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3930183172

Women's Suffrage Publications, Volume 1
1867-1878.

- Annual Report Manchester National Society
for Women's Suffrage Manchester 1868
- Annual Society for Women's Suffrage. Printed
London, Edinburgh, Dublin. London
- Report: National Society for Women's Suffrage,
Edinburgh Branch
- Annual Report: Manchester National Society for
Women's Suffrage Manchester 1869
- Women's Suffrage. Public Meeting in Edinburgh Edinburgh 1870
- Birmingham Society for Women's Suffrage.
2. Annual Report. 1869-70.
- Annual Report: Manchester National Society for
Women's Suffrage Manchester 1870
- Women's Suffrage: Great Meeting in Edinburgh Edinburgh 1870
- Birmingham Society for Women's Suffrage. 3. Annual Report Birmingham
3. Annual Report 1870-1871. Printed

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- Report: Bristol + West of England Society for Women's Suffrage Bristol 1872
- Annual Report: Manchester National Society for
Women's Suffrage Manchester 1871
- Women's Suffrage. 3. Annual Meeting in Edinburgh Edinburgh
1872
- National Society for Women's Suffrage. 1. Report London 1872
- Report of The Bristol + West of England Society for
Women's Suffrage. 1872. Bristol 1873
- Annual Report: Manchester National Society
for Women's Suffrage Manchester 1872
- Annual Meeting in Edinburgh: Women's Suffrage Edinburgh 1873
- Report of The Bristol + West of England Society for Women's Suffrage
1873. Bristol 1874
- Annual Report: Birmingham Society for Women's Suffrage. 1873. Printed
Birmingham
- National Society for Women's Suffrage. 2. Annual Report London 1873

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6. Annual Report: Manchester National Society for
Women's Suffrage Manchester 1873
- Women's Suffrage: 6. Annual Report Edinburgh
National Society for Women's Suffrage Edinburgh 1874
- Annual Report: Birmingham Society for Women's
Suffrage Printed: Birmingham
- Book of the Bristol, West of England Society for
Women's Suffrage. 1874. Bristol 1875.
- National Society for Women's Suffrage, Annual
Report. 1874. London 1874.
- Annual Report: Manchester National Society
for Women's Suffrage Manchester 1874.
- Women's Suffrage: 7. Annual Meeting Edinburgh
National Society for Women's Suffrage Edinburgh 1875
- Book of The Bristol + West of England Society for
Women's Suffrage. 1875 Bristol 1876

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6. Annual Report: Birmingham Society for
Women's Suffrage. 1875. Printed
Birmingham
- National Society for Women's Suffrage Annual Report. London 1875
- 8th Annual Report Manchester National Society
for Women's Suffrage Manchester 1875.
- Women's Suffrage: 8. Annual Meeting Edinburgh
National Society for Women's Suffrage 1876. Edinburgh 1876.
- Report: Bristol - West of England Society for
Women's Suffrage. 1876. Bristol
- Birmingham Society for Women's Suffrage 7. Annual
Report. Printed
Birmingham
- National Society for Women's Suffrage. Annual
Report 1876. London 1876.
- Annual Report: Manchester National Society
for Women's Suffrage. Manchester 1876

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- Women's Suffrage: 9. Annual Meeting. Edinburgh
National Society for Women's Suffrage 1877. Edinburgh 1877.
8. Annual Report: Birmingham Society for Women's
Suffrage Printed
London
- Report of the Bristol & West of England Society for
Women's Suffrage 1877. Bristol 1878
10. Annual Report Manchester National Society
for Women's Suffrage. Manchester 1877.
- Report of the Bristol & West of England Society
for Women's Suffrage 1877 Bristol 1878
- National Society for Women's Suffrage. Annual Report. London 1877.
- Women's Suffrage. 10. Annual Meeting. Edinburgh
National Society for Women's Suffrage. 1878. Edinburgh 1878
9. Annual Report: Birmingham Society for
Women's Suffrage Printed
London

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- National Society for Women's Suffrage Annual Report 1878 London 1878
11. Annual Report. Manchester National Society
for Women's Suffrage Manchester 1878.

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FIRST ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

OF THE

✓ MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY

FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,
OCTOBER 30th, 1868.

MANCHESTER:
ALEXANDER IRELAND & CO., PRINTERS.
1868.

71 M
WEAUY

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

1867 AND 1868.

IN presenting the first annual report your committee take occasion to congratulate the society on the great progress which the question of women's suffrage has made during the past year. The amount of this progress can best be estimated by recurring to the aspect of affairs at the formation of the society, in August, 1867.

Before doing this, it may be well to review the position which this society holds with regard to others. There arose about the same time two other societies, one in London and one in Edinburgh, formed entirely independently of each other. It was thought desirable, while preserving to each society complete independence and freedom of action, to secure the advantages of mutual support and co-operation by federal union into a National Society. Accordingly, at a special general meeting of this society, held on November 6th, 1867, it was resolved—"That
" this society agrees that its members shall unite with members
" of other societies having the same object, to form one National
" Society for Women's Suffrage, with independent centres of
" action ; the constitution, executive, and funds of each society
" shall remain entirely irresponsible to, and uncontrolled by, the
" others, the bond of union to consist solely in the assumption
" of the name National Society for Women's Suffrage ; and the
" amalgamation of the names of the members enrolled by each
" centre into one national list of supporters of the political
" enfranchisement of women."

Resolutions to the same effect were adopted by the societies of London and Edinburgh, and so the act of union was accomplished. Since then similiar societies have been formed at Birmingham and Bristol, which have entered the union as

integral, yet independent portions of the National Society for Women's Suffrage.

At the time of the formation of the society, it appeared to be generally understood that the admission of women to the parliamentary franchise was an innovation on the constitution, which needed to be granted by express legislation. But further consideration of the constitutional position of women, especially of the facts and arguments brought to light by the researches of Mr. Chisholm Anstey, and reference to the original authorities and cases quoted by him in support of his views, led your committee to the conviction that the supposed constitutional restraint of the political functions of women did not in fact exist; that as there was neither statute nor judicial decision declaring them incapable of voting in the election of members of parliament, they were, in common with the rest of Her Majesty's subjects, entitled to all the benefits of the late gracious act of Her Majesty, for amending the Representation of her People. Your committee therefore resolved to take their stand on the existing law, and no petition to parliament was promoted by this society during the session of 1868.

Your committee, being satisfied that under the Representation of the People Act, 1867, all women who pay their rates in conformity with its provisions are by law entitled to be placed on the parliamentary register, have been actively engaged in taking the necessary steps to enable such women to vote at the next election. They have sought to accomplish this object through the ordinary channels of the overseers' lists, and the revising barristers' courts. In this they have been aided by the effective co-operation of the societies of London, Bristol, and Birmingham, and their exertions have been rewarded by a measure of substantial success.

The first step in a practical direction was taken by establishing the precedent, that when the name of a woman appeared on the register of electors, the returning officer was bound to receive and record her vote. This was done at the election for the city of Manchester, on November 26th, 1867, when Lilly Maxwell, whose name was on the parliamentary register,

recorded her vote for Mr. Jacob Bright. No objection was raised at the time, either by the returning officer, or by any party concerned in the election, to the reception of the vote, or its entry in the poll books. It may therefore be assumed that the legal incapacity of a woman, if it exist at all, is incapacity to be registered as a voter, and not incapacity to record her vote when registered.

As the qualification under which Lilly Maxwell voted was one conferred by the Act of 1832, on "male persons," it is possible that on petition for a scrutiny the vote might have been struck off the list of Mr. Jacob Bright's majority, as that of a person not duly qualified according to the statute, but, inasmuch as no investigation into the legality of the vote was made or demanded, it must be presumed to be valid while unquestioned.

The record of this vote was further valuable as proving that whatever might be the then existing legal incapacity, there was neither physical, mental, nor moral incapacity to hinder a woman from exercising the privilege of the franchise in a rational and intelligent manner, and that the act of entering a polling booth and recording a vote was one that could be accomplished without the smallest practical inconvenience or annoyance, or any unpleasant consequences or accompaniments whatever.

The circumstance of this vote having been recorded excited a great amount of public attention not only all over the kingdom but on the continent of Europe, and in America. It removed women's suffrage from the region of theoretical possibilities to that of actual occurrences, and thereby gave a powerful impetus to the movement.

On the 14th of April, 1868, a public meeting was held in the Assembly Room, Free Trade Hall, the Mayor of Salford in the chair. It was addressed by Archdeacon Sandford, Mr. Jacob Bright, M.P., Mr. Chisholm Anstey, and others, including three ladies. The meeting was numerously attended, and resolutions expressing cordial approval of the objects of this society, and of the course it has hitherto pursued, were carried unanimously.

A similar meeting, held at Birmingham, under the auspices

of the society in that town, on the 6th of May, deepened the impression produced by the meeting at Manchester, and added importance to the movement.

Your committee considered it highly desirable that the several societies should unite in a systematic endeavour to procure the insertion of women all over England on the register of electors under the new Reform Act. Accordingly proposals for concerted action were submitted to the societies at London, Bristol, and Birmingham, which proposals were at once acceded to, and the plan suggested adopted without material alteration.

In accordance with these proposals, a resolution was passed by all the societies that the boards of overseers of the several parishes be respectfully requested, in accordance with the alteration of the law effected by the Representation of the People Act, 1867, to insert in the parliamentary list of voters all persons who have paid their rates. A copy of this resolution, accompanied by a letter stating the grounds of the application, signed by all the secretaries of the National Society in England, was sent to several hundred boards of overseers in different parts of the country. Very few replies to their application were received by your committee. Of these few some were favourable, and some otherwise; but there is reason to believe that many overseers complied with the requisition without making any communication to that effect to your committee.

During the months of May and June deputations from your committee waited on the overseers of various townships within the parliamentary borough of Manchester to urge the same application. The legal arguments in support of the claim were presented by Dr. Pankhurst with remarkable force and cogency, and though not immediately successful as regards the direct object of the interview, they had a powerful effect in dissipating the prevailing ignorance as to the rights of women under the new Reform Act, and in arousing attention to the importance of the subject.

Meanwhile, the overseers of the township of Salford

announced that in their judgment they had no alternative but to place on the parliamentary list of voters all duly qualified women, and they made out their register for the borough in accordance with this view. A similar course was adopted by the overseers of the following townships:—Aberdeen; Conside and Knitsley, Durham; Great and Little Marsden, North-east Lancashire; Ulverston, North Lancashire; Farnworth, Todmorden, Gorton, Haughton, Levenshulme, Denton, South-east Lancashire; Lydiate, Scarisbrick, South West Lancashire; Hillingdon, Middlesex; Bocking, Matching, Essex; Frinsted, Kent; Fawley, Hampshire; Fiskerton, Salisbury; St. Margaret's, Ipswich; St. George the Martyr, Southwark. In various parishes in the metropolis, the overseers appear to have placed a few women on their lists for the purpose of testing the question. The same course has been pursued by the overseers of Gateshead.

Probably there are many other places where women have been placed on the lists of voters by the overseers, of which your committee have received no information.

As soon as the refusal of the overseers of Manchester to place women-ratepayers upon their lists was made known, your committee obtained the names and addresses of all the women-householders within the townships of Manchester, Hulme, and Chorlton-on-Medlock, in number about 9,000, and took steps for ascertaining how many of them desired to have a vote, and would send in a claim to be put on the register. Want of time and means precluded your committee from going through the whole of these, but, so far as their opportunities of investigation extended, they found an overwhelming preponderance of sentiment in favour of the franchise. In the township of Manchester, out of 4,215 persons asked, only 291 did not claim; and 3,924 signed the claim to be put on the register. Thus about 92 per cent of the women-ratepayers desire to have the franchise. In Chorlton-on-Medlock, out of the entire number of 1,850 women-occupiers whose names appear in the rate book, 1,106 claimed their votes. The residue includes many who were not canvassed, and many who were dead, or removed, or married,

since the rate books were last made up. The total number of claims from women to vote in the election of members of parliament for the city of Manchester was about 5,100.

In the borough of Salford the result was no less gratifying. The women of Broughton and Pendleton had not been put on the lists by the overseers, but they proved that they fully shared the sentiments of the women of Manchester. Out of the 270 women-ratepayers in Broughton, 242 claimed their votes; and a similar percentage claimed in Pendleton. In all, 857 women claimed votes for the borough of Salford, in addition to 1,341 put on the register by the overseers.

The total number of women who have the qualification to vote for Salford is between 2,000 and 3,000, and for Manchester, between 10,000 and 11,000.

The revision courts were opened at Manchester on September 14, 1868, by the revising barrister, Mr. Hosack. As Dr. Pankhurst was technically precluded from appearing by a clause in the Registration Act, which provides that claimants in a revision court shall not be represented by counsel, your committee retained the services of Mr. R. B. B. Cobbett. Mr. Cobbett argued on behalf of the claims with great ability and tact, but the revising barrister decided against admitting them. A case was applied for, and granted, in which the 5,100 claims were consolidated. This has been lodged in the Court of Common Pleas, and is first on the list for adjudication.

In the court at Rusholme, on September 24, Mr. Chorlton argued with conspicuous skill the claim of Mrs. Kyllmann to vote, under the statute 8 Henry VI., which enacts that elections of knights of the shire shall be made "in each county by people dwelling and resident therein, of whom each has freehold to the value of forty shillings by the year," but with a result similar to that of the proceedings at Manchester,—the claim was refused, and a case granted for the higher courts.

At Salford the revising barrister not only disallowed all the women claimants, but expunged from the register the names of women against whom no objection had been raised. He stated at the time, that it was doubtful whether he had legal power to

do so, and that many of his brethren held a contrary opinion, but that he should expunge the names, and grant a case on the question of jurisdiction. It therefore appears that in Salford women ratepayers have to overcome obstacles which would not occur in the case of men. The claims of such persons would be ruled by the ordinary law and practice of the revision courts, but 1,341 ratepayers of Salford have found that novel procedure can be instituted, and extra judicial powers extemporised, for the special purpose of depriving them of a constitutional privilege.

In the same court Mr. Hosack disallowed the claims of 857 ratepayers of Broughton and Pendleton. Mr. W. Cobbett applied for and obtained cases in both the questions which have arisen in Salford, and lodged these cases in the Court of Common Pleas, under instructions from the Mayor of Salford, Mr. H. D. Pochin, who has undertaken the charge of prosecuting them.

The decision at Leeds, where Mr. Campbell Foster fined Mrs. Howell 10s. for making what he was pleased to consider a "frivolous claim," occasioned much surprise. That the claim was not frivolous is proved by the fact that Mr. Campbell Foster bestowed much time and pains in disputing it, that in all registration courts where it has been presented it has been carefully considered, and that, in many, it has been admitted on its merits. Your committee rejoice that the universal expression of public opinion has condemned, as "unmannerly and unjust," the attempt to put down a claimant in a court of law by intimidation. They have reason to believe, however, that many persons have been deterred from submitting their claims for adjudication by the fear of being subjected to fines and insult at the hands of the judge, for the offence of thinking themselves entitled to the privilege of English citizens, and seeking to establish their claims by lawful and constitutional methods in the courts specially instituted for considering and deciding such matters.

But though the decision in Manchester and Salford and some other places has gone against them, the judgments in the revision courts throughout the country have not been universally adverse to the votes of women. In many townships,

where no objection was made, or where the notice was informal, the revising barristers have decided, in contradiction to the position assumed by Mr. Hosack, that they had no jurisdiction to inquire whether the women's votes were good in law or not, and that they must remain on the register. From the published reports of the transactions of the revising barristers' courts, your committee learn that in at least twelve townships this has been done, and the qualified women in these places will be legally entitled to vote at the next election.

In four distinct revision courts the claim of women to vote under the Act of last year, has been admitted on its merits. In Finsbury, the revising barrister, Mr. Chisholm Anstey, in giving his decision on the claim of Jane Allen, said that in the reign of James I. there were two cases tried in Westminster Hall, *Holt v Lyle*, and *Coates v Lyle*, in which it was decided that a *femme sole* had the right, if a freeholder, to vote for a parliament man. He could see nothing in the Act of 1867, destroying the ancient rights of franchise, and, interpreting that Act by Lord Romilly's Act, he should retain the name of Jane Allen on the register.

In the revising barrister's court at Cockermonth, Mr. Wheeler placed on the register the name of Mrs. Rachel Pearson, and, in order to prevent women rashly withdrawing their claims in consequence of the adverse decisions in Manchester and Leeds, he expressed in general terms a strong opinion in their favour. He said his own opinion was that the law was decidedly in favour of women having votes, and that, when there was a doubt, and a reasonable doubt, he was bound to find in favour of the franchise. At Winterton, in Lincolnshire, the revising barrister expressed his deliberate opinion that the Reform Act, taken in conjunction with the Interpretation Act, does confer upon women the right of voting, and allowed the names of women to remain upon the register in consequence.

In the townships of Lydiate and Scarisbrick, South-west Lancashire, a number of women had been placed upon the list of £12 occupiers, and they were objected to on behalf of the Conservatives. The notices of objection were held to be bad, inasmuch as they did not specify the grounds of objection, but, in

one case, the notice was admitted, and Margaret Ackers proved her qualification. The revising barrister, Mr. J. T. Foard, decided that the vote was good. In the course of his judgment he said, referring to the new Reform Act: "Reading this Act, as governed absolutely by this Act of 1850, I am constrained to say that this section (s. 5) must be read thus,—that every man and woman shall be entitled to be registered as a voter, and when registered, to vote, if of full age, and not subject to any legal incapacity, provided that no person, man or woman, shall be registered unless he or she has complied with the provisions of the Registration Acts. * *

"The question is how it can be said that the franchise which seems an incident of certain property can cease to exist, or to lapse or be suspended when it comes into the hands of a woman. Every point, every necessity, which the act imposes in the case of a male person, has been satisfied with respect to the one claimant first on the list to-day. She occupied her property, paid her rates, and in every respect fully sustained every requirement of the act. I have therefore to decide, before I can strike out her vote, that this person, though in possession of property which qualifies her to vote, is subject to an incapacity. I can find in no similar franchise, in no case where a franchise has been annexed to realty or to any species of property, I can find no proof that the franchise becomes lapsed or suspended by virtue of any disability in woman herself, or the mere fact of its having passed into the possession of a woman. * * I therefore declare that these votes are good, subject to the objection that has been taken on the other side. Of course I shall grant a case in the matter." This judgment was given at Ormskirk on September 24th, 1868. No appeal has been made against it.

So far as your committee has been able to ascertain the number of women placed on the electoral roll by these decisions, they are about 230. This is exclusive of Finsbury and Winterton, and probably of many other places of which no information has been received. Of these 52 are on the register for South-east Lancashire, 41 for South-west Lancashire, and 16 escaped the

general massacre in Salford, and are on the register of duly qualified electors certified by Mr. Hosack for that borough.

The following is a statement of the number of women electors on the register in places whence information has been received :—
Aberdare, 1 ; Ashford, 33 ; Driffield, 2 ; Todmorden, 17 ; Gorton, 21 ; Denton, 12 ; Haughton, 3 ; Levenshulme, 8 ; Lydiate, 11 ; Scarisbrick, 30 ; Beeford, 2 ; Sebergham, 8 ; Castle Sowerby, 9 ; Cockermouth, 1 ; Moss Side, 1 ; Alton, 9 ; Salford, 16 ; Sittingbourne, 48. Your committee earnestly desire to impress on these voters the necessity of exercising their newly recognised rights at the forthcoming election. By actual use of the constitutional privileges the law courts have awarded them, they will not only secure themselves in the position they have attained, but render the most effectual aid to those who are still excluded from the benefits of recent legislation.

Those women whose claims have been rejected by the revising barristers are earnestly requested to act on the suggestion conveyed in the following extract from an opinion by Mr. Chisholm Anstey, barrister-at-law, dated September 5, 1868 :—
“ I presume that the women whose votes may chance to be
“ rejected by the revising barrister before the coming general
“ election are aware of their right to go up to the polling booths
“ and tender their votes. This they may do under section 59
“ of the Act of 1832 (2 and 3 William IV., chap. 45) ; and I
“ think that they will do well not to neglect the opportunity
“ thereby afforded of bringing their claims under the notice of
“ the NEW election tribunal by a petition to the Court of Com-
“ mon Pleas, under sections 2, 5, and 6 of the Parliamentary
“ Elections Act, 1868. This will not prevent them from also
“ appealing to the same Court of Common Pleas against the
“ decisions of the revising barristers under the 6th and 7th
“ Vict., chap. 18.”

Note.—Section 59 of the Reform Act of 1832, referred to in the above extract, runs thus :—

“ 39. Provided always, and be it enacted, that any person
“ whose name shall have been omitted from any register of voters
“ in consequence of the decision of the barrister who shall have

“ revised the lists from which such register shall have been formed,
“ may tender his vote at any election at which such register
“ shall be in force, stating at the time the candidate or candi-
“ dates for whom he tenders such vote, and the returning officer,
“ or his deputy, shall enter upon the poll book every vote so
“ tendered, distinguishing the same from the votes admitted
“ and allowed at such elections.”

This applies only to persons whose names have been struck off by the revising barrister, either from the overseers' lists of voters, or from the lists of claimants. All women in this position are exhorted to avail themselves of this provision of the law, and thus at once assert and prove their comprehension within the operation of the constitution, and the statutes of the realm.

Your committee desire to return their earnest thanks to those friends whose contributions to the funds of this society have enabled them to accomplish the work that has been done during the past year, of which they now present the record. They have employed, to the best of their judgment, the whole of the means at their disposal, and thereby reduced to zero the balance in the hands of the treasurer. Much remains to be accomplished which demands immediate and strenuous exertion, especially the prosecution of the appeal cases in the Court of Common Pleas. To meet these expenses, and to carry on the ordinary work of the society, which may be expected to increase with the growing magnitude of the question in the eyes of the public, your committee have no funds in hand. From the balance sheet presented by the treasurer it will be seen that the receipts during the past year have been £229, and the expenditure £225. The small balance shown is absorbed by outstanding liabilities, which it does not cover. It will be seen, therefore, that there is urgent need for immediate pecuniary support, and your committee earnestly hope that those friends of the cause who think that it has been advanced by their past efforts, will manifest approval of their exertions by enabling the society to continue the work so successfully begun.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Of the Society, held in the MAYOR'S PARLOUR, TOWN HALL,
MANCHESTER, Friday, October 30th, 1868.

