

*9th Annual Report Manchester National Society for
Women's Suffrage Manchester 1876*

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE PAMPHLETS VOLUME 5 - 1875-1876 (BOUND)	
EDINBURGH N.S.W.S.	Women's suffrage, 7th annual meeting, January 18th, 1875.
ANONYMOUS	A woman's voice - from "the Leeds Express".
C.C.N.S.W.S.	Women's suffrage.
N.S.W.S.	Household suffrage for women.
C.C.N.S.W.S.	Annual report, ... May 29th, 1875.
L.S.	The citizenship of women socially considered.
FORSYTH, W.	W. Forsyth Esq. M.P. Speech in the House of Commons, 7.4.75.
STANSFELD, J.	Right Hon. Jas. Stansfeld, M.P. Speech in the House of Commons, 7.4.75.
DIXON, G.	Geo. Dixon, Esq. M.P. Public meeting at St. George's Hall, 29.5.75.
JACKSON, J.M.	Speeches in the House of Commons, 7.4.75.
O'SULLIVAN, W.H.	Speech at public meeting in St. George's Hall, 29.5.75.
McLAREN, Mrs.	Miss Helen Taylor - speech at public meeting, St. Pancras, 28.5.75.
TAYLOR, H.	Miss Anna Swanwick - speech at Hanover Square Rooms, 9.12.1874.
SWANWICK, A.	A working woman, Miss Wilkinson.
WILKINSON, Miss	8th annual report, 10.11.75.
MANCHESTER N.S.W.S.	Report for 1875.
BRISTOL & W.ENG.S.W.S.	8th annual meeting, 15th February, 1876.
EDINBURGH N.S.W.S.	Speech of F.P. Cobbe at WS meeting, St. George's Hall, 13.5.76.
COBBE, F.P.	A letter to the Rt. Hon. John Bright, M.P.
LADY IN THE GALLERY	Annual report to the executive, 13.5.76.
N.S.	P.T.O.

WOMEN'S
SUFFRAGE

Women's Suffrage Publications Volume 5.
1875-1876.

Women's Suffrage. 7th Annual Meeting

Edinburgh Nat. Society for Women's Suffrage Edinburgh 1875

A Woman's Voice. From the "Leeds Express" Printed
Manchester.

Women's Suffrage. Nat. Society for Women's Suffrage London

Household Suffrage for Women London.

Nat. Society for Women's Suffrage Annual Report London 1875

The Citizenship of Women. Socially Considered. By L.S. London 1874

W. Forsyth, Esq. M.P.

Printed Manchester

Printed

Right Hon. Jas. Stansfeld, M.P.

Manchester.

J. M. Jackson, Esq., M.P. & C. W. H. O'Sullivan Esq. M.P.

Printed

Manchester.

Miss Helen Taylor.

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8th Annual Report Manchester Nat. Society for

Women's Suffrage

Manchester 1875

Report Bristol & West of England Society for

Women's Suffrage.

Bristol 1876

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8th Annual Meeting Edinburgh National Society
 for Women's Suffrage

Edinburgh 1876

Miss Frances Power Cobbe at St. Georges Hall

1876.

A "Letter" to the Rt. Hon. John Bright, M.P. from

A Lady in "The Gallery"

London 1876.

Annual Report. National Society for Women's Suffrage London 1876

Answer to Mr. John Bright's Speech on the

Women's Suffrage by Arabella Shore

Printed

Mr Forryth, Q.C., M.P. on Women's Suffrage

London

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STANSFELD,

Speech in the House of Commons, April 7th 1875. Leaflet.

See "Women's Suffrage Publications."

Volume V. 1875-76.

EDINBURGH: PRINTED BY JOHN GREIG & SON.

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WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

Vol. 5

SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

EDINBURGH NATIONAL SOCIETY

FOR

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE,

*Held in the Hall of the Literary Institute, South Clerk Street,
18th January 1875.*

EDINBURGH : PRINTED BY JOHN GREIG & SON.

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HEAVY

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

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MISS WIGHAM, 5 South Gray Street,

MISS AGNES M'LAREN, Newington House, } SECRETARIES.

MISS TAYLOUR, St Catherine's Place,

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

EDINBURGH NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S
SUFFRAGE.

ANNUAL MEETING.

THE Annual Meeting of the Edinburgh Branch of the National Society for Women's Suffrage was held in the large hall of the Literary Institute, on the 18th January. There was a large attendance of both ladies and gentlemen. On and near the platform were Mrs Duncan M'Laren, Newington House; Mrs Hume Rothery (daughter of the late Mr Joseph Hume, M.P.); Miss Sturge, Birmingham; Miss Eliza Wigham; Miss Stuart, Markinch; Mrs Wellstood, Miss Sturge, Miss L. Stevenson, Mrs Wigham, Miss Hunter, Miss Craig, Mrs Macqueen, Miss Taylour, Mrs D. O. Hill, Miss Ramsay, Mrs and Miss Hope, of Bordlands; Mrs Samuel Brown, Miss Ella Burton; Mr James Cowan, M.P.; Mr R. A. Macfie, Mr W. Milne, Bailie Marshall, Councillor Wellstood, Mr Thomas Robertson, Mr D. M'Laren, jun., ex-Councillor Bladworth, Mr Inglis, &c.

On the motion of Mrs NICHOL, Mrs M'Laren was called to preside.

Mrs M'LAREN, on taking the chair, said—The energy and ability women have shewn in advocating their claim to the Suffrage, as well as other questions connected with their welfare, is fast making the phrase, "Woman's sphere," a phrase of the past. Whence have they received the energy and the talent for their work? Not even from the schools, for the Universities are closed against them. It is a God-given power; and it is beginning to be recognised that what God has given must no longer be kept latent, but brought into use.

Changing circumstances are continually throwing fresh light upon this subject. I often remember the words of our Saviour, "I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now," for all His words and all His actions towards women, as related in the New Testament, have a wonderful relation to this increasing light. Each century and each generation has much to unlearn as well as to learn. Hitherto men have had the expounding of the Scriptures almost exclusively to themselves, and the condition of the world shews how much more stress has been laid upon the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth verses of the fourteenth chapter of St Paul's Epistle

to the Corinthians than upon the ninth verse of the eleventh of Ecclesiastes, and other passages both in the Old and New Testaments, of *even* stronger import as to the duties and moral conduct of men. But the apostle, who is always quoted in support of the subjection of women, gladly availed himself of the highest spiritual and intellectual energies of such women as were capable of working with him; and I am sure you will agree with me, that whilst the same apostle's exhortation against much dressing of the hair and the wearing of jewellery is as strong as anything he advised as to the deference women should pay to man's superiority, there has been no great stress laid upon that exhortation. St Paul is quite forgotten when every device is applied to human and manufactured hair for the purpose of adorning or disfiguring the female head; and he is also forgotten when rich men make use of their female relatives to display their own wealth by the quantity of jewellery they give them to wear.

I confess there is much yet to be done to raise in the minds of women a higher standard of what their own position ought to be. From their childhood they are taught to believe they have nothing to do with politics. This has arisen a good deal from the idea of politics being associated with mere party and electioneering proceedings, for in past days the country has generally slumbered quietly on, until the advent of an election, when it has been suddenly awakened by some party-cry, followed too often by tumultuous uproar. This state of things is passing away, and questions full of the deepest interest to us all are coming to the front, in which men need the help of women.

I had a letter the other day from a young friend of mine, in which he says: "I told our foreman about your meeting; he is much against Women's Suffrage. He says he likes to see a woman when she has done her work, sit down and read her Bible. I told him I thought men needed to read their Bible quite as much as women, and that I also liked to see a woman sit down at times to read the newspaper; for if women were more conversant with the topics of the day, men would not go so much to public-houses and reading-rooms to seek companionship there."

I was much struck lately by a remark of one of our Edinburgh citizens—one of those thrifty and sensible men of whom Scotland may be justly proud—such as form the backbone of every nation. He said he thought it quite a mistake to be always thinking of getting up reading and refreshment rooms for the working-men. He thought it would be much better to form good libraries in different parts of the town, and encourage the men to take the books home to read. "Why not encourage them," he said, "to look for comfort at home?" Many will say this is unreasonable. I heard a very distinguished man say, not long ago, when arguing against a decrease of public-houses, "How can you expect a man who has been working all day, to go and sit in a comfortless house with his wife and perhaps half-a-dozen little children huddled up in one corner of the room?" I reply, Property involves responsibility. It was well said by a noble-minded Scotchman, "Property

has its duties as well as its rights." The six little children, whom we can picture in the corner of that miserable home, by the unjust laws of Great Britain, do not legally belong to the mother who bore them. They are exclusively the property of the father; and if fathers were more frequently taught that home was *their sphere*, perhaps we should see less of this squalid misery, and more library books in the dwellings of the poor.

I need not tell you that we do not ask for the suffrage as a mere abstract right. Women feel that they ought to have a voice in the representation of their country, that they may have some influence upon laws which closely affect themselves, as well as the country at large. I believe many women, for want of more political knowledge, are not aware that a married woman has no ownership in her children. It is only unmarried women who are in the unhappy position of mothers whom the laws of our country deem the fit and proper mothers to have the sole custody of their children, shewing clearly that these laws tend not to the benefit of either mothers or children, but to give men all power on the one hand, and immunity from evil doing on the other. There is much yet to unlearn as well as to learn. Men have often, with the best intentions, taken upon themselves more than they could well accomplish, forgetting these words spoken by One who could see the end from the beginning, "It is not good for man to be alone," and which have a much wider meaning than has generally been accorded them.

The Report of the Local Government Board, containing a series of investigations recently made on behalf of the Government by one of their Inspectors, Mrs Nassau Senior (the first of her sex so appointed in Great Britain, and appointed by the Right Hon. James Stansfeld, M.P.), amongst many interesting statistics, shews the good results of boarding out pauper children. Mr Mozeley, another Government inspector, reports that in his district the only failures of the boarding-out system have occurred where it has been managed solely by the guardians, and not, as in many places, by joint-committees of guardians and ladies. I am quite sure that if men and women worked together on more Boards and on more Committees, many things would be better done; and in this opinion I am supported by the most enlightened men of this city, as well as by its press.

What do you think was the admission of the *Times* newspaper within the past year, in a suggestion most unworthy of the leading journal of a Christian country? Why, that the tone of morals was so low at the Epsom Races, that gentlemen ought to encourage ladies to attend them, in order to elevate it. Now, the immorality which prevails on the race-course is of a much more degrading character than that which obtains at Parliamentary elections, so that if ladies are *asked* to purify the moral atmosphere of the race-course, it surely becomes the duty of the *Times*, with its great power, to aid them in their own request to be allowed to assist in purifying the political atmosphere of their country, whether from the platform or through the ballot box.

I repeat again, there is much to unlearn. The best and noblest of our men, from whom we derive so much help, and from whom we learn so much, do not, in their turn, despise the teaching of women. They know that from their own early and close contact with the world, they become apt to see many things as through a glass darkly. Women have mostly been kept in a purer light, and perhaps see some things more clearly than men. I have been told, on good authority, that the eleventh verse of the forty-eighth Psalm ought to be translated, "The Lord gave the word, great was the company of women publishers." I have thought sometimes that the Lord is again giving the word, and calling up a company of women publishers to publish the need of a purer faith and a purer life. This can be done through the ballot-box as well as from the platform. Women have great courage to act upon their convictions. There is one woman at the present moment—delicate, beautiful, obedient to *her* special call, no words of applause invite her onwards—leaning upon the promise, "My grace is sufficient for thee;" she has entered Paris alone, to face the most deadly enemy that can ever destroy any city. She carries no weapon forged by human hands; she hopes to strike the sin of that great city, and of other continental cities, by the force of Truth alone. When apostles are raised up for special work, there are hearts prepared to receive them; and from high and unexpected quarters Mrs Butler hears the words, "We would hear thee again of this matter."

Such is the call going forth, that I saw in the papers a few days ago, that the Baroness Burdett Coutts, who has expressed herself strongly in favour of the doctrine, which I delight to say is in the main part true, respecting woman's sphere being at home, that she herself, impelled by her earnest sympathy with the brute creation, has been addressing a crowded meeting at Exeter on the subject of cruelty to animals. I am sure it would be a most effective appeal on their behalf. I never heard a speech more gracefully delivered, either as to matter or manner, than the one Lady Burdett Coutts made in Edinburgh, to an equally crowded audience, on the occasion of her receiving the freedom of this beautiful city. We are not all called upon to work on the same questions, but we are all called upon to sympathise with suffering everywhere, and to examine how it is that such suffering exists. There are agonies which the spirit, born to an immortal inheritance, has to bear, far beyond any which these dumb creatures can ever know. We would not ask one effort less for them; those faithful friends deserve our every care; but whether the intenser sufferings to which I have alluded be produced by our laws, or could be mitigated by any alteration in our laws, every intelligent woman is bound to examine for herself.

Is there not cruelty in ejecting a widow, in the bitterness of her loneliness, with her fatherless children, from the farm whose produce was their bread, simply because the law refuses her the vote which her husband could have given at a Parliamentary election, and which she could quite as intelligently have given? Is there

no injustice in our legislators proposing to enfranchise the uneducated labourers on such farms, who have scarcely asked to be enfranchised, and turning a deaf ear to the tens of thousands of petitions which intelligent women have for years been sending to Parliament through much patient toil and self-denial? Are there not sufferings borne daily by women too dreadful to contemplate, because our laws teach such men as are cruelly disposed, that their wives are their own property, to be treated as they choose? A most powerful appeal for equal laws as between men and women I read some little time ago in a newspaper report of a man who had ill-used his wife. He said, "Why punish me; make my wife my equal, and I will treat her as such." That man was born in *his* wrong sphere. What a help he would have been to us in the House of Commons with such logical views! Were such reasoning acted upon, we should soon have no more discussions on the virtue of the lash.

In Edinburgh and Leith there are 18,000 more women than men. The disproportion between the sexes is great in most places. In the Burgh of Marylebone, in London, represented in Parliament by our friend Mr Forsyth, there are 20,000 more women than men. It would take volumes to tell the misery, the vice, and the suffering involved in words so easily spoken. What a sphere for our rich and good women, if they would, with the great wealth and influence with which they are endowed, come forward and use their gifts for the higher education of women, many of whom are entirely shut out from family life and its duties, and enable them to be instructed for missionaries and medical missionaries, to seek, if they felt the call, openings for themselves in this and other countries, so that they might become lights in the dark places of the earth; and that thus their lives might be made useful, and honourable, and blessed, instead of being too often marked only by broken hopes and an aimless existence.

Miss WIGHAM then read the Annual Report:—

"The commencement of the year just past, found the country engaged in the bustle of a Parliamentary election, the results of which affected more or less all the important questions of the day, including that of Women's Suffrage. Mr Jacob Bright, and others of the faithful supporters of the cause, were not returned to Parliament, and, consequently, there was a little anxiety as to who should be the leader. But soon, however, this anxiety was removed by Mr Forsyth, Q.C., the Conservative Member for Marylebone, kindly undertaking the leadership of the cause in Parliament. He gave notice of his Bill at a very early period, but the second reading was unavoidably deferred, notwithstanding the efforts of Mr Forsyth to the contrary, and in the short session there was not found an opportunity to proceed with it.

"Mr Forsyth, in communicating this disappointment to the Committee, gave hopes that the Bill would be brought in, under better auspices in the coming session, and promised he would do all he could to promote its success. We feel grateful to Mr Forsyth for his interest and efforts in our cause.

"Although there was thus no division in the House of Commons, the work of sending memorials and petitions by our Committee was

not relaxed; on the contrary, it exceeded that of former years. The number of petitions sent from Scotland was 340, and the number of signatures appended to them was upwards of 50,000. From Scotch Town Councils there were fourteen petitions sent; and besides these expressions of interest, a memorial to Mr Disraeli was forwarded, signed by 10,127 of the women of Scotland, praying for his continued support, and reminding him of the fact that he was the first member of the House of Commons who within its walls conceded the right of women to representation.

"After the dissolution, communication was held with all the Scottish candidates for election, and it is believed that, so far as Scotland is concerned, our friends are not fewer than in former years, there being thirty Scotch members known to be supporters of Women's Suffrage. The number of known friends in Parliament is 229. During the year thirty-three public meetings have been held, nearly all of which passed, unanimously, petitions for the representation of Women Householders.

"During the past year vigorous efforts have also been made in England, making the aggregate of the petitions from the United Kingdom to be upwards of 1000, and the number of signatures to be upwards of 300,000, exceeding by 60,000 those of former years. It is satisfactory that in all these efforts Scotland bears her full and fair proportion of the work. In the fact of municipal expression of sentiment, Scotland exceeds,—there being fourteen Scottish Town Councils and only twelve English and Irish, which have petitioned. The number of public meetings held in England and Ireland is very large, and the influence great and growing.

"Although we have no direct progress to report in Parliamentary action, there are many tokens, that the principle of the recognition of women as allies in the political world is gaining ground. We may refer to the appointment of women to the directorship of various institutions in this country, and to the acknowledged good results wherever electoral rights have been granted to them.

"As in past years, we have to mourn the loss we have sustained, by the removal by death of tried friends. This year the name of Lady Amberley rises before us prominently, her early and unlooked for death filled many hearts with sorrow besides those of her own immediate circle. Women everywhere lost in her a friend; she stood forth boldly to advocate what she believed to be just and true, and her example will, we trust, survive her. Nearer home we have to mention the name of Miss May M'Combie, of Aberdeen, who, though young in years, bravely by speech and pen, and still more by her gentle life of daily performed duty, and intelligent influence, promoted the cause of womanhood everywhere. When we note the gaps made by the loss of these and other workers, we would call on others to come forth to fill them up.

"We have offered in our Report merely the bare details of our work, which but slightly indicate the amount of effort expended. We have not entered into arguments; we conceive that these are not now needed for our cause, its self-evident and strictly logical justice must be accepted by all candid minds. If politics be the relation of the Government to the governed, and the relations of nations to each other, surely women have a great interest in politics, which they are bound religiously to cultivate and to manifest, as they love their country, and wish for it an elevated position of influence towards other countries.

"With these feelings we see no ground to give up our efforts, and we are preparing with vigour for the next session, in the hope that it may see these efforts crowned with success. Meanwhile we present

our Annual Statement to our friends, and again call on them for their sympathy and aid in the advancement of this good and righteous cause."

Mr COWAN, M.P., said he did not know until a short time ago that he was to be asked to move the approval of the report. He thought this was to be a field night for the ladies, and that no gentlemen were to speak at all. (Hear, hear.) He should therefore make his remarks extremely short. The report read by Miss Wigham was very interesting, and shewed the great work and the labour which the committee had had in hand during the past year; at the same time, they would allow him to congratulate them as Scotchmen on the very marked part which Scotland had taken in the agitation, and for the attitude Scotland now shewed in favour of women's rights. (Applause.) The estimate in which women were held in a country was always a mark of the civilisation of a people. Tacitus told them that the old Germans never undertook any serious business without first consulting the women. They knew, furthermore, what a large number there were in our own days of single women, or widows, or women deserted by their husbands, who were occupying houses, who were paying taxes, who were bringing up families, and doing all they possibly could in many cases, as he knew, to keep themselves out of the poorhouse. He asked, Were those women who were paying taxes not entitled to vote for members of Parliament as well as men? (Hear, hear.) Had they not an equal political stake in the country? He was satisfied that the votes of women would be in favour of good government, and that they would choose the best of whichever two candidates appeared for their suffrages. He congratulated the society on the work which had been done last year, and hoped one of the pleasantest sights they might have in the House of Commons this year on the respective benches, would be to see which side turned out the greatest number of members to vote for this measure when it came before them. (Applause.) He had strong hopes that even this year it would meet with success; but if not, they had the assurance that it was certain to be carried in the end. He begged to move the approval of the report.

Mr MACFIE, of Dreghorn Castle, seconded the motion. He hoped the fight which had begun would not be long continued, and that the anticipations of the society would soon be verified.

Mrs HUME ROTHERY, who was received with applause, referred to the link which connected her to Scotland through her father (Joseph Hume, M.P.), who, just fifty years ago, came down to Edinburgh to a great public dinner, which was given to him in compliment for his early exertions in the Liberal cause. He lived to see the result of much of the work he carried through, ere he closed the scene of his earthly labours; but in the years that had elapsed since then, she believed that still greater changes—changes more important from their fundamental nature—had taken place than any of those which took place during the thirty years that preceded them. The most

marked, and she believed the most undoubtedly important, to the future welfare of mankind, was that which was now calling women from one cause or another into the public sphere, and calling them to extend, not to desert, the sphere of their duties. She believed that this call, this change, was what might be called in scientific language a cosmic change; she believed that it was rooted in the gradual development of the race. It was analogous to the development they saw in human individuals. In the childhood of the individual as in the childhood of the race, it was the physical part of the man that ruled. It was the child's growing strength, his senses, his animal powers, which were developed, and which ruled. In the childhood of the nation it was physical strength, rude animal force, which ruled. They advanced a step and they found in the human individual that the love of knowledge, the growth of the understanding, the worship of truth, was the highest object of man's adoration; and corresponding with this, they found a period in the government of nations when the rule of intelligence prevailed. They thus took a step forward—it was not the highest step; if they were to have a grand human being, they must have something beyond the development of the intellect. They must have the moral, voluntary, and spiritual nature of man developed, so that he might use it for the purpose to which it could be applied. Correspondingly, that change was to be, and must be, represented in the government of the nation by the introduction into the sphere of government, of that portion of the population which represented and embodied the strongest moral and religious convictions, sentiments, and powers of the nation. (Applause.)

She need not tell the meeting—she need not even suggest to them as a novelty—it was too well known by all—who it was that practically in life stood closest to religion, to heaven, and to God. It was the privilege of the mother, of the wife, even at times of the daughter, to guide and link the aspirations of the father, the husband, or the son to those undying realities for which their earthly career was but a preparation. (Applause.) When, therefore, she said that the introduction of women into the sphere of government corresponded to that in the development of the individual—when the noblest and highest of the undying faculties of men were developed—she thought they would at once accept it as a fact, that women were needed to bring down religion, not merely as now into daily life, but to bring down the highest moral influences into the sphere of government as well as into the sphere of home. Why was it that they saw so-called Christian nations revelling in all the abominations of the heathen, sending forth their troops of men to butcher their neighbours, performing deeds of spoliation and cruelty which savages performed and Christ forbade? Why was it, but because the moral element, the conscientious element, the religious element, were banished from politics. The curse of this world, at least for centuries back, had been the divorce of conscience from action. Now, if they could once bring into the field those who were acknowledged strong in the courage of their opinions—those

who had been always ready in times of trial, to die as martyrs at the stake, living day by day, week by week, year by year, martyrs to the duties of their position, in spite of hardships, in spite of consequences, in spite of cruelty—if they could bring wives and mothers into the sphere of government, surely the world would have a new chance, and they would have the hope of seeing something like Christian principles recognised in government and in politics.

Politics, she need scarcely say, were the religion of civil life; and if a man would only act in his political sphere as he felt bound—if he was an honourable, God-fearing man—to act in his private sphere, did they think that the scenes could be enacted, that the laws could be passed in this country which they had all groaned under, and veiled their faces in shame before? It was impossible. It was because hitherto it had been an accepted maxim that the men in a Government—men in public positions—were not responsible to the same law, could not in fact carry out in public life that law, which they accepted in private. If that were not so, they would be proclaiming the failure, futility, and worthlessness of that law. It was impossible that that should be good in private for one man, which was not also good for the whole of mankind.

What, after all, constituted all right government and the privileges of which they spoke? These were but the aggregate of the rights of the individuals who composed that State and Government, and it was upon that she herself founded the claim of the suffrage for women. Mrs Rothery went on to remark that men and women were each endowed by the Creator with conscience, self-will, and free-will, and asked how could she govern herself as a member of the community—what right had she to surrender her God-given trust of free-will into the hands of the community? It was her duty, as well as her right, to claim a share in the government of her country, that she might not be called upon to obey laws contrary to her conscientious convictions, which she had no share in passing. They need not distress themselves whether the law passed this year or next year. The time was as surely coming when it would be the law as that the waves of the sea rolled up, in the progress of the flood. (Applause.) Movements like this, which came from a law deep-seated in the human race—the law of progress—could not stop. They were by no means going to propound women's superiority as a whole; what they wished was to have them placed on an equality with men.

As to the statement that women might want to get into Parliament, they need not trouble themselves with it. If they once believed that the principle they were working upon was right, they need not fear that it would lead to any bad consequences. Why should woman neglect her home duties for her Parliamentary and suffrage duties any more than men? There was room in most lives for a great deal more than was put into them, and if so much time were diverted from dress, visiting, and gossiping, for the perusal of the serious realities they saw in the newspapers, and the duties which the suffrage would impose, home

would not be less well-governed and families not less happy. As to the discord that would be introduced into houses—did they think attached friends, who did not quarrel about other things, would quarrel about a member of Parliament? Instead of marring concord, it would increase it, and why? because all first-class men—all the best of men she had ever known—were in favour of the extension of the voting rights to women—were anxious to see women stand by their sides as equals, and did not wish them to be any longer either toys or slaves. (Applause.) In the course of some further remarks, Mrs Rothery spoke of women as having been trained up to believe that it was their duty to subordinate their own consciences, to yield implicit obedience to the men to whom they were married; referred to a “black catalogue” of laws, passed by man for his own behoof at women’s expense, and urged that woman should study to fit herself for the franchise. It would be well to possess, but still better to deserve it. She moved—“Resolved that, in the opinion of this meeting, the true principles of representation require the admission of women to the franchise, on precisely the same footing as men, whatever qualification may be prescribed by Parliament as entitling to the suffrage, and that, while a property qualification is the basis of representation, it is a manifest injustice that women, while subject to all burdens laid on property, should be debarred as now from its corresponding privileges.” (Cheers.)

