Fitzroy Kelly	1 0 0
Mr. Connor	0 2 6	..
Mrs. Wayham	0 1 0
Mrs. Wade	0 2 6
Miss Wade	0 2 6

formation with regard to the progress of the movement in all parts of the country. By holding public meetings in support of the Women's Suffrage Bill. By the publication of pamphlets, leaflets, and other literature bearing upon the question.

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 number of the Central Committee and to its own number and to appoint the officers.
3. A subscription of any amount constitutes membership of the National Society.
4. A General Meeting of the Central Committee shall be held once a year to appoint the Executive Committee, to receive the Annual Report and the Financial Statement, and to transact any other business which may arise.
5. The Executive Committee shall at its first meeting appoint the officers.
6. A Special General Meeting may be called by the Executive Committee.

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 Women's Disabilities Removal Bill.

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

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 number of the Central Committee, and to its own number, and to appoint the officers.
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5. The Executive Committee shall, at its first meeting appoint the officers.
6. A Special General meeting may be called by the Execu-

tive 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 day's 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.

MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

NINTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

OF THE

MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

*PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,
NOVEMBER 29th, 1876.*

MANCHESTER
GUARDIAN LETTERPRESS AND LITHOGRAPHIC WORKS.

1876.