MRS. MAX KYLLMANN in the Chair.

The Secretary read the Report of the Executive Committee.

The Treasurer read the Statement of Accounts.

Resolution I.—Moved by Jacob Bright, Esq., M.P.; seconded
by the Rev. W. H. Herford; supported by Dr. Pankhurst—

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

Resolution II.—Moved by Ernest Jones, Esq.; seconded by
Mrs. Lucas—

That the following persons be appointed the Executive Committee for
the coming year: Jacob Bright, Esq., M.P., Mrs. Jacob Bright,
Miss Becker, Mrs. Butler, Thos. Chorlton, Esq., Professor
Greenbank, Mrs. E. Kyllmann, Mrs. Max Kyllmann, Miss S.
Miall, Mrs. R. R. Moore, Dr. Pankhurst, R. D. Rusden, Esq.,
Rev. S. A. Steinthal, Mrs. J. P. Thomasson, Miss A. Wilson,
Miss M. Wilson, Miss Wolstenholme.

Resolution III.—Moved by James Heywood, Esq., F.R.S.;
seconded by R. D. Rusden, Esq.—

That the best thanks of this meeting be given to the Mayor for his
kindness in allowing the Society the use of his parlour.

Resolution IV.—Moved by the Rev. S. A. Steinthal;
seconded by Miss A. Wilson—

That the best thanks of this meeting be given to Mrs. Kyllmann for
presiding on the present occasion.

MATHILDE KYLLMANN, TREASURER,

IN ACCOUNT WITH

THE MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

	£	s.	d.
1867.			
August 7 To Balance in hand	44	11	0
to 1868. „ Subscriptions and Donations	74	7	0
October 3 „ Sale of Tickets for Public Meeting... ..	25	0	0
„ „ Ditto Pamphlets	28	5	5
„ „ Grant to Secretary	30	0	0
„ „ Mr. Cobbett defending claimants ..	10	10	0
„ „ Room, etc., for Public Meeting	7	3	0
„ „ Lists of Names, Reports, etc.	6	4	0
„ „ Copying Press	1	8	0
„ „ Balance in hand	2	4	3
	£229	12	8
1868.—October 3. To Balance in hand	2	4	3
	£229	12	8

Audited and found correct.

Manchester, October 21, 1868,

LOUIS BORCHARDT, M.D., Auditor.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS, AND DONATIONS.

Mr. W. R. Anson	...	...	...	...	...	...	£0	1	0
Miss Anthony	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mr. M. T. Bass, M.P.	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	0	0
Mrs. Brewer	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	6
Rev. George Butler	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	0	0
Mrs. Butler	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0
Mrs. Bland	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Rev. G. Barmby	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mrs. Barmby	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Miss. Barmby	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Miss Jesse Boucherett	...	...	...	...	...	...	15	0	0
Miss Esther Becker	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mrs. E. C. Bell	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
Mrs. Bluhm	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
Miss Barton	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mrs. Jacob Bright	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
Mr. H. Bradshaw	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Rev. R. Burn	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mr. Biggs	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
Mr. E. W. Binney, F.R.S.	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
Mr. Blain	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0
Miss Clarke	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Mrs. Cowden Clarke	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mr. Abraham Cann	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mrs. Cann	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Miss Carbutt	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0
Mr. Clarke	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
Mrs. Clarke	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
Rev. John Curwen	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Major Coppock	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
Rev. Henry Clarke	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
Mr. W. E. Currey	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mrs. Crabtree	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mr. Thomas Chorlton	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
Miss Caldwell	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mr. Samuel Carryer	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Rev. W. Dorling	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
Mr. H. Dunckley	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
Mrs. Embleton	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Rev. J. Fox	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Miss Eliza Fildes	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
Mr. J. M. Francis	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mrs. Foster	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
Mrs. Graham	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mrs. Goadsby	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
Mrs. Gaddum	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
Rev. B. Glover	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mr. J. Gaunt	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Lady Goldsmid	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	0	0

Mr. J. H. Genn	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	£0	1	0
Mrs. Gloyne	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
Mr. Thomas Hare	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
Miss Hare	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
Miss Constance Holland	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Mr. J. Hison	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mr. A. Holland	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Mrs. Hume-Rothery	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
Miss Howell	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Rev. T. P. Hudson	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mr. F. W. Haslam	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mr. C. E. Hoskins	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Rev. E. Hewitt	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mrs. Heatherley	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Alderman Harvey	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
Mr. Hole	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Miss Hardwick	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
Mrs. Haslam	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
Mr. B. Hammond	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mr. Alexander Ireland	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	0
Mr. R. C. Jebb	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mr. H. Jackson	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mrs. Anna Jesper	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mr. E. Kyllmann	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	0	0
Mrs. E. Kyllmann	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
Mrs. Max Kyllmann	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
Miss Lewin	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Miss H. Lupton	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Mr. J. Lupton	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mr. A. Leighton	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Rev. J. C. Leeke	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Bart., M.P.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
Mr. Stephen Marshall	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
Mr. Frank Marshall	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
Miss T. Marshall	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Miss Marshall	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	12	6
Mrs. Martindale	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
Mr. J. S. Mill, M.P.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	1	0
Mr. E. Myers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Mr. J. Mitchell	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mr. F. W. H. Myers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	32	10	0
Mr. A. J. Mundella, M.P.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Mrs. Mears	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mr. W. Miall	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
Miss S. F. Miall	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
Mr. T. Main	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mrs. R. R. Moore	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	11	0
Miss Sabilla Novello	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mr. H. Nicol	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0
Mrs. Needham	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Misses Oxley	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Mr. J. S. Phillpotts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Miss M. E. Porter	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Mr. H. Pitman	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
Mrs. Phillips	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Dr. Pankhurst	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0
Mrs. Pennington	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
Mrs. Paige	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mrs. Pochin	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
Mr. J. Plant	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mrs. Plant	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mrs. G. Roskill	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
Mr. W. F. Rae	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	6
Mr. Raper	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Alderman Rumney	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0
Mr. E. M. Richards	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0

Mr. R. D. Rusden	...	...	...	...	...	...	£7	2	0
Mr. A. O. Rutson	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mr. James Rhoades	..	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Mrs. Royston	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
Mr. R. Sutcliffe	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mr. C. Sellers	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
Mrs. Swan	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Rev. J. C. Street	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Rev. S. A. Steinthal	...	..	...	...	...	...	7	2	0
Mr. H. M. Steinthal	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0
Rev. J. Stephenson	..	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mrs. Shields	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mr. H. H. Sales	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mr. J. Stores Smith	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
The Ven. Archdeacon Sandford	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
Mr. E. S. Shuckburgh	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mrs. Smith	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Miss Skinner	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mr. A. Sidgwick	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mr. Walker Smith	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Miss Helen Taylor	...	...	...	...	...	...	21	1	0
Miss C. Tootal	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Miss E. Tootal	...	..	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Rev. Dr. Temple	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Rev. Coutts Trotter	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mr. Aubrey Taylor	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	6
Mr. Thomasson	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
Mrs. J. P. Thomasson	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
Mr. Whyte	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
Rev. J. Wolstenholme	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	6
Miss A. Wilson	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Miss M. Wilson	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Mrs. Winkworth	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	0
Dr. J. Watts	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Mr. W. H. White	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
Mr. B. Whitworth, M.P.	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
Mr. H. Woodhead	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
Mr. Charles Wilson	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Miss Wolstenholme	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	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. The qualification of membership in the Society is approval of its objects, and an annual subscription of not less than One Shilling.

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.

1. By collecting signatures to the petition, forms of which may be obtained from the Secretary.
2. By bringing the question under the notice of Members of Parliament, whenever they appear before their constituents.
3. 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.
4. In case of an election, by calling on every candidate to declare whether he considers that women who fulfil the conditions required of men, ought to be excluded from the franchise.
5. By trying to procure insertion of facts and arguments bearing on the question, in the local press.
6. 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.
7. Where there are three or four members in the same place, by uniting to form a local committee.
8. By endeavouring to increase the number of members.
9. By extending the organisation of the Society through the medium of corresponding members or local committees. All persons willing to render such assistance are earnestly requested to communicate with the Secretary.

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

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

A. Ireland & Co., Printers, Pall Mall, Manchester.

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✓ NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE,

LONDON, EDINBURGH, DUBLIN.

At the commencement of a new Parliament, the Executive Committees of the London, Edinburgh, and Dublin National Society for Women's Suffrage feel called upon to address to the Society, and to the friends of the cause, a few remarks on its condition and prospects.

The progress of the attempt to obtain for women, on the same conditions as men, those electoral rights which are alike required by their dignity and necessary for their protection, is most gratifying. The adherents of the movement, of both sexes, are steadily and rapidly increasing in numbers, and the feelings by which it is prompted are deepening as well as widening.

When the admission of women to the elective franchise was proposed, in 1867, as an amendment to the Reform Bill, the number of members of Parliament who voted for it, including tellers and pairs, was 81; and several more would have added their names to the list if the division had not taken place unexpectedly early. The very first time, therefore, that the proposal was formally made, notwithstanding its novelty, and the shock it gave to old

prejudices, very nearly a seventh part of the House of Commons gave it their support.

In the session of 1868, petitions to the number of 75, with nearly 50,000 signatures, were presented from many different parts of the United Kingdom; one of which, signed by 21,000 persons, was headed by the honoured names of Mrs. Somerville and Miss Florence Nightingale.

Since the passing of the new Reform Bill, a hope had been entertained by many friends of the cause that the franchise had been actually given by the Act to women who are householders, or that the right which, according to good legal authorities, women who were freeholders once had, to vote at county elections in virtue of their freeholds, might prove not to have been lost by disuse. In consequence, a considerable number of women's names were placed on the register, and a much greater number made application, but were rejected by the overseers. The question was carried by appeal before the Court of Common Pleas, and that authority has pronounced that, by the law as it now stands, women, merely as women, in spite of their possessing every other qualification, are under a legal incapacity to vote for a member of Parliament. With the urgent need of reform in the laws that affect women pressing upon us from every side, nothing but a zeal on the part of men to effect these reforms, of which the political horizon does not show the faintest trace, would be likely to induce us to accept this decision as even temporally closing the agitation we have thought it our duty to enter into. The authoritative declaration that the law does not at present give women the power of remedying by their votes the

evances under which they suffer must stimulate them to increased exertions for obtaining that power by a change in the law. The prospect of obtaining such a change will be greatly affected by the numbers who express their desire for it in the old, natural, and constitutional mode of petitions to Parliament. Even such comparatively small grievances as Church rates were not redressed until they had been numerous, earnestly, and perseveringly petitioned against.

By deaths, retirements, and election defeats, many on both sides of the House of Commons who voted in the minority on Mr. Mill's motion have been removed from Parliament. Their place has been in part supplied by new members who are known to be favourable to women's suffrage; but the opinion of the great majority of the new members on this subject is at present unknown. Whatever may be the time fixed on by our friends in Parliament as the most eligible for bringing their present strength to the test of another motion and division, the numbers who will vote for us will be undoubtedly influenced by the perseverance with which our claim is pressed, and by the number of the signatures to petitions.

The Committee, therefore, earnestly exhort all friends of the cause to redouble their zeal in obtaining signatures to petitions. They recommend that in every locality, where it is possible, a committee should be formed for the purpose, in the first place, of sending up a petition to Parliament through its own member, and ultimately for the purpose of watching over and furthering, by all available means, the movement for opening the suffrage to women. At the same time the Committee wish to re-

mind their friends that in some localities, where difficulty has been found in forming a committee, one woman, able and willing to devote time to giving the necessary explanations to other women, and obtaining their signatures, has repeatedly been found as effectual for the purpose as a committee. Were all the avowed friends of women's suffrage to use but a little exertion, the petitions of 1869 might easily exceed in number of signatures those of 1868, as much as those exceeded the petitions presented in the two years preceding.

Forms of petition, and all information, can be obtained on application by letter to the Honorary Secretaries, Mrs. P. A. TAYLOR and Miss C. A. BIGGS, Aubrey House, Notting Hill, London, w.; Miss AGNES McLAREN, Newington House, Edinburgh; Miss WIGHAM, 5 Grey Street, Edinburgh; and Miss ROBERTSON, 2 St. James Place, Blackrock, Dublin.

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FIRST REPORT

OF THE

EDINBURGH BRANCH OF THE National Society for Women's Suffrage.

It is little more than a year since this Society, under the above designation, was formed. Before that time several meetings had been held, and petitions had been forwarded from Edinburgh and other Scottish towns, praying for the admission of Women to the Electoral Franchise. In 1866, a petition, signed by 1500 women of England and Scotland, was presented by Mr J. S. Mill to the House of Commons. In 1867, the same Member brought forward a Motion for the enfranchisement of women, which was supported by petitions signed by 13,457 names of men and women. This motion was advocated by a most telling speech, reviewing the various points affecting the question. On that occasion, Mr Denman, Q.C., gave it as his opinion, that the Reform Bill of 1832 already conferred the right of voting on women, especially viewed in the light of an Act of 1850, which provided that "in all Acts the male is held to include the female." The motion was pressed to a division, and 75 members voted for it.

Although all these transactions had taken place, it was not till the 6th of November, 1867, that a definite organization was

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formed in Scotland; and it is our purpose now to record the progress of the movement since that date, and the operations in furtherance of it, in which our Association has been engaged.

The circulation of tracts, bearing on the subject, was one of the earliest of these operations, and several thousands have been sent through useful channels to diffuse information. One tract, on the Working of our Laws—injuringly affecting women; their property and earnings; was re-printed from the "English-women's Review," and widely circulated.

Circulars were printed with the names of those who voted for the Motion of J. S. Mill, Esq., M.P., and a list of the names of distinguished adherents to the cause who had signed the petition. These circulars have been very useful.

Fresh petitions were inaugurated, praying the Legislature that in the "Representation of the People's Act," then passing through Parliament, a clause should be inserted providing for the admission of women to the Franchise, on the same terms of qualification as men. Correspondence was opened with the different towns in Scotland, suggesting that separate petitions should be sent from each. These efforts resulted in sending fifty-five petitions from Scotland, with 14,000 signatures. The Edinburgh petition was signed by 5020 persons, among whom were those of 29 ministers, 18 advocates, 12 professors, 12 physicians, 7 doctors of law, and 12 officers in the army and navy. The signatures to the petition were procured partly by the aid of paid Canvassers, partly by the personal efforts of Members of Committee.

Similar petitions were forwarded from twenty places in England; that presented by the London Committee, under the energetic leadership of Mrs Peter Taylor, bore 21,000 signatures, while the aggregate number of names from Great Britain and Ireland exceeded 50,000.

These petitions were presented by the Representatives of the towns from which they were sent. Our Committee addressed

letters to all the Scottish Members of Parliament, asking them to support the prayer of these petitions, and opened communications with the various branches of the Scottish Reform League; and we gratefully acknowledge the aid willingly rendered by the Secretary and Members of several of the branches. We would particularize Paisley, Dalkeith, Glasgow, and Kilmarnock, where petitions were got up, and meetings held under the auspices of the Reform League in these places.

The new "Representation of the People's Act" having become the law of the land, without any special clause expressly providing for the representation of women, a fresh series of operations was suggested by the opinions of Mr Chisholm Anstey, Mr Denman, and others, to the effect that "man" in the new Reform Act really included woman, if taken in connection with Lord Romily's Act of 1850, which provides that "in all Acts, words importing the masculine gender shall be deemed and taken to include females," unless the contrary is expressly provided. No such provision being found in the new Reform Bill, it would seem to follow, as a matter of course, that women were "entitled to vote, if otherwise duly qualified." This view engaged the attention of Ladies' Committees throughout the kingdom.

On these grounds, the Overseers in England and the Assessors in Scotland were requested to place the names of all women householders on the Electoral Roll. A deputation from this Committee waited on the Assessor for Edinburgh, who considered the matter, but eventually declined the responsibility of thus extending the franchise.

Correspondence took place with many towns in Scotland to agitate this matter. Paragraphs, explanatory of the position of the case, were published in twenty Scotch newspapers, and five leading articles appeared in support of the claim. Letters were sent to all the Assessors in Scotland, asking them to place the names of qualified women on the list of voters; but in no case was this done, except in the city of Aberdeen, where

all the women householders were placed on the Roll, and their names printed alphabetically along with those of the men.

The names of women, with this exception, being refused insertion on the Rolls of Electors, the next step was to procure qualified names with which to fill up claim papers to be presented to the Sheriff, and these were sent in to the number of 239 for the Burgh of Edinburgh. Only one claimant appeared for the county—Miss Mary Burton, and her case took precedence of all others in Scotland. Her claim was objected to before the Sheriff by the Conservative Agent; she, herself, defended it with much ability and tact. The Sheriff, nevertheless, decided against her, and this decision was repeated against the 239 women claimants for the burgh franchise, notwithstanding the able advocacy of Mr John M'Laren, who supported the claims. To leave no technicality untried, the matter was submitted to the Supreme Court of Appeals, consisting of Lords Benholme, Ardmillan, and Manners. The case came up first on the consideration of the claims of eight women from the Wigtown burghs. These claims were very ably supported by the Solicitor-General and Mr Scott; Mr Gifford and Mr John M'Laren being prepared to support the Edinburgh claims; but the decision in the first case was held to rule the whole, and it was adverse to the claims of women, on the ground, that women were "legally disqualified" to vote for Members to serve in Parliament. "Not disqualified intellectually or morally," as the Judges graciously admitted, but yet not capacitated to vote, and altogether ignoring the point that it is not personal qualification that entitles to the vote, but the payment of certain taxes and occupying certain premises.

This decision also included the names of the Aberdeen claimants, which had been summarily struck off the list by the Sheriff, and were therefore carried by appeal before the Supreme Court to receive the same fate as those of one-half of the intelligent community in Scotland.

We have to record our sincere thanks to Mr Gifford and to

Mr John M'Laren, for their willingness to conduct our case, and to Mr Kelly Morrison for acting as Agent, all with disinterested liberality.

Our friends in England and Ireland have indefatigably and earnestly laboured in all the movements that have presented themselves. Three public meetings have been held, two at Manchester and one at Birmingham; and the energetic action promoted by Miss Becker has been felt in every direction. In Ireland, Miss A. Robertson, almost single-handed, succeeded in procuring petitions in support of Mr Mill's Motion, signed by 2570 persons, and her influence has been exercised widely in support of the question.

In England, the same course of action, with regard to voting under the Reform Act, has been pursued as in Scotland. The first decision in reply to application to be placed on the Roll of Voters, was that of the Overseers of Salford, in regard to the admission of 1245 women. They declared, "That in the judgment of the Overseers, they have no alternative but to place all duly qualified females on the next Parliamentary Register for the borough."

This was also done in other twenty places in England. In some of these, the Revising Barristers did not strike off the names; but in the great majority, they were expunged without mercy, along with all the claims presented by those who were not placed on the Electoral Roll. Of these, there were in Manchester 5100 duly qualified women, who appealed for the right of the franchise. The next step, as in Scotland, was to carry the matter to the Higher Court, and, as in the Supreme Court of Scotland, so in the Court of Common Pleas in England, it was ruled that women were legally disqualified to vote,—and this, although it is admitted that they are qualified to act as Overseers of the Poor,—to vote in parochial and church matters,—to become executors and trustees,—to conduct business,—and to educate the voters and law-makers of Great Britain; and, espe-

cially, that a woman is qualified to preside over all the affairs of the Realm. As it is never disputed that women are qualified to pay the taxes, surely the established principle of the English law of representation should hold good for them as for others, and that is—"no taxation without representation." It therefore becomes a patriotic duty to uphold this righteous principle, and seek that those who pay the taxes, and are subject to the laws, should have a voice in appointing those who impose the taxes and make the laws.

Although, in most cases, the decisions of Sheriffs and Revising Barristers have removed the names of women from the Lists of Electors, there are at least twelve Townships in which this has not been done, these names not having been brought by appeal before the Higher Court. It is, therefore, computed that about 300 women remain on the List of Voters, and it has been admitted that these Electors should exercise their right in the present Elections, so as to afford the all-important precedents for future decisions, and to prove, as in the case of Lily Maxwell, that there is no physical, intellectual, or moral disqualification to prevent women from exercising the Vote for Members of Parliament, and that their doing so has not utterly destroyed the organization of society.

Although the result of this agitation may be considered unfavourable to the question of Women's Suffrage, we do not look upon it as altogether such. The subject has been brought forward in all its bearings, before audiences which have extended throughout the kingdom, and although, in a point of legal interpretation, the present effort has failed, it is worthy of remark that, in no case save one, and that one has received general reprehension, have the claims been considered frivolous; they have been respectfully listened to, and the arguments seriously met. The general question has assuredly made progress; women, themselves, are confirmed in the importance and legitimacy of applying for their rightful position in this matter, and the attention

of many women has been brought to bear on questions they had scarcely looked at before. The expanding influence of the movement will therefore act as an educator for them, when they shall eventually be called on to exercise the franchise.

For these reasons we have resolved to continue our Association, in the expectation of a Bill for the Enfranchisement of Women being introduced into Parliament, when we may be ready to take our part in supporting it. We have addressed letters to all the Members of Parliament and the Candidates for election in Scotland, asking their support to such a measure. We have received a large number of favourable replies; all are respectful, whether they have decided to support such a Bill or not. And we are in hopes that a large number of the Members of the Reformed House of Commons will be found willing to concede the political rights, now withheld from one-half of the intelligent community of Great Britain.

In giving this brief summary of the proceedings of our own Committee, we have scarcely glanced at the general position of the question of Women's Franchise; but the voice of woman appealing for justice has been respectfully listened to in the House of Commons, before the Highest Tribunals of Law, before the men of science in the British Association, and before the great audiences of the New Constituency, and has been responded to by the hearty sympathy of many of the noblest men of the land, and we are not discouraged.

And may we be permitted to impress on the future electors of our sex, the importance of preparing themselves for the duties hereafter to devolve on them, that, by religiously weighing the solemnities of life and its responsibilities, and by earnest faithful study of the great questions that affect humanity, they may be qualified afterwards to exercise the franchise, wisely and conscientiously, so that the accession of women to the electoral ranks may prove truly a great benefit to the whole community in our country.