Miss STUART, in seconding the motion, said—We are continually told that it is a proud and a fortunate fate to be born a native of Great Britain; nor does the saying appear to be without foundation. Ask any man of average information, in what these boasted privileges consist, and he will tell you, of Jury Trial and Magna Charta, of the Bill and Petition of Rights. He will tell you that no man can be deprived of any portion of his property without his consent, expressed by himself or his representative. He will tell you that no Briton is born with a personal disability to fill any estate in the kingdom, short of royalty. He will tell you that the paths of learning and fame are closed against no man. He will tell you of Free Trade and Liberty of Conscience, and will probably conclude by exclaiming, that “Britons never shall be slaves!” Ask him how he is assured of this,—to whom the protection of these privileges is committed? He will reply that they are protected by their *lawful owners*—by himself and every other voter!

The Parliament of Great Britain makes the laws, but the voters make the Parliament. They are the true lawgivers; and the qualification for a voter is now so small, that no man of average industry and abilities need long remain unrepresented. There, he will tell you, is the bulwark of British liberty—the British People! And he will forget, and his hearers will forget, and the whole country forgets, that in fact those privileges belong only to *one-half* of the nation—the men of Britain. *Women* indeed share in these privileges, but they have no power to prevent the infringement

thereof. They want the keystone of the arch of liberty; they are not the protectors of their own rights. The Parliament of Great Britain legislates for them, and they have no voice in the election of that Parliament.

Were I desirous to make a sentimental case of the wrongs of women, I think that I could advance innumerable cases in which their liberties have been infringed. But I speak not of the wrongs of women, but of the wrongs of citizens,—of the wrongs of those who have never been represented. Wrongs similar to those of women have been suffered by every unrepresented class of men. Moreover, I maintain that the political exclusion of women is injurious to the excluders, no less than the excluded. The nation which ignores the opinion and intellect of one-half of its people on subjects concerning the public interest, commits not only an act of injustice, but a political blunder. “There is that which scattereth, and yet increaseth, and there is that which withholdeth more than is meet, but it tendeth to poverty.”

The principle for which we solicit your approval is not by any means strange to the public ear. It is not because a man is a man, that he has a vote; many men have no votes. It is not because he is wise or strong; many weak men and fools have votes, and many wise and strong men lack them. A man has a vote simply because he pays a certain amount of taxes. His property supports the Government, and he is therefore entitled to a voice in the election thereof. This is the principle for which we are agitating—the principle for which, since the dawn of liberty in Great Britain, men have successfully contended, the principle that those *who pay shall rule*.

It is difficult to see what *can* be advanced against a claim so moderate, so just, and so constitutional. We are told that women are too illogical, emotional, and sentimental, to use votes. It is man alone, with his great logical mind, who is capable of saying what he wants. But when I hear members of the British Senate gravely affirming that if women get votes, men will cease to respect and to be polite to them, I cannot help thinking that a tendency to emotional sentimentality, must be one of the weaknesses of the great masculine mind; for I certainly cannot see the logic of insulting a voter! The course that would recommend itself to my feminine understanding would rather be extra civility, especially about the time of a general election. After this, it is surprising to learn that another reason against enfranchising women is, *not* that men will cease to respect women, *but* that women will cease to respect men.

But the greatest bugbear of all is the “experience of ages.” I protest against such a *misuse* of the word *experience*. When we say that experience is in favour of this or that, we are understood to imply that *several* ways have been tried, and that particular way proved best. Now, when has the enfranchisement of women been tried? What experience is there on the subject? But if blind and persistent continuance in one course *means experience*, then I grant at once, that the experience of ages is in favour of the

depression of women, and opposed to their enfranchisement. But so was it equally opposed to all reform. To Magna Charta, to the House of Commons, to every successive extension of the franchise, to the steam-engine, to railways, to telegraphy—to every discovery in art and science, to every advance in civilisation and virtue; yea, to the Christian religion itself! To all these things the experience of ages stood once opposed, and before all these things, the experience of ages has been compelled to give way! Error and prejudice are strong, but behold a greater than error or prejudice is here. Even-handed justice! This is the leader under whose banner the men of Britain have marched to freedom and independence. This is the leader under whose banner we are now arrayed, confident of ultimate success. For I fear not to say of justice, as Milton did of virtue—

“For if justice feeble were,
Heaven itself would stoop to her.”

Mrs M'LAREN having put the motion to the meeting, it was carried without opposition.

Bailie MARSHALL moved—“That a petition, founded on the foregoing resolution, should be prepared for presentation to Parliament, and that it be signed by the president on behalf of the meeting.” He said it always appeared to him that the demand of the ladies was so very reasonable, that it appeared extraordinary that it required any agitation at all to support it. (Cheers.) If taxation meant anything, it certainly meant representation. (Hear, hear.) It had always been the habit of men to ignore women politically; but he was happy to observe that that feeling was beginning to give way, and that the just claims of women would by-and-by be admitted. (Cheers.)

Miss STURGE, who was received with applause, said—It is a pleasure to me to be here to second the resolution. I always like to come to your beautiful city, and I gratefully recognise that if it had rested with your Scotch members, they would have given women-householders the franchise long ago. They know that the disqualification of women is an injury to the community. I recollect reading once of a miller and his wife. He was an overbearing kind of man, and had deeply impressed upon his wife the superiority of masculine judgment. This was all very well, but when the pedlar brought his goods to the door, and pressed them upon her—because he was a man and she was *only* a woman—she believed all that he told her, and her husband had to—pay the bill. Even so, if you will not allow women the virtues of independence, you must put up with the vices of dependence, and—pay the bill.

Our home interests, we are told, will suffer if women participate in political life—

“O, the mass of mankind
Is uncommonly slow

To acknowledge the fact
It behoves them to know,
And to learn that a woman
Is not like a mouse,
Needing nothing but cheese,
And the walls of a house.”

Domestic life has suffered from our being too exclusively ruled by men. I know, from experience in school arrangements, that all the premiums of life are placed upon things in which men are likely to excel. Payment is given by Government upon reading, writing, and arithmetic; nothing is offered for proficiency in cooking and sewing, and yet we are told men desire women to be skilled in domestic arts. Politics come into our home-interests—they may be found in the sugar-basin and the coffee-pot. Does not the price of these articles depend much upon the policy of the Government? Napoleon once told Madame de Stäel that women had no business with politics. She replied—“As the exigencies of politics seem to require our heads, it is natural to ask the reason why?” The tax-collector seems to require money from women-householders, surely they, too, may ask the reason why.

Some one remarked to me to-day, when I spoke of cooking-schools, that it was well to make good wives for working men. I wish some one would turn attention to making good husbands, they seem to be sorely needed. Probably things are better here, but I know I hardly ever take up an English newspaper without seeing some horrible case of cruelty to wives. Gentlemen sometimes tell me, that if women are coming into competition with men, they will lose the politeness with which they have been heretofore treated. I believe women are just as polite to men, as men are to women, yet I never met with a woman so illogical as to say that because she was polite to a man he ought not to have a vote. These same gentlemen are afraid to let their daughters go out alone at night. I never know what they are afraid of, unless it is of men. So long as “old woman” is a term of reproach in our language, not much can be said for the politeness with which women are regarded. Sir Henry James has talked of our Bill as being against nature. So was the Education Bill, for nature brings children into the world ignorant—can we let them remain so? A gentlemen once told me that it was clear women ought not to speak in public, their voices were not adapted for it, they could not be heard. Since then, I have noticed that Mr Glaisher, the aeronaut, reports, as the result of experiments, that a woman's voice can be heard two miles, and a man's only *one*.

I do not desire that women should be a law unto men, any more than men unto women. I long that they may both seek after a higher law, and in unity of purpose there will be harmony. On the subserviency of woman there rests no true harmony. It is, I believe, the basis of all priestcraft. So long as men think they know what is right for women better than women can know for themselves, the habit of exercising spiritual jurisdiction over women will extend itself into the same usurpation of men over men.

In England we have many people who call themselves Liberals; they are not really Liberals, but chameleons. The chameleon, you know, changes colour, and these Liberals change colour when a woman approaches. I have never wished to think my countrymen cowardly, but really they are very much afraid of women; they fear they will get into Parliament. There is no danger; men will hold the preponderance of political power, and no woman will get into Parliament unless the votes of the men send her there. All you say may be true, protest some philosophical objectors, but there remains an underlying difficulty in granting what you ask. It is dangerous to dissociate physical force and political power. Surely this is the oddest objection of all, for physical force and political power have long been dissociated. Soldiers, sailors, and policemen do not have votes. God gave us justice for a common law, men substitute what they call expediency, and then think themselves wise. In the beautiful words of John Bright, "It is not benevolence, but justice, that can deal with giant evils. It was not benevolence that gave the people bread twenty years ago, but it was justice embodied in the abolition of a cruel and a guilty law. But justice is impossible from a class. It is most certain and easy from a nation; and I believe we can only reach the depths of ignorance, and misery, and crime, in this country, by an appeal to the justice, the intelligence, and the virtues of the entire people." Are not women a part of the people? and if God gives us capacity for any work in life, it is profane for men to step in with artificial restrictions, and say, "You shall not do it." Canute, when he wished to reprove his courtiers, said to the sea, "Thus far shalt thou come, and no farther." He knew it was profane, but is it not equally so to attempt to limit the exercise of the powers God has given to woman?

"Woe, woe to all, on safety bent,
Who creep to age from youth,
Failing to grasp their life's intent,
Because they fear the truth."

Mr M'CRIE moved a vote of thanks to the ladies who had come from a distance to address the meeting, which was carried by acclamation.

Mr T. ROBERTSON proposed a vote of thanks to Mrs M'Laren for presiding, which brought the meeting to a termination.

TREASURER'S STATEMENT FOR YEAR ENDING 18th JANUARY 1875.

INCOME.

Balance from last year . . .	£24 9 2
Subscriptions and Donations . . .	349 4 4

EXPENDITURE.

Printing and Publications . . .	£48 13 9
Expenses of Public Meetings . . .	67 7 2
Expenses of getting up Petitions . . .	71 16 5
Expenses of Secretary . . .	100 0 0
Stationery, Postages, &c. . .	19 11 4
Advertisements . . .	8 19 9
Rent of Committee Room . . .	1 14 0
Balance in Treasurer's hands . . .	55 11 1

£373 13 6



£373 13 6

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS DURING 1874.

Alloa Committee	£2 5 0	Ferguson, Mrs	£0 2 6
Alston, Miss, Collected by	1 0 6	Frazer, Miss	0 2 6
Anderson, Mr	0 5 0	Friend, A, per Miss Burton	5 0 0
Anderson, Mrs W.	0 5 0	Friend in Fife	2 0 0
Armour, Mr H.	0 10 0	Friend in Greenock	1 0 0
Arthur, Mr	5 0 0	Friends, Two	0 10 0
Ayr Committee	0 15 0	Friend, A	0 5 0
Baird, Mrs	0 2 6	Friend, A	0 5 0
Barber, Mrs	0 10 0	Friend, A	0 5 0
Bartholomew, Misses	2 0 0	Friend, A	0 2 6
Blackie, Mrs	1 0 0	Friend, A	0 2 6
Boyd, Mrs	1 0 0	Gibson, Miss	2 0 0
Brownlie, Mr	1 0 0	Gibson, Mr	0 5 0
Brymner, Mr G.	0 10 0	Gibson, Mr A.	0 2 6
Buchan, Countess Dowager of	2 0 0	Gillen, Mr	0 2 6
Burton, Mrs Hill	1 0 0	Gordon, Mrs	0 2 6
Caird, Mrs	1 0 0	Gordon, Miss	0 1 0
Caldwell, Messrs	1 0 0	Greig, Mr	1 0 0
Caldwell, Miss	1 0 0	Gregan, Mrs	0 10 0
Caldwell, Mrs	0 5 0	Gregan, Miss J.	0 2 0
Callendar, Mr	0 10 0	Grieve, Mr D.	0 5 0
Clark, Mr James	1 0 0	Gunn, Mr W.	0 2 6
Clark, Mrs Stewart	1 0 0	Haddington Committee	1 0 0
Coates, Mr T.	10 0 0	Harvey, Mr W.	0 2 6
Coates, Miss J.	1 0 0	Henderson, Mr D. W.	1 0 0
Coates, Mrs A.	1 0 0	Hodgson, Mrs	1 1 0
Cook, Miss	0 10 0	Home, Mrs Fergusson	1 0 0
Craig, Misses	12 0 0	Hope, Mrs, Bordlands	1 0 0
Craigen, per Miss	0 2 6	Hope, Miss, do.	2 0 10
Crawford, Mrs Caldwell	1 0 0	Hope, Mrs, Drylaw	1 0 0
Crichton, Councillor	0 5 0	Hogg, Mr	0 2 6
Cross, Mr	0 10 0	Hoyes, Mrs	1 0 0
Crowe, Miss	0 10 0	Hunter, Misses	10 0 0
Crowe, Mr A.	0 2 6	Hunter, Mr J. C.	0 10 0
Crudelius, Mrs	1 0 0	Hutchison, Mr J. M.	0 10 0
C. E., Dumfries	0 5 0	Hutcheon, Mr	0 2 6
Davie, Mr	0 10 0	H. A.	0 5 0
Dean, Mr J.	0 2 6	Irvine, Mr G.	0 5 0
Dodd, Mrs	1 0 0	Jeffrey, Mrs	0 5 0
Drew, Miss	0 10 0	Jex-Blake, Miss	5 0 0
Drew, Mrs	0 10 0	Johnstone, Mr J.	1 0 0
Drew, Miss, Collected by	0 9 11	Kemp, Mrs	0 2 0
Drummond, Mrs H.	0 5 0		
Duncan, Mr	1 0 0		
Du Pré, Miss	2 0 0		

Kerr, Miss M.	£1 0 0	Nelson, Messrs	£1 0 0
Kerr, Mrs	0 2 6	Neven, Mr T.	0 5 0
Knott, Miss	1 0 0	Nichol, Mrs	10 0 0
Lade, Mr	0 10 0	Oliver, Mr J. S.	1 1 0
Laidlaw, Miss	0 10 0	Ord, Mr and Mrs	3 3 0
Laird, Mr	0 10 0	Pattison, Mr	0 2 6
Lang, Mr	0 10 0	Peat, Mr R.	0 2 6
Lauder, Miss Dick	2 0 0	Peat, Admiral (don.)	5 0 0
Leatham, Major	1 0 0	Polson, Mr	2 0 0
Lindsay, Mr W.	2 2 0	Pullar, Mr	0 5 0
Lillie, Mrs	0 5 0	Raleigh, Mr	1 0 0
Livingstone, Mr Josiah	0 10 0	Renton, Mrs	5 0 0
Livingstone, Mrs Fenton	0 4 0	Renton, Mr J. H., Muswell Hill	3 0 0
Low, Mr and Mrs	0 10 0	Robertson, Mrs T.	0 10 0
Low, Mr J.	0 2 0	Robson, Mr W.	1 1 0
Macrae, Miss	0 5 0	Rose, Mr Hugh	5 0 0
M'Culloch, Mrs, Dumfries	1 0 0	Ross, Miss J.	0 2 6
Macdougall, Mrs	0 2 6	R—, Miss A.	0 2 6
M'Donald, Mr A.	0 2 6	Scott, Mr	5 0 0
Macfadzean, Mrs	0 5 0	Scott, Mrs	0 2 6
Macfie, Mr R. A.	3 0 0	Simmie, Mrs	0 3 6
Macgregor, Mr D. R., M.P.	3 3 0	Simpson, Miss	1 0 0
Mackay, Mr D.	0 2 6	Simpson, Captain	1 1 0
M'Kean, Mrs	0 10 0	Smith, Miss Ramsay	1 0 0
M'Kean, Mr Muir	0 2 6	Smith, Miss M.	6 0 0
McKenzie, Dr	1 1 0	Somerville, Mr R.	0 2 6
M'Kenzie, Mr Hugh	0 2 6	Spalding, Mrs	0 2 6
Mackillican, Mr	0 2 6	Stevenson, Miss E.	20 0 0
M'Kinnel, Mrs, Dumfries	2 0 0	Steventon, Miss L.	10 0 0
M'Lachlan, Mr A.	0 2 6	Stoddart, Miss	0 10 0
M'Lachlan, Mr P.	0 2 6	Steele, Mr R.	1 0 0
M'Laren, Mrs	10 0 0	Stewart, Mr J. C.	0 2 6
M'Laren, Miss	5 0 0	Swan, Mr A.	0 2 6
M'Laren, Mr D., jun.	2 0 0	Small Sums, Collected	22 12 7
Macleod, Mrs, Ben Rhydding	2 2 0	Taylor, Mr Peter	0 2 6
M'Millan, Miss	0 2 6	Thomasson, Mr T., Bolton (don.)	50 0 0
Macrobie, Miss M. L.	0 5 0	Thomson, Mr J.	0 5 0
M'Tavish, Mr H.	1 0 0	Thorne, Mrs	1 1 0
M'Queen, Mrs	5 0 0	Trevelyan, Mr A.	2 0 0
M'Symon, Mrs	0 5 0	Walls, Mr J.	1 0 0
Manhet, Mr J. L.	0 2 6	Walls, Miss	1 0 0
Masson, Mrs	2 0 0	Warren, Mr	0 10 6
Marshall, Bailie	0 10 0	Wellstood, Mrs S.	1 0 0
Meikle, Rev. G.	0 5 0	Wellstood, Mrs J.	1 0 0
Mein, Mrs B.	0 10 0	Western, Mr	0 5 0
Melrose, Mr	0 10 0	Wigham, Mrs	1 0 0
Middleton, Mr J.	0 2 6	Wigham, Miss	0 10 0
Millar, Mr and Mrs	2 0 0	Williams, Mrs	2 0 0
Millar, Mr Whyte	2 0 0	Williams, Mrs	0 10 0
Miller, Mr & Mrs R., London	5 0 0	Wilson, Bailie	0 10 0
Miller, Mr & Mrs W., Brighton	5 0 0	Wilson, Miss E.	0 10 0
Milne, Mr J. D.	1 0 0	Wotherspoon, Mr W.	1 0 0
Mitchel, Mr Joseph	0 10 0	Wyld, Miss A.	0 10 0
Mitchellhill, Mrs	0 2 0	Yellowlees, Mr D.	0 2 6
Morton, Mr J.	4 0 0		
Morrison, Mr W.	0 10 0		
Murchison, Mr C.	0 2 6		
Murray, Provost	2 0 0		
Murray, Mrs	0 2 0		
Murray, Sir J.	0 10 0		

W-15599036



A WOMAN'S VOICE.

I wonder, Mr. Editor,
Why I can't have a vote,
And I will not be contented
Till I've found the reason out.



I am a working woman,
My voting half is dead ;
I hold a house, and want to know
Why I can't vote instead.

I pay my rates in person,
Under protest, tho', 'tis true,
But I pay them, and am qualified
To vote as well as you.

I like my neighbour very well.
But still I like what's fair,
And paying a rate for him to vote,
Is neither fair nor square.

My "compound" rate was heavy enough,
But this qualification's worse ;
If the franchise will not have my voice,
Let it do without My Purse.

FROM THE "LEEDS EXPRESS."



615599061

615599048

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

Are Women Citizens?

Yes! when they are required to pay taxes.

No! when they ask to vote.

Does Law concern Women?

Yes! when they are required to obey it.

No! when they ask to have a voice in the representation of the country.

Is direct representation desirable for the interests of the people?

Yes! if the people to be represented are men.

No! if the people to be represented are women.

All who believe that this state of things is neither just towards women nor advantageous to men are invited:—

1st. To become members of the National Society for Women's Suffrage.

2nd. To sign a petition in favour of Women's Suffrage.

Apply to the Secretary of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, Central Committee, 64, Berners Street, London, W.

W15599061

HOUSEHOLD SUFFRAGE FOR WOMEN.

The Bill for the "Removal of the Electoral Disabilities of Women,"

If it becomes law, will give the Parliamentary Franchise to those Women who already possess Municipal, Parochial, and School Board Votes.

The Bill was introduced in the House of Commons by Mr. Forsyth, Q.C., Sir Robert Anstruther, the Right Hon. Russell Gurney, and the Right Hon. James Stansfeld. From the fact that of these gentlemen two are Conservatives and two Liberals, it will be seen that this is not a party movement.

Fifteen Members of the present Government vote for this Bill, including the Right Hon. Benjamin Disraeli (who has voted for it four times) the Right Hon. Sir Stafford Northcote, the Right Hon. Ward Hunt, the Right Hon. Lord John Manners, and Sir C. B. Adderley. 212 other Members of Parliament also vote for the Bill.

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

Women are called upon to pay taxes. They should in fairness be allowed so much voice in the imposition of taxes and in legislation affecting their interest and property as the suffrage would bestow upon them. Mr. Forsyth has declared his intention of re-introducing the Bill early next session. All who agree with its object should give their help by signing a petition in its favour.

Petition Forms, and further information, can be obtained on application at the Central Office of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, 64, Berners Street, London, W.

DUNLOP & CO., Steam Printers, 7 and 8, New Street, Cloth Fair, E.C.

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L. Richard and Co. Printers, Manchester.

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NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

OFFICE:—

294, REGENT STREET, LONDON, W.

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,

HELD IN

THE OFFICE OF THE SOCIETY,

May 29th, 1875.

LONDON:

DUNLOP & CO., 7 & 8, NEW STREET, CLOTH FAIR, E.C.

1875.

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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
	35
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 Kynasten (Bolton)
Antrobus, Sir Edmund	Cubitt, George
Ashbury, James Lloyd	Dalway, Marriott Robert
Backhouse, Edmond	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. (Durl. 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.P.)
Briggs, William Edward	Elliot, George, (Northallerton)
Brise, Col. Ruggles	Elphinstone, Sir James D. H.
Brooks, Maurice (Dublin)	Eshington, Lord
Brown, Alexander H. (Wenlock)	Ewing, Archibald Orr
Browne, George Ekins (Mayo)	Fawcett, Henry
Bruce, Rt. Hon. Lord Ernest (Marl.)	Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
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. (Cheltnm)
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 Pateson	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
Hermon, 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)	Polhill-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)	Sherriff, 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, Alexander 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 William 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. Tying (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'dy 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.)

Tracy, Hn. Chas. R. D. Hanbury
 Tremayne, John
 Turner, Charles (Lanc. S. W.)
 Turnor, Edmund (Linc. S.)
 Vivian, Henry Hussey (Clam)
 Walker, Thomas Eades
 Wallace, Sir Richard
 Walpole, Hon. Ered. (Norf. N.)
 Walter, John
 Waterhouse, Samuel
 Waterlow, Sir Sydney H.
 Weguelin, Thomas M.
 Welby, William Earle
 Wellesley, Captain
 Whalley, George Hammond
 Whitbread, Samuel
 Whitelaw, Alexander
 Whitwell, John
 Wilmot, Sir Henry (Derbyshire S.)
 Wilmot, Sir J. Eardley (Warw. S.)
 Winn, Rowland (Linc. N.)
 Wolff, Sir H. Drummond
 Woodd, Basil Thomas
 Wynn, Chas. W. Williams (Mont)
 Yarmouth, Earl of
 Yorke, Hon. Eliot (Camp. Co.)

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
	—		—
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
	—		—
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.	£	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	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
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	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
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,

29th May, 1875.

Auditor,

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 ...	..	10 0 0
Hodgson, Mrs. W. B. ...	..	5 0 0
Holbrook, 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
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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.

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THE
CITIZENSHIP OF WOMEN

SOCIALLY CONSIDERED.

✓ BY L. S.

*Reprinted, with a few Alterations, from "The Westminster
Review" of July, 1874.*

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PRINTED BY SAVILL, EDWARDS AND CO.
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THE CITIZENSHIP OF WOMEN.

WHAT is the position of women in England at this day? It has, doubtless, risen with advancing civilization at war with old traditions; it has been improved by very slowly improving education; it is ornamented and disguised by masculine compliments; and it is surrounded, in drawing-rooms, by chivalrous homage, meaning thereby politeness, as well as by an abundance of outward comfort and luxuries. Yet—legally, and therefore, more or less, socially—it is merely a modification of ancient barbarism, ordered on barbarian principles, mitigated in their working but still barbarian. The progress made in other directions, the changes other institutions have undergone, make this fact still more conspicuous, the position of women still more exceptional.

In the early ages of the human race advantage was taken of woman's physical weakness to make her literally a slave; she is now—in civilized nations, that is—merely in "subjection." In old time—and not such very old times either—she was reviled and despised for the defects fostered in her by slavery; she is now more gently branded by the law as an inferior, in company with "criminals, lunatics, and idiots;" and complacently told by men—seriously, with the most complimentary intentions it may be, and with full conviction—that this legal inferiority, this positive subjection, imply and result in a social superiority, first formulated by "chivalry" (only women of the drawing-room class being recognised under this theory) and form the safeguard of that higher moral excellence she is credited with along side of a lower mental capacity.