EDINBURGH BRANCH OF THE
National Society for Women's Suffrage.

INCOME.

Received in Subscriptions and Donations from Jan.

30, 1867, to Nov. 20, 1868, inclusive - - - - £114 5 10
54-3-6
£ 168-9-4

EXPENDITURE.

Printing - - - - -	£24 6 6	11-19-8
Canvassers - - - - -	53 18 10	19-4-0
Pamphlets - - - - -	19 6 0	17-10-6
Postages - - - - -	* 7 10 0	2-6-10
Advertisements - - - - -	1 2 0	1-2-6
Carriage of Parcels, &c. - - - - -	* 1 13 8	
	£107 17 0	
Balance in hands of Treasurer	6 8 10	
	£114 5 10	

APPENDIX.

The Motion of Mr JOHN STUART MILL, M.P., in the House of Commons, in favour of the prayer of the Petitions, was supported by the following 75 Members:—

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Allen, William Shepherd | Lefevre, George John Shaw |
| Amberley, Viscount | Liddell, Hon. Henry George |
| Baines, Edward | Lusk, Andrew |
| Barnes, Thomas | M'Kenna, Joseph Neale |
| Barrow, William Hodgson | M'Laren, Duncan |
| Bass, Michael Thomas (Derby) | Maguire, John Francis |
| Bazley, Thomas | Mill, John Stuart |
| Beach, W. W. Bramston (H'nts N.) | Moore, Charles (Tipperary) |
| Biddulph, Michael (Herefordsh.) | Morgan, Hon. Maj. (Breconshire) |
| Blake, John Aloysius | Morrison, Walter |
| Bowyer, Sir George | O'Beirne, James Lyster |
| Bright, John (Birmingham) | O'Donoghue, The |
| Cowen, Joseph | Oliphant, Lawrence |
| Dalglish, Robert | Onslow, Guildford |
| Denman, Hon. George | Padmore, Richard |
| Eykyn, Roger | Parry, Thomas |
| Fawcett, Henry | Peel, John (Tamworth) |
| Goldsmid, Sir Franc. H. (Reading) | Peto, Sir S. Morton |
| Gorst, John Elden | Platt, John |
| Grant, Albert | Pollard-Urquhart, William |
| Gridley, Captain Henry G. | Power, Sir James |
| Gurney, The Right Hon. Russell | Pritchard, John |
| Hadfield, George | Rearden, Denis Joseph |
| Harvey, Robert Bateson (Bucks.) | Robartes, Thomas James Agar |
| Hay, Lord John (Ripon) | Robertson, David (Berwickshire) |
| Hay, Lord William M. (Taunt.) | Stansfeld, James |
| Henderson, John | Stock, Osborne |
| Hibbert, John Tomlinson | Talbot, Chris. Rice Mansel |
| Hodgkinson, Grosvenor | Taylor, Peter Alfred (Leicester) |
| Holden, Isaac | Watkin, Edward William |
| Hughes, Thomas (Lambeth) | Whatman, James |
| Hurst, Robert Henry | White, James (Brighton) |
| Jackson, William | Whitworth, Benjamin |
| Jervoise, Sir Jervoise Clarke | Wyld, James |
| King, Hn. P. Jn. Locke (Surr. E.) | Wyndham, Hon. P. (Cumb. W.) |
| Labouchere, Henry | Yorke, John Reginald |
| Langton, W. Gore | Young, Richard (Cambridgesh.) |
| Leatham, William Henry | |

The following Members Paired in favour of the Motion:—

E. James	Sir John Gray
G. O. Trevelyan	T. B. Potter
T. B. Horsfall	Capt. Stacpoole
Gen. Forester	

THE PETITIONS HAVE BEEN SIGNED, AMONG OTHERS,
BY THE FOLLOWING LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—

Very Rev. the Dean of Canterbury	Professor Cairnes
Mrs Alford	Mrs Cairnes
Stair Agnew, Esq., Advocate	Rev. Henry Calderwood, L.L.D.
Captain Aitken, R.N.	Mrs Calderwood
Mrs Alexander	Professor Campbell
Lady Amberley	W. B. Carpenter, Esq., M.D.
Alex. Anderson, Esq., M.D., R.N.	J. B. Clarke, Esq.
Rev. W. Anderson, L.L.D.	Mrs Clarke
Major Arnaud	Mrs Clemens
Edwin Arnold, Esq.	Handel Cossham, Esq.
Countess D'Avigdor	Robert Cox, Esq., W.S.
Professor Bain	D. Crawford, Esq., Advocate
Mrs Bain	Rev. D. Croom
Professor Baynes	Rev. H. Crosskey
Miss Becker	Mrs Crosskey
F. W. Bedford, L.L.D.	—Davidson, Esq., Inverness
Mrs Bedford	Miss Emily Davies
Rev. J. Peden Bell	Mrs Eddington of Glenreggan
Rear-Admiral Birch	William Farr, Esq., M.D.
Miss Bird	Mrs Ferguson, Dowie Vale
Rev. John Black	Andrew Findlater, L.L.D.
Howard Blyth, Esq.	Mrs G. Dingwall Fordyce
Colonel Boswell	Professor Fraser
Miss Boucherett	Mrs Fraser
Sam. Bough, Esq., R.S.A.	W. N. Fraser, Esq., of Tornarven
Mrs Bough	Mrs Fraser
Rev. F. W. B. Bouverie	Rev. Donald Fraser, Inverness
Rev. James Brown, M.A.	Adam Gifford, Esq., Advocate
Mrs S. Brown	Dr Gilchrist
Rev. H. G. D. Bunsen	Rev. George Gilfillan
Colonel Burgmann, R.E.	Mrs Gilfillan
Mrs J. H. Burton	Captain Gleig

Lady Goldsmid	Rev. James Martineau
D. Gordon, Esq., M.D.	Professor Masson
James Gordon, Esq., of Manar	Mrs Masson
Mrs Gordon	J. D. Mill, Esq., Advocate
Lord R. Sutherland Leveson Gower	W. M'Combie, Esq.
Rev. Wm. Graham	Wm. M'Crie, Esq.
Will. Graham, L.L.D.	Mrs M'Crie
Rev. Andrew Gray, M.A.	Dr M'Culloch
Mrs Gray	Mrs M'Culloch
Dr Grierson	George M'Donald, Esq.
George Grote, Esq.	Rev. J. M'Ewen, M.A.
Mrs Grote	Dr. M'Kay, Cromarty
Rev. Thos. Guthrie, D.D.	Mrs M'Kinnell
W. Guthrie, Esq., Advocate	John M'Laren, Esq., Advocate
Dr. Guthrie, Brechin	J. F. M'Lennan, Esq., Advocate
Rev. James Haig	Thomas Nelson, Esq.
Mrs Haig, Cameron House	Wm. Nelson, Esq.
Rev. Newman Hall	Mrs Nelson
D. O. Hill, Esq., R.S.A.	Professor Newman
Mrs D. O. Hill	Professor Nichol
Mr Commissioner M. D. Hill, Q.C.	Alex. Nicolson, Esq., Advocate
Maj. Ferguson Home of Bassendean	Florence Nightingale
W. B. Hodgson, L.L.D.	A. Ogston, Esq., M.D.
Lord Houghton	Mrs Oliphant
Mary Howitt	Rev. J. Pirie
Professor Huxley	Lyon Playfair, C.B.
Professor Kelland	Mrs Lyon Playfair
Rev. Charles Kingsley	Rev. William Pulsford
J. Boyd Kinnear, Esq.	Samuel Raleigh, Esq.
Isa Craig Knox	Mrs Raleigh
Professor Kirk	Admiral Ramsay
Rev. George Laing	Rev. Henry Renton, M.A.
Lady Anna Gore Langton	Lady Richardson
Rev. J. Law	Rev. James Robertson
Mrs Lawrence	Mrs Robertson
E. Lemmi, L.L.D.	Rev. John Robson, D.D.
H. Fraser Leslie, Esq., of Powis	Mrs Robson
W. L. Lindsay, Esq., M.D.	Lord Romilly
Rev. Adam Lind, Elgin	Rev. David Russel
Josiah Livingstone, Esq.	Mrs Russel
Mrs Livingstone	Archdeacon Sandford
Rev. Alexander Lowrie	Rev. D. F. Sandford
Mrs Lowrie	A. C. Sellar, Esq., Advocate
A. J. G. Mackay, Esq., Advocate	E. H. Sieveking, Esq., M.D.
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Rev. F. D. Maurice	Lady Simpson

Miss Sinclair, Wick
 Rev. Mr. Sinclair, Invergordon
 Professor Goldwin Smith
 Harry Smith, Esq., Advocate
 John Smith, Esq.
 J. C. Smith, Esq., Advocate
 William Smith, Esq.
 Mrs Smith
 Mrs Mary Somerville
 Mrs Spalding
 Rev. Thomas Stark, Lanark
 Mrs John Stewart
 Professor Struthers
 Mrs Struthers
 Mrs Suther
 Miss Suther
 Rev. James Tait
 Rev. Dr Taylor
 Mrs P. A. Taylor

Miss Helen Taylor
 Rev. Dr Temple, Rugby School
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 Sir David Wedderburn, Bart.
 Rev. Robert Whyte, M.A.
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 Rev. J. Wolstenholme
 Wm. Wright, Esq., R.E.
 Sir G. Young, Bart.

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SECOND ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

OF THE

MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,
DECEMBER 15th, 1869.

MANCHESTER:
ALEXANDER IRELAND & CO., PRINTERS.
1869.

Spottiswoode & Co., Printers, New-street Square and 30 Parliament Street.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

1868—1869.

AT the close of another year of their labours, your committee have again the satisfaction of appearing with a report of the most encouraging character as regards the progress of the movement.

They are able to do this, although the first event in the year's history was the adverse decision on the appeal cases in the Court of Common Pleas. That decision was undoubtedly a heavy blow to those who anticipated that the rights and privileges of citizenship would be judicially declared to be co-extensive with liability to bear its burdens, and that women who possessed the qualification and paid the rates prescribed by the Representation of the People Act, 1867, would be found to be entitled to the franchises given by that Act. It is now law that the same words in the same Act of Parliament shall, for the purpose of voting, apply to men only, but for the purpose of taxation shall include women. By this decision was verified the prospective comment of *The Times* in a leading article a few days previously, which declared, with reference to women's right to vote, "if they are refused it, the nation will, no doubt, be formally and in the light of day committing itself, through its judicial tribunal, to the dangerous doctrine that representation need not go along with taxation."

The two cases obtained by your committee for appeal to the Court of Common Pleas were—1. Those of 5,346 women householders of Manchester, who had sent in their claims to be placed on the Parliamentary register under the provisions of the

New Reform Act. 2. That of a lady who claimed to be put on the register of voters for South East Lancashire under the statute 8, Henry VI., which secures the right of voting in the election of knights of the shire in each county to "people dwelling and resident therein, of whom each has freehold to the value of forty shillings by the year."

The cases were argued before the Court of Common Pleas, on the 7th November, 1868. The counsel for the appellants were the present Solicitor-General, Sir J. D. Coleridge, with Dr. Pankhurst. Sir John Coleridge, in a long and elaborate argument, spoke in favour of the ancient constitutional right of women to take part in parliamentary elections. He produced copies from the Record Office of several indentures returning members to parliament, the signatures to which were in the handwriting of women, or to which women were parties. The rights thus exercised had, he contended, never been taken away by statute. He also contended that the general term "man" in the new Reform Act included women, not only generally, but specifically, under the provisions of Lord Romilly's Act, which governs the interpretation of all subsequent statutes. Mr. Mellish followed on the other side.

Two cases of appeal were obtained in Salford, the whole expenses of which were generously borne by the then Mayor and Mayoress of Salford, Mr. and Mrs. Pochin. 1. That of 1,341 women who had been placed on the register by the overseers, and struck off by the revising barrister, though no one had objected to them. In this case the point was the question of jurisdiction. 2. That of 857 women of Broughton and Pendleton who had sent in their claims to the overseers to be put on the register for Salford. Mr. J. A. Russell, Q.C., was the counsel retained for these cases, but only the first of them was argued and decided on the ground that, as the case had been taken in the name of a woman as appellant, the court could not hear it, as a woman has no right to the appeal granted by the Registration Act. The second case was identical in principle with that of the Manchester claimants. In the course of Mr. Russell's arguments it appeared from the interlocutions from the bench that had the

question concerned men the barrister would have had no jurisdiction over names already on the register and not objected to, but one of the judges suggested that he would have had the right to remove the name of a dog or a horse from the register, and, therefore, by implication, identified the political status of women with that of the domestic animals.

The final judgment in the cases brought by this committee, was given on Monday, November 9, 1868. In each the decision of the revising barrister rejecting the claims was confirmed; but the judges declared that, considering their public importance, these were not cases in which costs should be allowed. The appeals were therefore dismissed, without costs. These decisions governed any other cases before the court. As soon as the adverse decision was pronounced, notes were dispatched by your committee to all the candidates in England and Wales, it being the eve of the general election, asking them whether, if returned, they would support a Bill for granting the suffrage to women, on the same conditions as it is given to men. Many replies of a most satisfactory character were received.

The decision in the Court of Common Pleas did not affect the register in those cases where women occupiers had been placed or left thereon by the revising barrister; thus, it happened, that in many districts in various parts of the country, women appeared on the list of voters.

It seemed desirable to your committee that as many as possible of these should vote at the general election, in order to furnish proof that the incapacity of women was purely theoretical, and that they were both able and willing to exercise the suffrage whenever the legal disability was removed. A short circular was therefore prepared and sent to each woman elector, pointing out the fact that the decision of the Court of Common Pleas had not removed her name from the register, and exhorting her to record her vote.

In Salford your committee resolved to canvass the few women overlooked by Mr. Hosack in his revision of the list, and found that most of them would go to the poll. They received the utmost courtesy and assistance from the election committees of both Liberal and Conservative parties, each of which undertook to bring

to the poll those women voters who should express their intention of voting for their respective candidates.

In Manchester, about a dozen women were discovered on the register by the canvassers in the various wards, and their names sent in to your secretary. On being visited, all but three or four were willing to record their votes. It is hardly necessary to say that this canvass was conducted solely with regard to the interest of the women's suffrage question, and that no effort was made to sway the political sentiments of the voters. Equal pains was bestowed to explain to the women of either party the position they held as electors, and the duty of supporting the candidates of their choice.

On the day of election, the votes promised were duly recorded amid the cheers of those assembled in the polling places, who testified their sympathy in the cause by manifestations of pleasure and approbation whenever a woman elector appeared. Always was the vote eagerly listened for, and each time the friends of the chosen candidates cheered on obtaining the support of the feminine element of the constituency. Your committee record with satisfaction that the principle of women's suffrage received the sympathy and sanction of both the political parties engaged last election in contesting the representation of Manchester.

Altogether, so far as could be ascertained, eight women voted for the Liberals, and one for the Conservatives, in this city. Though this may seem a small proportion, it must be remembered that there were only thirteen or fourteen on the register; that many of them were in humble life, and had never been concerned in public affairs, and that the proposal to vote was startling from its novelty. Under these circumstances it was not surprising to find them partakers of the natural disinclination most persons feel for doing anything unusual; but the agent of your committee was considerably surprised to find that in the majority of cases the motive which alone had power to overcome this disinclination was that of genuine political feeling. On the morning of the polling day, when every other argument failed, it needed but to announce the state of the poll, showing that their friends needed support, to scatter objections to the winds, and secure the willing

attendance of the voter. These persons ranged in social grade from the rank of well-to-do shopkeepers down to that of the very poorest labourer; they were brought together in a chance medley by the accidental resemblance of their Christian names to those of men, so that it cannot be maintained that they were "exceptional women," or selected specimens. Yet the intelligence and interest displayed by them in the election, and matters connected therewith, would have done credit to any similar body of male electors; and if these may be accepted as a fair sample of the 10,000 women ratepayers of Manchester, we are justified in assuming that the class we are now seeking to enfranchise will not be the least valuable and important contingent of the electoral power of the city.

In the election for South-East Lancashire, the assistance of your committee was sought in polling the women £12 occupiers who had been placed on the register by the overseers of Gorton. Twelve women voted in Gorton, and ten in Levenshulme. One lady travelled from Leeds for the purpose of taking part in the election. At Oldham one woman voted, but the vote was afterwards struck off on a scrutiny. In various other constituencies women appear to have recorded their votes at the general election; but the details have not come to the knowledge of your committee.

At the test ballot which was organised by the United Liberal party for the purpose of selecting a candidate in the event of a vacancy occurring in the representation of this city, all the women who had voted for that party at the general election received circulars of invitation, and took part in the ballot.

During the spring of 1869 public meetings were held at the following places:—Rochdale, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Choppington, Carlisle, Leeds, Dukinfield, Cheetham Hill, Longsight, Hunslet, and Holbeck; addresses were delivered, the principle of women's suffrage was discussed, and objections were answered. In each case a petition to the House of Commons for the enfranchisement of women was adopted by the meeting, and your committee have reason to believe that much good was thereby effected in arousing interest and disseminating information on the question.

The visit to Carlisle resulted in the formation of a branch of the National Society in that city, which promises, under the auspices of its energetic secretary, Miss Smith, to become an effective centre of operations for the North of England.

As soon as parliament assembled, your committee proceeded to lay before the legislature the appeal for the representation of women which had been rejected by the courts of law. They co-operated with the other societies in the endeavour to promote petitions, all over the country, in favour of women's suffrage. Petitions to the House of Commons, with this object, were sent from the following places during the session of 1869 through the efforts of friends and correspondents of this committee:—Alderley and Chorley, Ashton-under-Lyne, Ambleside, Barmouth, Bolton, Bootle, Cambridge, Fellows of Colleges—Cambridge University, Carlisle, Cheetham Hill, Choppington, Clayton-le-Moors, Cocker mouth, Denbigh, Dukinfield, Dumfries, Dyffryn, Garstang, Haslingden, Hayward's Heath, Holbeck, Hunslet, Kendal, Knutsford, Lancaster, English residents in Lisbon, Liverpool, Longsight, Manchester, Middleton and Tonge, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Ottenfell, Oxford, Fellows of Colleges—Oxford University, Preston, Rivington, Rusholme, Sabden, Salford, Southport, Stockport, Stoke-upon-Trent, Teignmouth and Shaldon, Waterloo, Weare Gifford, Whitehaven.

From Manchester 14 petitions with 9,000 signatures were sent up; from Salford eight petitions, with about 4,000 signatures. The total number of petitions for women's suffrage presented to the House of Commons in 1869 is 255, with 61,475 signatures; of these 87, signed by 21,132 persons, were sent by members and friends of the Manchester Society; eight of these petitions were from public meetings, signed by the chairman, so that the signatures represent the opinions of large numbers of persons.

Your committee now turn with satisfaction to record the substantial triumph of the year in the extension of the municipal franchise to women. They are justified in asserting that this great victory would not have been obtained without the efforts and influence of the Manchester Society, on which the entire work outside of parliament, devolved.

The occasion of the introduction of a Bill by Mr. Hibbert, dealing with the conditions of the municipal franchise, was employed by Mr. Jacob Bright, to propose the omission of the word "male" from the Bill, and the insertion of a clause securing to women the right to vote in municipal elections. He was ably seconded in this by Sir Charles W. Dilke and Mr. Peter Rylands.

Information respecting the ancient and existing rights of women to vote in local affairs was carefully collected from authentic sources, and widely distributed by your committee. A circular letter was sent to each member of parliament, enclosing a statement of this information. In substance it amounted to this: that before the passing of the Municipal Corporation Act of 1835, women ratepayers had rights equal and similar to those of men in matters pertaining to local government and expenditure; that in non-corporate districts they exercise such rights, under the provisions of the Public Health Act, and other statutes, which carefully guard the electoral privileges of the whole body of ratepayers; that, immediately on the incorporation of any district into a municipal borough, the women ratepayers in such district were summarily disfranchised, while those not included within its boundaries remained possessed of votes. That women can vote in parochial matters, and take part in vestry meetings, called for various purposes, such as the election of churchwardens, wardens, appointment of overseers, sale of parish property, and, formerly, the levying of church-rates. They can also vote in the election of poor-law guardians. In none of these ancient voting customs, and in no Act of Parliament prior or subsequent to 1835, was the sex of the ratepayers taken into consideration as either a qualification or disqualification for the right of voting in local affairs.

Petitions embodying these facts, and praying for the removal of the disabilities imposed on women by the Act of 1835 were extensively signed and presented to both Houses of Parliament.

In the House of Commons on June 7th, 1869, on consideration of the Municipal Franchise Bill as amended, Mr. Jacob Bright rose to move that in this Act and the said recited Act (Municipal Corporation Reform Act, 1835), 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 election of or power to elect representatives of any municipal corporation. He stated that his object was to give the municipal vote to every ratepayer within the municipal limits; to give to municipal property the representation which all property enjoyed elsewhere; that, had the proposition been an innovation, a departure from the custom and customary legislation of the country, he would not have brought it in as an amendment to a Bill; but that his object was to *remove an innovation*—to resist one of the most remarkable invasions of long established rights which the legislation of this or any other country could show. The Bill before the house was an amendment of the Municipal Corporation Act of 1835. That Act was the only Act in regard to local expenditure and local government which established this disability. Before and since, all Acts of Parliament gave every local vote to every ratepayer. The Health of Towns Act of 1848 had a clause almost identical with the one he was moving. He was therefore asking the house not only to make the Bill in harmony with the general legislation of the country, but to allow it to be in harmony with its latest expressed convictions as shown in the Act of 1848. There were in England 78 non-corporate towns which were not parliamentary boroughs, with populations varying from 20,000 to 6,000. In these every ratepayer voted. There was little if any difference between their government and that of municipal towns. Who could assign a reason why women should vote in one and not in the other? Every parochial vote was in the hands of the whole body of ratepayers. Women held the most important parochial offices. The sister of the member for Stockport had acted as overseer. Miss Burdett Coutts had been urged to take the office of guardian. Had she been a large ratepayer in a municipal town, what an absurdity to shut her out from the vote! He then showed how the process of disfranchisement was going on, and quoted Darlington and Southport. The latter town was incorporated in 1867. In 1866, 2,085 persons were qualified to vote for commissioners; 588 of these were

women. From the moment of incorporation these votes were extinguished without a reason being assigned, though they had exercised them from time immemorial. Such would be the case with any town incorporated for the future. He appealed to the metropolitan members, and showed them that unless his clauses were carried, when they came to establish corporations throughout the metropolis, as some of them desired, all the female ratepayers would be struck off the roll; that over a population of 3,000,000 of people this exclusion would prevail. He stated that where women had the vote they exercised it to an equal degree with the men. Mr. Lings, the Comptroller for the City of Manchester, affirms that according to his experience the number of men and women who vote in local affairs bears a just proportion to the number of each on the register. He showed that as the Bill was a largely enfranchising measure, his clause was in strict harmony with the Bill, but that while the Bill sought to increase the representation of those who were already considerably represented, the clause which he wished to add would give representation to those who within municipal towns were totally deprived of it. He concluded by saying that questions had come to him, since these amendments had been on the paper, from women in different parts of the country, and from those who by their social and intellectual positions might be regarded as representatives of their sex, asking why there should always be this tender regard for the representation, and therefore the protection of men and this apparent disregard for the interest of women; and he appealed to the house, by its decision, to show that as regards these local franchises, it had a common regard for the whole body of ratepayers.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Rylands (Warrington).

Mr. Bruce (the Home Secretary) said that the hon. member had shown conclusively that this proposition was no novelty, and that in every form of local government, except under the Municipal Corporation Act, females were allowed to vote. The clause introduced no anomaly, and he should give it his cordial support.

Mr. Hibbert supported the clause, which was agreed to amid cheers; and, as was also the proposal of Sir C. W. Dilke to leave

out the word "male" in clause 1, passed without a dissentient word or the faintest shadow of opposition.

Your committee desire here to record their high sense of the great ability displayed by Mr. Jacob Bright in his conduct of this question, and their conviction that the tact, judgment, and earnestness with which he pleaded the cause, mainly contributed to the prompt and complete recognition of the claim.

In the House of Lords an attempt was made by Lord Redesdale to reverse the decision of the House of Commons, but the proposal found no seconder, and therefore fell to the ground.

This futile opposition, so far from injuring the cause, was of service, as it proved that the clause was not passed unadvisedly. The House of Lords, after its attention had been specially called to the point, deliberately affirmed the principle of giving women votes, the Earl of Kimberley supporting the proposition on behalf of the government, and Lord Cairns, from the opposition benches, declaring, that "as an unmarried woman could dispose of her property, and deal with it in any way she thought proper, he did not know why she should not have a voice in saying how it should be lighted and watched, and generally in controlling the municipal expenditure to which that property contributed."

The Municipal Franchise Bill received the Royal Assent on August 2, 1869.

The clause placing women on the citizen's roll in municipal boroughs having thus become law, your committee desired to ascertain to what extent women availed themselves of their right to vote wherever a contested election took place on the 1st of November last. A letter, with a form of inquiry, was therefore prepared, and addressed to the Town Clerk of every municipal borough in England and Wales.

By the courtesy of the gentlemen who were good enough to furnish the desired information, your committee are enabled to report that, on the whole, the women voted in far larger proportion than might reasonably have been anticipated considering the novelty of the proceeding, and the fact that many, if not the majority of them, were ignorant of their right to vote till the very time of the contest. In the larger boroughs the proportion was

especially good; and, in Manchester, it fully bore out the experience of Mr. Lings, that, where women and men have votes, the number of each who use the privilege bears a fair proportion to the number of each on the register.

The total number of persons who voted in the nine wards of this city where a contested election took place is 16,262; of these 1,869 were women. The proportion of women to men on the register in these wards is 1 to 6.8. The proportion of women to men who voted was 1 to 7.7. In Salford 7,578 persons polled, of whom 1,110 were women, which gave a proportion of 1 to 5.8 of women to men.

In the borough of Bodmin two ladies voted, one of whom was aged 92 and the other 94 years. Your committee feel peculiar gratification at having been instrumental in procuring the franchise for ladies who have been kept out of it so long, and they trust that these worthy burgesses may yet have the satisfaction of seeing their names enrolled on the list of parliamentary electors for Bodmin.

The returns which have been hitherto received by your committee are tabulated, and presented as an appendix to this report.

The principle of women's suffrage in popular elections having been thus formally recognised by the legislature, and proof having been afforded that women value and use the franchise conferred upon them, the extension of this principle to the parliamentary suffrage seems only a question of time. The opponents of the franchise for women usually rest their case not so much on considerations of justice as of practical convenience, or of sentiment. The objections ordinarily brought forward are just as applicable to the municipal as to the parliamentary vote; and the concession of the former destroys the grounds on which they can be logically urged against the latter.

Deeply impressed with this view, your committee, on July 13th, 1869, passed a resolution to the effect that, having regard to the great advance in public opinion shown in the unanimous assent of the House of Commons to the proposal of Mr. Jacob Bright and Sir Charles W. Dilke with regard to the municipal

franchise, these gentlemen should be requested to prepare and introduce in the House of Commons next session a Bill for securing the parliamentary franchise for women. The committees of London, Edinburgh, Birmingham, Bristol, and Carlisle, were invited to join in the request, and they passed resolutions of similar purport. Copies of the resolution were transmitted to Mr. Jacob Bright and Sir C. W. Dilke, both of whom signified their assent to the proposal contained therein.

The bill which your committee have prepared and recommend for adoption is as follows:—

“A Bill to Remove the Electoral Disabilities of Women.”

“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:—That is to say,
“1. That in all Acts now in force regulating or appertaining 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.”

The passing of this Bill would remove not only the last remaining electoral disability of women, but the last remaining disability imposed by British law on any class of citizens not under legal incapacity to perform other legal acts. One by one the restrictions on the exercise of the franchise by Nonconformists, Catholics, and Jews, have yielded to the demands of the excluded classes, supported by the appeal to constitutional principles and natural justice. It cannot be doubted that the removal of the disabilities of women must speedily follow if the demand be pressed with sufficient perseverance and energy.

The prospect of having a Bill actually before the Legislature necessitates greatly increased effort on the part of the Society, to give adequate support to the gentlemen who have undertaken the charge of the measure. In order to meet the exigencies of the work before them, and to place the Society on a sound financial basis,

your committee deem it necessary to raise a guarantee fund of not less than £5,000, payable over a term of five years in annual instalments of one-fifth of the amount each year. They have already obtained the names of five ladies and gentlemen who have agreed to give £100 each to this fund. They trust that others will be forthcoming, and that the full amount may be speedily raised, so that they may begin their work next year unfettered by financial difficulties. They have mentioned a term of five years, but, judging from the rapid progress of public opinion since the commencement of their labours, they venture to anticipate that if they can obtain the immediate accession to their strength which the possession of the first year’s income would secure, they would be enabled to organise and bring to bear such a force of public sentiment that the object of the society would be attained, and liability for the annual subscription cease long before the expiration of the stipulated period.

They earnestly appeal to those who approve of the manner in which they have hitherto discharged their duties to give them the means of continuing their work, and they engage that the most anxious care and the most untiring assiduity shall be devoted to the employment of the resources entrusted to them in the manner best calculated to promote the interests of the cause.



ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Of the Society, held in the MAYOR'S PARLOUR, TOWN HALL,
MANCHESTER, December 15th, 1869.

The MAYOR OF MANCHESTER in the Chair.

The Secretary read the Report of the Executive Committee.

The Treasurer read the Statement of Accounts.

Resolution I.—Moved by Peter Rylands, Esq., M.P.; seconded
by W. T. Charley, Esq., M.P.—

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

Resolution II.—Moved by Dr. Pankhurst; seconded by Miss
Lilias Ashworth—

That, having regard to the great advance of public opinion shown in the unanimous
assent of both Houses of Parliament to the proposition of Mr. Jacob Bright, Sir
Charles W. Dilke, and Mr. Rylands, for extending the Municipal franchise to
women, this meeting, while gratefully acknowledging the eminent services rendered
to the cause by these gentlemen, respectfully requests them to take steps for the
introduction in the House of Commons early next session of a bill to remove the
remaining electoral disabilities of women.

Resolution III.—Moved by Jacob Bright, Esq., M.P., seconded
by Benjamin Whitworth, Esq.; supported by C. H. Hopwood, Esq.:

That the following persons be appointed the Executive Committee for the ensuing year:—
Miss Barton, Miss Becker, Jacob Bright, Esq., M.P.; Mrs. Jacob Bright, Mrs.
Butler, Thomas Chorlton, Esq.; T. K. Greenbank, Esq.; Mrs. R. R. Moore, Dr.
Pankhurst, R. D. Rusden, Esq.; Rev. S. A. Steinthal, Mrs. Sutcliffe, Mrs. J. P.
Thomasson, Miss A. Wilson, Miss Wolstenholme.

Resolution IV.—Moved by Rev. S. A. Steinthal; seconded by
Miss A. Wilson—

That the Second Rule of the Society shall be altered as follows:—"Approval of the object
of the Society, and an annual subscription of any amount, shall constitute
membership.

Resolution V.—Moved by R. D. Rusden, Esq.; seconded by
Mrs. Josephine E. Butler—

That the best thanks of this meeting be given to the Mayor for allowing the Society the
use of his parlour, and for presiding on the present occasion.

S. ALFRED STEINTHAL,

IN ACCOUNT WITH

THE MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

Dr.

£ s. d.
Oct. 3, 1868, } To Balance in hand..... 2 4 3
to } " Subscriptions and Donations..... 461 18 11
Dec. 1, 1869. } " Reports..... 0 3 4

£464 6 6

Cr.

£ s. d.
By Current expenses paid per Secretary..... 44 2 11
" Grant to Secretary..... 43 0 0
" Canvassing..... 48 9 10
" Public Meetings, per Secretary £9 11 0
" " " Direct..... 9 3 0
" Legal Expenses..... 18 14 0
" Stationery, Publications, &c..... 117 3 8
" Advertising..... 37 7 4
" Furniture..... 12 11 3
" Balance..... 6 9 6
122 8 0

£464 6 6

Audited and found correct,

LOUIS BORCHARDT.

Manchester, December 11th, 1869.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS.

A Friend (anonymous)	£100	0	0
Acworth, Mrs. Edward	1	0	0
Allan, Mr. W.	0	1	0
Anthony, Miss	0	1	0
Ashe, Mrs.	0	2	6
Barmby, Rev. G.	0	2	0
Barmby, Mrs.	0	2	0
Barmby, Miss Julia	0	2	0
Barton, Miss	0	1	0
Bastard, Mr. T. H.	5	0	0
Bazley, Sir Thos., Bart, M.P.	5	0	0
Becker, Miss E.	0	2	6
Bell, Mrs. E. C.	0	10	6
Binns, Mrs.	0	1	0
Blackburn, Mrs.	20	0	0
Bland, Mrs.	0	1	0
Blinkhorn, Mr. O.	0	2	6
Bluhm, Mrs.	0	10	0
Bolton, Mr. C.	0	1	0
Borchardt, Dr.	1	0	0
Borchardt, Miss Helene	0	2	0
Boucherett, Miss J.	5	0	0
Boyce, Mr. J.	0	1	0
Bramley, Mr. W. F.	0	1	0
Bramley, Mrs.	0	1	0
Bright, Mrs. Jacob	30	0	0
Bright, Mrs. H.	0	10	0
Brine, Mrs.	0	2	6
Butler, Mrs. Josephine E.	4	0	0
Cann, Mr. A.	0	1	0
Cann, Mrs.	0	1	0
Carbutt, Miss	1	1	0
Carryer, Mr. S.	0	5	0
Clarke, Mr. A. C.	0	1	0
Clarke, Mrs. Cowden	0	5	0
Coppock, Major	0	10	0
Crabtree, Mrs.	0	1	0
Crook, Mr. J.	1	0	0
Dunckley, Mr. H.	0	10	0
Edwards, Mrs.	0	1	0
Embleton, Mrs.	0	1	0
Forrest, Miss	0	1	0
Foster, Mrs.	0	10	0
Fryer, Mr. A.	1	0	0
Gaddum, Mrs. H.	2	0	0
Gaunt, Mr. J.	0	3	2
Glover, Rev. B.	0	1	0

Grece, Mrs.	£0	10	0
Greenbank, Professor	1	0	0
Greenfield, Mrs.	0	1	0
Greenfield, Miss O.	0	1	0
Gwynne, Mrs.	1	0	0
Gwynne, Miss	1	0	0
Hall, Mr. Thos.	5	0	0
Harcourt, Mr. A. Vernon	0	10	0
Harvey, Alderman	0	10	0
Haslam, Mrs.	0	10	0
Heatherley, Mrs.	0	1	0
Hebden, Mrs.	0	1	0
Heywood, Mrs. Abel	2	2	0
Hill, Mr. J.	0	1	0
Hindle, Mrs.	0	2	6
Holland, Mr. A.	0	5	0
Holland, Miss C.	0	10	0
Hooper, Mr. W. B.	0	2	6
Hope, Mrs.	1	0	0
Hopps, Rev. J. P.	0	1	0
Howell, Mrs.	0	1	6
Hume-Rothery, Mrs.	0	2	0
Hunter, Mr. H.	0	2	6
Ireland, Mr. A.	1	1	0
Jack, Miss	0	1	0
Jones, Miss Eliza	0	2	0
Kenwick, Mrs.	0	1	0
King, Mr.	1	0	0
King, Mrs.	1	0	0
Kingsford, Mrs.	1	1	0
Kitchener, Mr. F. E.	0	2	0
Kitchener, Mrs.	0	1	0
Kyllmann, Mrs. E.	5	0	0
Kyllmann, Mrs. Max... ..	5	0	0
Layton, Mrs.	0	10	0
Leighton, Mr. A.	0	5	0
Lewin, Miss	0	5	0
Lewis, Mrs.	0	2	0
Lister, Mrs.	1	1	0
Lord, Miss E. H.	0	1	0
Lupton, Miss Harriet	0	5	0
Lupton, Mr. J.	0	10	0
Marshall, Mr. S.	1	0	0
Marshall, Mr. F.	1	0	0
Marshall, Miss T.	0	2	0
Martindale, Mrs.	1	0	0
Mears, Mrs.	0	1	0
Miall, Miss S. F.	0	5	0
Mill, Mr. J. S.	35	0	0
Mitchell, Mr. J.	0	2	6
Moore, Mrs. R. R.	0	10	0
Morrison, Mr. W., M.P.	15	0	0
Muir, Mrs.	0	10	0
Mundella, Mr. A. J., M.P.	0	5	0
Myers, Mr. E.	5	0	0
Myers, Mr. F. W. H.	5	0	0
Needham, Mrs.	0	1	0
Nicol, Mr. H.	2	2	0
Nicol, Miss L.	0	10	0
Oxley, Misses	0	5	0

Pankhurst, Dr.	£1	1	0
Pattison, Miss	0	1	0
Paulton, Mr. A. W.	20	0	0
Paulton, Mrs.	5	0	0
Peiser, Mr. J.	0	5	0
Pennington, Mrs.	20	0	0
Phillips, Mrs.	0	1	0
Phillpotts, Mr. J. S.	0	3	6
Pitman, Mr. H.	0	10	0
Porter, Miss	0	5	0
Potter, Mr. T. B., M.P.	1	1	0
Rae, Mr. W. F.	0	10	6
Rhoades, Mr. J. H.	0	5	0
Richards, Mr. E. M.	2	0	0
Rigbye, Miss H.	3	0	0
Roberts, Mrs.	0	1	0
Row, Miss	0	1	0
Royston, Mrs.	0	2	6
Rugg, Miss	1	1	0
Rumney, Alderman	2	2	0
Rusden, Mr. R. D.	1	1	0
Rutson, Mr. A. O.	0	1	0
Sales, Mr. H. H.	0	2	6
Sellers, Mr. C.	0	2	6
Shields, Mrs. W.	0	5	0
Shrewsbury, Rev. J. V. B.	0	1	3
Skinner, Miss Maude	0	1	0
Smith, Miss	0	5	0
Smith, Mr. F. H.	0	1	0
Smith, Mr. J. Stores	0	5	0
Smith, Mr. Walter	5	0	0
Steinthal, Mr. H. M.	2	2	0
Steinthal, Rev. S. A.	1	1	0
Stepney, Mr. W. F. Cowell	0	10	0
Suteliffe, Mr. R.	0	5	0
Suteliffe, Mrs.	1	0	0
Taunton, Miss Helen	25	0	0
Taylor, Miss Helen	0	2	0
Temple, Rev. Dr.	20	0	0
Thomasson, Mrs. J. P.	30	0	0
Thomasson, Mr. Thos.	0	2	6
Todd, Mr.	0	2	6
Tootal, Miss	0	1	0
Watts, Mrs. Alfred	1	0	0
Whitehead, Mrs. J. B.	10	0	0
Whitworth, Mr. B.	0	2	6
Whyte, Mr. A. C.	0	5	0
Wilson, Miss Alice	2	2	0
Winkworth, Mrs S.	1	1	0
Wolstenholme, Miss	1	0	0
Wood, Mrs. W. Thorold	0	2	0
Woodhead, Mr. H.	0	2	0



MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS, 1869.

Name of Borough.	Total No. of Voters on Register.	Number of Women on Register.	Proportion of Women to Men on Register.	No. of Wards in Borough.	No. of Wards Contested, Nov. 1, 1869.	Total No. of Persons who Voted.	Number of Women who Voted.	Proportion of Women to Men who Voted.
Abingdon	793	83	1 to 8.5	1	1	622	49	1 to 11.7
Banbury	683	83	1 to 7.2	1	0	0	0	
Basingstoke	727	93	1 to 6.7			422	26	1 to 15.2
Bath	5,980	1,250	1 to 3.8	7	2	832	111	1 to 6.5
Bedford	2,305	243	1 to 8.4	2	2	643	5	1 to 127.6
Berwick-on-Tweed	1,652	173	1 to 7.5	3	0	0	0	
Bewdley	397	32	1 to 11.4	1	0	0	0	
Bideford	1,037	140	1 to 6.4	1	1	731	73	1 to 9
Bodmin	660	93	1 to 6.1	1	1	473	53	1 to 7.9
Bolton	19,656	1,533	1 to 11.9			9,707	1,112	1 to 7.8
Bridport	1,134	128	1 to 7.8	2	2	838	78	1 to 9.7
Bristol	19,880	2,465	1 to 7	10	1	1,355	242	1 to 4.6
Bury St. Edmunds	1,613	250	1 to 5.4	3	0	0	0	
Canterbury	2,948	360	1 to 7.2	3	1	27	0	
Cardiff	3,819	317	1 to 11	2	1	304	3	1 to 100.3
Carmarthen	1,260	234	1 to 4.4	2	2	818	107	1 to 6.6
Chard	162	83	1 to 4	1	1	107	7	1 to 14.2
Chester	5,525	698	1 to 6.9	5	4	1,865	150	1 to 11.4
Clitheroe	1,335	224	1 to 5	1	0	0	0	
Colchester	3,419	324	1 to 9.5	3	0	0	0	
Coventry	6,572	799	1 to 7.2	5	3	36	1	1 to 35
Dartmouth	631	72	1 to 7.7	1	1	337	13	1 to 24.9
Deal	1,065	147	1 to 6.2	2	1	288	21	1 to 12.2
Denbigh	917	84	1 to 9.9	1	0	0	0	
Derby	8,904	970	1 to 8	6	0	0	0	
Devizes	757	60	1 to 11.4	2	0	0	0	
Doncaster	1,050	187	1 to 4.6	2	2	638	83	1 to 6.6
Dorchester	769	74	1 to 9.4	1	0	0	0	
Dover	3,202	352	1 to 8.1	3	2	1,328	98	1 to 12.5
Droitwich	591	35	1 to 15.9	1	0	0	0	
Durham	2,053	314	1 to 5.5	3	1	561	63	1 to 9.5
Evesham	711	100	1 to 6.1	1	0	0	0	
Exeter	4,780	699	1 to 5.8	6	6	3,345	396	1 to 7.4
Falmouth	427	61	1 to 6	1	1	176	9	1 to 18.5
Faversham	873	110	1 to 6.9	1	0	0	0	
Flint	688	53	1 to 11.9	1	1	144	0	
Gateshead	3,754	327	1 to 10.4	3	0	0	0	
Godalming	284	0		1	1	106	0	
Gravesend	2,290	135	1 to 16.6	2	0	0	0	
Great Torrington	495	86	1 to 4.7	1	1	428	73	1 to 4.8
Grimsby	3,298	198	1 to 15.6	1	1	1,765	60	1 to 28.4
Guildford	1,082	171	1 to 5.3	1	1	826	104	1 to 6.9
Harwich	663	62	1 to 9.7	1	1	242	13	1 to 17.5
Haverfordwest	934	128	1 to 6.3	1	1	647	62	1 to 9.4
Helston	418	0		1	1	370	0	
Hereford	2,648			3	1			
Hereford (1 ward)	1,035	160	1 to 5.4			715	91	1 to 6.8
Hertford	667	89	1 to 6.4	1	1	540	59	1 to 8.1
Ipswich	5,045	503	1 to 9	5	1	260	7	1 to 37.1
King's Lynn	2,869	462	1 to 5.2	3	0	0	0	
Lancaster	1,424	0		3	0	0	0	
Leicester	12,160	870	1 to 12.9	7	3	3,570	265	1 to 12.4
Leominster	910	119	1 to 6.6	1	1	477	18	1 to 25.5
Lichfield	1,195	169	1 to 6	2	0	0	0	
Lincoln	4,153	397	1 to 9.4	3	0	0	0	
Liskeard	729	96	1 to 6.6	1	1	416	22	1 to 17.9
Lyme Regis	359	67	1 to 4.3	1	1	79	6	1 to 13.1
Maidenhead	418	51	1 to 7.2			246	14	1 to 16.5
Maidstone	3,337	344	1 to 8.7	4	1	379	33	1 to 10.5
Maldon	869	80	1 to 9.8	1	0	0	0	