But this legal position of woman does, I think, tell on herself and on society in general, in quite a different way, whilst at the same time the unconscious, or half-conscious, efforts she has herself made hitherto, according to her more or less of education to resist these evil influences, produce the strangest incongruities. It

has fostered grievous private and individual wrongs ; and, worse still, it helps yet, as the principle on which it was founded has helped for ages, to lower the tone of that society it is supposed to benefit. Many thinking men and women, in continually increasing numbers, have begun to perceive this ; and a good many others have been from time to time aware that there was something a little wrong in matters of detail—something here and there that might be amended. To these latter, and, we believe, to English legislators in general, it has always seemed easier to modify the evil workings of a vicious principle than to abolish it altogether. Such minds do not even seek to distinguish the authority of old-established prejudice from the sanction of nature and reason. It seems to them more natural to grant privileges than justice, indulgence than liberty. It has not occurred to them to ask themselves whether, after all, woman may not be allowed a voice, or at least the fraction of a voice, in the ordering of her own position in the world, of her own dearest interests and liberties.

It would be useless, most unjust, most unphilosophical, to bring a railing accusation against men on this account—especially unphilosophical because such, or such like, has been the course of action of all irresponsibly dominant classes since the world began, until the eyes of both ruler and ruled have been at last opened to a sense of its injustice. And, further, it would be most ungrateful to those noble and generous minds amongst them whose hearty sympathy and active efforts to obtain justice for women—that is, in fact, justice to all society—deserve the most ample acknowledgment. It requires—and this is true of every one of us, man or woman—much imagination, much sympathy, much reflection in the first instance, to shake off the influence of ancient prejudice instilled into us from birth and inherited from ages. Many minds are wholly incapable of this effort. How many unconscious and even benevolent oppressors, throughout the long history of class and race-dominations, down to the modern slave-holder (for there have been kindhearted slave-holders, we doubt not), have been able to comprehend, or to how many has it even occurred, that traditional acquiescence on the part of the subjected does not necessarily constitute a natural or religious sanction ; that a time may come when it is actually not enough to tell the subject-class that they have everything they want or ought to want, that they ought to be thankful to be taken care of, for they cannot take care of themselves, that they are by nature inferior ? There comes a time when irresponsible power appears in a different light to those on whom it is exercised from that in which it is seen by those exercising it. It is long,

indeed, before both parties become equally aware that *both* are injured by it ; that justice, in such cases as these, “ blesses both him that gives and him that takes,” much in the moment of giving, more in its after results.

This domination of one sex over the other—that is, of one half the mature human race over the other half—has lasted longer than most others, because the physical force is permanently on the side of the first. And this, indeed, is sometimes itself considered as a decisive reason why women should not plead right and justice : they cannot enforce them ; therefore nature means that they should not have them any further than man finds it convenient to allow. But to refuse justice because it cannot be enforced is not in other relations of life reckoned the highest morality.

To many men, conscious in their hearts of nothing but kindness, indulgence, and generosity to the women they associate with ; to many who see, or think they see, fairly happy marriages all round them ; who see how often women “ get their own way,” as it is called, by the good nature of their own particular rulers, by cajolery, by unconscionable teasing, by temper, by the obstinacy of their prejudices—those prejudices that men have fostered in women as “ so feminine”—or even by superior good sense ; to those who have perceived that society, even as it is, can produce noble-minded women, and have possibly worshipped such in their hearts, or who ask for nothing better than to be allowed tenderly to protect some tender creature whom they love—to these it may seem exaggerated, unreal, and ridiculous to talk of the domination of men over women—at least in England and in most civilized countries. I think, with all deference to the feelings of such men, it is because the evils it has produced and is still producing are so deep-seated and complex, and extend so far beyond their own especial social surroundings, that they have escaped their notice ; their very position of legal superiority, of which they are scarcely conscious, so habituated are they to it, having blinded their eyes.

And so are many, many women’s eyes blinded ; many who, happy in their own circumstances, have never dreamed, any more than their masters, of questioning the authority of old tradition ; have never connected the vices of the society around them, or their own shortcomings, in any way, however indirect, with the position women hold in it. These will generally seem unconscious that their contentment with their own condition, their ignorance how far even it might be higher or more useful, do not necessarily constitute an argument for other women in other circumstances. They will perhaps protest, when female suffrage

is spoken of, against women "stepping out of their right place." The question, however, is, what, after all, *is* woman's right place, the precise line beyond which it is profanation for her to step? Is it necessarily, precisely, and only the line pointed out by men—the point fixed by them in different ages, countries, and even classes, being different? Obediently as such women have adopted the traditional teaching of men, yet the question will arise, is it not just possible that men too have a little stepped out of *their* place in imposing these limits on women? It is allowed that they have done so, in more barbarous times, are they not doing so still?

Others again—multitudes—married and single, and of all classes, are conscious of something wrong in their own and others' lots, are pained by a vague uneasiness or suppressed bitterness, whilst without the culture needed to guide them clearly to *one* source of the evils,—we say *one*, for we are of course aware that the countless inequalities and iniquities growing up with a complicated civilization, and pressing so hardly even on many men, must have many sources. The evils however from which women suffer are especially aggravated by their legal position being essentially unchanged, whilst all things are changed around them.

In arguing for the principle of female citizenship, I must observe that the suffrage has no inherent magical or divine property in it to remove as by a charm all the evils of which we complain; yet, under our present institutions, the extension of it to women is the only way of expressing that principle, and is, I believe, an absolutely necessary balance to the increasing number of men now admitted. I am not, however, anxious to dwell much in this essay on the directly political aspect of the question, nor yet on the terrible wrongs and miseries of women under its legal aspects, but rather to call the attention of candid minds to various social considerations deeply affected by their political and legal position. For all these, I maintain, are interdependent, acting and reacting on each other.

In carrying out this view, I may seem sometimes to be wandering rather far afield; but I hope that some few, both of men and women, will perceive that these apparent wanderings do in fact all lead up very directly to the point at which I am aiming.

Before going further in this direction, however, I will just notice the chief objections that have been raised to the emancipation of women, objections mostly of detail, raised by those who, unable to grasp a large general idea, instinctively fix their eyes successively on the supposed difficulties in carrying it out. Some

of these objections—most of them, in fact—serve to display the curious ingenuity of the human mind in imagining hindrances to any alteration of an established order of things, the first feeling being always, not, how can we see our way to grant this? but, how shall we discover a sufficient number of objections to justify our refusal?

The objections in question have been answered over and over again; and it is a curious fact that in this discussion masculine opponents to the emancipation of women seem to have changed their traditional parts with women. Women urge a principle, men stumble at the details. Or they do acknowledge the principle, but decline to carry it to its legitimate results. Women ask for justice, men offer privileges; women advance reasons, men answer with their own feelings and instincts; women meet assertions with evidence in disproof, men re-assert them without attempting further proof.

Here, however, is the first, perhaps only, objection which really deserves attention, that the majority of women do not desire the suffrage.

I answer, that the minority which does desire it is a constantly increasing one (not adequately represented even by the increasing number of signatures to petitions). I must further point out that a large portion of the majority, which does not desire it, has simply not been educated to think about it, and has passed a great part of life without the subject having been brought before it at all; whilst the minority, that does desire it, includes very many women of the highest intellect and cultivation, who have thought deeply on the subject, and many who, feeling for themselves and their neighbours the need of better protection than masculine legislation has hitherto allowed them, gladly welcome the faintest hope of emancipation. Next, as to those who desire the suffrage without signing petitions for it, few men can realize, without some effort of the imagination, the pressure put upon women in all cases where their views differ from those of the masculine public. There is, to begin with, their own tenderness for the prejudices of those with whom they live, not to say positive prohibition by fathers and husbands—such arbitrary interference with the independence of mature minds being so sanctioned by law and custom that it is hard, even for those who suffer from it, to resist it. Next, we must take into account that intense shrinking from masculine sarcasm and mockery which has been so carefully fostered in women that they have justly been said to "live under a gospel of ridicule." And it is part of the argument that this moral coercion *has* been lavishly employed to supplement the legal subjection of women, much of their boasted

acquiescence in what *we* consider a faulty state of things having been thus produced. Few can realize, I repeat, without some reflection, some sympathetic insight, how much silent revolt goes on in subjected classes before they openly rebel. In men this silent revolt is generally held to be dangerous, and worth inquiring into; in women, for obvious reasons, it is not. And with women it will be longest maintained, and with more corroding bitterness in proportion, in spite of the persuasions, half contemptuous, half flattering, which now, more frequently than before, alternate with sneers.

Others again—thinking and conscientious women—are still undecided to put their names to the movement, deterred by an overstrained sense of their responsibility; but these may at any moment conclude in its favour, and cannot be reckoned in the majority against it.

I am ready to allow that there are women—and doubtless even some thinking and cultivated ones amongst them—(oftenest, however, such as profess no knowledge and reason on the subject, only “instincts” and “feelings”) who deprecate female suffrage altogether; many more who are absolutely indifferent, and all of these are apt to conceive that their own individual dislike or indifference is argument enough against extending the suffrage to those who do desire it, reason enough for withholding even their sympathy. Of all such women I would speak with respect and indulgence; yet may I not point out to them, and to the men who appeal to their authority, that it is scarcely reasonable that numbers of the thinking, the cultivated, the sensible, the practical, the suffering and oppressed amongst women should be denied their desire in deference to the “feelings and instincts,” the individual disinclination, or indifference of the others? Many, too, of these others are precisely those whom the present demand for the female franchise would not affect personally. I hold, nevertheless, that even these, the indifferent—all in fact—would be directly or indirectly benefited in time by the change. Those who do not want the franchise need not exercise it—that is their own affair, as it is of men, who in like manner may decline to vote, though we hold that the choice ought to be given to them nevertheless. I doubt, however, whether these very female dissentients will not be glad, when the time comes, to use their own votes after seeing how easily and quietly other women have used theirs before them. And what is more, I suspect the masculine objectors will be equally glad to profit by these votes.

Finally, the argument that women do not want the franchise and would be better without it, is in spirit the same as that by which slaveholders have always justified slavery. We do not

hold that the negro's ignorance of the moral evils of his position was an argument for keeping him in it.

Of the other objections it may almost be said, that to state them is to refute them. First of these we will take men's “instincts and feelings.” To us it does not seem more fair to decide the question of justice by the “instincts and feelings” of men than, as we have said, by the “instincts and feelings” of some women, as against the reason and practical needs of the others. And these “instincts and feelings” have been cited as authoritatively in sanction of restrictions which would *now* be thought barbarian, as of those still enforced and not yet thought barbarian.

Again, it is said that women are unfit for the vote, because they are women. It is true that the training enforced upon women, directly and indirectly, for ages, by men, whereby their characters and minds are in some sort the artificial creation of men, has seemingly had for its object to make them unfit for the powers men exercise. Women have, in consequence, for ages made no combined effort for emancipation; but exactly as they become aware of the real nature of this traditional training, does this supposed unfitness lessen, and the best way at this moment completely to fit them to exercise those powers is to grant them.

What mental or moral “fitness” is sought for as a qualification for the masculine voter, except by that rough sort of classification which does not exclude the drunkard, the wife-beater, the illiterate, the liberated convict, and the semi-idiot? And when you place beside these Harriet Martineau, Florence Nightingale, George Eliot, and many more whose names we all know, as well as the numbers of women who show every kind of practical fitness in common life—to say that *these* are unfit because they are women, and *those* are fit because they are men, is very like begging the question.

But there are special unfitnesses urged against women. I cannot condescend to dwell on the argument that they are incapable of giving their vote for want of physical strength, or that the chronic state of “blushing and fear” prescribed for them by Mr. Bouverie would make it improper and impossible for even a middle-aged woman to face the bustle of polling-places, otherwise than by observing that if it were wished to grant women votes, means might easily be found for making it possible to deliver them. But I will mention one other (I think the only special) unfitness alleged against them (except indeed their want of training in political and official life, which they share with a large number of franchise-holding men). This special unfitness resides in their greater “impulsiveness,” “excitability,”

and "sympathy," which are supposed to include and imply "unreasonableness" and "injustice." Till, however, it is argued that Ireland, for example, is naturally disqualified for the suffrage because the Celt is more "excitable," "impulsive," and "sympathetic" than the Saxon—or indeed till, as I must repeat, moral or intellectual qualifications are made a *sine quâ non* in any class of masculine voters whatever, this objection can hardly stand. I will, therefore, only suggest that the co-operation of impulse and sympathy with the more solid and matter-of-fact element in legislation may not be wholly without its political advantages.*

Next, it has been alleged that already too many *men* have the suffrage, as a reason for withholding it from women. Even granting the fact, it is not just to say that, because A has had too much given him of a good thing, therefore B shall have none at all, especially when B even requires it as a protection against A. At all events, the extended suffrage has been granted, and cannot now be withdrawn—one reason the more, as I have implied, why women should desire it in their turn, since they now see the drunkard, the wife-beater, the illiterate called, in much larger numbers than before, to legislate indirectly for their dearest and the most delicate domestic concerns, those alike of the most refined and cultivated as of the most helpless and uneducated of their sex.

Here, naturally, comes the assertion that "women are virtually represented by men." Indeed, on every proposed extension of political rights, it has been usual for the classes who thought their interests opposed to it to urge that *they* virtually represented the others. This assertion is disproved by the whole course of class legislation in all ages and everywhere; and the harshness of masculine legislation for women certainly forms no exception to the rule.†

If I am reminded that some classes of men are still unrepre-

* It has been argued that the supposed excitability of women will drive them downright mad, if they are allowed to vote. Mrs. Anderson has met this droll suggestion by affirming, from her own professional experience, the good effect, more interesting occupations, more important objects in life have on women's health, bodily and mental. If a woman finds her interest in politics bringing her to the brink of insanity, she will perhaps, under proper medical advice, be able to refrain; but that is her own affair. We do not legislate to prevent *men* from going mad if they choose.

† Take, as one instance, the laws of the custody and guardianship of children, whereby the married (only the *married*) mothers, they whose sex's special and highest function is said to be the maternal, are denied any legal right over their own offspring past the first few years of infancy, as against the will of the father, whatever or whoever he may be, living or dead.

sented, I answer (putting aside the possibly near approach of universal household suffrage), that *all* women of *all* classes are unrepresented, are all declared to labour under an irremediable birth-disqualification. Individual *men* of the unenfranchised classes can rise to acquire a vote: a woman never can. And women only ask for the vote on the same conditions as those on which it is conferred upon men.

Let us consider here the confessed difficulty of protecting wives in certain classes against the violence of their husbands, as bearing on the plea of "virtual representation." I would not brand any class of our countrymen with hard names, least of all those who have so long suffered, in common with women, such grievous legislative wrongs, such cruel deprivation of education, and are even now struggling to emancipate themselves, scarcely conscious yet that the women's cause rests on the same ground as theirs. But it is too sadly notorious to be denied that, in these working and labouring classes, public opinion and the growth of education have not yet banished drunken habits and consequent brutality, and that the difficulties in the way of adequate legal interposition are almost insuperable. Compare the penalties inflicted in these cases with those in which a wife has assaulted a husband, or one man another man. *Here* there is no difficulty in carrying out the full severity of the law. I do not assert that those who administer it do not *wish* to enforce it in behalf of women, though judges and juries do sometimes give us cause to suspect them of considering an assault by the inferior on the superior, by the weaker on the stronger, as more heinous than one with the conditions reversed.

The wife is, in these classes, so helplessly in her husband's power, so trained to feel the violence of her master as a part of his conjugal superiority, that she very often dares not, perhaps actually does not, resent his brutality. It seems to us that at least one approach towards remedying this state of things would be to surround her social status with every equal right and dignity the law can give her. Law should not aim at rendering her *more* helpless, *more* dependent than inferior strength would naturally make her. The same barbarian prejudice which excludes all women from every political right also subjects the wife to a law which has been called "the most barbarous in Europe." It has naturally taken its full effect on the uneducated classes, that is, it has degraded both man and woman together. That almost superstitious, dog-like patience and loyalty which lead a wife to submit to a beating without complaint, and which some men tenderly praise as the *ne plus ultra* of wife-like excellence, might, I think, be exchanged for a nobler form of devotion by making her her husband's legal and social equal; and one in-

direct step towards this will be giving women some share in making the laws which concern themselves.*

A favourite objection is, that the exercise of the suffrage will interfere with women's duties. It cannot be seriously meant by this that the taking up of a few hours every few years in delivering a vote will hinder a woman—even the most hard-working—in her daily duties more than it would a hard-working man. Indeed, in the present case, it is only asked for unmarried women and widows, many of them possessed of ample leisure and sufficient means. But is it meant that the possession of this franchise would so much more excite and unsettle their minds, and throw them so much more violently into political agitation in the quiet intervening years, than men, as to unfit them for those duties which we are assured it is their nature to perform, and which they find their chief happiness in? This argument rests on the following assumptions:—That it is the business of the legislature to provide more rigorously for the performance of women's private duties than men's; that their good sense and conscience will be found less trustworthy in proportion as they have liberty to exercise them; that whilst we legislate to prevent the race in general from following blindly its natural instincts, we must also legislate to prevent women from *forsaking* theirs at the first opportunity; and, finally, that women (unlike men) have no rights, only duties. Assuredly to a noble soul the word "duties" has a higher inspiration than the word "rights;" only some of the highest duties cannot be so well performed without rights. The circle of a slave's duties is very small, and that of a woman's—though she is no longer in England a slave—has been restricted to a point that future generations will view with wonder.

Again, some who do not so much object to the admission (taken by itself) of the unmarried possessing the legal qualifications, cannot see their way to the admission of wives, and consider that objection conclusive against the admission of any, as this would be granting privileges to the recognised "failures" of society while they are withheld from their recognised superiors. I can but say, that if to grant the suffrage be an act of justice, you ought not to refuse it to some because you cannot yet see your way to extending it to all. This theory of the inferiority of women in general to men, and the special inferiority to be enforced by legal subjection on the married amongst them,

* This is the more needful since legislation for women, whether so called protective or other, is more and more taking the shape of restrictions on their personal liberty.

who are yet declared to be the superiors of the single, involves some curious contradictions.

And further, these objectors fear that if you grant the suffrage to the single having the proper qualification, wives will by-and-by demand it as well—either by a change in the qualification for a vote, or in the marriage law. I answer, let that question be discussed when the time comes. It is neither just nor generous to refuse a rightful concession for fear other concessions may be asked for. Meanwhile the supposed moral difficulty of granting the suffrage to wives still rests mainly on the old assumption that women only wait the opportunity to discard their natural duties and affections; that men can be safely trusted with absolute authority over their families, but women not even with the exercise of an independent opinion; that wives at present neither have, nor in fact ought to have, any difference of opinion from their husbands (except on trivial points), but certainly would, if they were once permitted to act on their opinions; and that they will necessarily seize the vote as an occasion for quarrel; also on the assumption that it is the business of the State to provide against these little domestic difficulties in married life (but only, of course, by laying restrictions on the wife). I can scarcely suppose, however, that any man blessed with an affectionate wife seriously anticipates that, once possessed of a vote, she would make it her business to thwart and oppose him. If his wife is not an affectionate one, I fear the legislature cannot help him, and I am very sure it is not its business to do so. I think this fancied difficulty would be best met in the case of a wife not quarrelsomely disposed, but having an independent mind, by her husband's good humouredly reconciling himself to her possible difference of opinion in politics as he often has to do in matters of theology. But if such differences of opinion do so seriously affect the happiness of married life, let them be more carefully considered before marriage.

There is also the contradictory assumption that the wife's vote will be merely a double of her husband's, thus giving him two votes instead of one. Between these last two assumptions of perverse opposition on the one hand, and undue submission on the other, we may fairly strike a balance, and hope the State will fare none the worse in the end for the female married vote, should it be granted.

To be serious, I do not believe the harmony and dignity of married life—not even the dignity of the husband—can be best promoted by legislation to prevent quarrels; or by the theory that, as has been said, husband and wife are one, that the husband is

the one, and that the two ought to have only one opinion in politics between them—viz., the husband's. If we are accused of overlooking the practical difficulties which might arise in adjusting the votes of husband and wife, we answer that we may leave these to the moment when it is actually proposed to extend the franchise so far: if the principle is once conceded, a way will be found of carrying it out; for the rest, husbands and expectant husbands may defend their rights hereafter when they are attacked.

Having said thus much, I must add my own distinct opinion that the sooner this notion of marriage in any way disqualifying women for the exercise of personal rights or responsibility to the State is got rid of, the better for all parties. And I believe, moreover, that, when once the vote is granted to single women, married men will themselves begin to perceive this, and will desire that dignity for their wives which has been attained to by others.

The same answer will apply to the objection that women, when once admitted to the vote, will (logically) be eligible to a seat in Parliament. I think we may confidently leave this question also to be decided on its own merits by some future generation, and by the constituencies concerned.

Lastly, there is the objection—the most formidable of all to some minds—that all female aspirants to the suffrage are “strong-minded women,” and that “strong-minded women are very disagreeable.” If by “strong-minded women” is meant women of masculine character and idiosyncrasies, I believe as many of these might be found on one side as on the other, if it were worth while to inquire. If “strong-minded” means having a highly enlightened understanding, large ideas, and an ardent desire for the improvement of other women, I may suggest that these objectors would often be surprised to find how very charming such persons can make themselves. I dare say that the agitators for the abolition of slavery made themselves very disagreeable when urging their engrossing topic in season and out of season. People engaged in a great struggle will not always pause to consult the conventional rules of good taste, yet the cause may be a good one nevertheless. But I cannot gravely discuss this objection any further.

And now come two more serious reproaches addressed to women. “They have done so much mischief.” “They are agitating from a love of power.”

The accusation of “doing mischief” means, I imagine, only that women are not infallible in their judgment, any more than men (why is a human liability to mistake *more* disqualifying to

women than to men?), or that there are points on which the objectors differ from some women, or that there always will be points on which some men will differ from some women, it being assumed, of course, that women will always be in the wrong. If the objectors mean that women, having power given them by the legislature to do mischief, will do a great deal more than men in the same position have ever done, that is in fact begging the whole question. No past experience can be appealed to as decisive, since women have never been placed in the position supposed; although the absolute denial of all direct legitimate exercise of power sometimes drives intense and ardent natures into exercising it by methods less wholesome than a recognised responsibility would employ. But even granting this—alas! have men never done mischief, terrible mischief, during the long ages of masculine domination? Take, as one instance, the legislation for Ireland up to this century, and more recent times still; could any female legislation be more blind, unjust, inhuman, and—mischievous?

Is the world, as governed by men, a thing even now to congratulate ourselves upon? and may not women think that even a slight co-operation of their own with the other sex in the councils of the nation—we are not now speaking of admission to Parliament—might have prevented, might still prevent, some of this mischief?

The reproach that “women are agitating from love of power,” does not come with quite a good grace from that sex which has hitherto monopolized all power, exercised, as we think, with such grievous injustice to the other. But, in fact, the reproach is undeserved. Those who make it show such a misunderstanding of the deeply conscientious feelings and convictions on which this new movement is founded, as almost disqualifies them from discussing this question with us at all. Power to protect themselves from injustice women may be allowed to desire. But a still stronger motive is the belief that the welfare of society requires a different position for their whole sex.

Finally, recurring from all these details to the broad principle with which we started, that justice to women is morally the same as justice to man, I will only add, let this be acknowledged in the full meaning of the word, and all the ingeniously devised objections founded on woman's assumed inferiority to man fall at once to the ground. In the original fallacy, other false principles are involved, as that absolute perfection, moral and mental, is more needful in female than in male electors, and that to guard against possible inconvenience to men is a more pressing obligation than to remove an actual wrong to women.

I now come to those selfish inducements held out to woman herself to acquiesce in her present subjection, first glancing, however, at the half-triumphant warning that, with the privileges of citizenship, she must accept its burdens. That special burden which, I believe, the true Briton regards as the weightiest, that of taxation, she bears already, without the very privilege attached to it by divine right, as understood in Britain—to wit, the electoral franchise. This, though a flagrant departure from a cherished principle, I do not complain of as her hardest practical grievance; because in this case men, in fighting their own battle, must necessarily also fight that of women, and in some sort, therefore, do really represent them.

I must also advert to that appeal to women themselves on which men seem most triumphantly to rely. They say, that, if they are obliged to grant women equal social and legislative rights, *i.e.*, justice, they will no longer receive from men that so-called "chivalrous homage" which they regard apparently as sufficient compensation for every disadvantage and every humiliation attending the whole sex, in and out of drawing-rooms, and which they think women cannot reasonably look for except as a tribute to their legal inferiority and helplessness—that, in short, every virtue of which we can imagine women possessed, every gift of grace, beauty, and intelligence, joined, too, as they must *still* inevitably be, to inferiority of physical strength, will fail to secure for her man's respect and tenderness, unless she will accept him as her master and irresponsible political ruler. How is this? Is the spirit of "chivalry" a spirit of bargain? and a very one-sided bargain? Or, putting aside the idea of deliberate bargain, is this a faithful picture of man's nature—at least of Englishmen's, which is our chief present concern? Is it contrary to his nature, for instance, to yield kindly aid to inferior strength unless it will meekly confess to mental inferiority and will promise obedience? Is it contrary to his nature to be just and generous at the same time? We believe that men do themselves injustice in affirming this.