Name of Borough.	Total No. of Voters on Register.	Number of Women on Register.	Proportion of Women to Men on Register.	No. of Wards in Borough.	No. of Wards contested Nov. 1, 1869.	Total No. of Persons who Voted.	Number of Women who Voted.	Proportion of Women to Men who Voted.
Manchester.....	52,087	7,187	1 to 6.2	15	9	16,262	1,869	1 to 7.7
Manchester (9 wards).....	28,365	3,599	1 to 6.8			393	17	1 to 22
Marlborough.....	514	35	1 to 14.2	1	1	81	4	1 to 19
Morpeth.....	694	129	1 to 4.3	1	1	804	0	
Neath.....	1,082	0		1	1	473	49	1 to 8
Newark.....	2,060	233	1 to 7.8	3	1	1,170	64	1 to 17.2
Newcastle-on-Tyne.....	12,693	1,370	1 to 8.2	9	3	2,209	78	1 to 27.5
Northampton.....	5,609	394	1 to 13.2	3	2	0	0	
Oswestry.....	1,230	196	1 to 5.2	2	0	363	16	1 to 21.7
Penryn.....	624	49	1 to 11.8	1	1	527	46	1 to 10.4
Penzance.....	1,462	306	1 to 3.7	2	2	331	7	1 to 46.2
Pontefract.....	714	69	1 to 9.3	1	1	4,771	521	1 to 8.1
Preston.....	12,317	1,735	1 to 6	6	3	0	0	
Reading.....	3,461	482	1 to 6.1	3	0	0	0	
Richmond, Yorkshire.....	572	69	1 to 7.2	1	0	523	0	
Ripon.....	820	0		1	1	0	0	
Rochester.....	2,393	178	1 to 12.4	3	0	110	30	1 to 2.6
Ruthin.....	666	135	1 to 3.9	1	1	788	93	1 to 7.4
Ryde, Isle of Wight.....	1,631	298	1 to 4.4	2	2	492	26	1 to 17.9
Rye.....	583	43	1 to 12.5	1	1	402	28	1 to 13.3
St. Albans.....	1,032	116	1 to 8.9	1	1	0	0	
St. Ives, Cornwall.....	1,019	0		1	0	7,544	1,123	1 to 5.7
Salford.....	19,552	2,769	1 to 5.6	8	5	1,674	97	1 to 16.3
Scarborough.....	3,487	528	1 to 5.6	2	2	0	0	
Southport.....	2,624	656	1 to 3	4	4	0	0	
Southwold.....	630	80	1 to 6.8	1	0	49	0	
Stafford.....	2,058	171	1 to 11	2	2	0	0	
Stamford.....	1,289	158	1 to 7.1	2	0	2,524	193	1 to 12
Stockton.....	3,550	350	1 to 8.5	4	4	0	0	
Stratford-on-Avon.....	558	86	1 to 5.8	1	0	922	64	1 to 13.4
Truro.....	1,636	268	1 to 5.1	2	2	270	19	1 to 13.2
Wallingford.....	364	35	1 to 9.4	1	1	1,662	47	1 to 34.4
Walsall.....	5,892	246	1 to 22.9	3	1	450	40	1 to 10.2
Wells.....	611	68	1 to 8.2	1	1	0	0	
Welshpool.....	1,278	89	1 to 13.3	1	0	263	7	1 to 36.3
Winchester (1 ward).....	1,863	231	1 to 7	3	1	902	103	1 to 7.9
Wisbech.....	1,605	290	1 to 4.5	2	2	0	0	
York.....	7,316	1,044	1 to 7	6	0			

* The Town Clerk made no definite report as to the women voting, but writes "A goodly number. The number who polled surprised us all."



THE FOLLOWING PETITIONS
FOR THE
PARLIAMENTARY SUFFRAGE FOR WOMEN,

Were presented to the House of Commons during the Session of 1869.

DATE.	DESCRIPTION OF PETITION.	BY WHOM PRESENTED.	NO. OF NAMES.
Feb. 18	Inhabitants of Ramsgate.....	Mr. P. A. Taylor.....	15
" 22	" Scarborough.....	"	412
" 22	" Deal	"	72
" 25	" Bolton	Colonel Gray	713
" 26	" Reigate	Mr. P. A. Taylor.....	16
" 26	" Shrewsbury ...	"	63
Mar. 1	" Barmouth.....	Mr. J. Bright	36
" 2	" Dyffryn	"	40
" 4	" Pinner	Mr. P. A. Taylor.....	127
" 5	" Matlock Bank	"	29
" 8	" Swansea	Mr. Dillwyn.....	61
" 8	Jane Wigham	Mr. Mc Laren	1
" 8	Margaret Armour	"	1
" 8	Lilias Craig, &c.	"	2
" 8	Jane Meik	"	1
" 8	Margaret & Elizabeth Hunter..	"	2
" 8	E. Annie Macqueen	"	1
" 10	Inhabitants of Sabden	Mr. Starkie	42
" 11	Mary Park	Mr. Miller.....	1
" 11	Elizabeth Wilson	"	1
" 11	Mary Cockburn	"	1
" 11	Mary Veitch	"	1
" 11	Inhabitants of Petersfield ...	Mr. P. A. Taylor.....	115
" 11	" Tunbridge.....	"	31
" 15	" Sunderland ...	Mr. Candlish ..	20
" 15	" Blackrock	Mr. J. T. Hamilton...	121
" 15	" Kingston	Colonel Taylor.....	528
" 15	" Leominster ...	P. A. Taylor	36
" 16	" Hendon, Mid- dlesex	Viscount Enfield.....	57
" 16	" Grt. Stanmore	"	16
" 17	" Canterbury ...	Sir W. Lawson	78
" 17	" South Shields.	Mr. Stevenson.....	58
" 18	Elizabeth King	Mr. Mc Laren	1
" 18	Mobena Moffat	"	1
" 18	Helen Steel	"	1

DATE.	DESCRIPTION OF PETITION	BY WHOM PRESENTED.	NO. OF NAMES.
Mar. 18	Christiana and Jesse Bartholomew	Mr. Mc Laren	2
" 22	Anne Chalmers.....	"	1
" 23	Women of Edinburgh	"	153
" 23	Inhabitants of Margate	Mr. Lusk	59
" 23	" Stranraer.....	Mr. George Young	40
" 23	" Rivington.....	Mr. Jacob Bright	8
April 1	Public Meeting, Carlisle	Sir W. Lawson	(Seal) 1
" 5	Inhabitants of Monmouth	Mr. P. A. Taylor.....	11
" 5	" Bridgewater	"	27
" 5	" Ambleside	Colonel Patten.....	78
" 7	" Woodbridge	Dr. Brewer	31
" 8	" Tavistock	Mr. A. Russell.....	68
" 8	" Thetford	Mr. P. A. Taylor.....	48
" 8	"	Mr. Headlam	(Seal) 1
" 9	Public Meeting, Newcastle	Sir George Grey	(Seal) 1
" 12	" Choppington.....	Mr. C. Talbot	102
" 13	Inhabitants of Merthyr Tydvil.....	Hon. G. Denman.....	46
" 13	" Tiverton.....	Mr. Mc. Laren.....	1
" 13	Margaret Scott	"	1
" 13	Emelia Wright	"	1
" 13	Isabella Hogg.....	"	1
" 14	Public Meeting, Dukinfield... ..	Mr. Jacob Bright.....	(Seal) 1
" 14	Inhabitants of Bradford	Mr. W. E. Forster	52
" 14	" Hertford.....	"	58
" 14	" Frome.	Mr. T. Hughes	87
" 14	" Lichfield.....	Mr. P. A. Taylor	218
" 14	" Peterborough	Mr. Whalley	52
" 14	" Darlington... ..	Mr. Backhouse	297
" 16	" Nottingham.. ..	Sir R. Clifton	170
" 16	"	Colonel Patten.....	8
" 16	Mary Neal and others	Mr. Jacob Bright.....	(Seal) 1
" 19	Public Meeting, Cheetham Hill	"	27
" 19	Inhabitants of Cheetham Hill	"	108
" 19	G. J. Holyoake and others	Mr. Sartoris.....	7
" 19	Inhabitants of Douglas	Mr. P. A. Taylor.....	91
" 20	" Tunbridge Wells	"	59
" 20	" Harrow.....	Viscount Enfield.....	9
" 22	" Reading	Mr. P. A. Taylor.....	9
" 22	" Framlington... ..	"	54
" 23	" Cocker mouth.. ..	Hon. P. Wyndham... ..	29
" 23	" Bootle	"	54
" 23	" Whitehaven... ..	"	81
" 23	" Stroud	Mr. Dickinson	27
" 26	" Wigan	Mr. Lancaster.....	262
" 26	" Teignmouth	"	38
" 26	" and Shaldon.	Mr. P. A. Taylor.....	51
" 27	" Mossley	Mr. Jacob Bright.....	51
" 27	" Leicester	Mr. P. A. Taylor.....	200
" 27	" Rusholme.....	Hon. A. Egerton	64
" 28	"	"	(Seal) 1
" 28	Public Meeting, Longsight	"	39
" 29	J. Wilson and others	Sir W. Lawson.....	31
" 29	H. Hill and others	"	31
" 29	J. Thornton and others	Mr. Leatham	33

DATE.	DESCRIPTION OF PETITION.	BY WHOM PRESENTED.	NO. OF NAMES.
April 30	Inhabitants of Morpeth	Sir George Grey	30
" 30	Inhabitants of Edinburgh	Mr. M'Laren	1,813
" 30	Women Ratepayers of Stranraer	"	43
" 30	Inhabitants of Trudoxhill	Mr. P. A. Taylor.....	9
May 3	" Ipswich.....	Mr. Adair.....	116
" 3	" Oxfordshire	Mr. Henley	180
" 3	" Lancaster	Mr. Stanley	31
" 3	"	"	28
" 4	" Gloucester	Mr. W. Price	128
" 4	" Ottenfell	Mr. Stanley	48
" 4	Harriet Rigbye	"	1
" 4	Inhabitants of Chesterfield	Mr. Strutt	17
" 4	" Hertfordshire	Mr. Taylor	17
" 4	" St. Columb	Mr. Trelawney	15
" 5	" Derby	Mr. A. Bass	26
" 5	" Bath	Mr. Tite	771
" 6	" Croydon	Mr. Locke King	422
" 7	" Choppington... ..	Sir G. Grey	113
" 7	" Matlock Bath.. ..	Mr. Taylor	14
" 10	" Windsor	Mr. Eykyn	66
" 10	" Middleton and Tonge	Mr. Hibbert.....	98
" 10	" Stow - on - the Wold	Mr. Taylor	13
" 10	" London	Mr. Torrens.....	11,834
" 11	" Manchester	Mr. Jacob Bright.....	1,494
" 11	Women Householders of Manchester.. ..	"	442
" 11	George and Josephine Butler	Mr. Graves	2
" 11	Robert Trimble, &c.	Lord Sandon	2
" 11	Robert Beales, &c., Congleton	Mr. Whiteside	3
" 11	Inhabitants of King's Lynn... ..	Lord Stanley	375
" 11	" Kendal	Mr. Whiteside	16
" 12	M. Martindale	Mr. Jacob Bright.....	1
" 12	Alice Wood and others.....	Mr. J. S. Henry	5
" 12	Inhabitants of Cheltenham... ..	Mr. Samuelson	17
" 12	" Lincoln	Mr. Seeley	113
" 12	Jane Townson	Mr. Stanley.....	1
" 12	Inhabitants of Ipswich.....	Mr. Taylor	130
" 13	" Southampton	Mr. R. Gurney.....	30
" 13	" Street	Mr. Gore Langton	16
" 13	" Plymouth	"	65
" 27	" Aberdeen	Colonel Sykes	229
" 31	Public Meeting, Holbeck.....	Mr. Baines	(Seal) 1
" 31	" Hunslet.....	"	(Seal) 1
June 1	Inhabitants of Manchester	Mr. Bazley	1,247
" 1	Women of Manchester.....	Mr. Birley	1,005
" 1	Inhabitants of Salford	Mr. Charley.....	148
" 1	" Longsight	Hon. A. Egerton.....	111
" 1	" Hayward's Heath	Mr. Fawcett.....	65
" 1	" Moffatt	Mr. M'Lean	18

DATE.	DESCRIPTION OF PETITION.	BY WHOM PRESENTED.	NO. OF NAMES.
June 1	Ellen Ferguson	Mr. M'Lean	1
" 1	Inhabitants of Liverpool	Mr. Rathbone	285
" 1	" Tynemouth ...	Mr. J. Smith	234
" 1	Mary Hudson and others.....	Mr. Turner	119
" 1	John Robinson and others ...	Mr. Whitwell	34
" 3	Inhabitants of Ely	Dr. Brewer	13
" 3	" Norwich.....	"	50
" 3	" Newcastle	Mr. Cowen	258
" 3	" Little Stanmore	Viscount Enfield.....	33
" 3	" St. Asaph	Mr. Fawcett.....	31
" 3	" Walsall	Mr. C. Forster.....	32
" 3	" Dewsbury	Mr. J. Simon	58
" 3	" Carmarthen ...	Colonel Stepney	103
" 7	" Carlisle	Sir W. Lawson	99
" 7	" Cambridge.....	Mr. Jacob Bright ...	34
" 7	Fellows of Colleges, Cambridge	"	8
" 7	Women Ratepayers, M'chester	"	292
" 7	Inhabitants of Richmond	Mr. Dixon	100
" 7	" Rhyl	Mr. Taylor	19
" 7	" Broadway, Worcester.....	"	21
" 10	" Retford	Mr. Barron	138
" 11	" Garstang	Colonel Patten	24
" 11	" Clayton-le-Moors	Mr. Starkie	23
" 11	" Penzance	Mr. Taylor	19
" 11	" Clitheroe	"	18
" 11	" Grantham	"	19
" 14	" Sandwich	Mr. Brassey	51
" 14	Eliza Jones and others	Sir Stafford Northcote	45
" 14	Inhabitants of Cinque Ports	Baron M. Rothschild	94
" 15	Women Ratepayers of Oxford	Mr. V. Harcourt.....	12
" 15	Inhabitants of Oxford	"	38
" 15	" Beverley.....	"	30
" 15	Fellows of Colleges, Oxford ...	"	21
" 16	Inhabitants of Malton, York-shire	Mr. Cowen	144
" 16	" Gravesend	Sir C. Wingfield	39
" 16	" Manchester ...	"	1,235
" 17	" Cirencester ...	Mr. Bathurst	22
" 17	" Salford	Mr. Charley.....	500
" 17	" Northampton... ..	Mr. Gilpin	319
" 17	" Newcastle ...	Mr. Headlam	244
" 17	" Huntingdon ...	Mr. Hughes	14
" 17	" Dover.....	Mr. Jessel.....	14
" 18	" Chatham	Mr. Otway	151
" 18	" Yarmouth	Mr. Taylor	38
" 21	" Pontefract	Mr. Childers	78
" 21	" Dalkey	Mr. Ion T. Hamilton	106
" 21	" Booterstown ..	"	56
" 21	" Williamstown ..	"	124
" 21	" Ballyroan	Mr. Pim	20
" 21	" Cork	"	24

DATE.	DESCRIPTION OF PETITION.	BY WHOM PRESENTED.	NO. OF NAMES.
June 21	Inhabitants of Bruree, county Limerick...	Mr. Pim	21
" 21	" Dublin	"	3,164
" 21	" Denbigh	Mr. W. Williams.....	13
" 22	" Haslingden ...	Mr. Holt	41
" 23	" Manchester ...	Mr. Birley	985
" 23	R. Whitelegge and others ...	Hon. A. Egerton ...	3
" 24	Inhabitants of Thirsk	Sir C. W. Dilke	90
" 23	" Argyleshire... ..	Mr. M'Laren	54
" 24	J. Brine and others	Mr. Solicitor-General	327
" 24	Inhabitants of Tenterden ...	Mr. Taylor	33
" 24	" Watford	"	5
" 28	English residents in Lisbon...	Sir C. W. Dilke	5
" 28	Inhabitants of Burnley	Mr. Stansfeld	56
" 29	" Salford	Mr. Cawley	601
" 29	" Brighton ...	Mr. Fawcett.....	112
" 30	" Middlesborough	Mr. Bolckow	132
" 30	Women Ratepayers of Salford	Mr. Charley.....	50
" 30	Inhabitants of Stockton-on-Tees	Mr. Dodds	149
July 1	" Manchester ...	Mr. Birley	1,000
" 1	" Cowbridge, Glamorgan...	Mr. C. Talbot	44
" 1	" Birkenhead ...	Mr. Taylor	80
" 2	" Waterloo	Mr. Cross	76
" 2	" Co. Durham...	Mr. Henderson	53
" 2	" Brecon	Major Morgan	16
" 6	" Truro	Sir W. Lawson	23
" 6	" Portsmouth...	Mr. Stone.....	83
" 7	" Wednesbury...	"	16
" 9	Louisa Carbutt	Mr. W. Egerton	1
" 9	Inhabitants of Battle	Mr. Taylor	17
" 9	" Evesham ...	Mr. Taylor	14
" 13	" Salford	Mr. Charley ...	613
" 14	" Hartlepool ...	Mr. Stevenson.....	285
" 15	Women Householdors of Manchester	Mr. Jacob Bright.....	400
" 15	Inhabitants of Greenwich ...	Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone	103
" 15	" Bournemouth..	Mr. Haviland Burke..	31
" 16	" Bury St. Edmunds	Mr. Hardcastle	37
" 16	" Dumfries	Mr. Jardine	120
" 16	" Kingston-on-Thames.....	Mr. Locke King	31
" 16	" Helstone	Mr. A. Young	16
" 19	" Newport	Mr. Taylor	9
" 20	" London.....	Sir C. W. Dilke	10,835
" 20	" Ripon	Lord J. Hay.....	33
" 20	" Fifeshire	Mr. M'Laren	33
" 21	" Manchester ...	Mr. Jacob Bright.....	628
" 22	" Ashton-under-Lyne.....	Mr. Mellor	230
" 22	" Stockport.....	Mr. Smith	750

DATE.	DESCRIPTION OF PETITION.	BY WHOM PRESENTED.	NO. OF NAMES.
July 22	Inhabitants of Preston.....	Sir C. W. Dilke	87
" 23	" Knaresborough	Mr. Illingworth	100
" 26	" Salisbury	Dr. Lush	158
" 26	" Worcester.....	Mr. Sherriff.....	271
" 27	" Moulsey.....	Mr. Briscoe	34
" 27	" Ashton-under-Lyne	Mr. Mellor	540
" 27	" Stoke-on-Trent	Mr. O'Reilly.....	105
" 29	" Southport	Mr. Jacob Bright.....	242
" 29	" Manchester ...	"	506
" 9	Alderley and Chorley	"	297
" 9	Salford	Mr. Charley.....	700
" 9	Swindon	Mr. Taylor	17
" 9	Darwen	"	102
" 9	York	Mr. Brown Westhead	26
" 30	J. S. Mill and others.....	Sir C. W. Dilke	1,170
Aug. 2	Birmingham	Rt. Hon. John Bright.	1,512
" 2	Manchester.. ..	Mr. Jacob Bright ...	424
" 9	"	"	3
" 9	Women Householdors of Manchester.....	Mr. Bazley	12
" 9	"	"	68
" 9	"	Mr. Jacob Bright.....	100
" 9	Inhabitants of Salford	"	508
" 9	"	"	473
" 9	Scotland	Mr. M'Laren	26
Aug. 10	Salford.....	Mr. Charley.....	205



MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

RULES.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S
SUFFRAGE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

VIII. By endeavouring to increase the number of members.

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

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

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

324.6230604134
18325✓

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WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

PUBLIC MEETING IN EDINBURGH

IN

QUEEN STREET HALL,

ON 17TH JANUARY 1870,

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF

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

EDINBURGH: PRINTED BY JOHN GREIG & SON.

MDCCCLXX.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

MRS M'LAREN, Newington House, PRESIDENT.

MISS BURTON, Liberton Bank.

MISS CRAIG, 6 Carlton Street.

MISS A. CRAIG, 6 Carlton Street.

MRS CRUDELIUS, Chapelside, Trinity.

MRS FERGUSON HOME of Bassendean.

MISS HUNTER, 5 Great Stuart Street.

MRS LEMMI, 30 Rutland Square.

MRS LOW, 30 Minto Street.

MRS M'QUEEN of Braxfield.

MISS WALKER, 7 Queen's Crescent.

MRS WIGHAM, 5 Gray Street.

MRS NICHOL, Huntly Lodge, Merchiston, TREASURER.

MISS WIGHAM, 5 South Gray Street,
MISS AGNES M'LAREN, Newington House, } SECRETARIES.

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

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS AT PUBLIC MEETING, JAN. 17. 1870.

A PUBLIC MEETING was held in Queen Street Hall, on 17th January, in favour of conferring the Electoral Franchise on all Women who are qualified as being the owners or occupiers of lands or houses in their own right. The meeting was a large and enthusiastic one, the hall, both below and in the galleries, being densely crowded—ladies forming a large proportion of the audience in the body of the Hall; and hundreds were obliged to leave who could not obtain admittance. It was computed that about 1200 persons were present. Among those on the platform were—Principal Sir Alexander Grant, Bart; Sir David Wedderburn, Bart., M.P.; Mr Duncan M'Laren, M.P.; Mr Jacob Bright, M.P.; Dr Lyon Playfair, C.B., M.P.; Mr Miller, M.P.; Rev. Dr Robert Wallace; Professors Masson, Kelland, and Calderwood; Mr Adam Gifford, advocate; Mr W. F. Bedford, D.C.L.; Councillors Mossman, Greig, Millar, Bladworth, Wormald, and Murray; Messrs Hugh Rose, W. M'Crie, Edward Blyth, Robert Cox, W.S., Wm. Smith, Duncan M'Laren jun., John Carmichael, &c.

On the motion of the PRINCIPAL of the UNIVERSITY, Mr D. M'Laren, M.P., was called to the chair.

The CHAIRMAN said—Ladies and gentlemen, I have first of all to thank you for the honour you have done me in appointing me chairman of this great meeting, and I am sure, from its respectable appearance, that my situation to-night will be a complete sinecure, for I have no doubt that you are all very much of one mind in the cause we have met, I may say, to inaugurate in this city; that it will command all your sympathies; and that everything will be conducted with the greatest propriety. It would be out of place for me, as chairman, to enter into any lengthened remarks, because it would only be anticipating what you would naturally expect to hear from other speakers. I will, however, take leave to read two letters of apology, and to mention the substance of two or three others. The first is from Sir Robert Anstruther, a warm friend of the cause—(cheers)—and the member for Fifeshire—addressed to the Ladies' Committee, who have the merit

of getting up this meeting themselves, without the interference of the gentlemen at all. (Laughter and cheers). He says—"Madam, I very much regret that it will not be in my power to attend the meeting on the 17th inst. I am, however, not without hope that, though debarred by the pressure of business from the pleasure of assisting you on this occasion, I may have an early opportunity of giving evidence in Parliament, at least by vote, of my sincere sympathy with the cause which you have in hand." (Cheers.) Sir John Murray, Bart. of Philiphaugh, after expressing his regret at not being able to be present, says he has pleasure in taking this opportunity of saying how much he sympathises with this movement in favour of conferring the electoral franchise on females. (Cheers.) He trusts that this justice will speedily be done to them, and their right to vote acknowledged by the House of Lords and the House of Commons. (Cheers.) There are other letters of apology—from Mr Macfie, the member for Leith, expressing his approval of the object of the meeting; a strong letter from Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, Bart., who desired to come down from London to attend the meeting, but having previously agreed to be chairman of an important educational meeting this evening in London, could not come; from the Rev. Daniel F. Sandford, who was to have been one of our speakers, and has sent a note excusing himself on account of illness in his family; from the Rev. Mr M'Phail, of Pilrig Free Church, expressing his sympathy with the object of the meeting; Mr M'Lennan, advocate, writes to a similar effect, as do Bailie Fyfe and several other gentlemen, with whose names I need not trouble you. (Cheers.) I have little more to say than to introduce the different speakers who will present themselves before you. I may, however, say one word respecting a misunderstanding of our object, which I have heard over and over again repeated, as if some persons were determined not to understand it. Those opponents of our cause say that the proposal is to give every woman a vote, no matter in what circumstances. Now I wish it to be distinctly understood that that is not the object of this meeting. Men get votes only because they are the occupiers of houses in their own right, or because they are the owners of lands in their own right, or because they are the occupiers of land in their own right. In the same way, if a woman be unmarried, and has a house that is her own house, or lands that are her own lands, this Committee thinks that that woman has as good a right as a taxpayer, and as an intelligent inhabitant of this country, to give a vote in the election of Members of Parliament as any man placed in the same circumstances. (Cheers.) In addition to that—and it is the only other remark I will venture to make—I think it would considerably improve the making of our laws, in some respects, if female influence were brought to bear on members of the Legislature on certain important and difficult questions. (Cheers and laughter.) I think that, as a rule, ladies take a great interest in all social and moral reforms, and that our legislators are more apt to take a deep interest in purely political questions, than in those social questions on which the well-being of the commonwealth so largely depends. (Cheers.) I think, then, that if ladies had the franchise they, as a rule, would be more imbued with

the necessity of attending to that class of questions, and would influence the minds of members in their favour; and I never held a stronger opinion on any subject in my life than that which I now express—of cordial approbation to the proposal for giving the electoral franchise to all women who are owners or occupiers of property in their own right, equally with men. (Loud cheers.)

Professor CALDERWOOD read the following report of the Edinburgh Branch of the National Society for Women's Suffrage:—

"This Society has been in organised operation for more than two years. It originated from a growing conviction that it was not only just in principle, but important for national well-being, that women should be represented in the election of members of Parliament.

"That it was inconsistent with our constitutional principle of 'no taxation without representation' that a large proportion of intelligent ratepayers and holders of property should be excluded from a voice in the appointment of those who frame the laws and impose the taxes; and that it was altogether unjust that women should be debarred from the recognised representative rights of citizens, and yet be subject to laws which often bear upon them oppressively and unjustly, and that therefore the electoral franchise should be extended to women on the same terms as to men, viz., to such as are owners or occupiers of lands or houses in their own right.

"In support of these fundamental principles, the society has directed its efforts to extend an interest in the cause by the circulation of thousands of pamphlets, many of them emanating from the ablest pens in the kingdom, and by correspondents with other towns, and endeavouring to organise kindred societies throughout Scotland. These efforts have resulted in procuring from Scotland nearly 100 petitions to Parliament, signed by upwards of 19,000 names.

"The number of petitions presented to Parliament altogether on this subject has been 340, and the signatures have amounted to (126,475) one hundred and twenty-six thousand four hundred and seventy-five.

"In the report issued by our committee in 1868, a statement was given of the efforts made in Scotland through the agency of the society to test the validity of the question raised by Mr Chisholm Anstey and others, as to whether the wording of the new Reform Act did not include women as well as men when interpreted by Lord Romily's Act of 1850. Two hundred and thirty-nine (239) duly-qualified women, householders and ratepayers in Edinburgh, and a number in Wigton and other places, sent in claims to be registered as voters under the new Reform Act, and in Aberdeen the whole of the women householders had been placed by the assessor on the electoral roll. All these claims were tried before the Sheriffs of the counties, and some of them by appeal to the Supreme Court, but were rejected.

"The society was not discouraged by this result, but continued its operations of pressing for a special measure to entitle women to vote in Parliamentary elections, and they have learned with great satisfaction that notice

has been given that such a measure will be brought before Parliament in the ensuing session by Mr Jacob Bright, M.P.; Sir C. W. Dilke, Bart., M.P.; and Mr Peter Ryland, M.P.

"It is hoped that these gentlemen will be supported by largely-signed petitions from all parts of the kingdom, and this society would claim the aid of all interested in its efforts in this most important branch of its operations.

"The granting of the municipal franchise to women in England, gained mainly by the tact, earnestness, and perseverance of Mr Jacob Bright, supported by Sir C. W. Dilke, is a stepping-stone to granting the same right to women as regards Parliamentary elections. This Municipal Act does not include Scotland, but it is hoped that an opportunity will be found for extending its provisions to our country also. The societies for women's suffrage in London, Manchester, Birmingham, Bristol, and other towns in England are most energetic, aided and led on by Mrs Peter Taylor, Miss Becker, Mrs Jacob Bright, Professor Newman, and others. The Manchester committee have originated a guarantee fund of not less than £5000, payable over a term of five years in annual instalments of one-fifth each year. They have already obtained the names of five ladies and gentlemen who have agreed to give £100 each to this fund.

"In Ireland Miss Robertson, with unfailing energy, has, during the last year, procured from various towns petitions signed by 6727 names.

"Besides these actual indications of advancement there are others of no less importance, indicated by the improved tone with which the question of women's suffrage is generally received; it is not now looked on with ridicule, and its claims are weighed and supported by some of the most eminent and intelligent men and women of Great Britain. Altogether, there is much to encourage from progress made, and much to stimulate to fresh exertion towards the attainment of an object which has been justly described as 'the joint election of a Senate which shall guard with equal care the rights of both sexes, and which shall embody in its laws that true justice which shall approve itself not only to the strong, but also to the weak.'" The treasurer's statement showed that the total income was £168, 9s. 4d. and the expenditure £160, 0s. 4d. leaving a balance in hand of £8, 9s.

Professor CALDERWOOD then proceeded—This organisation has now been in existence for more than two years. It originated from the growing conviction that it was not only just in principle to confer the franchise on women, but that it would be for the national well-being. I am satisfied that those who have listened to the Report of the Society will be prepared to say that there could not be a better introduction to the discussion of the subject. The question which is to-night for the first time laid before a public meeting in Edinburgh, may be expected to prove one upon which most people have as yet no very decided opinion. I believe, however, that when the nature of the claim is properly understood, and the grounds upon which it is rested are fairly examined, there will be a very general preparedness to acknowledge the justness

of the claim. In its nature the question is very simple. All that is asked is, that property which gives a right to a vote for a Parliamentary representative shall carry with it that right, irrespective of any question as to the sex of the occupant. The claim is, therefore, a simple claim of justice, and will on that account command a ready assent when it is considered. The franchise is granted upon household qualification; but when the house comes to be occupied by a lady, the right to vote which is connected with the occupancy is withdrawn. There is thus a breach in the application of a principle which cannot in fairness be vindicated, and cannot be continued without disadvantage to the State. If the standard for the franchise be household occupancy, it ought to be uniformly applied. The franchise should go with the house, as obviously as ratepaying. (Cheers.) Women, then, who claim a vote on the ground of occupancy, only claim what they have a right to; those already holding the franchise should in consistency support the right which rests on the same foundation as their own; but most of all is it important that our Acts of Parliament should have undeviating application, without distinction of persons. (Cheers.) If, then, the present demand is based on an acknowledged political principle, what is there in the distinction of sex which should deny to the holder of property the right which, but for that distinction, would be secured by merely entering as occupant into the property? When such a question is raised, one is apt to feel perplexed in answering. The most feasible reply that can be offered in support of present procedure seems to be, that property is so commonly held by the husband, father, or brother, who is guardian and supporter of the other members of the household, that it seems almost needless to take account of the exceptions. But this is rather excusing the omission than vindicating it; and, when you learn from the report which has been read that 239 regularly qualified ladies in Edinburgh last year made application for the acknowledgment of their rights, the excuse is rendered extremely feeble. But, even if this most charitable view be taken, is there any reason which can be put into form in vindication of the exceptions? Some may maintain that women are too pure and noble to meddle with politics. (Cheers and hisses.) But in point of reasoning it would seem awkward to argue that women are too good to attempt to influence their country by taking any share in its political affairs. (Cheers.) Such an argument would either place women too high, or the political interests of our country too low. (Hisses and cheers.) Still less can it be argued that women are not possessed of the intellectual capacity for forming a judgment on political questions. (Cheers.) The day has gone by when it will be seriously argued that women have not the intellect to understand such questions, or interest enough in them to make it desirable that they should have the franchise. But even if any should attempt to give an airing to these worn-out opinions, he must still be reminded that the Act regulating the franchise takes no account of the intellectual power or the interest in politics of the occupants of property. But passing the apologetic, I would ask if it be not plain that it is for the interest of the nation that women who are householders should use the franchise? I believe, certainly, that what is just

ought to be done, all question of interest apart. But it is always possible to shew that what is just in principle is beneficial in practice. The question before us is no exception. Take the case of a widow with a young family. Is it for the interest of herself in her widowhood, or for the interest of her family, or for the interest of the nation, that she should be allowed to feel that she and her household are shut off from all political relations, except such as are involved in the visits of the tax-gatherer, or billets of assessment which the postman brings? When her boys are deprived of that part of their home training connected with a father's influence, should they on that account be separated from direct personal interest in politics which grows up in a boy's mind from listening to the discussion of political questions at the table? If the State has an interest in the training of these boys and girls, does not the State act wisely in distributing the franchise in such a way as to secure that the mother take that interest in the questions of the day which every one must who professes to give an intelligent vote for a representative? I shall not further trespass, save to remark that if a difficulty exists as to the experience of women in appearing at the polling-booth, this concerns mere details in arrangement, and with our University constituencies now using voting papers, there seems no great difficulty here. But it were a disgrace to us as a nation to allow that the voting for our senators may proceed in such a manner that we should feel unwilling to have our sisters taking any part in it. Feeling the justice of the claim now made in the Legislature, and believing that it is in the interests of the country to apply the principles of legislation uniformly to all loyal citizens, I have much pleasure in moving the adoption of the report. (Loud cheering.)

Councillor MOSSMAN, in seconding the motion, argued that as female householders had to pay their share of the municipal taxation, they had a right to vote in municipal matters; while the interest they took in moral and social questions rendered it desirable that their influence should be felt in the election of members of Parliament.

The CHAIRMAN then put the resolution to the meeting, and finding it received with acclamation, declared it carried.

Some persons, however, half-jocularly as it seemed, called for a vote. A show of hands was accordingly taken, when the resolution was carried all but unanimously, only a few hands being held up in opposition.

Mr JACOB BRIGHT, M.P. (who was received with loud cheers), moved the following resolution:—"That the ownership or occupation of lands or houses, being the basis of representation in this country, it is unjust in principle to make sex a ground of disqualification, therefore excluding a large number of intelligent persons well qualified to exercise the electoral franchise." After a few introductory remarks, he said—We are met to-night to discuss the subject of the electoral disabilities of women. Now, I am met with one difficulty which, so far as I know, does not present itself to us in regard to any other great political question. Coming upon this platform, we who advocate this cause, find ourselves with nothing to answer. Our opponents do not present

us with argumentative opposition. We have opponents, no doubt, but they are either unable or unwilling to reason. It is said, you are aware, that it is characteristic of women to act upon feeling and not upon reason. It seems to me that the opponents of women's franchise find themselves generally in this peculiar intellectual attitude. Now, why should women be subject to electoral disabilities? Nobody in England has been able to answer that question. Can anybody in Scotland answer it? Scotland continues to furnish great reasoners upon almost every conceivable question. Is there anybody, I say, in this meeting, or out of it, who can tell me why women should be deprived of all Parliamentary representation? why, for example, the women of Edinburgh should have no direct and constitutional means of influencing the members for Edinburgh when legislation is in progress which may vitally affect their interests? Nobody will deny that women are injured by bad and benefited by good laws, precisely as men are. They have as deep an interest as men in the wise progress of our legislation—nay, I would undertake to shew, if it were necessary, that they have a deeper interest than men, because they are the weaker portion of society, and the weak are more interested than the strong in impartial and just laws. Some three years ago, a great Act of Parliament was passed—the last Reform Act. It was called the Household Suffrage Act. I do not know how it got that name, for the name does not characterise the measure. It was not a Household Suffrage Act—it was a Male Household Suffrage Act. A very considerable proportion of the houses of the whole kingdom were passed over by that Act—something like one in six, I suppose, speaking generally. On an election day, the doors of these houses are closed—they are passed over because a woman happens to be at the head of the household instead of a man. Nobody comes forth to the polling booth to register a vote in the interest and for the protection of the family. In regard to the inmates of these houses, any law may be passed, however injurious, however dangerous it may be to personal security; and it must not be supposed that we are past the time when laws pernicious to certain classes of society may be enacted. We have had recent legislation which, in my opinion, throws down the safeguards of the personal liberty of women in such a manner, that if any Government, however powerful, had dared to interfere in the same way with the personal liberty of men, that Government would have been instantaneously destroyed. Now, as has already been shewn, women, although denied the privileges, are not shielded from the burdens of citizenship. The whole weight of taxation falls equally upon both sexes. We have a tax called the inhabited house duty. I have no fault to find with the name, for it does actually characterise the tax; it is not an inhabited male house duty. It does not pass over any house; it comes equally on all, and the tax-gatherer, directly or indirectly, enters the house of every widow and every spinster in Edinburgh; and I think our Chairman, with his great political information, would agree when I say there are hundreds of poor women in Edinburgh paying, in proportion to their incomes, a greater amount of taxation than is paid by the greatest houses in the land. (Cheers.)

I have heard it said that all the burdens of citizenship do not fall upon women. I have heard it asked whether women would like to be compelled, for example, to defend their country. Well, nobody is compelled to defend this country. Both men and women are on an equal footing in that respect. The defence of this country is a voluntary matter; but if women themselves do not go out to battle, they give lives dearer than their own to the perils of battle, and I am not sure whether it is not a harder thing to sit at home in the anguish of suspense than to be engaged in the actual strife. But do women take no nearer part than this? When we come to have the horrors of a great war, we require with every camp an hospital. You know what took place in the Crimea; you know whom Florence Nightingale led there; you have read what occurred in America, where thousands and tens of thousands of noble-minded women went to attend upon mutilated men; and I am not sure that it does not require greater heroism and more sustained courage to assist the wounded and the dying, without any kind of excitement, than it does to front the perils of the battlefield, where there are so many circumstances to sustain the courage even of those who may have none at all. I know of no reason for the electoral disabilities of women. I know some reasons which, if there are to be electoral disabilities, would lead me to begin elsewhere than with women. Women are less criminal than men; they are more temperate than men—the distinction is not small, it is broad and conspicuous; women are less vicious in their habits than men; they are more thrifty and more provident; they give more to the family and take less to themselves. (Cheers and hisses.) These are not the moral qualities that the statesman can afford to disdain when he is forming constituencies from which shall be created the House of Commons for the government of the British Empire. Up to this time, men have had almost the exclusive government of the world. I believe those who know most about the world, will least boast of the results that have been achieved. Our forefathers lived in the midst of gigantic evils—ignorance, intemperance, pauperism, with all their attendant vices and crimes. I am afraid that even in our own times these great evils have not been seriously diminished. There are those who believe—I know they are called enthusiasts, but enthusiasm does more to clear than to obscure the moral and intellectual faculties of men—there are those who believe that women have yet a contribution of some value to bring to the small stock of wisdom that has hitherto governed the world; and until we have tried whether that be true or not, there is no man here who will dare to assail such a proposition.

Well, then, I ask again, why should women be subject to electoral disabilities? Why, there is one very clear reason which makes it a much greater hardship for them to be shut out from representation than for men to be shut out from representation. Look at the character of men: whether from their greater combativeness, or from their greater physical strength, or from their habit of being much more out of doors, men are enabled to meet, and do meet, in large masses in the great halls of our towns, or in Hyde Park, or elsewhere, when necessary. They meet and shew that, even if they have no representation, they are

enabled to check legislation which they consider adverse to their interests, and to compel the passing of laws which they consider necessary to them. I say that men without the franchise are not defenceless, but women without the franchise have very little influence indeed to make their thoughts known.

We are asked sometimes whether women are not virtually represented. Undoubtedly women are virtually represented, just as the great mass of our countrymen who lived in houses below £10 rental were virtually represented before the passing of the last Reform Act; just as the poor agricultural labourer of England is virtually represented at this moment by the squire and the parson. I have never gone to the dictionary to inquire the meaning of virtual representation, but when I find everywhere that the class which is only virtually represented is subject to great legal and social disabilities, I take it for granted that virtual representation means gross misrepresentation. (Cheers.) Now, women being virtually represented means that they have some inherent incapacity for performing the smallest political duty. A woman is capable of doing many things. She is capable of selecting a husband—(laughter)—who is to be her partner through life, and a very serious business it is to select a partner for life; but when two or more eminent citizens come forward in the city of Edinburgh and state their views upon public questions, she is not capable of judging so much of character as would enable her to vote for one of these men. Even if she should make a mistake, it would not be very serious, because she could easily alter it at a time not very far distant. I say, women are allowed and are able to do many things, but they have an inherent incapacity for performing this simple political duty. Now, let the State fix such an incapacity upon them, and it is very easy indeed for the community to come to the conclusion that they are generally incapable with regard to important matters, and I find that they are treated according to that rule. Take the question of education—while Edinburgh has recently done a noble thing with regard to the higher education of women—(cheers and a hiss)—at this hour our Universities generally shut their doors against women. The grammar schools of England are to a large extent monopolised by boys, and instances can be shewn where in primary instruction the poor girls of our streets have not the same chance as the poor boys. Again, take the question of property—property is for men in the main, and not for women. Why should a class that is so incapable be put in the possession of a great amount of property? Accordingly, property is generally left very disproportionately to boys and girls. Then, with regard to the professions and occupations that yield a livelihood, it is a very hard path for any woman who has to earn her livelihood in this country, where trades unions, from the bottom of society to the top—in connection with many trades, and in connection with nearly all the professions—shut their doors upon women. It is not remarkable, when the State begins by fixing the stigma of inferiority upon them, that the example of the State should be followed in every department of life.

Now, what has virtual representation done for the married women of the United Kingdom? What is the legal position of married women?

The great majority of those women who are happily married know nothing of the legal position of married women. Many women know what it is. I happened to be a member of the Committee of the House of Commons on the Married Women's Property Bill, and I received a great many letters which gave me an insight into this subject. There is much suffering in this respect. There is no parallel in Christendom, so far as I know, to the legal position of the married women of this country. If I wanted a parallel—the nearest I could find—I would go the Southern States of America, amongst the negro population before the presidency of Abraham Lincoln. The negro was not his own, but there were some things his master could not do in regard to him. Well, there are some things which cannot be done to the wives of the people of this kingdom, as you will be aware from the interesting trial in which Mr Kelly, the Liverpool clergyman, was concerned. The negro can own nothing; he has nothing. Whatever he has is his master's. The married women here are in the same position. I do not speak of the few who have property secured by settlement; I speak of the great mass who have no such security. In the Southern States of America the negro has no control over his children. The married women of this country, when their children have attained six or seven years of age—I think it is—can have no kind of power to prevent their children being removed if their husbands choose to remove them. And look at the position of married women with respect to property acquired by the family. A young couple marry; the wife performs her duties in the house, and the husband attends to business. The establishment is one of mutual help, and it seems to me that whatever success attends a family the wife should have some right to participate in it. But we find that if the husband dies he may "cut her off with a shilling." And, further, he may not only leave her with a small pittance, but if it should happen that she has made the property instead of his making it—and that does happen sometimes—he may will all that away; and in those pamphlets circulated by the society for carrying the Married Women's Property Bill the case is given of a man whose wife had made a competence for the advantage of herself and husband, and when he died his will left the whole of the property from the wife to a mistress he had been secretly keeping. ("Shame!") Now, I have spoken of the legal position of married women. I know that in the main their actual position is vastly superior, for we are not a wholly uncivilised people. In that respect we are a great deal better than our laws, but a great many are subject to the harshness of these laws. Well, suppose that we had real instead of virtual representation—suppose that all women householders had a vote. I have not been long a member of Parliament, but I have been long enough to know something of the habits and the character of members of Parliament. Members of Parliament, where they can honestly obtain votes at an election, are glad to obtain them. (Laughter.) When they can honestly and honourably make themselves popular they have no objection to do that. And where they can do a service to those who have helped them in their election they generally have no objection to do that service. And if women had votes, if the sixth part of the whole constituency were

women, you may rely on it there would not be a question which affects them that would not be attended to most scrupulously by members of Parliament. (Cheers.) You would have in every town and country a band of women—it may be better informed than the rest of their sex—doing all in their power to guide public opinion on great public questions. (Cheers.) Women would become much better instructed on public questions, and if you raise women, you raise the whole of society. (Cheers.) Now, there is one agreeable feature about this question. It seems to me that it can lead to no kind of ill feeling. The agreeable feature is that this proposal, so far as it has been urged, has been met in a remarkably just spirit by the generality of men in the United Kingdom. Whenever it has been put before constituencies, or submitted to the House of Commons, it has received a degree of support which nobody a while ago could have believed possible. When that distinguished writer, Mr Mill—(loud cheers and slight hisses)—when Mr Mill—(renewed and loud cheers)—when Mr Mill introduced this question—and that is the only time up to the present moment that it has been introduced—when he introduced it into the House of Commons he carried with him some seventy or eighty members of Parliament into the lobby—in fact, I think he had one-third of all who were present, voting in favour of his proposition; but if you look at the character of those men who voted with him, at their public position, at the constituencies they represent, you may well be surprised at the amount of feeling exhibited on the subject. Again, in the next session of Parliament—to refer to a matter mentioned in the report—when the proposition was made to admit the women of England and Wales to the municipal franchise, it was unanimously passed by both Houses of Parliament. (Cheers.) Now that was an important step. It admitted women to the municipal vote of over 200 towns in England and Wales—of course including the very largest towns in the country. It admitted women to the polling-booth—it did not wait till they had voting papers or the ballot, but sent them to the polling-booth precisely as you go now; and it did more, it sent them to the polling-booth not once in four or five years, but once every year. In fact, the passing of that Municipal Act has broken down nearly every argument that could be urged on the other side in the House of Commons. (Cheers.)