As for those outward symbols of "chivalrous homage" with which we are all familiar in drawing-rooms and such-like scenes, it is certainly, at first sight, hard to connect the forfeiture of these with the elevation of some women, or all women, to citizenship. But though it might be quite possible to do without these little privileges for so great an object, yet, truth to speak, the force of custom in regard to social etiquettes, even those generally felt to be burdensome and absurd, is so great that probably such harmless ones as these will long survive. I incline to think it will be long before all gentlemen remember to press out of drawing-rooms before their lady-acquaintances, to help themselves

first at table, to stand by whilst the objects of their former homage step out of their carriages, or into boats, without offering a hand, or in railway travel to remember not to be charmed by the looks or conversation of a lady fellow-passenger till they have satisfied themselves that she has not a vote. Seriously, I incline to think that men will observe all this innocent little ceremonial—which is partly a civilized regulation to secure orderliness in social intercourse, partly an assumption of a difference in physical strength, which, false or true, will not be affected by the possession of a vote—till women forfeit men's respect by forfeiting their own, a result not certain to follow from their acquiring a sense of higher responsibility to the State. These things will last probably till all society is placed on a different, perhaps simpler and nobler footing, by other concurrent changes in civilization and education still far distant. But what is best in our social humanity need never disappear—mutual courtesy, kindness, such consideration between the sexes, and such help and sympathy from each to each, as are surely no more to be grudged from men to women, in any case, than from the younger and stronger man to the old, and infirm, and respected of his own sex, however his equal in political rights and political intelligence.

On the other hand, there is surely something more real, more trustworthy in manly heroism, manly devotion to duty, than even in that "chivalrous homage" so admired as the most perfect compensation for female subjection, the most satisfactory modification possible of barbaric female slavery, and which generally expects in return some natural little gratification to its own self-love or vanity. I am not going to quarrel with it for thus seeking its reward—only it must not boast itself too much. We may be sure, too, that the spectacle of any brave, honest work, whether of the hand or the brain, done for love or duty, kindles the heart and imagination of the true woman, and exalts her respect for her partner, far more than that other spectacle of man making or upholding laws to secure to himself his wife's obedience, the possession of her property, and his own undivided control over his and her children, far more than his assurance that he classes her politically with idiots, lunatics, and criminals, in order to increase his own respect for her, and because she likes it—or, at least, ought to do so.

If these "chivalrous" opponents have the faith they profess in woman's native grace and refinement; if they do not believe these qualities to be entirely the creation of certain artificial restrictions on her liberty of action, which no education of thought and reason can supply the place of; if they do not believe she is dignified and refined solely by accessories and

surroundings, having *within herself* under no circumstances the power to dignify and refine *them*; if they do not hold this strangely "unchivalrous" and dishonouring doctrine of woman's nature, then how is it that they suppose all these precious attributes can be got rid of so very easily? They can scarcely believe she will lose them by learning to take an interest in the concerns of her country, and to express that interest every few years by a conscientious vote, in the delivering of which she may be as well protected as in witnessing the procession of a royal bride, a race, a play, or an opera. If there should appear, in any woman's ardour on these subjects, anything ungraceful or exaggerated, there is probably some such defect in her natural organization manifesting itself alike in all her doings. On the whole, a woman will be in politics pretty much what she is—by her natural temperament—in all other spheres.

But in fact such objectors, however "chivalrous," however kind-hearted—as many of them truly are—*have no faith* in woman, no faith in the goddess they worship with flattery, incense, and gay pageantry; and it would be well if they would frankly confess this. Then we should know exactly where to meet them. In the meanwhile, till man can acquire this faith, this generous trust, society will make small moral progress—and need we remind the shallowest student of human nature that to make human beings trustworthy, you must take courage to trust them?

That women's tender interest in those they love would be deadened by these enlarged views of political and social life, that they would thus grow somehow more selfish and less useful to men in consequence, is a prejudice such as has been held to justify even harsher restrictions, and one I think unworthy to influence for a moment a generous mind. That the blind idolatry with which they have often injured, sometimes ruined, their idols, will be exchanged for a feeling more elevated and elevating, is very likely; but we need not regret *this* transformation.

There is a refined and tender side, as I shall again and again admit, to these remonstrances. The ideal of graceful, clinging weakness, the "smiling domestic goddess"-ship (divorced indeed both from intellect and good sense), so admired by Thackeray, the sacred pedestal-worship of poetic theories, have such a charm for some manly imaginations, that the suggested introduction of some newer type is as terrifying to them as the threat of a new railway or row of houses to the inhabitants of a rural paradise. I predict, however, that amongst the many varieties of the female type we hope to see developed, whatever is really good and beautiful in their own favourite one is likely

still to "abound;" what is not so good and beautiful will be less easily rooted out than we could wish, and many a "fair defect" will long remain to rejoice their hearts and fancies. Such will be as the childish element in the race, and, as such, worthy of all indulgence and tenderness.

But I must also remind the "chivalrous" that their ideal is, and always has been, the monopoly of a small privileged class. For "chivalrous homage" has nothing to say to the poor, hard-working wives and mothers outside that, nor to the thousands of courageous single women who are too strenuously fighting the battle of life—often for others as well as for themselves—to have time to cultivate graceful clingingness, or to stand on pedestals. It would be hard, truly, to withhold citizenship, and whatever dignity and support it may confer from these "lonely, unadmired heroines," for the sake of keeping up a special feminine ideal as the monopoly of a special class.*

We see, indeed, where this long subjection of women, most favourably exhibited in the placing of some of them on a fancied pinnacle, has landed us at last. It finds us confronted by a glaring discrepancy between profession and performance, which must make the very word "chivalry," if they even heard it, seem a cruel mockery to the rest.

Some theorists, we know, will say, "True, all is not right as it now is; but there is a remedy. She is now *too* independent, she has got *one* hand free; bind *both* again, bind her hand and foot—put her more completely in men's power; but educate men and women better, so that man may be less likely to abuse his power, and woman may know her proper place; protect her exactly as you would a child, by stringent legislation, leaving her no discretion, no option, and then trust the rest to man's generosity, and the perfect dignity this perfect subjection and perfect powerlessness will give her." But women have a right to a voice before this theory of a dominant sex can be forced on them.

Moreover, let me remind the upholders *par excellence* of "feminine delicacy and refinement" how very different are and have been the ideas attached to these words in other ages and other countries, and maintained with obstinate persistence, and confidence that they rest on the immutable sanction of nature and religion. Ask the respectable Turkish father of a family what will happen to society when the harem doors are unlocked, and the women allowed to go forth unveiled—nay, ask the respectable Turk's ladylike wife and

* The number of women supporting themselves by manual labour, alone, is stated at three millions.

daughter—and their answer will be the same. Go back to the days, not so very long ago, when in all countries, Christian and pagan, a woman was married without her consent being asked; when worthy fathers of families would have been shocked at the indelicacy of a girl presuming to have a choice, or even a veto on her parents' choice. Nay, when the bold idea was first started of teaching women to read, "Fancy," can we not see it said in some popular journal of those mythical days? "fancy a woman forsaking the spindle and frying-pan, her own peculiar sciences, to plunge into the unfeminine mysteries of the alphabet!" Not to mention some *very* civilized European countries where, even in the present day, if a girl (of the drawing-room class, I mean) were known to have once walked out in town unattended, it would destroy her chance of marriage, and where it is with difficulty believed that such liberty in England is not abused.

Why, then, is it so certain that we here, in England and now, have reached that exact point of feminine freedom beyond which we cannot go without contradicting nature—that exact type of refinement which admits of no further modification? Let us remember that with every fresh instalment of liberty and independence granted to women by advancing civilization, every step forward from her primitive condition of slavery to her present position of legal subjection, she has received not less, but more, kindness and respect from men, and the masculine ideal has not ruinously suffered thereby. Women have attained to far more self-reliance and liberty of movement in the United States of America than in England; but no one has asserted that they are as a consequence of less importance to men, or treated with less deference. To say that their manners are not to the taste of those Englishmen who know them only by hearsay is beside the argument, nor is this distaste generally shared by Englishmen who know them by personal acquaintance.

Why, then, should we fear that one step further in the same path of independence would do all that the others have failed to do—at once revolutionize all the natural relations of the sexes, and transform, as we are so often told, women into men?

The truth is, social circumstances in all civilized communities, and notably in this, have outgrown the old theory of women's proper place in the world. The increased difficulty of living, felt in all classes, the 800,000 women in excess of men, the exclusion of women from all but one or two modes of gaining a precarious livelihood, the increased importance of education with so small an increase of the facilities offered to women, making it impossible for them to cope with men in the struggle for actual existence, and all these causes rendering marriage for women at

once more necessary and too often more impossible, such realities have reduced to a mere figment the theory of universal protection, dependence, and homage.

The men of the past did what seemed the best in those days; the men of the present are not to blame for the altered conditions which have made it the worst. But they will be to blame if they persist in upholding it and in regarding attempted reforms as attempts to "remove the landmarks of society;" if, in a word, they endeavour to force the life of successive generations of women into the old Chinese shoe of subjection and restraint, fancying that if they just make it a little easier, all will be right. The shoe must be made to fit perfectly, and women themselves must decide whether it does so.

And now comes the question of the influence actually exercised by women, in the cultivated and comfortable classes that is, for no other female influence over men is generally spoken of as of any importance. Gentlemen, when they speak of women, mean "ladies." And as "ladies" are the wives, mothers, and sisters of the class which at present governs us, their influence *should* be important, fearfully important; though this is no reason for casting aside so much as, in common parlance, we are too wont to do, the interests of women in the sphere beneath that recognised by "chivalry," and the influence which they too *ought* to be able to exercise.

But let us see what this influence of "ladies" is. We are told that it is very great, and those who say so are apt to go further, and fling all responsibility for social vices on the women of society. Let women humbly acknowledge to themselves their own shortcomings; they could not do much, but some of them, perhaps, might have done more. Capable, it may be, of better things, too many have been led ignobly astray by vanity and frivolity, too many by precept and example have done harm where they might have done good, thus, and in a thousand other ways, under a thousand disguises, rendering back to man the ill that the long domination of masculine ideas has wrought upon them. But while it is safe to be severe on themselves individually, it is not so safe to be blind to the faults of the social system under which they live. The fact remains that the influence of women for good, is very small, compared with what it is said to be, and might be, if men so willed it. No good influence, worth naming such, can be exercised but by an independent mind, and such independence is made tenfold more difficult to women at the present day, not only by men's prejudices, but by the difficulty of marriage resulting from the conditions before alluded to. This, an evil over which neither men nor women have any immediate control, is no doubt

in great part the secret of the humble attitude which women are apt to take towards men, and the triumphant scorn of the sex so frequently displayed by popular journals. But once conscious of these facts, the efforts of society to counteract their mischievous results should be unremitting.

This dependence, then, acknowledged, for men to lay the blame of their own weaknesses on their so-called "weaker" sisters, to seek to silence their remonstrances by assuring them that *they* are the guilty party, or at least equally guilty with their masters, of those social corruptions we all cannot but see around us, is an unconscious baseness which even good men sometimes fall into when judging of the other sex.

In order that woman may really exercise that wholesome and purifying influence ascribed to her as her natural attribute, she should herself be left free and unbiassed by fear or favour. If she is to inspire men with a refinement and morality a little deeper than drawing-room decorum, she must not herself have first to learn by rote from him the lesson she is to teach him again; she must not be cheated into taking all the rules of life unquestioning on man's traditional authority, and mistaking the dread of his reproach and ridicule for the voice of innate womanly conscience. She must not be coaxed, from earliest girlhood, by ball-room admirers, and even the gravest philosophers, into preferring her own (so-called) "feminine instincts," that is, prejudices, to the dictates of reason, sense, and duty, to find in later life "feminine unreasonableness" a bye-word in men's mouths, to find herself exposed to the good-humoured contempt of the placid husband and the scolding of the irritable one, and to hear—no longer as the delighted tribute to youthful charms, but as a grave disqualification—that women have "no sense of justice." She must not be taught that narrow views of religion are especially becoming to women, and the only safeguard to their virtue in the eyes of the laxer sex. She must not, as the mother of a family, have always that warning voice in her ear that "men hate learned women," or that "men don't want intellect in their wives" (which indeed is not so surprising in those who themselves have neither intellect nor learning) till her very schoolboy sons catch up the cry. She must not be brought up utterly to ignore all great social and national interests, all enlightened views of politics; she must not be taught that the one great object of woman's life is marriage, when every day the social obstacles in the way of marriage are increasing; and, above all, she must not be forced or hoodwinked into accepting from masculine dictation two distinct moral codes—one for men and the other for women.

Where these teachings have not been perfectly enforced, as of

course will often be the case, either from partial enlightenment in the teacher or instinctive revolt in the taught, they will be found to have caused in simple and noble minds more mental and moral suffering than actual moral deterioration. But what society has lost, still loses, by the waste of such good material, it has not yet attempted to reckon up. A movement has now been set on foot, and is slowly gaining strength, to repudiate these teachings, which have, as we have said, found rebels scattered here and there at all times; yet while legislation, man's legislation for woman, still represents the ideas embodied in them, still ignores the incongruity between the theory and the facts of woman's position in the world, so long will it be, not the elevating and purifying influence of woman upon man (the theory of "chivalrous" moralists), but the depressing and deteriorating influence of man upon woman, that regulates society. Let men, even philosophers, repeat as they will that "women have everything in their own power, that it is their own fault if men are not better than they are," I affirm that the more we look below the surface, the more we shall be convinced that whilst man remains the irresponsible legislator for women, these things will be as I have said.

The social phenomena developed by man's domination in women's education, ideas and character are so numerous and complex as almost to defy classification. I am far from classing the women, even of the sphere which we have taken for our text, "all in one," but this seems evident, that the general result has been a most disheartening mediocrity. We have hopes, it is true, that the efforts now being made by those social benefactresses, who are so earnestly fighting the educational battle for their sisters, powerfully aided by like-minded and generous men, will greatly mitigate this state of things for a fortunate part of the younger generation. But, for the present, though "the softening influence of domestic life," "the purity of English homes" are pretty phrases, yet, all the same, men and women are doing their best to degrade each other to a pitiful mediocrity. Not all the prettiness of blooming girlhood (and a pretty English girl *is* a charming object, whether one is in a moralizing mood or not), not all the brightness, activity and kind-heartedness of narrowly-educated women, however "clever" they may be, can hide this sad truth from our eyes.

Let us begin—working upwards from seeming trifles—with one time-honoured social institution, through which the wholesome and refining influence of one sex over the other is supposed to make itself felt. I tremble as I approach this sacred field, and find myself compelled in sober sadness to drop disrespectful words on the privileged flirtations of the young. I would not be

severe either on those who encourage or those who practise this favourite diversion. Yet, after all, in spite of the glamour thrown by youthful excitement and inexperience, by the regretful and sympathetic retrospect of age, and by the imagination of poets and painters over the ball, the croquet, the picnic, and all the other playgrounds of "society," it must be owned that the prospect is not encouraging to our hopes of the young. The "flirtation" which reigns here between the two sexes, encouraged by all social customs, provided for at the cost of time, money, health and mental improvement, has in it mischief which lies deeper than at first appears. It is more than "matter for a flying smile." Many will agree with me so far, but will strenuously resist the application of radical remedies to the whole position of society. Palliatives, not prevention, not cure, have ever been the favourite study of English philanthropy.

It is at this point of transitory, counterfeit courtship (in itself damaging to the freshness of youthful affections) that we first trace the effect of that low standard of excellence required from women. Man in general requires little from the woman he loves, still less from the woman he flirts with: we all know that a pretty face, a pretty dress and a few "womanly" coqueties generally suffice for him in either case, and he takes his chance of finding other qualities behind these when it is too late to make a fresh choice; while woman, dwarfed to meet these small requirements, requires little from him in return. And so the taste is formed, so marriages are made, and so society and the race are deteriorated.

The last thing I would wish to disparage is the natural, light-hearted, innocent enjoyment of each other's society, in the young of the two sexes. I wish it were far more easily come by and begun earlier too, and were freed from that uneasy self-consciousness which is so often and so needlessly substituted for the frank courage of innocence. From that morbidly-watchful egotism which, under the name of "propriety," used to be so much enjoined, and which would be ill-exchanged for the "fastness" of which, in certain circles, one hears so much, we turn with relief to that artless enjoyment of life and society which characterizes unspoiled girlhood, accompanied by a really strong interest in some pursuit. It finds its salvation in those genuine tastes which carry us out of ourselves (not necessarily "learned" or "intellectual")—it may be gardening, or music, or painting, or some kindred art—only, for Heaven's sake, let it be *real*, let it be good of its kind, let it be honestly followed; and the more of such the better.

On such common ground of genuine tastes and pursuits, young men and women may healthfully meet each other and prepare

for the closer partnership and co-operation of after-life; and much, very much, I trust, will this common ground be enlarged by wider education. But what has this happy, true-hearted sympathy, which one longs to see prevail everywhere, purged more and more from vanity and *arrière-pensée*, to do with the artificial sentimentalities, the unmeaning personalities, and empty rattle of flirtation, either between two equally trifling beings, or a so-called sensible man and a poor girl taught that to be admired she must "flirt" prettily, and dress prettily, and need not be well-informed? *These* have nothing in common but the common interest of vanity; and whether such a flirtation end in marriage or not, they who pursue it are equally injuring their own tastes and characters, and unfitting themselves for true marriage.

Sometimes indeed, as we all know, great misery follows from this playing with fire—especially in the woman, where an untrained, unoccupied mind is joined to a warm heart or vivid imagination. But how much of this suffering might be saved to either party if a frankness, now thought impossible between men and women, could be cultivated! Were this united to a more trained judgment and more engrossing occupations for women, we might less often see the sensational coquette followed by trains of admirers, her heart ever half-touched, and only half-satisfied, her frivolous vanity never satiated; we might less often see truer and more passionate hearts racked by the ignoble indecision or still more ignoble insincerity and heartlessness of a counterfeit lover. Women would then oftener see through the unworthiness of such a nature before it was too late, and the irretrievable waste of many a precious year of life be averted. The coquette, too, and even the much-abused "fast girl," would find better fields for their love of power (as natural to some women as to some men), as well as for the restless animal spirits and healthy untrained energies which are perhaps chiefly answerable for those vagaries to which the world is so severe.

And what must the marriages be to which this style of social intercourse leads up—putting aside for the moment moral questions of a more tragic significance? Will not this account partly for the falling off of youthful love and all the poetry of life which is thought almost inevitable in marriage? And may not much of the ignobleness of society, of class selfishness, national selfishness, have something to do with these commonplace impulses by which marriages are brought about and families are formed?

In this discouraging view, it must be observed, that we are speaking of what are considered the better kind of average marriages—that is, those which are more or less of choice (perhaps they might just as well be called of chance); not of the many which are in great measure dictated by motives of interest or

convenience, which latter, on the woman's side, is too often the supposed desperate necessity of being married at all. And this too is the result of our social arrangements!

It seems wonderful how that prevalent taste among men for female mediocrity is shared even by such as appear fit for better things. Negatives seem to attract, as if woman were to be admired rather for what she is without than what she has; the absence of some power or intellectual gift being constantly mentioned as a positive quality, not to say merit, rather than as a deficiency—a mode of estimation never used with men. And the qualities which do attract are too often superficial attributes, often those semi-childish prejudices and conventionalities, the result of a narrow education for generations, which are generally called "feminine instincts," and considered charming. This is partly the result of a prevalent idea that tenderness of feeling and good household management can seldom be found apart from these, and that the clinging subjection to man which is thought the natural position, the crowning grace of woman, is incompatible with a cultivated mind and original views. As often as not, however, his fancy invests with this poetic charm some nature below even the low standard he prefers; since whenever we limit our aspirations after excellence, we are liable to fall short even of that limit. Even these limited ideals vary, however; some profess to be content with the ideal of the intelligent cook and housekeeper, and hold that a woman cannot and ought not to have time for anything else.

Yet do not those men of sense and intellect who seek for attractive mediocrity, if they think about it at all, expect their sons to inherit their own masculine superiority, and their daughters to renew the maternal type? But there is no natural law forbidding—what in fact we so frequently see—the descent of intellectual gifts to the daughters, and the more commonplace attributes to the sons. These sons will probably marry their likes; the daughters, not finding their natural mates, and not able to seek for them, as probably as not remain unmarried.

Fortunately there are various types between the extremes we have mentioned, some, if rare, yet beautiful—tender, sympathetic, refined female natures, incapable of initiative, but appreciative and reverent of true superiority, by associating with which they gradually educate themselves, and in whose society a man tender and refined enough to appreciate their charm, may well feel himself blest. Yet even such beloved and tender beings feel too often a vague, painful sense of incompleteness and inferiority never quite absent—the greater because of its instinctive admiration of what is excellent. These, too, suffer

practically from that deficiency in the masculine ideal of women, which originally stunted their education.

One can understand and respect the man of uncultivated intellect who has the manly humility to acknowledge that a highly educated woman would not be a fit mate for him, and that tenderness, simplicity, and purity of heart, without even the perfecting grace of intellect, are enough for his needs. But what does fill us with regretful wonder is, that this incapacity to appreciate the best and completest should be ever made a boast by men, and expressed with the evident feeling that men's preference for the mediocre is a crushing sentence against the woman of trained intellect. Our most popular novelist, whilst sneering at the "heroic female character," bids us regard as the standard to which women should most aspire, the having "all the men in a cluster round her chair, all the young fellows battling to dance with her." According to this judgment, this special court of appeal to which the loftiest-minded woman must bow—her wisest policy, her most womanly grace, will be to disguise, at least, if she cannot extinguish, her superiority.

No woman of real refinement and right sympathies can wish to disparage *true* grace, beauty, and sweetness. They form together a power worthy of respectful homage. But they can hardly exist—at least, hardly last—without a certain strength and elevation of character. True sweetness means strength, not servility, not indiscriminating devotion (beautiful and commendable in a dog we allow, but not quite an adequate expression of womanly affection), not characterless goodnature, not the mere liveliness of youth, nor silliness; true grace implies a harmonizing artistic faculty and a moral balance which can scarcely belong to a commonplace nature, guided only by conventional laws. As for true beauty, how little do we yet realize what glorious types of form and feature are in store for the world, when strength of body and mind, health, courage, and freedom have been developed by generations of enlightened culture—what radiance and fulness of life, what new intelligence and ardour of expression, what splendour of frame, such as we should now look on as fitter for another planet! These are dreams as yet, but they have a practical value if they preserve us from seeking our ideal in a direction contrary to true progress.

But to descend from these poetic heights—at least since the young, pretty, and lively have an influence over men's acts and wishes at present quite out of proportion to their power to use it well, they should be trained, if only with a view to the welfare of their own households, to a more enlightened sense of their responsibilities than men can at present appreciate. If any

modest man is alarmed at the prospect of an era of learned and splendid women, let him be assured that it will be long, very long before it comes, and that when it does, by the necessity of the case, men will have risen too. There will long be a supply of the women whom men emphatically call "feminine"—a word which has been for ages the engine of women's oppression. Its meanings have varied, but having been all imposed, directly or indirectly, by man, they are all so many badges of female subjection, both material and moral. Here we know we shall be contradicted by most men and by many women. Men will confidently appeal to the "instincts" of some female friend—perhaps some pretty young girl—and be confirmed by her positiveness, or her flippancy, or her timid acquiescence, in his belief that all true womanhood is on his side. It is much as if a slaveholder should appeal to some faithful, ignorant slave, born on his estate, as to the divinely-appointed necessity of slavery, and the virtues proper to his condition, and be quite satisfied with his "Yes, massa," in reply. It is quite possible that the slave does believe in the divine origin of slavery; it will not be the fault of his master's theological teachings if he does not. Women have been taught to do more than this—not merely to acquiesce, but to glory in their subjection.

One feature of this subjection is, as has been somewhere pointed out, that a double code of laws has been imposed on woman—one supposed to be common to all humanity, the other containing special regulations for herself—not merely supplementary of, but sometimes even contradicting, the other. These seem devised to keep up an enfeebling self-consciousness, and to turn the simple government of a healthy conscience into a sort of Lord Chamberlain's office of etiquettes. But there is, or ought to be, only one law for men and women; and such a "codification" will be, we trust, the great moral work of our age. One conscience, one education, one virtue, one liberty, one citizenship for men and women alike. It will not force them to do the same work, but it will enable them freely to choose their work. It will not make them the same, but it will help to make them perfect of their kind, and the world twice as great, and twice as happy.

Would it not, to begin with, be well first to instruct girls that weakness, cowardice, and ignorance cannot constitute at once the perfection of womankind and the imperfection of mankind—to cease, in short, to impress upon her the lesson epitomized in Mr. Charles Reed's short dialogue—

She. I feel all my sex's weakness,
He. And therein you are invincible.

May they not be led to cultivate grace, refinement, taste and beauty, because these things are good in themselves and make the world brighter and happier; not because men admire this, that, and the other in women, and are disgusted at its absence, and that therefore this, that, and the other are feminine attributes, and will get them partners at a ball, and perhaps for life. The original motive to this cultivation of grace and charm colours the whole of the after-life and character. On this depends whether she is to be a truthful free woman, the equal, sympathetic, and ennobling partner of man, or a sort of attractive slave, as man so often likes to picture her, to coax him by her personal charms into tenderness and morality without any trouble of his own.

"Female instincts," a favourite idea of unphilosophical minds, are called "feelings" as opposed to "reason;" and some mysterious moral advantage is supposed to accrue to the more "rational" sex from the presumed incapacity of their partners in life to look beyond personal and family interests, to draw rational inferences from facts, and to be just as well as generous. The "sacred nonsense" of mothers' talk to the child at their knee, recalled in Parliamentary utterances as one blessing to be destroyed by female suffrage, is a good illustration of this theme.