But some men tell us that women should be engaged at home—that it is better for them not to come out too much—(cheers and laughter)—I mean in public affairs. (Cheers and laughter.) I find that a portion of this meeting is of that opinion. (Renewed cheers.) Well, I am not going to quarrel with it. But I shall just remind you of one curious fact. I don't know so well how it stands in Scotland, but I know that south of the Border it is very often the case—that when men have any great political question on hand, any great moral question, or any question of any kind, in which they are much interested, they get every woman to back them whom they can possibly persuade; they bring them out of their houses freely, and ask them to give all the influence and assistance in their power. I remember at the time of the Anti-Corn Law League agitation there were bazaars of prodigious size in Manchester and at Covent Garden, London. They did not say then

that women should be confined to their houses. (Cheers.) They got them to work, and then they got them to come and sell, and turn merchants in public places. But I am not going to quarrel with the feeling that women should be very domesticated, and that it is very well to have them much at home. (Hear, hear.) It is not necessary for my argument that I should ask them much from their houses. (Hear and cheers.) It seems to me that the representative system such as we have, and such as is generally found, is specially made and prepared for people much at home. Why, people at one time of day used to meet at the market-places and do their legislation. They are now too busy, and there are too many of them to do that. Can you imagine anything better devised for a woman at home than the means we have at present for her exercising political influence once every four or five years? You provide her with the information necessary for her political conduct; you send into her house every morning or every week the silent messenger—the penny newspaper—which gives her all the necessary information. The whole contrivance is admirably adapted for people who stick at home; and we may admit to the very full all that our friends above—who seem not to be entirely in harmony with us—we may admit to the full their desire to exclude women from the public gaze. In conclusion, allow me to say that being a stranger here, I certainly, some little time ago, had no expectation of being asked to plead this cause in the city of Edinburgh. But if I were asked to present any great question of justice affecting a large portion of my fellow-subjects in any place whatever, I do not think I could choose a more fitting place than the ancient capital of the Scottish kingdom. (Cheers.) Speaking as an English politician, I will tell you with all sincerity that we in England are grateful to Scotland for the powerful aid she always gives in the settlement of national questions; and looking at this meeting, knowing the influence of this platform, seeing how many of your members of Parliament are present to-night, I may confidently predict that when this question comes up for discussion in the House of Commons, Scotland will give no doubtful vote in your favour. (Loud cheering.)

✓ Professor MASSON (who was received with cheers) said—I have unusual pleasure in seconding the motion which has been brought before you so ably and so lucidly by Mr Jacob Bright. I am in the peculiar predicament at present of taking part for the first time in a public meeting specifically concerning the suffrage. Although I was in sympathy generally with the great movement which consummated itself in the recent change in our political system, it did not chance to be my duty—and perhaps I made it less my duty than I ought to have done—to take any direct part in that specific item of the movement. Nay, I will confess that, according to my notion, it might perhaps be argued by some that our representative system is not yet adjusted on that basis on which, when we come to think more on the subject, we shall wish to see it adjusted. (Cheers.) It seems to me possible that a mode of representation may be devised giving to the act of voting by a citizen of this country much more of the force and the

significance which so important an act deserves. (Cheers.) That by the way. But I have to say, with all my heart, that, since our system has been arranged on a certain basis, it appears to me the height of injustice that, where all other conditions for voting exist, sex should be a disqualification. The difficulty in this question is for any speaker to say what any speaker who has preceded him might not have already said. In the first place, as has been brought before you two or three times, it is plain justice to women that, when they come into the position which has been defined as the position of a voter, they should have the vote. The calculations are various as to the addition that would be made to the electoral body if women were allowed to vote. It has been estimated variously at an addition of ten per cent. or more to our present electoral body. Whatever is the addition, it is clear, I say—it is a plain act of justice—that these women should have that vote. (Cheers.) Is it to be thought of that a woman like Miss Nightingale or Miss Martineau, or many more that I could name over the kingdom—women whom men consult on political questions, women whose views on political questions influence large masses of the people round about them—that they shall have that influence, but the moment it comes to exerting their influence in the natural way of voting for a member of Parliament they shall be debarred from it? (Cheers.) I know in this city also women wise, thoughtful, able, skilled on many questions—the very persons whom any man would consult about any important question affecting himself; and it chanced by the present law that these women cannot vote, though the merest uneducated boor may and will. (Loud cheers and laughter.) But another argument has been brought before you in favour of giving the suffrage to women duly qualified. It will be not merely an act of justice to a certain large portion of the citizens who are at present excluded, but it will remove a restriction which deprives the nation of a great contribution which might be made to its legislation and to its views on important social concerns. Hitherto men only have legislated. It is proposed now that there should be an addition of women, to be concerned, at all events indirectly, in the legislation. Now that will not be a mere addition numerically to the voting body; I believe it will be also an addition of new ideas, new feelings, new experiences, so that the effect will be to ennoble our legislation, and make it more subtle than it has hitherto been. (Cheers.) Women actually at present do concern themselves with many matters of social interest—with education, with pauperism, and with many other questions that affect themselves and men socially; and they have acquired experience of a kind in the main that probably does not belong to the other sex. They have also naturally, I believe, ideas and feelings which enable them to take views of questions not quite in correspondence always with those which men take; and so I believe the addition of women to our electoral body would enrich and add subtlety to our present views on many questions. (Cheers.) I had the pleasure of hearing Mr John Stuart Mill plead this question in London, and this was a consideration on which he laid particular stress. He referred to pauperism, education, and other questions. But there is another which I may mention here, to shew how women may exert

a specific influence. We talk about reducing the public expenditure, about great economy in the State; and it is the universally accepted view that there will be no very great economy except when nations cease needlessly or capriciously to make war upon each other. Now, I think it is extremely likely, considering what are the native feelings and sentiments of women, considering the agony which *they* have to endure when the world is divided into battle-fields, considering all that makes women women as distinct from men—it seems to me, I say, very probable that, if war is to be extinguished in the world, or if it is to be diminished, or if the wars that take place are to be wars of necessity—if this earth is to be less scarred and reddened by mere horrors and ravages—we shall require to call in for that purpose the votes of the women of the world. (Cheers.) But, apart from the consideration of mere justice to women, and the probability of better and finer legislation, and higher and subtler views of social questions, when we shall have women voting, there is this argument—which to me is perhaps the chief—that there are injustices and impediments in the way of women in this community as well as in others, and that probably the only axe that can be laid to the root of these injustices and impediments is that women shall have some power in their own hands. (Cheers.) Without speaking again about the marriage laws, and about woman's rights as to property, let me look at the question of the occupations of women. The theory is—and it is the theory of our opponents, or at least they are bound to make it their theory—that every woman in the world is supported by men—(cheers and laughter)—that all women are supported by the labour of the other sex; the one sex living entirely without working, living on the labour of the other. That is the theory; and, observe, all people who take the opposite side argue on that theory. But what is the fact? The fact is that the theory is a sheer delusion, one of the greatest hallucinations ever propounded. (Laughter and cheers.) The saying in the well-known song is—

“Men must work and women must weep,
While the harbour bar is moaning.”

But the fact is, that, though the men work, they do not devolve the mere duty of weeping upon the women. Women have to do much of the work and nearly all the weeping too. (Cheers and laughter.) I have looked at the census of 1861 for England and Scotland; and, as there is a committee appointed in this city for regulating the census which is to take place next year, I will give my experience of the last census to this effect, that it might be vastly improved upon,—that a great deal of new information might be obtained along with the census in various subjects of social importance, and especially in regard to women's employments. I find, slumping together England and Wales and Scotland, that there are 11,900,000 females of all sexes. (Great laughter.) Sometimes one hits on a truth by a blunder, and if you do not know, I know that there are a great many “old women” in the other sex. (Great laughter and cheers.) The number of females of all ages, according to the census of England and Wales and Scotland in

1861, was 11,900,000; and, doing my best to make a calculation, I find that 3,800,000 of these were working for their bread—not only working domestically as members of families, as wives and daughters, but working in the ordinary sense in which we understand work. Now, if you take that proportion of the 11,900,000 of all ages, you will see what a vast proportion of the grown-up women are working—sometimes not working for themselves, but for people that are depending on them—nay, sometimes working for wretches of men who ought to be hurled beyond the frontier where good bread is given to hungry mouths. (Cheers.) But I find also the fact that there is a general tendency to keep women out of the higher occupations. So long as it is menial work, or anything approaching that, they are allowed to do it, notwithstanding the beautiful theory that every woman reposes in a cushioned chair and is ministered to. (Cheers and laughter.) But the moment they want to get themselves educated, to get to higher duties, then there is a dead-set made against them, as there has been here till recently. I saw in one paper, when there was a desire expressed by some women to become medical practitioners—(cheers and hisses)—I saw in one medical newspaper a letter with this argument:—There are a great many medical men that are not in practice—(laughter)—and what will be the consequence if we bring in women? (Loud laughter.) Observe what that means. It means that before you begin to help a woman, or allow her to help herself, all the men must be exhausted. (Laughter and cheers.) How different is that from our so-called gallantry! Let there be a dinner party in any part of the kingdom, and is not the rule that the women shall be helped first? (Laughter and cheers.) I daresay the women would be prepared to part with that privilege, and to let all be helped simultaneously on such occasions, if justice were allowed to them in other respects, and if they were allowed to suit their own tastes and cultivate and exercise their own faculties equally with men. (Cheers.) In regard to education, it seems to me so strange that the world should have come to this time and all but forgotten one half of the human species. When we have endowments and State helps of all sorts for the superior education of men—not only primary schools, but middle schools, grammar schools, and universities; with systems of scholarships, rewards, fellowships, everything that can encourage young men and push them forward—why, on earth, I wonder, should there not be something of all this for women too? (Hear, hear.) Have not women minds? Is there anything in astronomy, in mathematics, or in any other branch of knowledge that would not make the soul or mind of a woman as much nobler than that of an uneducated woman as it would make that of a man nobler than that of an uneducated man? (Cheers.) The time will come—I prophesy it—(cheers and laughter)—when universities and great schools, or at all events the precise equivalents to these, will be provided for our sisters and daughters. (Cheers.) But what is necessary towards all this is a little power on the part of women. A little of that power which consists of the right of giving or refusing a vote will be of great use; and I hold that those who have strong opinions on this question ought to begin to consider whether on the

occasion of elections they will not make this a testing question—whether, when two men come before us as a constituency, if the one is not thoroughly right on this question, we should not rather give our vote to the other, though he may not be so favourable to our views in other respects. Then as to the objections. I have heard an argument which has come from one or two of the extreme Liberal party, and perhaps I ought not to state this objection, because it has not been publicly stated before. It is like lending a sword to the enemy, and it may be used against us. (Laughter.) But there is nothing like frankness. It is said that the result of this vote will probably be a great increase of Conservative power. Well, now, as this is not a political meeting, and has nothing to do with party, I will just say that, so far as that argument may be deterrent to the one political party, it ought to be good news to the other. I have no opinion myself on the subject of the probability hinted at; but, considering the many advantages of other kinds, I am quite willing—without saying which side I take myself—I am quite willing to risk all that. (Hear, hear.) The other objections are entirely of the sentimental kind. One is to this effect—that it would be a terrible thing for women to become politicians—hard and pragmatical politicians—that it would be rubbing the bloom off the peach, and so on. (Laughter.) Now, I must say that I do not like a *man* who is merely a politician. There are some who have to make politics their business, who are called to it by positive duty or by the voices of their fellow-citizens; but, with these exceptions, I do not like a man who has addicted himself to nothing else than saying ay and no on political questions, morning, noon, and night. A man whose intellectual pabulum is merely newspapers and political discussions is to me, with the exceptions I have alluded to, on the whole very disagreeable. I would say to him, in the words of an old fragment of song,

“John makes a stir 'bout Lancaster and York;
Be still, good man, and learn to mind thy work.”

(Laughter.) Nay, I would even go so far as to profess considerable sympathy with the passive disposition represented in another verse—

“Happy the man who belongs to no party,
But sits in his own house and looks at Benarty.”

(Great laughter.) And so equally with women. But surely a man who took no concern in political matters, would, on the other hand, be a very insipid and very useless personage. A man who does not devote a certain amount of cultivated intelligence to reading the newspapers, to knowing what is going on, so as to be able to give a just vote when the time comes—such a man is not fit to be a citizen of a free country. And, in the same proportion, why may not women be politicians, not only without harm to themselves, but with much benefit to them, and to all rational discourse in society? Twenty minutes a day, and a vote every year or two, is about as much as many *men* even now give specially to politics; and would that be so very ruinous? And now for a final objection, still of the “sentimental” kind, as it is called, and indeed a sort of extension of the last. “Sentimental” though it

is called, I do not undervalue it; for I believe that, avowed or unavowed, it constitutes the very strength of the opposition. It is difficult to lay hold of, for it exists as a kind of feeling or fear, diffused, like a vapour, through society, rather than in definite, argumentative shape; but not the less must it be laid hold of, for its force is more real than that of all the other objections together that are definitely brought forward. And here I will speak from the man's side, from the man's point of view, expressing the objection as it may be latently felt among men. Well, a great deal of the opposition is of this kind. There is a feeling as if that wonderful power in the world, which has consisted in the attraction of one human spirit to another, and in the consequences of that attraction throughout life, as if this great and glorious power in the world were either to be weakened or marred by such a movement as the present. If I thought so, really I should have thought twice before taking any part in such a movement. For, though this is named among us, and thought of among us, as a thing of sentiment and romance, it is, rightly considered, one of the most massive realities of the world, a thing as real as the rocks and the most solid hills. This attraction, or this attractiveness, of one human spirit to another, what does it not do in the world, of what is it not capable? Take young affection, the affection of the wooer. How for the young man there comes a time when, through this affection, all the world without is changed, vivified, recreated, by the exultation of his own spirit within, and the very walls and trees he passes in his walks are seen through a glamour of coloured air! Or take wedded and assured affection, the loyal love of hearth and home:—

“Thy voice is heard through rolling drums,
That beat to battle where he stands;
Thy face across his fancy comes,
And gives the battle to his hands:
A moment, while the trumpets blow,
He sees his brood about thy knee;
The next, like fire he meets the foe,
And strikes him dead for thine and thee.”

Lastly, most solemn, and to be spoken of reverently, there is the love of the bereaved. Are there not even now among us men here and there, veterans or aged, leading high and serious lives, bent on great thoughts, or on labours to make the world better, and the misery in it less, who, it may be found, are secretly sustained all the while in their solitary way by one undying affection, and all whose high thoughts or high acts and endeavours are a sacred dedication to the memory of some one, once loved on earth, that has passed long ago into the realms of the viewless? Surely, to all whose notions of what is real are not of the lowest, this power of so-called “romance” is a great reality. Along with some kindred powers—the pursuit of truth, the sense of duty, religion itself—it is what makes our world worth living in, prevents all beneath the sky from seeming a foul and pestilent congregation of vapours. Well, if this thing were to be abolished, this “romance” to be imperilled, by the movement now in progress, there might be second thoughts on the question. But it is in no danger. It has been

by the gradual elevation of women in the past that it has been brought to be what it now is. And so, as woman becomes more and more the civil co-equal of man, this feeling will be yet more ennobled, and the world will move on the pulse of this feeling into finer issues than hitherto. It will tend to become a world—as a world and a nation should be—the intellect of which is throughout large and shrewd, but which, at the same time, is living at a high mood. (Loud cheers.)

✓ Professor LYON PLAYFAIR, M.P. (who was received with cheers), said—I am one of those who devote themselves to politics, and who cannot carry you over those high regions of poetry and of feeling which we have heard, and I must therefore bring you back to the stern realities of political discussion. Now, I know of no subject more difficult to discuss than the one which we are met to support. The difficulty does not rest in the weakness of our position, but in the fact that our assailants decline to attack it with any other weapons than those of ridicule, or, as Mr Mill puts it, with interjections. The logic is certainly on our side, but the sentiment preponderates on the other, and reason has little power when it has to combat either sentiment or interjections. No one, for instance, denies the abstract statement that women constitute one-half of the human race, and, as such, are entitled to its privileges, and subject to its responsibilities. It is freely admitted that women have souls to be saved, minds to be cultivated, and, when independent, purses to be taxed to exactly the same extent as those of men. Women's and men's souls are recognised as of equal value, for this is the essence of our religion, and so church privileges are freely accorded to the former: but here we stop, for when we demand equal facilities for educating their minds, these are but very partially yielded, and when representation is asked for their fully taxed purses, this is absolutely refused. So, though their abstract rights as human beings, constituting one half of the genus *homo*, are admitted in theory, they are violated in practice. All this time that their claims are opposed by sentimental objections, the opponents are willing to denounce any cruel treatment of women such as savages commit in uncivilised lands. Yet civilised States, in their actual legislation, adopt the law of the strongest, and cling with tenacity to ancient barbaric ideas of female inferiority, as is evidenced by the refusal of equal civil rights. Tennyson understood this when he wrote:—

“ And I saw
That equal baseness lived in sleeker times
With smoother men; the old leaven leaven'd all:
Millions of throats would bawl for civil rights,
No woman named.”

This is a legislative fact, whatever protestations may be made to the contrary. The laws are so cruelly against women, and so selfishly in favour of the men who made them, that marriage would be most miserable and wretched, if men in civilised countries, as Mr Mill has pointed out, were not, on the average, much better than the laws which they have made. There is this difference between civilised men and

savages in regard to their women, that the former act inconsistently and the latter consistently. The savage believes his wives to be much inferior to himself, and so treats them as beasts of burden, to be kicked and maltreated as fits his humour. The civilised man is forced, by his religion, to acknowledge equality, and yet, by his laws, enforces inequality and subjection. Now, the badness of human laws becomes reflected in the acts of bad men; the good men are governed by their consciences and sense of right, not by the letter of law. When there is a tyrant husband, the law not only protects but develops his tyranny. Among the less cultivated, in whom the sentiment of chivalry is not strong, and who are little amenable to public opinion, we find a frightful amount of misery, owing to the operation of unequal laws; and, even among the easy classes, it is common enough for each of us to meet such cases in our own walk of life.

Permit me to state one instance, as it happens to be that which first aroused my slumbering convictions as to the injustice of our laws in regard to women. Some years since, I was in a steamer, going from Hull to St Petersburg, when one of the lady passengers presented to me a letter of introduction. This unfortunate lady was flying from her husband, in order to seek that protection in a despotic country which the law refused to give her in England. She had a fortune when she married, but that had been squandered by her husband, who was then resorting to infamous practices for support. He lived in Germany, and used their children as a means of enticing governesses from England. When they crossed the Channel, provided with money for their journey, this rascal met and robbed them of their slender funds, leaving them destitute in a foreign country. The wife refused to share his guilt, and herself went out as a governess, but lost each situation by his demands on her earnings and threats of conjugal rights. For years she was protected in Russia, as the swindler was known to the police, who prevented his entrance into that country. A short time since the poor lady again visited me in London, in order to ask my aid in procuring the liberation of her boy, who was then in prison at Munich along with the father. I represented the case to some eminent Bavarian friends, who did their best to separate father and son; but bad law was more powerful than equity, and the young boy went out of prison with the father to pursue a career of iniquity, when the good mother, whose rights the law ignored, was standing by eager to rescue her lost child. Can you be surprised, with instances like these, that there are now many men and women who demand that they shall both be made equal in all legal and social relations of life? Women have long waited for such a recognition of their equality at the hands of men, and I for one am not surprised that it is now being sought in another and more effective way. There are few doctrines upon which liberal politicians are more agreed than that representation should be co-extensive with taxation; though, in application, the doctrine is limited to men. Women have not, and never can have, their just equality, unless they share with men the right to elect those who impose taxation. It has long ceased to be the case that men are either the sole taxpayers or bread-winners, and women mere recipients of their bounty. In Eng-

land, at least, there are two millions of them winning bread in entire independence of men.