A good many sensible men, whilst unprepared to grant women equal rights and citizenship with themselves, will advocate a better education for them generally, will by no means confess to admiring ignorance and prejudice, and will even enjoy the conversation of a clever woman, if she be not *too* clever, and too much in earnest. But these notwithstanding, the view of woman's supposed defects, which I have stated before, defects either charming or provoking as you choose to take them, or as the subject of them is fifteen or fifty years old, is what has met and thwarted enlightened women at every turn.

Now, as regards "feeling" and "instinct," held, as they often are, as preferable respectively to "reason" and "judgment," let us compare that untrained, unenlightened maternal instinct which leads the mother to indulge her child to its own future injury, with that instinct trained and enlightened, which leads her for its future good not to shrink from its present suffering. Compare "feeling" which, in the shape of ignorance and prejudice, leads to narrow views of religion and to intolerance of some of the noblest and wisest of human thoughts and sentiments, with that "feeling," founded on knowledge and reason which leads to enthusiasm for what is noblest and wisest, whilst yet it can be kindly indulgent to that very ignorance which despises knowledge. The obstruction to social progress, caused by the fostering of these theological prejudices in women through the indulgence of even those husbands

and fathers who have them not themselves, can only be glanced at here. It is not a question of reason against feeling, but of allying the two, instead of keeping them apart by an irreligious divorce. To some minds the voice of reason is as the voice of conscience, and such, once awake to their responsibilities, can no more disobey the one voice than the other. These seem absolute truisms; yet how few there are, even of those who cannot contradict them, who will accord them practical recognition!

"Good Heavens! a young lady reason!" was once the exclamation of an educated Roman Catholic when mildly argued with by one of the angelic sex. Of course, as we were told in Parliament, "women's minds are absolutely closed to logic,"—this said in the face of an ever increasing number of women who can reason, and reason well, and whom men have not yet been able to answer. And why should it be "unfeminine" and "ungraceful," and all the rest of it, to appreciate the æsthetic beauty of a well-woven chain of reasoning? Partly, perhaps, because women have not the monopoly of reasoning ill. It is the superficially dexterous arguers, possibly, rather than deep and sincere thinkers amongst men who find a charm in female perverseness and irrationality in religion, politics, and subjects of thought generally. I can no more regard the power of right reasoning as a mental luxury, a privilege to be kept for the enjoyment of one sex, than I can regard correct drawing or correct intonation in music as perfections necessary in professionals, but merely unpleasing pedantry in amateurs.

Yes, surely the ardour of reason, so nearly akin to the passion for justice, is as proper for a woman as any other ardour looked upon as feminine *par excellence*. And there is an earnest vein in women which, as far as we have been able to observe, is opposed to the sophistications of the *merely* logical intellect, the cold-hearted amusement of arguing an important question without any real convictions. Such conscientious sincerity, even from a man's point of view, cannot be unwomanly.

"Unfeminine"—Alas, how much of good and great has that word blighted at its birth! On women's sensibilities, artificially fostered to an intense tenderness to the lightest sting, it does fall like the cut of a lash. But, after all, the government of the lash can only make slaves. As woman takes larger and loftier views of duty, she will learn to dread the stings of her conscience more than the lash of man's ridicule. She will look at the sun itself with undazzled eyes, not through the smoke-dimmed glass man has handed her for her special use. As it is, this fear, inculcated through ages, haunts women from the cradle (and men cannot realize the effort it costs, even those who seem bravest, to shake it off), this fear which holds them back from expressing their real

opinions, hinders woman herself, as much as it hinders man, from knowing what she really is.

It is too true that a very large number of the women of one class, the comfortable drawing-room class, have ranged themselves with well-meaning docility in the ranks of this social police, have been the unconscious agents of a social terrorism, which man himself exercises almost unconsciously, while they innocently repeat the warning words of "feminine delicacy" and "ladylike propriety" which men have put into their mouths, and which they believe are the utterances of nature and religion, and the immutable conditions of civilized life.

Let us think how much we need a counteracting influence against those base motives of personal and class-selfishness which now honeycomb and almost threaten to destroy society, and how little women's "instincts" and "feelings" have done to supply this. I do not forget that, in all ages, at times of temporary excitement, there have been women found to sustain a man in the sacrifice of those whom he loves to duty, even when she and her children are to be the sacrificed; but one longs to see something of this spirit in everyday life and in peaceful times. The same woman who will cheerfully destroy her own health in nursing one she loves, who will uncomplainingly share with him his involuntary poverty, or even deserved disgrace, would on the other hand discourage him with all her powers of persuasion from risking his worldly fortune or bringing on himself the world's reproach, at some call of conscience with which she has not been taught to sympathize. Again, a husband should blush before his wife for a mean public action, a vote given through self-interest, or class-interest, or faction, as he would for cheating his neighbour, for official falsification as he would for perjury in a court of justice, for conniving at the bribery of an elector as he would for receiving stolen goods, for taking an unfair advantage in trade as he would for picking a pocket. But we hear nothing of the desirableness of feminine influence in such matters as these.

I turn now to the married state as affected in England by the marriage law, "the most barbarous," it has lately been said, "in Europe." "A woman," as has also lately been said, "loses when she marries, her name, her freedom, her individuality, her property, her vote" (municipal and other). A man takes from the woman he marries everything she has, yet is not bound to maintain her while she lives with him,* can use the forms of law to

* He is supposed to be bound to keep her off the rates, no more; but this practically means merely that she will be refused relief, if her husband is known to be able to support her.

force back a reluctant wife in spite of her aversion to live with him, and finally can take her children from her and give them to the care of some other woman if he pleases. This law, of which these are some of the most striking features—though, more or less, of course, a dead letter in affectionate marriages, but an easy instrument of iniquity in the hands of the unscrupulous—would almost seem indeed to be maintained for the special use of the bad. This law which, however modified in its practical workings by individual character, cannot but lower the whole conception of marriage for all but the exceptional few, even good men will tell us somehow helps to secure the happiness of married life generally! In its remote origin it was doubtless a valuable modification of worse evils, and in the days when no personal freedom was allowed to any woman, married or unmarried, when marriage was therefore merely an exchange of one servitude for another, there was at least no glaring incongruity in the theory of a wife's subjection.* But now, when she is supposed, once arrived at the years of discretion, to be a free agent, and to have a free choice in marriage, the position has become an antiquated anomaly. It would seem still to be upheld on the principle that because woman is weak, she should therefore be made helpless,—because man is strong, he shall have additional protection against the weak. In the classes where this law is most abused, because there education has done least to counteract its brutalizing effect on public opinion, there has been found a tendency in women (notably in manufacturing towns), to prefer unmarried unions to legitimate ones, for the sake of the greater protection of their self-earned contributions to the household, and the greater willingness of their partners to contribute their share, instead of spending all on themselves. Here, at least, is one natural result of a degrading and tyrannical law of marriage on those who suffer from it most helplessly. Before this new form of union tends universally to supplant the other, it might be better instead of vaguely deploring the immorality of the "lower classes," or contriving such piecemeal mitigations as have lately been enacted—to see if a radical reform of the old institution be not worth considering.

The truth is, our ideas are still perverted by the old fetish worship of husbands, so ludicrously expressed in the literature of past generations—that curious religion which made it a wife's highest virtue to pay the obedience of a slave to a master, how-

* Those who lay stress on particular texts of Scripture bearing on this subject should remember that there is sanction for domestic slavery in the New Testament, and the conclusion is that the first teachers of Christianity took social institutions as they found them.

ever cruel, capricious, or irrational he was, however noble and wise she, might be—in short, the greater his mental and moral inferiority to her, the greater the merit of her absolute submission. This doctrine, which turned him into a monstrous idol to be propitiated by an abject ceremonial—this ideal of wifehood, maintained by men with astonishing complacency, was carried to its highest perfection in the legend of "Patient Griselda," in which many men, we believe, still see a kind of pathetic beauty. It really exhibits the most repulsive perversion of moral feeling on both sides to which such a grotesque theory of marriage is capable of leading. This fetishism continues in a modified shape to be represented by the law of the land, and it colours more or less the ordinary ideal of marriage. There is, to be sure, a sort of humility in insisting on this right divine of husbands, since no more than the divine right of kings does it require any inherent superiority in the individual possessing it. But this kind of humility has in neither case proved beneficial to the governing or governed. Mr. Herbert Spencer has observed in the "Social Statics" that even as we "loathe" the custom which in savage nations forbids women to eat in company with men, so shall we come to loathe the civilized theories of the wife's subjection to her husband. The wonder is that any man can endure it.

Till absolute social and legal equality is the basis of the sacred partnership of marriage (the division of labours and duties in the family, by free agreement, implying no sort of inequality), till no superiority is recognised on either side but that of individual character and capacity, till marriage is no longer legally surrounded with penalties on the woman who enters into it as though she were a criminal,—till then the truest love, the truest sympathy, the truest happiness in it, will be the exception rather than the rule, and the real value of this relation, domestic and social, will be fatally missed. People may get on pretty well together, and be fairly fond of each other, without their married life presenting a spectacle particularly worthy of admiration, or suggesting a very excellent development of human nature. Of course, in numberless cases, a wife will find it her best wisdom as well as comfort in the conduct of life (especially as society is now constituted) to yield to the judgment of a husband who may probably be her superior in age, experience of life, and knowledge of the world; but this accidental part of marriage, if I may call it so, has nothing to do with the theory of divine right on the one side, and indelible inferiority on the other.

Connected with this faulty view of the marriage relations, is that other difficulty with which woman has been burdened by immemorial prejudice, grievously overweighted as she is already

without it—I mean the stigma of conventional humiliation attached to those women who pass their lives unmarried. It is, no doubt, like the fetish-worship of husbands, a relic of barbarism, but it is still strongly felt, and has been impressed by men on women themselves to their great detriment. It is not simply the opinion that, as a general rule, women are happier married than single; but that the unmarried woman, when she has ceased to be young, is an object not merely for pity, but more or less for contempt, though it is not always held good taste to express it, and some men are too sensible and manly to feel it. Apparently this notion rests on three assumptions, all of barbaric origin—namely, that a woman's highest glory and merit is to please men, that if she has not married she has failed to please men, and that her whole *raison d'être* is wifehood and motherhood. A man who has not become a husband and father may feel himself an honoured and important member of society; and till it is universally understood that a woman who from choice or chance is not a wife and mother, may fill an equally honoured and important position, true respect will not be paid to woman in any capacity, whether married or single. For the rest, the fact—not, I hope, without a possible good result on her general position as time goes on—of the eight hundred thousand women in excess of men in England, who must of necessity remain unmarried (and the disproportion continues, we believe, to increase) justifies us still further in protesting against this old world prejudice.

But the spectral difficulty it has raised is already diminishing. Women have done much for themselves towards that result, and if they will persevere it will be removed from their path altogether. The dignity and independence of womanhood must be maintained by an upright scrupulousness of choice in the first instance, to help which a much larger variety of occupation should be opened to women; and by faith in themselves, whether married or single. But in fighting this battle, as in so many others, she has been too often hindered rather than encouraged by the stronger sex.

“It is nonsense,” Hawthorne remarks in the “Blithedale Romance,” “and a miserable wrong—the result, like so many others, of masculine egotism—that the success or failure of a woman's existence should be made to depend wholly on the affections, and on one species of affection, while man has such a multitude of other chances, that this seems but an incident. For its own sake, if it will do no more, the world should throw open all its avenues to the passport of a woman's bleeding heart.”

Before quitting the subject of the married relations, we must say a few words on the typical and most painful exemplification of the different moral codes imposed on men and women—one

having a most important bearing on these relations and the family and social influences which spring from them. We allude to the prevalent assumption that man is not bound by the same rule of moral purity as woman. An obvious development of the primitive barbaric notion of woman as the natural property of man, it is still held as a moral axiom, we believe, by the large majority of men. Unacknowledged in so many words by good men, abhorred, I doubt not, by many, denounced by the religion in whose dogmas the vicious still generally profess belief, it receives practical and almost universal recognition in the most civilized countries. Virtuous women, even, are perverted by conventional custom, persuaded, or tricked by their carefully-maintained ignorance, into assenting to it—and legislation is based upon it, as witness, amongst other examples, the law of divorce. Yet what does this distinction mean—unless it be wholly *un-meaning* and self-contradictory—except that *some* women are bound to lead purer lives than men, but *not all*?—That is, by man's traditional doctrine, the women of his own family, the women of the class he intends to marry into, are bound to be of unblemished purity, whilst the degradation in his behalf of less privileged classes is to be acquiesced in, nay, almost desired, as a social necessity. And is it at *this* price we purchase the boasted purity of English homes, with all its graceful accompaniments of chivalrous homage—by the maintenance, in a sort of pretended secrecy, of an unparalleled humiliation and slavery of woman, in a so-called free country, by those who profess to honour her the most?

Even good men, with consciences individually clear as to this matter, will shake their heads and say it *must* be—that this evil cannot be expelled from society;—indeed some say it ought not to be expelled, lest a greater evil take its place. And the good, by their silence, their acquiescence, play into the hands of the majority. But those women who think for themselves on this terrible subject, indignantly ask—By what right does any society exist on such a foundation? What right have certain classes of women to enjoy, safe and untempted, an aristocracy of virtue at the expense of the poor, the ignorant, the young, orphaned, helpless and thoughtless, the desolate and deserted, yearly, daily bribed, entrapped, tempted, goaded, and betrayed into a Hell upon earth—that men may go on talking about the “purity of English homes”—the beautiful result of high civilization and feminine subjection? Upon the seething surface of this infernal region men build their own happy households, content if no sound from below rises up to shock the ears of unconscious wives and daughters! The denizens of that region are not waiting at leisure till it shall please them to forsake their

evil lives, and become the happy and honoured heads of families: that crowning reward is reserved for the men who have profited by, and shared in, their degradation, whose easy repentance is gloried in as one more tribute to the moralizing influence of women, and in whose persons the sacred names of husband and father are thus daily and triumphantly profaned. For when they are weary of base dissipation, there is always some ignorant girl ready to confer these names upon them, to learn, probably, by degrees, that men are not bound to be as pure as women, to resign herself to her sons leading the same lives as their father before them, and to her daughters marrying men who lead the same lives as their brothers. But if this is what is meant by the "purity of English homes," are we so very sure that even this one-sided purity will always be maintained? Is it certain that no moral contamination from men's earlier associations ever enters there? Are we sure that the house built on such a foundation will always stand firm?

This brand upon society, this blight on every effort at true reform in any direction, will not be removed by sentimentalism, by costly subscriptions to churches, refuges, and reformatories, nor any other of the palliatives society seems to prefer to prevention, and which so often tend to maintain the original evil—no, nor by efforts to keep the women of one class ignorant of the degradation of women in another. The jealous trades-unionism of men which meets women at every turn in the struggle for existence, does not close the avenues of *this* trade to her. All the restrictions on her honest industry which well-meaning masculine philanthropy can devise, on the theory that she is a grown-up child, do not debar her from *this* calling. The romantic homage of the chivalrous does not shield her from *this* dishonour.

Many influences, no doubt, not directly traceable to masculine domination, tend to swell this evil. Against these the two forces of the human race should be brought to bear in combination, as they have never yet been brought. The single government of man has proved unequal to the task. Till woman has an equal or something more like an equal share in the councils of humanity, till she ceases to be the submissive subject of man, the two will not be brought to agree together on one standard of moral purity for both; and till then, man will not learn to reverence and desire purity, not in the women of one class only, but in all women—and not in woman only, but in himself as well.

In what I have just said I shall have, I am sure, some sort of sympathy and agreement from any who can in noways go along with me as to the proposed radical treatment of social mischiefs. Some of these have set before them a never yet

realized and unrealizable ideal, in which I must once again acknowledge, with all sincerity and respect, a certain refinement, tenderness, and artificial beauty, nay, a kind of generosity gone astray. Such I oppose with regret. These would fain crystallize for all time the whole system of sentimental and sublimated injustice embodied in the chivalry theory. For them woman is always to be a glorified, but well-educated invalid, who is to influence man for his good by her physical imperfections, as much as by her ethereal and intuitive morality and docile affections. She is to guard this physical incapacity as well as her supposed incapability of sharing in the highest national concerns, and her unfitness for any social business beyond the precincts of home, as sacred treasures, because man, it is said, requires this contrast to himself as a moralizing element in his life. In his own particular walk of life, which is apparently to be kept as separate from hers as possible, it would almost seem he may be hard and coarse with a safe conscience because the woman he leaves at home remains soft and delicate.

And so on. To me the whole theory seems a morbid one. One longs to take off these golden chains, open the hothouse doors, and turn the ethereal prisoner into free fresh air, to develop her moral and intellectual muscle and stature at her will. The proposed arrangement consistently carried out, as we know it never has been, and I believe never can be, seems to us much as if we mortals should invite an angel from heaven to cast in his lot with us, to purify our morals and affections by his example and sympathy, to educate our children, and housekeep for us, on condition of strictly acknowledging our absolute authority and his own unalterably subordinate position, renouncing as unangelic all independent action and opinion, all share in deciding those earthly laws under which he is to live amongst us, and promising to *stay at home*, we on our side engaging to pay the obedient angel semi-divine honours, and in general to treat him with every indulgence and consideration. But then, if the angel should not like the bargain, he would at least be free to stay in heaven—whilst woman is here, and has no neutral ground to retire to, pending the negotiation. It seems scarcely fair to take advantage of her necessary presence amongst us, to impose on her conditions more stringent than with absolutely free choice, and full comprehension of the state of the case, she would care to accept.

No, let her have as free play for her natural capacities as man; not necessarily, as I have said before, to do always the same things as man, but to try fairly what she can do, and possibly thus greatly widen the sphere and vary the details of what she ought to do. If *then* she is willing to forego all the new, natural, healthful and

legitimate ambitions and aspirations (as I hold them to be), growing up within her, and lightening even that burden of glorified invalidhood, thought to be her divinely appointed portion (except indeed in the working classes); if, after full and intelligent consideration, she decides she is not fit to share any of the higher responsibilities of citizenship with man; if, after trying what liberty of thought, conscience and action means; if after enjoying a free field for those gifts and faculties which are as various, and as imperatively cry out for exercise in women as in men; if, after learning to look on marriage as the happy alternative to other happy and satisfying occupations—not a social necessity; if after finding her voice in all that concerns the morals and welfare of society, deserving of, and listened to, with as much respect as man's; if after feeling herself a part of the state, not a servant submitting by compulsion to the will of the men in it, whether or no her judgment concurs in theirs; if after experiencing the blessing of having some little control over the laws by which the most sacred concerns of her life are to be governed; if, in one word, after being grown up, and after enjoying the privileges of a free woman, she is willing to become a child once more, and to fall back again into absolute subjection to an irresponsible sex—well and good. But the fair opportunity of choice—of understanding even the nature of the choice—has not yet been given her. If her instincts and characteristics are really as indelible as the “metaphysical” chivalry-theory makes them, then, with all freedom of choice possible, she will of course renounce the new life opening upon her. But we shall see.

For myself I fervently believe that generations of a nobler and freer culture will ennoble and liberate her very bodily frame (as I have before said) into a health, strength and beauty hitherto undreamt of; not transform her into man—why was such a senseless misrepresentation ever dragged in to degrade a serious discussion into burlesque?—but into glorified womanhood. This change, alone, would in time revolutionize the whole race, and man himself would grow to a greatness he denies himself whilst he ignorantly insists on stunting woman. Hitherto nature has always been brought into court as a hostile witness whenever it has been a question of elevating her condition in any one direction. We shall see whether nature, allowed to speak freely, is not *the* irresistibly conclusive witness on woman's side.

I must now add a remark the truth of which is, indeed, obtaining general recognition—viz., that men themselves are often, as might be expected, the victims of the faulty social system of which we complain, and are as unconscious as the

majority of women are of the causes and possible remedy of its evils. Certainly many a hard-worked father who wears out health and spirits in an irksome profession that his daughters may enjoy amusements and luxuries in which he has little share, and to the earning of which they contribute nothing, might well be confounded at finding himself classed amongst the oppressors of women, and the women of his family as victims. Assuredly, it is not these latter whom we pity, except for that melancholy conventionality fostered by false views of woman's position in society which has so long sanctioned such contented idleness in young ladies' lives, and for the possibly bitter regrets of after years. Women, too, have their own class-privileges over other women; they, too, have to be constantly on their guard against a consequent blindness to the claims of others. There are class-abuses, class-difficulties, which it will take the whole united strength of society to sweep away. But of all class-reforms in store for the future we can still conceive of none so vitally important to the whole human race as the emancipation of woman. It will be the beginning of a new world-era, a new revelation, a new religion to man.

Yet one word more. I have still to thank with heart and soul, and in the name of all women who have the same aspirations as myself, those men who for us represent whatever is most truly wise and most truly just in the other sex, who for us, that is, represent man as he will be in the new era. It is they who by their faith in us strengthen all our efforts to deserve it; whose noble sympathy, and patience with the mistakes which women, as well as men, must needs fall into when entering on an untried course, may most worthily be repaid by care to appreciate what is best even in those who as yet oppose our dearest wishes, and, as we think, our highest destinies. Those men whose self-respect and dignity of nature forbid them to fear loss or injury to themselves from the elevation of others so long held to be their inferiors, should, by their willingness to abdicate their old conventional supremacy, inspire a corresponding generosity and a true humility in ourselves.

I will conclude my whole subject with a quotation from the American writer, who having made a successful practical protest, during the late war, against the theory of indelible race-inferiority by the training of a negro regiment, has since generously taken up the case of sex-domination. He thus writes:—

“Thus far my whole argument has been defensive and explanatory. I have shown that woman's inferiority in special achievements, so far as it exists, is a fact of small importance, because it is merely a corollary from her historic position of

degradation. She has not excelled because she has had no fair chance to excel. Man, placing his foot on her shoulder, has taunted her with not rising. But the ulterior question remains behind—How came she into this attitude originally? Explain this explanation, the logician fairly demands. Granted that woman is weak, because she has been systematically degraded; but why was she so degraded? This is a far deeper question—one to be met only by a profounder philosophy and a positive solution. We are coming on ground almost wholly untrod, and must do the best we can.

“I venture to assert, then, that woman’s social inferiority in the past has been to a great extent a legitimate thing. To all appearance history would have been impossible without it, just as it would have been impossible without an epoch of war and slavery. It is simply a matter of social progress—a part of the succession of civilizations. The past has been inevitably a period of ignorance, of engrossing physical necessities, and of brute force—not of freedom, of philanthropy, and of culture. During that lower epoch, woman was necessarily an inferior, degraded by abject labour even in time of peace—degraded uniformly by war, chivalry to the contrary, notwithstanding. . . . The truth simply was, that her time had not come. Physical strength must rule for a time, and she was the weaker . . . and the degradation of woman was simply a part of a system which has indeed had its day, but has bequeathed its associations. . . . The reason, then, for the long subjection of woman has been simply that humanity was passing through its first epoch, and her full career was to be reserved for the second. . . . Woman’s appointed era, like that of the Teutonic races, was delayed but not omitted. It is not merely true that the empire of the past has belonged to man, for it was an empire of the muscles, enlisting, at best, but the lower parts of the understanding. There can be no question that the present epoch is initiating an empire of the higher reason, of arts, affections, aspirations; and for that epoch the genius of woman has been reserved. Till the fulness of time came, woman was necessarily kept a slave to the spinning-wheel and the needle; now higher work is ready; peace has brought invention to her aid, and the mechanical means for her emancipation are ready also.”*

* “Ought Women to learn the Alphabet?” By T. W. Higginson.

W56 19610

W. FORSYTH, ESQ., M.P.

“Four-fifths of the measures which are now before Parliament are such as directly affect women, on which they are entitled to be heard, and on which their opinion would be extremely valuable. When a large number of persons make demands which are not in themselves unreasonable, they ought, as far as possible, to be conceded; and it is impossible to deny the fact that a very large number of women desire to possess the political franchise. Can any hon. member be surprised at the number of women who desire the privilege, or rather as I should say, the right, which it is proposed to confer upon them by this Bill? There are no less than 3,000,000 of women in this country who are earning their bread, either by their brains or their hands, and are entirely self-supporting. In this metropolis alone, there are upwards of 4,000 female employers of labour, all of whom have to exert themselves in business for the purpose of earning their livelihood. I dare say I shall be told that in the society in which hon. members of this House move there is no such desire as that to which I allude; that in the drawing-rooms of London not only is there no opinion in favour of the Bill, but on the contrary, the majority of opinion would be found to be in opposition to it. I entreat the House not to be led away by any statement of this kind. It is not those who are nursed in the lap of wealth, who live in luxurious drawing-rooms, who are protected by fathers, husbands, brothers, and sons, who feel the pinching necessity of the case. I care not for the minions of fortune and those who are sheltered from the storms of adversity by the possession of rich and happy homes, but I plead for the tens of thousands of women who, unsheltered by marriage, are obliged to fight the hard battle of life for themselves.”—*Speech in the House of Commons, April 7th, 1875.*

W15617622

RIGHT HON.

JAS. STANSFELD, M.P.

“The object of the Bill and of its promoters is definite and clear. They do not introduce a measure which is to be a stepping stone to anything else, but they seek to confer the franchise upon a portion of a sex which they believe would be virtually and effectually represented under this Bill. I believe it to be untrue that it will be no satisfaction to the claims which women make, because its practical result will be to lead the Legislature to the study of the subjects that interest women especially, and lastly, I submit the Bill to the House on the ground that it is a corollary of the principle and object of the legislation of 1867, and that it will make household suffrage a fact as well as a name. It will confer the franchise on the head of the household, upon the bread-winner, whether a man or a woman; and if the House passes this Bill, there will be a prospect for the first time of getting upon that firm and stable ground and basis which the House sought to arrive at in the legislation of 1867.”—*Speech in the House of Commons, April 7th, 1875.*

15617634

GEO. DIXON, ESQ., M.P.

“There were many thousands of men in England who were in the frequent, if not constant, habit of getting drunk; and there were many thousands of widows in England maintaining their families respectably, and showing examples of self-denial and good moral conduct; yet, though the men alluded to had the vote, it was not allowed to these widows, though possessed of an experience in life which gave value to their opinions. There were many thousands of men who could neither read nor write who had the franchise, while it was denied to women whose education was equal to the highest in the land, and to whom this Bill would have given it. What objection could there be to carrying a simple Bill of this kind? It was said that it would be more difficult to carry liberal measures if women had the franchise; but if the vote were given to the agricultural labourer, it would also be more difficult to carry liberal measures. To give the vote to these men and to women was to give them an educational advantage and a training of far more importance than the question as to the use they might make of it. If woman had the vote certain phases of thought and feeling would be represented which could not be got in any other way, and the broader the basis on which representation rested the safer was it for the country.”—*Public Meeting at St. George's Hall, May 29th, 1875.*

W15632659

J. M. JACKSON, ESQ., M.P., Q.C.

Mr. Jackson said: "This Bill had been discussed as if it were a Bill to confer the franchise on all women. The Bill, however, was simply a Bill to confer upon certain persons who happened to be females that right which they would have if they were men. The only answer which could be made to that demand was that women laboured under some personal disability which unfitted them to exercise the franchise. He contended that experience had proved that they were quite fitted to exercise the franchise, and that this Bill was only another step in that series of legislation by which the middle and the working classes had been admitted to the franchise. He believed that if this franchise were conferred it would be entirely for the good of the community, and that a woman who was able to maintain a household of her own possessed capacities which fitted her for the exercise of political power."—*Speeches in the House of Commons, April 7th, 1875.*

W. H. O'SULLIVAN, ESQ., M.P.

"They allowed women to vote for Poor Law Guardians; they allowed them to vote for municipal councillors, and they allowed them to vote for members of School Boards, yet they refused to allow them to vote for the men who taxed *their* property as well as the property of men, and who made laws to which woman should be subject, though she had no voice in the making of those laws."—*Speech in the House of Commons, April 7th, 1875.*

415632660

MRS. MCLAREN.

“This demand for women’s suffrage is no mere egotistical or aggressive movement on the part of women. It has arisen in the natural order of events. Physical force has ruled for ages. The agitations which have of later years been carried by moral suasion have opened the eyes of women to their just claims to share in the moral government of the world. We have to prevail against the greatest monopoly ever known—the monopoly which men hold over education and political rights. We do not blame them; they have inherited their positions as we have inherited ours; and it is woman’s duty to show that she deserves a higher position by striving to obtain it. In those efforts we have met with the most generous sympathy from men, and although ‘the immemorial usages of mankind’ bind down some minds longer than others in their rusty chains, we know that reason will ultimately overcome prejudice and our cause meet with the same success which has crowned the faith and perseverance of others.’—*Public Meeting in St. George’s Hall, May 29th, 1875.*

MSB 32672

MISS HELEN TAYLOR.

“As the level of ambition and of intelligence rises among men; as men get the time to care and think about politics more than they used to do, so do the women. As the breath of political liberty stirs among the nation, it touches the women too with something of its glow. As a sense of justice,—as the noble ambition to do, to be, to live and to dare,—thrills through a people, it awakes an answering chord from the depths of the women’s hearts; as a possibility of a freer and larger and higher life is opened out in the future, thank God, for men, the women too begin to turn their eyes to that land of promise in the future, and to hope that they too some day may enter in. In asking, therefore, that the increasing intelligence of Englishmen shall now receive its natural outlet in politics, we are asking only that the course of English history shall not be interrupted; we are asking that our country shall remain in our own days, as in all preceding centuries, the leader of the advanced guard of human freedom; and we ask this certain that, as the freedom of its men, early granted and stedfastly maintained, has, by diffusing light throughout the whole nation, enabled this little country of ours to take its stand among the greatest nations of the world, so the application of these same principles to the other half of its population will, by diffusing fresh vigour into the whole of our political and social life, give to our country a fresh lease of energy and greatness.”—*Speech at Public Meeting in St. Pancras Vestry Hall, May 28th, 1875.*

G15632696

MISS ANNA SWANWICK.

“On the battlefield of life where the powers of evil and of good are arrayed for mortal combat, the forces which are needed are not physical but spiritual forces: not powerful limbs but hearts and brains, and in these women are not deficient. Give them a sound practical education, remove their social and political disabilities, and in their energy, sympathy, conscientiousness and tenderness we shall, I believe, have a reservoir of power which will lift this great nation to a higher level of social and political life. That our claim is founded upon right I have the firmest faith, and consequently that its recognition is only a question of time.” — *Speech at Public Meeting in Hanover Square Rooms, Dec. 9th, 1874.*

W156 32.726

A WORKING WOMAN, MISS WILKINSON.

“The argument, if it may be called by that name, that women would be unsexed, that they would lose that interest in the home circle which they have now, is one that turns against those who use it. How comes it that, after so many years of training under this domestic influence, the interest of women in home matters should rest upon so frail a tenure that the slightest extension of liberty is liable to destroy it? If this is really so, it is time indeed that women should be educated under different auspices. Besides, those who advocate that women should still be kept in this state of dependence are not consistent, for they allow them to pay rates and taxes. As far as these go, women are entitled to the full rights of citizenship; and considering that when women rent a house they are admitted to all the responsibilities of the position, it is really absurd that they should desire to share in its privileges.”—*Public Meeting in St. George's Hall, May 29th, 1875.*

615632775

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.*

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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 :—

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

1873.

	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. R. 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.		EXPENDITURE.		Cr.
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	
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	406	12 0
Postage	22	5 10½	Lectures	73	10 2
Advertisements	104	18 10	Canvassing	358	8 5
Pamphlets, &c.	252	18 2	Printing	363	18 7
Tickets at Public Meetings	11	14 8	Office Furniture, Rent, Gas, Coal, &c.	47	11 3
Lectures	36	17 0	Pamphlets and Publications	9	9 3
Banker's Interest	67	13 6	Deputation Expenses	25	0 0
	1	3 5	Commission on Advertising	17	2 6
			Reporting Debate, &c.	23	10 6
			Agents' Expenses Collecting Subscriptions	21	13 6
			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

November 6th, 1875.

Audited and found correct,

LOUIS BORCHARDT, M.D.

Liabilities	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions, etc., received since the accounts were made up	£381	1	0
Amount owing to the Society	£213	0	0
	30	0	0

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

	£	s.	d.
A Friend ...			
A Lancashire Merchant	100	0	0
An Old Radical	100	0	0
L. M. R.	50	0	0
Sympathiser (for Wigan and Barnley Meetings-)	50	0	0
A Friend in Fife	20	0	0
R. W.	5	0	0
H. S.	2	2	0
J. S. (Liverpool)	2	0	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
Peeress	1	0	0
A Friend (Deansgate)	1	0	0
Cape Cornwall	0	10	6
Anonymous (Kidderminster)	0	10	6
J. A. B.	0	10	0
S. J.	0	10	0
Collected at Mrs. Cronkshaw's (Burnley)	0	10	0
A Friend (Liverpool)	0	5	6
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	5	0
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. (Burnley)	0	2	6
A. W.	0	2	6
J. R.	0	2	0
A Friend	0	2	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	5	0
Alward, Mr. J.	0	4	0
Adams, Mrs. J. B.	0	3	0
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	1	0	0
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	6
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	5	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	1	0
Carlake, 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.	1	0	0
Carlill, Mr. B.	0	10	6
Corbett, Mr. Miller	0	10	6
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	10	0
Copestick, Mr. Thos.	0	7	6
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	5	0
Crosbie, Rev. W.	0	3	0
Cogan, Misses	0	3	0
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	6
Clarke, Mrs.	0	2	0
Crook, Miss (Southport)	0	2	0
Chattaway, Mrs.	0	1	0
Dale, Mr. Thomas	2	0	0
Dewes, Rev. Dr.	1	1	0
Duignan, Mr. W. H.	1	1	0
Dean, Mr. John	1	0	0
De Hersant, Mrs.	1	0	0
Dick, Miss Mary	1	0	0
Dolby, Mr.	1	0	0
Daniell, Mrs.	0	10	6
Dowsing, Mr. Alderman (Hull)	0	10	6
Dyer, Mr. (Grimsby)	0	10	6
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
Erginton, 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.	6	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.	6	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
Harwood, Mr. J. J. (3 years)	3	0	0
Hall, Miss Rose	2	2	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)	9	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	6	5	0
Kipling, 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	1	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	10	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.	6	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	5	0
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	2	6
Lloyd, Mr.	0	1	6
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'Kinneil, 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
Maclelan, 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
Smay, 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
Suteliffe, Mrs. R.	0	5	0
Suteliffe, 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. Renben	0	2	6
Williams, Mr. Jno.	0	2	6
Woodhead, Mrs. (Leeds)	0	2	6
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	2	0
Whital, Mrs. H. A.	0	1	6
Whiteway, Mr. Geo.	0	1	6
Wadsworth, Mr. C.	0	1	0
Wells, Miss A.	0	1	0
Yates, Mrs. R. V.	3	0	0
Yates, Miss	1	0	0
Yeardley, Mr.	0	2	6

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	0	5	0
Mrs. Wm. Smith	1	1	0
Mrs. Barber	0	2	6
Mrs. Leaf	0	10	0
Mr. Henry Harris... ..	0	2	6
Mr. F. Hardcastle... ..	0	5	0
Braim, Mr. Joseph	0	10	6
Jennings, Mr. J.	0	10	6
Taylor, Mr. Wm.	0	10	6
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.

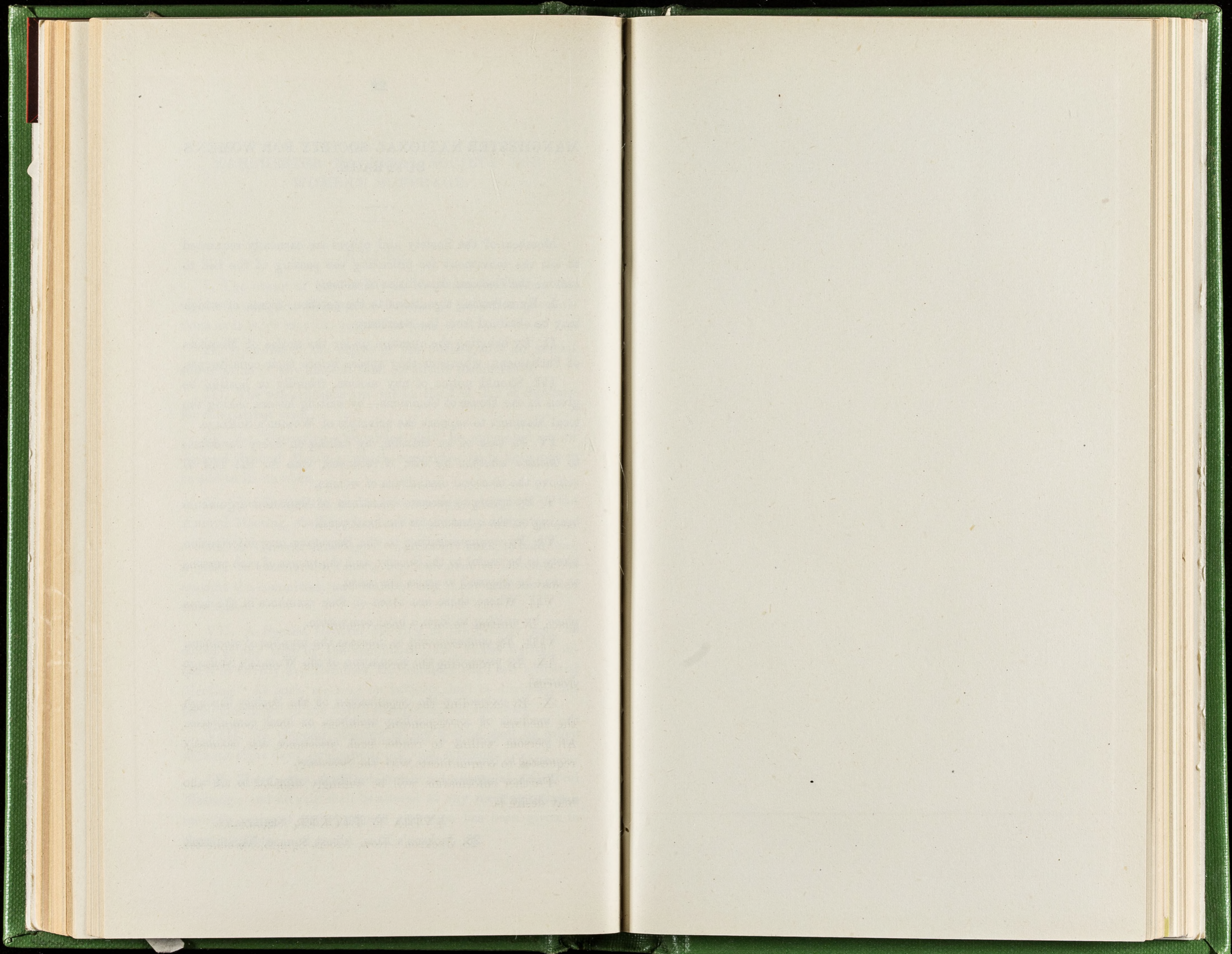
VIII. By endeavouring to increase the number of members.

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

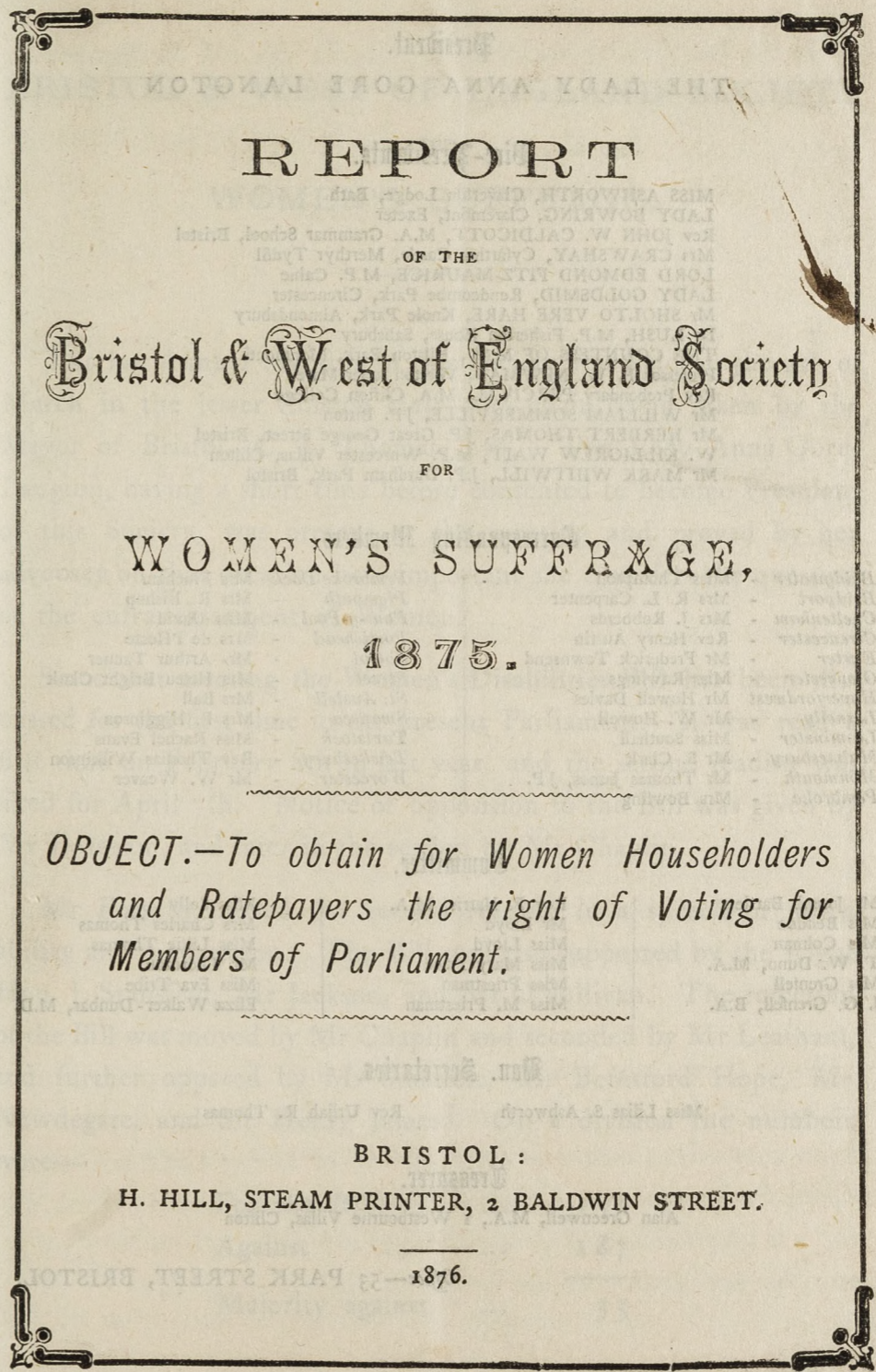
X. By extending the organization of the Society through the medium of corresponding members or local committees. All persons willing to render such assistance are earnestly requested to communicate with the Secretary.

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

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



015632799



REPORT

Bristol & West of England Society

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE,
1875.

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

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

1876.

MDCCLXXVI.

1876



President.
THE LADY ANNA GORE LANGTON

Vice-Presidents.

MISS ASHWORTH, Claverton Lodge, Bath
 LADY BOWRING, Claremont, Exeter
 Rev JOHN W. CALDICOTT, M.A. Grammar School, Bristol
 Mrs CRAWSHAY, Cyfarthfa Castle, Merthyr Tydfil
 LORD EDMOND FITZ-MAURICE, M.P. Calne
 LADY GOLDSMID, Rendcombe Park, Cirencester
 Mr SHOLTO VERE HARE, Knole Park, Almondsbury
 Dr LUSH, M.P. Fisherton House, Salisbury
 THE COUNTESS OF MAR, Hilston Park, Monmouth
 Professor F. W. NEWMAN, Weston super-Mare
 Rev Prebendary PERCIVAL, M.A. Clifton College
 Mr WILLIAM SOMMERVILLE, J.P. Bitton
 Mr HERBERT THOMAS, J.P. Great George Street, Bristol
 W. KILLIGREW WAIT, M.P. Worcester Villas, Clifton
 Mr MARK WHITWILL, J.P. Durdham Park, Bristol

Corresponding Members.

<i>Bridgwater</i> - Miss Thompson	<i>Pembroke Dock</i> - Mrs Fincham
<i>Bridport</i> - Mrs R. L. Carpenter	<i>Plymouth</i> - Mrs R. Bishop
<i>Cheltenham</i> - Mrs J. Robberds	<i>Pont-y-Pool</i> - Miss David
<i>Cirencester</i> - Rev Henry Austin	<i>Portishead</i> - Mrs de l'Hoste
<i>Exeter</i> - Mr Frederick Townsend	<i>Sidcot</i> - Mrs Arthur Tanner
<i>Gloucester</i> - Miss Rawlings	<i>Street</i> - Mrs Helen Bright Clark
<i>Haverfordwest</i> - Mr Howell Davies	<i>St. Austell</i> - Mrs Ball
<i>Ilanelly</i> - Mr W. Howell	<i>Swansea</i> - Mrs E. Higginson
<i>Leominster</i> - Miss Southall	<i>Tavistock</i> - Miss Rachel Evans
<i>Malmesbury</i> - Mr S. Clark	<i>TeWKesbury</i> - Rev Thomas Wilkinson
<i>Monmouth</i> - Mr Thomas James, J.P.	<i>Worcester</i> - Mr W. Weaver
<i>Pembroke</i> - Mrs Bowling	

Committee.

Mr Joseph Bartlett	Rev E. Harris, M.A.	Miss Solly
Mrs Beddoe	Mr Lloyd	Mrs Charles Thomas
Mrs Colman	Miss Lloyd	Miss Lillie Thomas
T. W. Dunn, M.A.	Miss Mary Price	Mr Thornton
Mrs Grenfell	Miss Priestman	Miss Eva Tribe
J. G. Grenfell, B.A.	Miss M. Priestman	Eliza Walker-Dunbar, M.D.

Hon. Secretaries.

Miss Lilius S. Ashworth | Rev Urijah R. Thomas

Treasurer.

Alan Greenwell, M.A., 1 Westbourne Villas, Clifton

Office—53 PARK STREET, BRISTOL.

BRISTOL & WEST OF ENGLAND SOCIETY

FOR
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

THE last Annual Meeting of this Society was held on the 4th of March in the lesser Colston Hall—the chair being taken by the Mayor of Bristol, C. J. Thomas, Esq. The Lady Anna Gore-Langton, having a short time before consented to become President of this Society, was present at the meeting and proved by her advocacy on that occasion how important she considers the question of the enfranchisement of Women.

Since that meeting the Women's Disabilities Bill has been discussed for the first time in the present Parliament. It was read a first time on February 8th in last year, and the second reading was fixed for April 7th. Notice of opposition to the Bill was given by Mr Leatham, and later in the session by Mr Chaplin.

Mr Forsyth moved the second reading in a speech of much ability and moderation. The Bill was also supported by the Right Hon. J. Stansfeld, Mr Jackson, and Mr O'Sullivan. The rejection of the Bill was moved by Mr Chaplin and seconded by Mr Leatham, and further 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

In the last division which took place in the old Parliament in 1873 the numbers were—

For the Bill	...	155
Against	... ..	222
Majority against	...	67

It will thus be seen that the hostile majority has been reduced from Sixty-seven in the old Parliament to Thirty-five in the last division. The number of adverse votes was not diminished through any want of energy on the part of our opponents: a three lined whip signed by both Liberal and Conservative opponents was sent previous to the division to every Member of Parliament, requesting them to be present and vote for the rejection of the Bill. A special whip was also sent out by Mr Newdegate. The result of these strenuous exertions was that 187 Members recorded their votes against the Bill.

During the session of 1875 there were 1273 petitions presented to the House of Commons signed by 415,622 persons in favour of the Women's Disabilities Bill—of these 33 were sent from Bristol and Clifton, signed by 10,474 persons. Through the agency and friends of the Bristol centre 88 petitions were forwarded from the West of England district, signed by 14,038 persons.

Your Committee would strongly urge their friends to continue the work of petitioning Parliament during the present session. It is the only direct means open to women of laying their grievances before Parliament; and your Committee would earnestly ask all who are interested in this question, to aid their efforts by signing petitions and getting others to sign in support of the Bill.

Petition sheets are always to be had on application at the office of the Society, 53 Park Street.

Your Committee report that meetings have been held under their auspices at Swindon, Evesham and Brecon, at all of which resolutions were unanimously adopted in support of the movement.

Through the kindness of Mrs Beddoe and Mrs Tribe two drawing room meetings were held last month at Clifton and Redland, for the discussion of Women's Suffrage. The rooms were crowded, and much interest was manifested. Your Committee desire to express their appreciation of the usefulness of the help thus given, and trust that the example of these ladies will be followed not only in Bristol but in other West of England towns.

During the visit of the British Association to Bristol in August, a paper was contributed by Miss Priestman on "The Industrial Position of Women as affected by their exclusion from the Suffrage." Your Committee record with much satisfaction the acceptance by the British Association of a paper on this question. It was printed nearly in full in the October number of the Women's Suffrage Journal.

Your Committee have to mourn the loss they have sustained by the death of the Rev David Thomas, B.A. and Lord Amberley, both of whom were Vice-Presidents of this Society. In widely differing spheres, but each with conspicuous ability and extensive influence, they both contributed largely to the advanced position that our question now occupies in the West of England. The Rev William James of this city, who was from the beginning one of the most steadfast, earnest and eloquent of our supporters, and

who has seldom been absent from our annual meetings, also died during this year. And in lamenting the death of their Secretary, Miss Luke, the Committee would take the opportunity of testifying to the faithfulness, zeal and ability, with which she served your interests as long as her health permitted her.

Your Committee continue to send copies of the Women's Suffrage Journal to Members of Parliament within their district, and also to the Editors of all Newspapers throughout the West of England and South Wales.

The date of the second reading of the Women's Disabilities Bill is fixed for April 26th. It is of the utmost importance that every Member of Parliament should hear directly from his constituents of their interest in the Bill.

The Committee therefore earnestly beg that their subscribers throughout this district will, by means of Memorials and Petitions and by private appeals to Members of Parliament, urge them to be present, and to record their votes in favor of the Bill when it is brought forward for second reading on April 26th.

Dr. Treasurer in Account with the Bristol & West of England Society for Women's Suffrage for 1875. Cr.

Balance in hand of Treasurer last year	£3 17 3	Public Meetings in Bristol and West of England	..	£114 12 7
Subscriptions and Donations	.. 438 6 8	Petitions	..	52 2 3
Sale of Tickets at public meetings	5 14 0	Salaries and Office Expenditure	..	165 7 2
Sale of Journals, &c	.. 2 12 8	Printing	..	34 3 2
Balance due to Treasurer	.. 4 4 9	Publications	..	38 13 5
		Rent of Office	..	25 0 0
		Postage and Stationery	..	24 16 9
				<hr/>
				£454 15 4

February 11th, 1876 - Audited and found correct,
WILBERFORCE TRIBE.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS

FOR THE YEAR 1875.

Mr Thomas Adams ..	£0 5 0	Mr J. Buckley ..	£0 10 0
Mrs Adams ..	0 2 0	Miss Budden ..	0 5 0
Mr Akery ..	0 1 0	Mrs W. H. Budgett ..	0 5 0
Viscount Amberley ..	1 0 0	Mr Bunce ..	0 2 6
Mr and Mrs Andrews ..	0 2 0	C. T. ..	20 0 0
Miss Julia Anthony ..	0 5 0	Rev J. W. Caldicott ..	0 5 0
Mr G. T. Armstrong ..	2 2 0	Miss Calmady ..	0 5 0
Miss Ashworth ..	100 0 0	Mrs Russell Carpenter ..	1 0 0
Miss L. S. Ashworth ..	50 0 0	Ditto (donation) ..	1 0 0
Mrs Atkinson ..	0 5 0	Miss Carpenter ..	0 10 0
Mrs Austin ..	0 5 0	Mrs W. L. Carpenter ..	0 5 0
Mr J. A. Baines ..	1 0 0	Mrs Carslake ..	1 0 0
Mrs J. A. Baines ..	1 0 0	Mr J. H. B. Carslake ..	0 5 0
Mr W. Mills Baker ..	1 1 0	Mrs Chappell ..	0 10 0
Ditto (donation) ..	5 0 0	Mr Joseph Chapman ..	0 2 6
Mr J. Gilmore Barnett ..	0 10 0	Mr Chirgwin ..	0 2 6
Mr Bartlett ..	0 10 6	Mrs W. B. Clark ..	1 1 0
Mrs Bartlett ..	0 10 6	Mr S. Clarke ..	0 2 6
Mr John Batchelor ..	0 5 0	Mrs Coates ..	1 1 0
Bath Committee for		Mrs W. Colfox (donation)	0 10 0
Somerset work ..	10 0 0	Mr Colman ..	0 5 0
Mr and Mrs Bayliffe ..	0 2 0	Mr W. F. Collier ..	0 10 6
Mr J. Beer ..	1 0 0	Mrs W. F. Collier ..	0 10 6
Mrs Beddoe ..	0 10 0	Mr R. Corey, Jun. ..	1 0 0
Mr George Bessell ..	0 2 6	Mr John Corey ..	1 0 0
Mr Thomas Beynon ..	1 1 0	Mr Handel Cossham ..	2 2 0
Mr John Bill ..	0 10 0	Mr Cotterell ..	0 2 6
Mrs Bishop ..	0 2 0	Miss Courtauld ..	1 1 0
Mrs Black ..	0 10 6	Mrs Curnock ..	0 1 0
Mrs Bond ..	0 2 6	Mr Dakyns ..	0 1 0
Mrs Boucher ..	0 2 6	Miss Dance ..	0 2 0
Miss Bowling ..	0 5 0	Mr J. L. Daniell ..	0 5 6
Lady Bowring ..	0 10 0	Mrs Davies ..	0 2 0
Mr Edward Branth ..	0 5 0	Mr H. Davies ..	0 5 6
Mr Thomas Brewin ..	0 5 0	Rev T. Davies ..	0 1 0
Mr William Brewin ..	0 5 0	Mr Downing ..	0 5 0
Miss M. J. Briggs ..	1 1 0	Dr Walker-Dunbar ..	0 10 0
Mrs Jacob Bright (don.)	50 0 0	Mr T. W. Dunn ..	1 1 0
Miss E. Brock ..	0 5 0	Mr F. Dyer ..	0 1 0
Rev J. J. Brown ..	0 2 6	Mrs F. Dyer ..	0 1 0
Mrs S. W. Browne ..	1 0 0	Miss Ellaby ..	0 10 0
Rev T. E. Brown, M.A.	0 10 0	Miss Estlin ..	5 0 0
Miss Bryant ..	0 2 6	Etonensis ..	1 1 0

Mrs Evans ..	£0 10 0	Mr C. H. James ..	£1 0 0
Miss Rachel Evans ..	0 6 6	Mr F. James ..	0 10 6
F. B. per M. C. ..	1 0 0	Mrs James ..	0 10 0
Mrs Fardon ..	0 2 6	Rev W. James ..	0 5 0
Dr Farrar ..	0 5 0	Mr Jennings ..	0 5 0
Mrs Field ..	0 5 0	Mrs Elias Jones ..	0 10 6
Miss Fitzherbert ..	0 5 0	Miss Jones ..	0 5 0
Mr Ford ..	0 5 0	Lady Anna Gore-Langton	20 0 0
Mr W. H. Frank ..	0 2 6	Ditto (donation) ..	20 0 0
Mrs Frazer ..	0 5 0	Mrs Langdon ..	0 1 0
A Friend ..	20 0 0	Mr H. F. Lawes ..	0 10 0
A Friend ..	3 0 0	Mrs Layton ..	1 0 0
A Friend ..	0 10 0	Miss Leedham ..	0 5 0
Mr T. Gath ..	0 5 0	Miss Leonard ..	1 0 0
Mr Gawler ..	0 1 6	Miss F. Leonard ..	0 5 0
Mrs Geary ..	0 2 6	Miss E. Leonard ..	0 5 0
Miss Le Geyt ..	0 2 0	Mr G. H. Leonard ..	1 1 0
Miss Gibson ..	0 5 0	Mr W. A. Leonard ..	0 5 0
Miss M. Gibson ..	0 5 0	Mr Lloyd ..	0 5 0
Mr Glover ..	0 2 0	Miss Lloyd ..	0 5 0
Mr Greenwell ..	0 5 0	Mr John Lucas ..	1 1 0
Mrs E. F. Grenfell ..	0 2 6	Miss Luke ..	0 5 0
Mr J. G. Grenfell ..	1 1 0	Miss Lutley ..	0 2 6
Mrs J. G. Grenfell ..	1 0 0	Dr Edward Lynes ..	0 5 0
Mrs Griffith ..	1 0 0	M. ..	0 13 8
Mrs Goss ..	0 5 0	Dr Macgowan ..	0 10 6
Miss Hall ..	0 10 0	Miss Malin ..	0 10 0
H. S. (Mrs Holroyd) ..	5 0 0	Madam H. de Manin ..	0 5 0
Mr Hamilton ..	0 5 0	The Misses Marriott ..	0 10 0
Mrs Hamilton ..	0 5 0	Dr Martyn ..	0 5 0
Mr Hancock ..	0 10 0	The Mayor of Penzance	0 2 6
Mr Sholto Vere Hare ..	1 1 0	Miss J. E. Metford ..	1 0 0
Rev W. Hargreaves ..	0 5 0	Mrs Miller ..	0 7 6
Rev E. Harris ..	1 1 0	Mr Mitchell ..	0 2 0
Mrs Harris ..	0 2 0	Mrs Neild ..	0 5 0
Rev B. Hartnell ..	0 5 0	Professor Newman ..	5 0 0
Rev — Hedgeland (don.)	0 2 0	Mrs Norris ..	1 0 0
Mr A. Hellyar ..	0 5 0	Mr J. F. Norris ..	0 5 0
Mr Herbert ..	0 1 0	Mrs J. F. Norris ..	0 5 0
Mrs Higginson ..	0 10 0	Rev A Norris ..	0 1 0
Miss Higginson ..	0 5 0	Mrs Olive ..	0 10 0
Miss F. M. Hill ..	1 1 0	Mr Pakeman ..	0 1 0
Mr Hill ..	0 10 0	Miss Parnall ..	0 5 0
Miss Hincks ..	0 5 0	Mrs Peck ..	0 10 0
Mrs Holroyd ..	1 0 0	Rev Prebendary Percival, D.D.	0 10 0
Mr S. Home ..	0 7 6	Rev — Peters ..	0 2 6
Mrs de l'Foste ..	0 10 0	Miss L. F. March-Phillips	0 5 0
Miss Howell ..	0 2 0	Mrs Phillips ..	0 10 0
Mr Hunt ..	0 2 6	Mrs Pierce ..	0 2 6
Mr Hutchinson ..	0 5 0	Miss Pigou ..	0 2 6
Mr Jacques ..	0 5 0	Mr A. Pole ..	0 5 0
Mrs Jacques ..	0 5 0	Mrs Price ..	1 0 0

Miss Mary Price ..	£1 1 0	Mrs Charles Thomas ..	£5 0 0
Miss M. N. Price ..	1 0 0	Mr Herbert Thomas ..	2 2 0
Miss Price ..	0 10 0	Mr C. J. Thomas (don.)	1 1 0
Mr Alfred Price ..	0 10 0	Miss Thomas ..	1 0 0
Mrs N. Price ..	0 6 6	Mrs W. H. Thomas ..	1 0 0
Mr Peter Price ..	0 5 0	Mrs Thomas Thomas ..	1 1 0
The Misses Priestman ..	1 1 0	Rev U. R. Thomas ..	1 1 0
Miss Schaw Protheroe ..	1 0 0	Rev J. S. Thomas ..	0 5 0
Mrs Reader ..	0 2 6	Miss G. Thomas ..	0 5 0
Mrs Reid ..	0 5 0	Mr G. Thomas ..	0 2 6
Mrs Rendall ..	0 5 0	Mrs F. J. Thompson ..	0 10 0
Mrs Reynolds ..	0 5 0	Mrs Alexander Thompson	0 5 0
Mrs Robberds ..	1 0 0	Mrs Thompson ..	0 2 0
Mr R. D. Robjert ..	0 10 0	Miss Evelyn Thompson	0 3 0
Mr Rogers ..	0 5 0	Miss Ella Thompson ..	0 3 0
Rev T. G. Rooke ..	0 2 6	Miss Thompson ..	0 2 6
Mrs Roscoe ..	0 5 0	Mrs W. Thompson ..	0 2 6
Mr Rosser ..	0 5 0	Mr Thornton ..	0 5 0
Mr C. Sankey ..	0 5 0	Mrs Thorp ..	0 2 0
Mrs M. M. Seaton ..	0 2 6	Miss Tribe ..	1 1 0
Mrs Shipley ..	0 10 0	Mr W. Tribe ..	0 10 6
Mrs Sibley ..	0 10 0	Mr Tucker ..	0 5 0
Ditto (donation) ..	0 10 0	Miss J. Venning ..	0 5 0
Mrs Smith ..	1 0 0	Miss Wansey ..	0 5 0
Mrs Julius Smith ..	0 5 0	Mrs Warren ..	0 11 6
Mr Henry Smith ..	0 5 0	Mr Waterman ..	0 5 0
Mrs Spencer ..	0 5 0	Mr W. Weaver (donation)	0 5 0
Miss G. Stephens ..	0 5 0	Mr Wedmore ..	0 10 0
Mrs Stone ..	0 3 0	Mr Weir ..	0 5 0
Mr F. Storr ..	0 5 0	Mrs Whereat ..	0 5 0
Mrs W. Sturge ..	0 2 6	Mr Mark Whitwill ..	1 0 0
Mr Solomon ..	0 5 0	Rev T. Wilkinson ..	0 5 0
Mr Sommerville ..	4 0 0	Miss Williams ..	5 5 0
The Misses Southall ..	0 10 0	Mr Williams (donation)	0 2 0
Rev T. Burchell Spring	0 10 0	Mr Willis ..	0 5 0
Mrs P. Suhle ..	0 7 0	A Friend ..	0 5 0
T. W. ..	0 12 0	Mrs T. Wood ..	0 5 0
Mr C. W. Tait ..	0 10 0		
Mrs A. Tanner ..	1 1 0		
Miss Taylor ..	0 5 0		
			£438 6 8

RULES.

- I. Annual Subscribers of any amount will be enrolled as Members, and entitled to receive papers or tracts of the Society on application.
- II. The Executive Committee shall consist of Members to be elected at the Annual General Meeting, with power to add to their number.
- III. That five Members of the Executive Committee shall form a quorum.
- IV. The Executive Committee shall at its first meeting elect the Officers.

W 15632805



WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

Eighth Annual Meeting

OF THE

EDINBURGH NATIONAL SOCIETY

FOR

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE,

Held in the Hall of the Literary Institute, South Clerk Street,

15th February

1876.

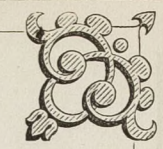
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EDINBURGH : PRINTED BY JOHN GREIG & SON.

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EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

MRS M'LAREN, Newington House, PRESIDENT.

Miss BURTON, Liberton Bank.

Miss CALDWELL, 2 Victoria Terrace, Portobello.

Miss CAMERON.

Miss CRAIG, 6 Carlton Street.

Mrs CRUDELIUS, 14 Inverleith Terrace.

Mrs FERGUSON HOME of Bassendean.

Miss HUNTER, 5 Great Stuart Street.

Miss M. HUNTER, 5 Great Stuart Street.

Mrs LOW, 30 Minto Street.

Mrs MASSON, 10 Regent Terrace.

Mrs M'QUEEN of Braxfield.

Mrs NICHOL, Huntly Lodge.

Mrs ORD of Muirhouselaw.

Mrs ROBERTSON, 25 Blacket Place.

Miss SIMPSON, Portobello.

Miss RAMSAY SMITH, 3 Bruntsfield Crescent.

Miss E. STEVENSON, 13 Randolph Crescent.

Mrs WELLSTOOD, 14 Duncan Street.

Mrs WIGHAM, 5 South Gray Street.

MISS A. CRAIG, 6 Carlton Street, TREASURER.

MISS WIGHAM, 5 South Gray Street,

MISS AGNES M'LAREN, Newington House, } SECRETARIES.

MISS E. KIRKLAND, 13 Raeburn Place, }

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

EDINBURGH NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

ANNUAL MEETING.

THE Annual Meeting of the Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage was held in the Literary Institute, on 15th February 1876. There was a large attendance. Amongst others present were—Professor Masson, Professor Hodgson, Mr Macfie of Dreghorn, Councillor Wellstood, Councillor Durham, Ex-Bailie Lewis, the Rev. Mr Seton, Ex-Councillor Robertson, Mr Duncan M'Laren, jun., Mrs Duncan M'Laren, Miss Becker, Manchester; Miss Beedy, Miss Wigham, Mrs Wellstood, Misses Stevenson, Mrs Macqueen, Miss Craig, Miss Caldwell, Mrs and Miss Hope of Bordlands, Mrs Nichol, Mrs Masson, Mrs Lucas, Mrs Hodgson, Mrs Richardson, and Miss E. Kirkland.

On the motion of Councillor DURHAM, Professor Masson was called to the chair.

The CHAIRMAN, who was received with applause, said—It is not for me, in the place to which you have done me the honour to call me, to argue the question at large. That naturally will be left to the proposers and seconders of the resolutions. It falls to me rather to bring before you in a general way the question, its history and its present state. The exact question is this:—We live now, as regards Parliamentary suffrage, under the Act passed in the year 1867. By that Act it was settled that the Parliamentary suffrage should be vested in certain persons, defined by a kind of property qualification—householders and ratepayers—very distinctly defined, though with some differences between the burghs and the counties. That is the Act we live under as regards voting for Members of Parliament. But the operation of that Act is peculiar in this way, that, whenever a woman comes into the very definite position of a voter, as settled by the Act, then, though she is qualified in all other respects, simply because she is a woman, she cannot exercise the franchise. (Applause.) However wealthy she may be, however hard-working and respected, however cultivated, however well-known among her neighbours for sense, judiciousness, and prudence, she must be passed over, and the vote goes on to the next man, although he should be in all moral and

intellectual respects her direct opposite. Now, it is thought that this is wrong—that those persons who are excluded from the power to vote on this mere account that they are women should be brought into the constituency. It is not very easy to say definitely what addition that would make to the present entire constituency of Great Britain, because in various burghs and in various districts the proportion of the excluded varies—in some the women householders being more numerous than in others. But the conclusion is that about 300,000 persons would be added to the voting constituency of Great Britain. As things are, very curious consequences arise. For example, I have read this statement—and I have no doubt as to its accuracy—that in one English town some years ago, in consequence of bribery and corrupt voting in the town, there was a Bribery Commission appointed to inquire into the facts and circumstances. The result was that to pay for the expenses of this there was imposed a rate of three shillings per pound on the rental of householders in that town. Now, here the curious contradiction came out. The Act of 1867, when it came to be a question of voting, did not allow the favourable construction—did not regard women-householders as coming into the definition of persons entitled to vote. But, when it came to be the question who should pay the rate imposed to pay the expense brought about by corrupt voting, it was held that those very excluded women-householders strictly came within the definition of those who had to pay—(Hear, hear)—that is to say, women who were debarred from voting, who were thought not fit to vote, had to pay for the corruption of the men voters. (Applause.) I define the question thus, because I wish it to be understood that our question is not the question whether all women whatsoever should vote. It is only the question whether those who are in the circumstances, in the precise position, settled by the Act, and who happen to be women, should be excluded on that account. It is not the proposition that all women—married women, and so on—shall come in for the right to vote. It is sometimes objected that it is not logical not to go on to that. But it is strictly logical; because, you will observe, we are not striving for a revolution, for a change in the whole system of voting: we are accepting the present system, and only requiring that women shall have the full benefit of that system. (Applause.) It may be that some time or other there may be a question originated otherwise about the present franchise system altogether; and, if ever it comes to be a question of personal voting, and not voting on property or ratepaying, then a larger question as regards women may become proper. But we at present are perfectly logical and practical in restricting ourselves to what I have now stated to you. With regard to the recent history of the question, here are a few facts:—The question became a practical one only, I may say, in 1867—about the time of the passing of that Act. There were speculations on the subject before; but the great increase of the voting constituency

of the country brought about by that Act made it then a very practical question. Now, the question since 1867 has been growing and gaining ground on our side. In that year the petitions in favour of what we ask contained 13,000 signatures. In the next year—1868—there were 50,000 petitioners. In 1870 the number rose to 109,000; in 1872 to 350,000; and last year—in 1875—to 415,000. (Applause.) The same growth is represented in the votes in the House. In 1867, 75 in the House signified themselves to be in favour of giving women householders votes. In 1870, in a House of 215, 124 voted in favour of women—winning by a majority of 33. But that vote was quashed afterwards in committee. The House since then, whenever the question has come up, has been larger. Thus, in 1873 there were 411 present in the House, and the division was 172 for, to 239 against; that is, our cause lost by 67. Last session 375 were present, and the division was 170 for, to 205 against: that is, our cause lost by 35—the Scottish members in the cause being equally divided—22 to 22; and I believe all over—counting those absent as well as those present on that occasion—the vote is about equally balanced there. But the fact that so many Scottish Town Councils—including the Town Council of Edinburgh—have petitioned in favour gives a preponderance to our side. Then, it has come out curiously in these votes all along that we have supporters eminent on both sides of the present political world. The recent chief of the question on our side of the House was Mr Jacob Bright—(Cheers and hisses)—a most unflinching and zealous advocate of our cause, and a distinguished member of the Liberal party. The present leader and representative of this cause in the House is Mr Forsyth, a thoughtful and eminent member of the Conservative party. (Cheers and hisses.) It so chances, also, that, while we can name among late Cabinet Ministers of the Liberal side Mr Stansfeld as one who has voted in our favour on several occasions, we can name among eminent Conservatives who have voted in our favour, the present Prime Minister, Mr Disraeli (cheers and hisses), Lord John Manners, Sir Stafford Northcote, and also, I am glad to add—and it is not the only case in which we have had to admire his wisdom and thoughtfulness—the chief, as you may say, of Scottish Conservatism, the Lord Advocate. (Cheers.) Then, again, there has been recently the fact that the votes of women have been admitted in School Board elections, and that the results have been entirely in favour of the extension of the vote to other subjects; also, that in the Municipalities in England women exercise a vote, though not in the Municipalities of Scotland yet. Also, by the Ballot Act, the act of voting has been made a much more human, easy, and quiet thing than before. Parties, however, are so nearly balanced on the question that it comes back to the public in meetings like the present. We know that there is a very definite opposition, and we know on what that opposition has come to found itself—on a certain notion of women and their possibilities and powers—a very extraordinary notion, expressed again and

again in various forms, sometimes in the form of great adoration, and sometimes in the form of ridicule and contempt. In that notion there is a curious contrariety between theory and fact. The theory is that all women are supported and maintained by men, and so that they stand aside and occupy a peculiar ground by themselves where they are to be protected and worshipped. The fact is that between three and four millions of women, in spite of all this, are at present working for their daily bread in this country—working in all varieties of ways, and some of them very hard and very trying. The theory is that men are arranged on one side of a room and women on the other; that the men know about politics and take an interest in them, and that the women do not, and have no concern in public affairs. The fact is that the sexes are intermingled all through wherever you choose to look, engaged in the same or similiar occupations, and that the women do care about most things as much as the men. Now, as to the indifference and apathy on the subject. These arise from various causes. Partly it is from the common feeling, Why should people trouble themselves about politics? The view is as if politics were a kind of dabbling in the mire; which is a very low and insufficient view of politics. Politics means all that is going on; and, though people need not engage in all questions, yet, any person who does not know what is going on, and choose things to like and to dislike, is not acting up to the full privilege of a citizen or human being. (Applause.) I have great faith that those who are apathetic, when they look into the question, will gradually yield to the force of argument; and I may just ask those among women who are apathetic or indifferent, or partly opposed at present, whether it may not turn out to be a blunder in households to train up sons to professions and definite capabilities of self-exercise and self-support, and to all that interest in things around them which consorts with the same, and, on the other hand, unless there is superabundant wealth to make up the defect, to train up daughters on a totally different principle. Then, if ladies say for other ladies that they should not interest themselves in politics, let them consider this, that any lady who professes the opinion that the vote ought not to be given to her own sex is in that act a very definite politician, and that any lady who publicly expresses that opinion in a way to act on the public mind is doing a very strong political act indeed. (Applause.) Without detaining you longer, and without going into the argument on the question in a minute way, I may say that we hold this to be an important and pressing question, because we think that it is wrong that many burdens should be imposed on women without their having any voice in the decision whether they should be imposed; because we think it wrong that in a great many questions of legislation affecting the daily lives and interests of women, women themselves should not be consulted; and because we see that at present there is a demand and new scope for the energies of women and for the development of their powers in all directions. In this last connection I note

at present a resisting and even a hurling-back agency, which will not be thoroughly removed till in some constituency some conspicuous opponent of the rights of women shall be turned out visibly by the influence of women, and the representatives of other constituencies shall look on and learn the lesson. We think ours a pressing and important question, also, because we believe that general politics should be elevated, and that there will be no loss but gain from having the ideas and views of women on all general matters; and we think it a particularly pressing question at this time, when the proposal is to enfranchise the whole population of the agricultural labourers. Without pronouncing any opinion on that question, for or against, on its own merits, we hold that there is a positive danger for women if it is carried, unless our suffrage is carried with it. We foresee, in fact, that there is a danger that the interests of women will suffer and be trampled down under this vast coming enlargement of the pell-mell of merely masculine feet. (Applause.) Professor Masson concluded by calling on Miss Wigham to read the Report.

Miss WIGHAM then read the Report, as follows:—

“Another year has passed over since we presented our Report of proceedings to our friends and subscribers, and we are still working vigorously as a society, the object of our organisation not yet being attained; but though not fully accomplished, we cannot but note with satisfaction, in addition to the increasing importance attached to the yearly presentation of our claim before the House of Commons, many tokens of direct progress, and of success in collateral efforts for the enfranchisement of women.

“The work of petitioning has, of course, occupied much of our attention, and we have found the holding of drawing-room meetings, and other small meetings, very efficacious in influencing public opinion in fresh circles. We have held many such meetings in the past year, and have circulated much information throughout the country by various channels.

“Since we first met in November 1867 to form an Edinburgh Society for the Promotion of Women’s Suffrage, and to unite with others in petitioning Parliament, about two millions of signatures have been appended to petitions in favour of the measure introduced successively into the House of Commons by Mr John Stuart Mill, by Mr Jacob Bright, and last year by Mr Forsyth, Q.C.; and in this large number Scotland has been represented in her full proportion. The last year we sent to Parliament in support of Mr Forsyth’s bill 260 petitions, signed by 49,400 names. 200 of these petitions were general ones, from various places, 16 were from Town Councils, 12 from Good Templar lodges, and 32 from householders. The general signatures from Edinburgh alone amounted to 16,678. All these names and efforts, uniting with those from England, had doubtless their influence on the House of Commons; but they did not quite carry out their object, for while 170 members voted for us in the division of 7th April 1875, 205 voted against us; but though still in the minority, the number of our supporters is increasing, and we confidently hope that before long the minority will become a majority. And we are encouraged to press on by the fact

that the Prime Minister and many prominent members of his Government voted in our favour, besides the usual distinguished support from the Liberal side of the House. The debate on the second reading was, as usual, an animated one; and we would express our thanks to the mover of the bill, as well as to all who spoke in favour of it, and to the members who voted for it, and in this number we would especially include our own Scotch members. A large meeting was convened by ladies on the 10th of April, in St George's Hall, London, for the purpose of criticising the speeches of our opponents in the debate. It was conducted with great talent and power, ladies from Scotland and Ireland taking a part along with those of England. That the importance of this meeting was recognised is seen in the fact that the London *Observer* published all the speeches in full, and a copy was sent to every member of Parliament. It was not difficult to answer arguments based upon custom rather than justice, and especially was the illogical speech of Mr Leatham, the member for Huddersfield, well replied to, since he had hoped a certain brilliancy of style might hide his deficient logic. And again, a meeting was held in the largest hall in Huddersfield, crowded by his own constituents, addressed by ladies, in which his own position with regard to women's suffrage was condemned, and by a unanimous and enthusiastic vote Mr Leatham was requested not only to present a petition in favour of women's suffrage in the present Parliament, but to support it.

"We may be allowed here to allude to a few collateral tokens of progress. The ladies on the School Boards maintain their place of prominence and acknowledged usefulness. Women vote intelligently in England at the municipal elections; and an advance is being now made towards the recognition of the importance of securing for women a qualifying medical education. The Royal College of Surgeons of England and the Governors of the Queen's Hospital at Birmingham have opened their doors for the education of women; and the Convocation of the University of London, preparing for a new charter, have passed a vote that 'no charter would be acceptable which did not provide for the granting of degrees to women, and that such degrees were not to be confined to the Faculty of Arts.

"It is no matter of surprise that women should appear on public platforms, not only to plead their own right to the electoral franchise, but to advance their views on education and other matters bearing on the welfare of their own sex and that of society in general. And thus the public mind is being educated, the nation is being aroused to a sense of the waste and loss there is in neglecting to accept the half of the intelligence and thought of the British people. And women themselves are being educated to the importance of their position in the body politic as well as domestic, finding that their influence in the latter relation is only enhanced by their intelligent interest in the former.

"We have heard the voice from the agricultural labourers claiming direct representation. We sympathise, of course, in their cry, which doubtless ought to be heard, but we would submit that a voice from a far larger section of the community, and one more educated, has for a much longer period been heard, and as yet in vain, and we conceive that the appeal of the right hon. member for Birmingham is quite as applicable to women as to the agricultural labourers, when he exclaims, 'Well, then, give to the people who are now excluded that freedom which the Constitution has given to you . . . and you will invite them with a cordial hand, you will receive them, you will invite them to partake of that sublime justice which injures no one, but is rich in blessings, and benefits all who are permitted to share it.'" (Applause.)

After reading the Report, Miss WIGHAM submitted an abstract of the income and expenditure of the association for the year.

Professor HODGSON moved the adoption of the Report and reappointment of the Committee, and stated that instead of saying anything in support of the motion, he would allow the meeting to have the opportunity of hearing Miss Becker and Miss Beedy.

Miss BECKER, who was received with cheers, stated that, as the meeting had distinctly heard, their object was not universal women suffrage. In fact, they were asking, not that any law should be given extending the suffrage to women as women, but that the disability should be removed that prevents persons, otherwise legally qualified, from voting because they happen to be women. During one of his speeches, Mr Disraeli said of the Reform Bill of 1867 that the House of Commons gave the franchise, and intended to give it, to every householder rated for the relief of the poor. Some time after he had made that statement, Mr Disraeli paid a visit to Manchester. He was driving with an alderman of that city, who pointed out to him a row of twenty houses, and the alderman said, "There is a defect in your Reform Bill." "How is that?" said Mr Disraeli. The alderman replied, "Sixteen of these houses have votes under your Bill; four of them are disfranchised because they are occupied by women." "That," said Mr Disraeli, "is a defect in the bill;" and he added, "it is a defect which shall be remedied at the next opportunity." Now they wished to make the opportunity for Mr Disraeli and for Parliament to remedy that defect; and they were going to ask this meeting to help them in their endeavour. . . . In England very considerable advance has been made on this question. By having a bill year by year before the House of Commons, they were accustoming people to the idea of giving votes to women householders. Then, again, by the Municipal Franchise Bill of 1869, people were familiar with the spectacle of women year by year going to the polls and recording their votes for town councillors; and the municipal elections in England were becoming year by year more distinctly political contests. People put up a candidate for the town council, not because they thought he understood about paving, lighting, and watching the town, but because he was a Liberal or Conservative, and because the wire-pullers of either party desired to exercise their troops in the municipal elections partly that they might measure their strength, and partly that they might keep their hands in. Therefore, women were every year in England drawn into these political elections. That morning she had the pleasure of reading an article in the *Edinburgh Courant*—a very able and thoughtful article—on the various aspects of the question. Women must expect to see the question treated with a certain kind of half serious banter, as if the writer were not quite sure that the dignity of his sex or the gravity of his occupation permitted him to

interfere with anything so light and trivial as women's affairs. But throughout this banter there were serious lessons to be learned, and much good sense conveyed, which she hoped would be appreciated by the people of Edinburgh. (Cheers.) The writer said, she thought very truly, that the active opposition to their cause was numerically small; that the active promoters of the cause were numerically small; and that the mass of mankind lay doubtful or neutral on the question. This neutrality proceeded partly from ignorance, and partly from really never having considered the matter. It was the business of their Society to trench upon that neutral ground, to occupy it more and more, and send out their advance posts in every direction, to find out whenever they could, opportunities of enforcing their views, and presenting them to the minds of thoughtful and impartial people; and if they did that industriously, they did not doubt that in time they would occupy this neutral ground. But the writer said, "Mr Forsyth's clients, with all their wit and ability, have not yet attained the level of political self-help; they have not proved that many women would vote if the franchise were given to them." It was difficult to attain political self-help on the part of a class expected to help themselves politically, whilst they were deprived of the only political weapon that any person could possess—the franchise. (Cheers.) And if men would give to women the means of political self-help—the franchise—she thought they might trust women to use that means to good purpose. As to the statement that they had not proved that many women would vote if the franchise were given them, she thought that gentlemen must have overlooked the fact that in Scotland women had used the only franchise which they did possess—the School Board franchise—quite as energetically as the men; and in England it was the same with the municipal franchise. In all the great municipal boroughs, the proportion of women who went to record their votes was equal to the proportion of men, according to the number of each on the register. (Cheers.) It was sometimes said that women did not want the franchise, but she thought no one on reflection would say that they had such remarkable and fanciful views on the matter of votes that they appreciated the use of the municipal franchise, and would neglect the Parliamentary franchise if it were in their power. At any rate they said to those men who doubted whether women would use votes or not, "Give us the votes, and then we will shew whether we will use them or not." (Cheers.) It was not only for the general elevation of women in society that they asked for this; they also asked for it as an instrument for the removal of certain injurious legal and social restrictions which pressed upon their sex. Referring to various instances of hardship under the existing laws relating to the property of married women, Miss Becker stated that there was an attempt made to amend these laws, and in 1873 a bill was brought in, and six times counted out. Out of 650 members presumed sent to represent the interests of the whole people, not forty could be got to take a sufficient interest

to discuss a bill directly affecting the property and personal rights of 16,000,000 of her Majesty's subjects. (Hear, hear.) Miss Becker proceeded to argue, that by giving women a vote in the election of members of Parliament, they would secure attention to their interests. In connection with the Manchester election, she adverted to the fact that great efforts were being made to obtain the Irish vote. It would probably, she remarked, be the general opinion that we were more likely to get women's franchise than Home Rule, but these men would be able to obtain from their candidates, she did not say the granting of that which they had asked, but, at anyrate, full and fair consideration for their requests. There were, she supposed, more than 6000 Irishmen on the electoral roll for Manchester. There were 10,000 women householders; and suppose these were on the roll for Manchester, they would have both the candidates anxious to look into the laws affecting women. Miss Becker next proceeded to deal with various objections taken to the conferring of the suffrage on women. The *Times*, she said, appeared to have had some sort of idea that the women's question would be very important at elections, and objected to women's votes on that ground, because it said that in every constituency there would be enough of women's votes to turn the scale, and candidates would be so anxious to secure the women's votes as to neglect the questions affecting men. Their answer was, that if a bill should pass, there would be only one woman to seven men on the register, and if the men could not take care of their own questions with odds like that in their favour, it was time for them to leave off calling the women the weaker sex. (Laughter, and a voice—"Encore.") If it were true that women did not know enough for the franchise, she maintained that if men, who had the arrangements for the education of the people generally, had neglected to educate girls and women, they had no right to turn round and allege ignorance, caused by their own neglect, as an excuse for perpetuating injustice. Sometimes it was said women did not want the franchise. These were surely the women who did not want anything, and who were very comfortably provided for. She concluded by saying that they were proceeding in what they asked on the same principles as prompted our ancestors in their efforts for freedom and self-government. They appealed, not to men's fears, but to their sense of justice; not to force, but to reason and persuasion. And when their voices spoke the words of truth and soberness, and pleaded for a measure of justice, their faith was that the appeal would not be in vain. (Loud cheers.)

Mr MACFIE of Dreghorn, in moving the next resolution, said that although there was doubtless some misapprehension in some minds with regard to the aims of the society, all must admit that they had been very well advocated on this occasion. (Applause.) Some might have thought, from the unseemly interruptions of a few young men in the gallery, that they were meddling with the subject

of the education of medical students. That was not the subject they were there to discuss. Others might think that they contemplated educating young ladies for the bar or the senate; but—nothing of the kind. The cause had been excellently pleaded by the ladies who had spoken; and had given to those young men in the gallery who were not yet old enough to vote for a member of Parliament a very good lesson in elocution. (Applause and laughter.) All would agree with him that if the ladies exercised the franchise as ably as they expounded their right to it, they would be a very valuable accession to the electoral body. (Applause.) It was well known that women exercised a great power in the election of ministers—which was of even more importance than the election of members of Parliament; and he thought if they were qualified to vote in the one case, they should also be qualified to vote in the other, and to take an interest in politics. It had been said that there would thereby be a danger of women neglecting their other duties. Where was there ever found a better wife or a better mother than our own beloved Queen? (Applause.) And yet we found in the memorials of the late Prince Consort that she had been as much a politician as any man on the throne would have been. (Applause.) It should be distinctly understood that the question which they were now agitating was not a party one, but a question on which men of all political feelings and antecedents could heartily join. (Applause.) They were bringing in no spirit of complaint against the way in which the franchise had hitherto been conducted; they simply wanted now that justice should be done to all interests. (Applause.) Take the importance to us of the maintenance of peace, the importance of education at home, the necessity of suppressing anything that had a demoralising effect—such as excessive drinking—and we would find that the influence which women could exercise against those evils was greater than that of men. (Applause.) Why, then, should they not have their disabilities removed? (Applause.) It was evident that religious and ecclesiastical questions must for a long time come prominently before the British Parliament. Now, in discussing such questions, the members of Parliament would be much the better of being in direct communication with the woman-power of the country. (“Hear, hear,” and applause.) He concluded by moving—“That in the opinion of this meeting, the exclusion of women householders and ratepayers from the electoral franchise is inconsistent with the constitutional principle that taxation is the basis of representation, and by the rejection of a large portion of the industry, intelligence, and the property of the country from direct representation, is unjust to those thus excluded, and injurious to the community at large. Therefore resolved, that a petition to this effect be forwarded to Parliament, signed on behalf of this meeting, praying the House of Commons to pass the ‘Bill to Remove the Electoral Disabilities of Women,’ which is to be introduced into the House by Mr Forsyth, Q.C.” (Loud applause.)

Miss BEEDY, who was received with applause, seconded the resolution. Any one, she said, familiar with the laws of the country, knew that there were many that were unjust to women. Any thoughtful person must see that in all matters where the interests of men and women were opposed, it was only natural that men should look with a keener eye to their own interests than to the interests of women. Mr Gladstone had once, in referring to that fact, said that any man who could devise a plan by which the injustice which resulted from that could be set right, should be considered a great benefactor. Then, again, in matters where there may be no conflict of interests, they saw that the interests of men were attended to, while those of women were comparatively overlooked—as, for example, in the matter of education. Then, again, they saw that in Parliament a bill which concerned only the interests of women had much less chance of being passed than a bill that concerned only the interests of men. That was so well known, that a member of Parliament once said that attempting to get a woman’s bill passed through Parliament was like attempting to move a loaded waggon without horses. Now, all that was wanted by the present movement was to make women constituents of members of Parliament, and thus to supply the motive-power. (Applause.) In regard to industrial pursuits, also, women were placed at a great disadvantage. There were some three or four millions of women in the country earning their own livelihood, who crowded into the labour market, and were forced to compete with men—they all knew at what disadvantage. Now, what was wanted was to enfranchise the women—to do something that would improve their condition. At present the position of the women as compared with men was very much what the position of the middle classes was to that of the upper class before the Reform Bill of 1832, and what the position of the working classes was to that of the employers of labour previous to the passing of the last Reform Bill. After the latter Act was passed, the complaints of the working classes gradually disappeared—and that was through their having been admitted to the franchise. They got passed a Mines Regulation Act, a Factory Act, an Education Act, which was slowly and surely providing them with the means of education; they had laws passed for protecting trades’ unions, and tending to promote the industries of the working classes—(applause)—and all these advantages had come to them since their admission to the franchise—that was, by giving them the power to assist in putting a man into Parliament, or to assist in keeping one out. (Applause and laughter.) Now, they simply asked for women the same power as men in that respect. Miss Beedy proceeded to speak on the other aspect of the question—namely, the injury that was done to the community by excluding so large a part of the industry and intelligence of the nation from the electoral body. They did not seek that women might be allowed to draft Parliamentary bills, or to vote on them when they had been drafted. They were not attempting to put into the

hands of women work requiring technical knowledge and large experience, but a voice in the choosing of the men to whom these duties might safely be entrusted. Women were good judges of character—(applause and laughter)—and were peculiarly fitted to exercise such a privilege. Women were also greater sufferers from disorder and immorality in society than men were, and that being the case, their influence would be given more strongly than the influence of men towards putting men into a position of power that would guard against disorderly states of society. She then quoted from an American paper an opinion by a judge in high position, in a territory where women had the right to vote, in which he expressed the opinion that, generally, it would not do to nominate men for whom women would not vote. In referring to the questions in the British Parliament, Miss Beedy went on to say that it was educational and moral questions that had come to the front; and on such questions as those of education, temperance, the treatment of criminals, the treatment of the poor, &c., she held that the experience of women would be even more valuable than that of men; and they were not subjects on which the opinions of women and of men were always precisely the same. For instance, it was generally admitted that women, as a class, are more strongly in favour of temperance than men are. (“No,” laughter, and applause.) Not only was that true, but the methods that women would, on the average, employ to promote temperance, were not precisely the same as the majority of men would employ. On that subject Cardinal Manning had, she thought, struck the keynote in his speech at Manchester, when he said—“Men drink, and women suffer.” Why, then, should the influence of women not be felt in relation to that and other questions? (Hear, hear.) Then, in regard to the treatment of criminals, she said a great wave of wife-beating had recently spread over England—she was not sure it had reached Scotland—and the lash had been called for as the method of punishment and reformation for these criminal men. (“Hear, hear,” and applause.) Now, that demand had come for the most part from men rather than from women; because the latter, as a rule, did not believe that by brutalising a man you were likely to make him a more humane husband. (Applause.) As to the treatment of pauperism, she regarded it as an urgent question at the present time, and one in connection with which valuable aid had been received from the opinions and experience of women. When Mr Stansfeld was at the head of the Poor Law Department, under the last Government, attention was called to the boarding-out of pauper children, as there was reason to suspect that the work done was not so good as it should be; and Mr Stansfeld, who wished a woman’s view of the working of the system, asked Mrs Nassau Senior to inquire into the matter; and she gave in a report, after two years’ work, on the subject, which had attracted a great deal of attention. A little more than a month after the blue-book containing the report had been issued, they could scarcely take up a

newspaper without finding in it an article on the subject—(applause)—the public were so much struck, not only with a woman’s view of the question, but with the new view of it. (Applause.) After stating that no Scotch member had spoken against the bill, Miss Beedy referred to the utterance of one English member (Mr Chaplin), who had said that he opposed the bill “because he thought the agitation reflected in no way the opinion of the majority of the women of the country, but rather the restless longing and desire of a few, and these perhaps not the most favoured of their sex.” If Mr Chaplin meant by “the most favoured” the most beautiful or richest women in the country, perhaps he was right: so heavy were the demands upon such women by society, that they had no time to devote to the amelioration of their poorer sisters. But if he meant that those engaged in that agitation were not women of the most gifted intellect, she would say he was not right. In proof of that she referred to such women as Mrs Martineau, Miss Florence Nightingale, Miss Carpenter, Mrs Gray, Miss Octavia Hill, and others, who took the warmest interest in the movement. The women whose opinions were quoted in Parliament universally believed that it would be better for women to have the power of voting in Parliamentary elections, and that it would give them greater power in promoting all kinds of philanthropic movements. After some further remarks, Miss Beedy, amid loud applause, concluded by seconding the resolution.

The motion was unanimously carried.

Ex-Councillor ROBERTSON said he had no doubt that the audience had been greatly pleased with the admirable way in which Miss Becker and Miss Beedy had given an exposition of the principles which the society desired to promote. (Applause.) He did not know what better proof they could have of the high qualifications possessed by ladies for the exercise of the franchise than the great power of reasoning which the meeting had had brought before them on the present occasion. (Applause.) In regard to the licensing question, the expression of the views of the ladies, he believed, would have a very powerful effect in regard to its proper settlement; and as to the higher education of women and other questions of a kindred nature, he was sure the views of Miss Becker and Miss Beedy would be considered invaluable. (Applause.) He had great pleasure in moving—“That the thanks of this meeting be cordially tendered to the ladies who have come at this inclement season to attend this meeting, and who have so much gratified their listeners by their able handling of the question.” (Applause.)

Ex-Bailie LEWIS seconded the motion. He said he was sure there could be but one opinion, that the ladies who had favoured the meeting with their presence had most ably and efficiently advocated their position. (Applause.) It appeared to him, and

he never had any doubt of it, that this movement must triumph, and that most speedily. (Applause.) If he were to be called upon to give reasons, the first was that the claim of the ladies was righteous. (Applause.) There were abundant precedents for their claims. In regard to the poor laws, the ladies had a voice in their administration; and as to the Education Act, there was efficient service by the ladies, both in our own city and in England. Besides, in England the ladies had a voice in the municipal arrangements. A good reason, in his opinion, why the ladies would triumph was, that they had not gone about trying to concuss gentlemen to forward their views, but they had done their own work in the way that it ought to be done; and he thought that politicians might well take a lesson from them. (Applause.) He had great pleasure in seconding the motion. He wished to say, in conclusion, that he had seen candidates for Parliamentary and other honours, who, if they had been subjected to the same kind of annoyances as the ladies had experienced from the gallery, would have had great difficulty in proceeding with their remarks, but Miss Becker and Miss Beedy had gone on as if nothing of the kind had occurred, and that could only be accounted for through the confidence they had in the righteousness of their cause. (Applause.)

The motion was unanimously agreed to.

Mrs M'LAREN made a few telling remarks, which were received with much applause.

On the motion of the Rev. Mr SETON, a cordial vote of thanks was given to the chairman, and the proceedings terminated.

TREASURER'S STATEMENT FOR YEAR ENDING 18th JANUARY 1876.

INCOME.		EXPENDITURE.	
Balance from last year	£34 6 6	Canvassing	£40 14 10
Subscriptions and Donations	228 19 2	Expenses of Secretaries	80 0 0
		Printing and Publications	22 11 9
		Stationery and Postages	15 17 2
		Expenses of Public and other Meetings	42 10 0
		Advertising	7 2 2
		Balance in Bank	54 9 9
	<hr/> £263 5 8		<hr/> £263 5 8

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS DURING 1875.

Armour, H., & Co.	£0 10 0	Harkness, Miss	£0 10 0
Biggar, Thomas, Dalry	0 2 6	Henderson, Mr D. W.	0 5 0
Black, Miss	0 2 6	Henderson, Miss, Collected by	0 11 0
Blackie, Mrs	1 0 0	Hope, Mrs, Bordlands	1 0 0
Brownlie, Mr Archibald	1 0 0	Hope, Miss	2 0 0
Buchan, Countess Dowager of	1 0 0	Home, Mrs Ferguson	1 0 0
Burton, Mrs Hill	1 0 0	Hoyes, Mrs	1 0 0
Caldwell, Messrs	1 0 0	Hunter, Misses	10 0 0
Caldwell, Miss	1 0 0	Hutchison, Mr	0 2 6
Caldwell, S.	0 5 0	Jex-Blake, Miss	5 0 0
Campbell, Mr D.	0 2 6	Kerr, Mr J.	0 2 6
Craig, Misses	10 0 0	Kerr, Mrs	0 2 0
Crighon, Councillor	0 5 0	Kerr, Miss E.	0 2 6
Crighon, Mr G.	0 2 6	Kippen, Misses	5 0 0
Christie, Miss	0 2 6	Lang, John	0 10 0
Crawford, W. C.	0 10 0	Lauder, Miss Dick	2 0 0
Cross, Mr	0 10 0	Lauder, Mr	1 0 0
Crudelius, Mrs	1 0 0	Lawrie, Mrs, Musselburgh	0 5 0
Cruickshank, E.	0 2 6	Leatham, Major	1 0 0
C. J.	0 2 6	Lewis, Mr D.	0 2 6
Davie, Mr	0 0 0	Lillie, Mrs	0 5 0
Davidson, Mrs, Burntisland	0 2 6	Low, Mrs	0 5 0
Dixon, Mr S., Newcastle-on-		Low, Miss Kate	0 5 0
Tyne	0 10 0	Low, Mr David	0 5 0
Donald, Mr T.	0 5 0	Livingston, Josiah	0 10 0
Du Pré, Miss	2 0 0	Marshall, Bailie	0 10 0
Flint, William	0 2 6	Marshall, Mr T.	0 5 0
Fyfe, Mr A.	0 5 0	M'Culloch, Mrs, Dumfries	1 1 0
Friend, A, per Miss Hunter	1 0 0	M'Callum, Miss	0 2 6
Friend, A, Dublin Street	0 5 0	Maclagan, Mr	0 5 0
Friend, A, Crosshill	0 10 8	Macfie, Mr R. A.	3 0 0
Friend, A	0 2 6	Macgregor, D. R., M.P.	3 3 0
Friend, A	0 2 6	Mackay, Mr G.	0 2 6
Friend, A	0 2 6	M'Kinnel, Mrs, Dumfries	1 1 0
Friends, Two	0 5 0	M'Laren, Mrs, Newington Ho.	10 0 0
Gibson, Miss	2 0 0	M'Laren, Miss	5 0 0
Gibson, Mr	0 5 0	M'Laren, Mr D., jun.	2 0 0
Gray, Henry	0 2 6	M'Murtrie, Mr J.	0 2 6
Greenoak, Miss	0 5 0	M'Tavish, Mr A. H.	1 0 0
Greig, John, & Son	0 4 6	M'Queen, Mrs	5 0 0
Greig, David	1 0 0	M'Robie, Misses	0 2 6
Grieve, David	0 5 0	Masson, Mrs	1 1 0
		Masson, Miss	0 2 6

Melrose, Mr	£0 10 0	Smith, Miss Ramsay	£1 0 0
Miller, Mrs, Brighton	5 0 0	Sloane, Mr T.	0 5 0
Millar, Mrs J.	2 0 0	Somerville, Mr R.	0 2 6
Millar, Mr Whyte	2 0 0	Spalding, Mrs	0 5 0
Millar, Mr W.	0 2 6	Stevenson, Miss E.	20 0 0
Mitchell, Rev. Mr	0 2 6	Stevenson, Miss E. (don.)	0 17 0
Mitchellhill, Mrs	0 2 0	Stevenson, Miss L.	10 0 0
Morrison, Mr	0 5 0	Stewart, Miss	0 10 0
		Stewart, Mrs	0 2 6
Nairn, Mr W.	0 2 6	Stodart, A. M.	0 10 0
Nelson, Mr	1 0 0	S. S., per Mrs M'Laren	2 2 0
Nichol, Mrs	10 0 0	Sums, Small, Collected by	
		Miss Cameron	2 14 0
Ord, Mr and Mrs	3 3 0	Taylor, Mrs W. A., Cupar	0 5 0
Pagan, Mrs, Cupar-Fife	0 10 0	Thompson, Walter, Esq.	10 0 0
Paton, Miss do.	0 2 6	Thorne, Mrs	1 1 0
Patrick, Mrs do.	0 5 0	Trevelyan, Arthur, Esq., J.P.	2 0 0
Philp, Mr A.	0 2 6	Taylor, Miss (don.)	1 0 0
Polson, Mr John	1 0 0	Walls, Miss	1 0 0
Raleigh, Samuel	1 0 0	Wallace, Mr James	0 10 0
Renton, Mrs Alexander	5 0 0	Warren, Mr	0 10 0
Renton, Mr J. H.	3 0 0	Wellstood, Mrs James	0 5 0
Ritchie, Mrs Beith	0 3 0	Wellstood, Mrs Stephen	0 5 0
Robson, Mr Walter	1 1 0	Westren, Mr	0 2 6
Robertson, Mrs T.	0 5 0	Whitelaw, Mrs	0 5 0
Rose, Mr Hugh	5 0 0	Wigham, Mrs	0 10 0
		Wigham, Miss	0 5 0
Simpson, Miss	1 0 0	Williams, Mrs, Wishaw	2 0 0
Scott, Mr Alexander	20 0 0	Wilson, Bailie	0 5 0
Smith, Miss	1 0 0		

While warmly thanking our kind friends and subscribers for their support, and congratulating them and ourselves on the balance in our Treasurer's hands, we would remind them that this year's campaign has yet some months to run, and that, even if victorious in the Commons, there will still be struggle before the cause is gained—and so we would request a continuance of their help for another year: and if still able and willing to give their subscriptions, we respectfully inform them that the 1st of February is the most convenient conclusion of our financial year, and we shall gratefully receive and report donations up to that date.