Against such facts, What are the arguments on the other side? None; only interjections! There is an abundant crop of phrases which start up whenever the subject of female suffrage is mooted. In the first place, we are always told that its exercise would be "unwomanly." If that means simply that it is unusual for women to exercise political suffrage, that is a self-evident fact, and will remain so as long as the law classes them with lunatics and idiots, and considers them incapable of exercising the rights of citizens. If it have any deeper meaning, we may answer it with another phrase, by asking men whether it may not be "unmanly" to act on the law of the strongest when they refuse the right of citizenship to independent women, who are their own breadwinners and taxpayers, simply because the former wish a larger share of power for themselves. If a woman can sit upon the throne as wisely and virtuously as our present Sovereign, can her poorer sisters not be allowed to do their small share of public work by having a voice in the selection of the representatives from whom her Government is chiefly selected? (Cheers.) It cannot be alleged that women have a natural incapacity for understanding public affairs; for history tells us that out of an equal number of male and female Sovereigns there have been a larger proportion of able queens than of able kings. (Cheers.) If it be not unwomanly for a female to sit on the throne and exercise the highest functions of government, how can it be unwomanly for a female breadwinner and taxpayer to exercise the lowest functions of the government by securing her own representation? (Cheers.) What inherent superiority is there in man, that the factory operative who can neither read nor write should have a vote, when the learned Mrs Somerville is excluded by her sex from the legitimate expression of her interest in public affairs? What inherent superiority is it in man that enables Miss Burdett Coutts' footman, if he lives out of her house, to exercise the suffrage, when that lady, of large public sympathies and prudent benevolence, is not allowed to record her vote? (Loud cheers.) Then we are met by another phrase, that we are misdirecting the aims of women by inducing them to attend to public affairs, when their natural and primary duties consist in the fulfilment of their functions as wives and mothers. Truly, this double function, when rightly conceived, is very high and worthy of all ambition; nor do we ask the suffrage for wives whose interests are represented by their husbands as taxpayers. But why should this exclude the 487,000 widows who may have only a single function, or the 2,110,000 spinsters who have neither? When we find one-third of the adult women in England winning bread unaided by men, it is a mockery to tell them that they should be wives and mothers, and not trouble themselves with public affairs. (Cheers.) Those who urge the continued disqualification of women from political privileges are ready, with patronising condescension, to admit that they still have certain virtues greater than men. Among these, a higher morality is freely conceded. But does it not strike them that if the higher moral tone of women were thrown upon public affairs, less of corruption and brutality

would disgrace the exercise of the suffrage in the case of many men? (Cheers.) We have seen that this influence has exercised a highly salutary change almost in our own times among the upper classes. Wives, in their case, are no longer considered as convenient household appendages to supply the deficiencies of domestics, but are now freely admitted into the society and companionship of men; and the result is that, within two generations, there has been a great softening of the manners of men and the removal of drunkenness from the upper classes of society. (Cheers.) Trust this moral tone of women to improve political life in the same way. From the time that Gorgo, the young daughter of Cleomenes, King of Sparta, induced her father to spurn the bribe of the Ionian stranger, up to our own day, the influence of woman, when under a sense of responsibility, has usually been on the side of public morality. (Renewed cheers.) Like men, they have been sometimes influenced by evil counsels, as instanced in the Marys of England and Scotland, but, even then, they have leaned to these because they wrongly believed them to be on the side of sacredness and truth. I can conceive no function of woman that would be deteriorated by accustoming her to take an intelligent interest in public affairs. As a wife and mother, she should be keenly alive to the changes in the law which affect every member of her household, and, by their wisdom or foolishness, influence to a greater or lesser degree, the destinies and happiness of herself, husband, and children. Doubtless, there are certain politics affecting social life and well-being which appeal to the feelings, and would be vastly benefited by the active sympathies of women. The health of the people, the support of the poor, the reformation of the criminal, the care of the sick in their own homes, infirmaries, and workhouses, the enlightenment of the ignorant, are surely subjects adapted to woman's sympathies, and likely to be promoted by her active co-operation—(cheers)—and, after all, these form nine-tenths of the social politics of our age.

But we are told that the education of women unfits them for the exercise of the suffrage. If there be truth in this allegation—and it is no doubt partially true—whose fault is it? Men have monopolised all the higher schools and universities of learning, and by this monopoly have lowered the education of women. Many of the foundations of our endowed schools were for both sexes; but the male sex took the lion's share. Take the case of Christ's Hospital in London, founded equally for boys and girls, the number of the former having now increased to 1100, while that of the latter has fallen to 26. Though this part of the subject interests me more than any other, I do not intend to detain you with its discussion, because I believe this city has become well awakened to its importance. Already university courses are open for the instruction of girls of the upper classes, and university examinations for those of the middle classes, while I am glad to learn that the trustees of our great educational foundations are maturing schemes to extend their advantages more fairly to the girls of the wage-making class. (Cheers.) No one can doubt for a moment that women are fitted to receive a higher education than is now attainable by them. I admit that it is an open question whether there will ever be female

Galileos and Newtons, or Beethovens and Mozarts, or Raphaels and Angelos. But they are sufficiently rare among men, and our schools are certainly not for the purpose of producing men of genius, whom Nature takes care of, but for the multitude of boys and girls, among whom there is no difference of mental capacity due to sex, though there is much due to the circumstance that the existing education of boys is calculated to feed and strengthen their intellects, while that of girls is to starve and weaken theirs. I am rejoiced to see that the prejudice against a higher education of women is passing away, and that universities are opening their degrees to them. Better by far, as a lady has aptly expressed it, that both old and young maids should take degrees in the school of science than in the school of scandal. (Cheers.) This improved culture of women will be quickly attained when they receive political and social rights; for the first use they are likely to make of them will be to secure a fair share of the educational resources of the country, while the country itself will be greatly benefited by a largely increased fund of intellectual wealth which, in advancing civilisation, is the only permanent source of prosperity to a nation. By treating boys and girls after our present fashion, as beings to be kept apart, and to have all their thoughts, feelings, and knowledge of a separate kind, although they are afterwards to come together and coalesce in a life-long relation for mutual happiness and society, is a strange perversion of natural laws and a gigantic waste of our educational outcome.

Having now alluded to the usual sentimental objections to our proposal, allow me finally to answer a question often put by advocates of the *laissez faire* school of political economy, and in precise terms to me, on this occasion, by an eminent literary man of our city—“Why tease women with questions of suffrage till they ask for it? Many do ask for it, though undoubtedly the great majority do not; and it would be a marvel if they did, brought up as they have been in subjection to men, and with cultivated sentiments but uncultivated intellects. If all of them did see at once the immense advantages, social and educational, which they would receive by enfranchisement, then all the subjection of centuries, and the miserable style of education to which they have been confined, would have produced no effect. But the very absence of an universal demand on the part of women shews what deep effects these causes have produced. Just as history tells us that slaves never ask for enfranchisement, though they do ask for amelioration of their condition, and as the cry for reform does not begin with the ignorant but with the educated, so cannot we expect women, kept under subjection by the law of man, and estranged from public affairs, to rise above the hopes and customs of their class and shout of their own accord for political equality. Yet what does the present movement mean? It is not confined to this city, or limited to a few districts. It is a wave of public opinion rising in height and in power. (Cheers.) Already the great universities of England are beginning to be moved by it, and are admitting women to examinations. Every large provincial town is organising courses for their higher instruction. Under its influence, our Legislature has been shamed into giving them an instalment of equal social rights, by protecting the earnings of wives when

they are deserted by their husbands. The upper classes of society have learned how to cheat the law, by fathers protecting their daughters from conjugal tyranny through the fictions of marriage settlements. Women are everywhere asserting their rights to occupations, and are filling them in a manner which extorts admiration from unwilling men. (Cheers.) These movements are as marked on the Continent as they are in England, and their impulse has crossed the Atlantic. They are far less the result of women's agitation than of a recognition, in the conscience of mankind, that at last the period has arrived when all worthy citizens, whatever may be their sex, are entitled to equal rights; and I believe we are not in advance of, but are simply obeying, the spirit of the time. Nothing will hasten the realisation of this just desire so much as political equality. Both sexes did probably possess it at an early period of English history, and it will be worthy of the liberties of this country if we are among the earliest nations to accord it at the present time. We cannot be the first to do so, for Austria and Italy, Sweden, and at least one of the United States allow votes to female taxpayers, either directly or through proxies. Social, educational, and political enfranchisement of women will double our liberties, will largely increase our intellectual fund, and complete the sense of national justice. But social equality can never be the offspring of political inferiority; and if man's conscience and religion teach him that he should accord to woman full equity, he must give her, in the eye of the law, full equality. For these reasons, I have pleasure in moving the following resolution:—“That all women who are owners or occupiers of lands and houses in their own right should be entitled to vote for members of Parliament in the same circumstances as men who are owners or occupiers of land and property of the same description and value.” (Loud cheers.)

✓ Dr WALLACE seconded the motion. He believed that in past times as well as at the present day the Church had had a good deal to do, if not with creating, at least with fostering the false idea and the pernicious prejudice which has made such a movement as this necessary. To a considerable extent it had lent a hand to inculcate the belief—the wrong belief as he was persuaded—in the absolute ineligibility of women for public life. Now, that seemed to him of the nature of a heresy, and he felt uncommon satisfaction in any opportunity afforded him of protesting against any form of heresy or unsoundness. (Laughter.) He was not one of those who supported this movement upon any general idea of the equality of the sexes, or what was called the abstract rights of women. He did not believe in the equality of the sexes any more than he did in their identity. He was of opinion that man was upon the whole, and in all the qualities of human nature, the stronger creature. His opinion was that if we could get all the men and women in the world together, and plant them down upon some moral, intellectual, and physical field of Waterloo or Sadowa, and set the two in earnest onset, the lords of the creation would be left with their title untarnished. At the same time, this did not seem to him to be any reason why we should not receive from women all the usefulness, personal, domestic,

and political—(laughter)—all the helpfulness of every kind that it was possible for us to obtain. Nor did he support this movement upon any idea of value that he attached to the abstract rights of women, for he believed in no abstract rights of women or of men either that could be shewn to be inconsistent with the public good. If it could be proved that the admission of women to Parliamentary representation was inconsistent with the public good, there should be found no more uncompromising opponent of the movement than himself. He was one who held very strongly to the opinion that the good of the community was best promoted when the largest amount of freedom consistent with the limits imposed by nature itself was conceded to all persons who were able and willing to exert themselves in the public service. He held there was a presumption against every restriction that was laid upon free action ostensibly and avowedly directed to objects that were praiseworthy; and when he came to consider the particular question of female voting in the light of this general principle, he found that British society had come to be of opinion that wherever there was human energy represented by the capacity of paying £4 of annual rent and upwards, there was also an advantage in consulting the possessor of energy so represented; and what he wanted to know was this—If £4 human energy and character was a thing that should be consulted, why was it not as good when it came in a feminine form as when it came in a masculine form? (Laughter.)

It was objected that, in conceding the claim, they were obliterating the great distinction which had hitherto been held sacred and inviolable throughout the whole experience and history of the human race—namely, the principle that it was not safe or advisable, that in public life the sexes should be mingled together. In explaining the view he took of it, he could not do so better than by making reference to an illustration borrowed from the general discussions that had taken place of late months upon this question, considered in some of its other aspects. They were asked, if they let women exercise political privileges, where were they to stop—why not permit them to enter Parliament itself—(hear, hear)—nay, why not allow them to fight in defence of their country? Now, common sense and common feeling told us that it would never do to have an army, composed partly of men and partly of women. Wherever the disturbing element that sprang out of the contrast of sex was certain to make a mixed assembly, or a mixed organisation of men and women, more harmful as an instrument of the public service than an assembly or organisation constituted only of one sex, then the exclusion of one sex or the other was an advisable thing. And if it could be made clear that a Parliament composed of men and women would operate to the prejudice of that even balance of thought and reasoning requisite for the proper guidance of public affairs, then he for one should be found to prefer a one-sexed Parliament; and very probably, for reasons it was not necessary now to give, he should be found voting for a male Parliament. If he had approached the settlement of the distinguishing principle, he considered he had made out that each question connected with the subject was to be settled precisely on its own merits. What he held in regard to

female franchise was, that a useless and pernicious restriction upon human freedom should be removed, and that the framework of society should be so fashioned, as that men and women should be allowed to shake themselves into their right places and relationships to one another, in public, as well as in private life, according to the grand, and simple, and wise laws of nature, without any interference from the artificial regulations and restrictions that were made by shortsighted mortals, with the view, as they thought, of improving nature, but very often with the effect of obstructing her action and disfiguring her beauty. (Cheers.)

The resolution was put to the meeting, and was carried by acclamation.

✓ Sir DAVID WEDDERBURN, Bart., M.P., in moving the concluding resolution, said that certain gentlemen had undertaken, during the ensuing Parliament, to bring in a bill which should embody the principles in favour of which the meeting had expressed themselves so decidedly. It was one thing to approve of a measure, but it was a very different thing to undertake the arduous task of forcing its consideration upon a lukewarm or hostile Legislature. A measure such as this was certain to encounter delay and opposition of every kind, and those gentlemen who had undertaken to fight the battle would require all the support and assistance which this meeting, and those who agreed with them, could afford. During each individual session of Parliament time appeared to fight upon the side of the opponents of progress and reform; and a measure which had swum for its life in the troubled sea of the House of Commons was liable to receive a very summary quietus in another place. Such was the fate last year of the Married Women's Property Bill, and he grieved to say that it was quite possible a similar fate might await the bill now desired during the ensuing session. But they must not be disheartened, for in reality time fought not upon the other side, but upon theirs, and there was no doubt the day would come when their opponents would not only cease their opposition, but would take credit for the share borne by them in so reasonable a measure of reform. It could hardly be doubted that the franchise, both Parliamentary and municipal, would ere long be conferred upon women by general acclamation. (Cheers.) A few years ago, when standing on the same spot, he had ventured to assert that he knew of no surer test of the stage of civilisation reached by a nation than the social position accorded to women. Subsequent observation had confirmed him in this belief. He could not help recognising in the ignorance and degradation of women an important cause of decay in the Turkish empire, while in their emancipation and enlightenment he saw one of the brightest hopes for the future of the great American republic. In the matter our nation occupied an honourable place among the great nations of the world. We were advancing steadily, but we had a long way to go before we reached a due equality between the sexes. The passing of such a bill as that now sought would go far to bring about such a desirable result. When it became law, questions affecting the interests and happiness of women would no longer fail to receive at the hands of

those in power that respectful attention which had been, since the passing of the late Reform Act, accorded to questions affecting the interests and happiness of working men. In these circumstances, he could confidently ask the meeting to agree to the following resolution:—
 “That this meeting rejoice to learn that Jacob Bright, Esq., M.P., Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, Bart., M.P., and Peter Ryland, Esq., M.P., have agreed to bring in a bill during the ensuing session to remove the electoral disabilities under which women now suffer, and that this meeting resolve to use their influence in support of the measure, and authorise the chairman, at the proper time, to sign a petition to Parliament in favour of the bill.” (Cheers.)

Mr EDWARD BLYTH seconded the motion. He maintained that if women voted for the election of their ministers, as was almost universally the case in this country, there was no reason why they should not vote for their legislators. He thought that the influence which women could bring to bear on Parliament was great, and contended that, had that influence been exercised at last election, the promotion of the most disgraceful act that ever had been passed by the Legislature would not have occurred last session. He concluded by making an appeal to the public for funds to enable the ladies to carry on the agitation.

The motion was carried by acclamation.

On the motion of Mr MILLER, M. P., a vote of thanks was given to the chairman, and the meeting separated at twenty minutes before eleven o'clock.

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

Form to be filled up by persons desirous of assisting to promote the object of the Society.

Madam,

I authorise you to add my name to the List of Members of the Edinburgh Branch of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, and I agree to pay a Subscription of £

OBJECT.

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.

Approval of the object of the Society, with an Annual Subscription of any amount, constitutes membership.

Name and Address in full.	
Mrs Forbes Kerr,	£0 10 0
Mrs Kerr, Inverleith Terrace,	0 2 0
Miss Dick Lander, 12 Melville Crescent (2 years subscription),	0 0 0
Do., donations,	0 0 0
Mrs Lennal, Rutland Square,	0 0 0
Mrs Low, 20 Minto Street (2 years subscription),	0 10 0
Do., donations,	0 0 0
Per Mrs Low,	0 0 0
Mrs M'Laren,	0 0 0
Mrs M'Laren, Newington House (subscription for 2 years),	0 0 0
Do., donation,	0 0 0
Miss Agnes M'Laren, Newington House,	0 0 0
Do., donation,	0 0 0
Miss M'Laren, Darnaway Street,	0 0 0
Mr Duncan,	0 0 0
Do., donation,	0 0 0
Mr J. M'Laren, Rutland Sq.,	0 0 0
Miss M'Laren, Queen's Crescent (subscription for 2 years),	0 0 0
Do., donation,	0 0 0
Mr M'Laren,	0 0 0
Mrs M'Kinnet, Dumfries,	0 0 0
Mrs M'Leod, Bannockburn,	0 0 0
Miss M'Ewan, Perth,	0 0 0
Do., second subscription,	0 0 0

To Mrs Nichol,
 Treasurer,
 Huntly Lodge, Merchiston, Edinburgh.

those in power that... passing of the late... interests and happiness... could confidently... That this meeting... Sir Charles... M.P., have... remove the... the... proper time...

Howdy Lodge, Merchiston, Edinburgh
To Mrs Wilson

Name
Address in full

any amount... with an annual subscription of... to the object of the Society... granted to men... same conditions as if it were... for. Members of Parliament on the... to obtain for women the right of voting

OBJECT

I have reported... Edinburgh Branch of the National Society for Women's Suffrage... I apologise for not having... object of the Society... Form to be filled up by persons desirous of assisting to promote the

EDINBURGH BRANCH OF THE NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS.

Edward Alexander jun.,	£1 0 0	Mrs Forbes Kerr,	£0 10 0
Miss Ashworth,	2 0 0	Mrs Kerr, Inverleith Terrace,	0 2 6
Miss Boucherett,	1 0 0	Miss Dick Lauder, 12 Mel-	
Do., for canvassers	2 0 0	ville Crescent (2 years'	
Mrs Brown, Arthur's Lodge		subscription),	2 0 0
(2 years),	0 10 0	Do., donations,	2 7 6
Miss Brown, Arthur's Lodge		Mrs Lemmi, Rutland Square,	2 2 6
(2 years),	0 4 0	Mrs Low, 30 Minto Street,	
Mr Brown, Arthur's Lodge,	0 5 0	(2 years' subscription),	0 10 0
Miss Grace Blyth,	0 5 0	Do., donations,	0 7 6
Miss Burton, Liberton Bank,	1 0 0	Per Mrs Low,	0 9 0
Do., donation,	0 2 6	Mrs M'Gilchrist,	0 5 0
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Mrs Buncle,	0 2 6	House (subscription for 2	
Mrs Campbell, Clarendon Cres.,	1 0 0	years),	20 0 0
Mrs Campbell,	0 5 0	Do., donations,	22 0 0
Mrs Campbell,	0 5 0	Miss Agnes M'Laren, New-	
Mr H. Christie,	0 2 6	ington House,	0 10 0
Miss Clark, 10 Duncan St.,		Do., donation,	2 0 0
Drummond Place,	0 2 6	Miss M'Laren, 12 Darnaway	
Per Do.,	0 12 0	Street,	0 10 0
Mrs Clark, do.,	0 2 6	Mr Duncan M'Laren jun.,	0 5 0
Miss Craig, 6 Carlton Street		Do., donation,	0 10 0
(2 years' subscription),	4 0 0	Mr J. M'Laren, 5 Rutland Sq.,	0 5 0
Miss A. Craig, do.,	4 0 0	Miss M'Laren, 11 Queen's	
Misses Craig (donations),	5 5 0	Crescent (subscription for	
Mr Cross,	0 2 6	2 years),	0 5 0
Contributions from Dumfries,	1 10 0	Do., donation,	0 2 6
Miss Dick, Burntisland,	0 2 6	Mr M'Laren,	0 2 6
Do., do. (donation),	1 0 0	Mrs M'Kinnet, Dumfries,	0 5 0
Miss E. Frazer,	0 4 0	Mrs M'Leod, Benrhydding,	1 0 0
Friend, per Miss Boucherett,	1 1 0	Miss M'Ewan, Portobello,	0 10 0
Friend,	1 0 0	Do., second subscription,	0 10 0
Three Friends in Aberdeen,	0 10 0	Mrs M'Queen, 11 Oxford	
Miss Gibson, 1 Forres Street		Terrace (2 years' sub.),	2 0 0
(2 years' subscription),	4 0 0	Do., donations,	3 10 0
Do., donations,	6 10 0	Mrs Mein, Kelso,	0 5 0
Per Miss Gibson,	1 0 0	Professor Masson,	0 10 6
T. E. Graham,	0 2 6	Mrs Masson,	0 10 6
Helen Henderson,	0 2 6	Mrs Mood, Rosehall House,	0 5 0
Misses Hunter, 5 Gt. Stuart		Mr J. S. Mill,	1 1 0
St. (2 years' subscription),	4 0 0	Do., donation,	10 0 0
Do., donations,	5 15 0	Mrs Murphy, Millport,	0 2 6
Mrs Home,	0 2 6	Mrs John Millar, 13 York Pl.,	0 10 0
Mrs Ferguson Home,	2 0 0	Mrs W. Miller, 55 Lancaster	
		Gate, London,	2 0 0
		Mrs Nichol, Huntly Lodge	
		(2 years' subscription),	2 0 0
		Do., donations,	2 2 0
		Mrs Wm. Nelson, Salisbury Gr.	1 0 0

Mrs A. Renton, 5 Leaming- ton Terrace,	£2 5 0	Miss Helen Taylor,	£1 1 0
Mrs J. H. Renton, London,	3 3 0	Do., donation,	5 0 0
Miss Riddel, Lauder Road,	0 2 6	Sums under 2s. 6d.,	2 19 10
Ellen T. Riddel, do.	0 2 6		
Per Miss Riddel,	0 8 0	Mrs Warren,	0 5 0
Jane Rudd,	0 2 6	Do.,	0 10 0
Mrs Reid, Nairn,	0 5 0	Miss Walker, 7 Queen's Cres. (2 years' subscription),	0 10 0
Miss Robison, 2 Henry Place,	0 2 6	Mrs Wigham, 5 Gray Street (2 years),	1 0 0
Miss Smith, London,	1 0 0	Do., donation,	0 5 0
Miss Smith, do.,	1 0 0	Miss Wigham,	0 7 6
Mrs Wm. Smith,	0 5 0	Thos. Wilkie,	0 2 6
Miss Stephenson, 13 Ran- dolph Cres. (2 years' sub.),	1 0 0		
Do., donations,	9 5 0		

TREASURER'S STATEMENT.

INCOME.

Received in Subscriptions and Donations from January 30. 1867, to December 31. 1869,	£168 9 4
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EXPENDITURE.

Printing,	£36 6 0
Canvassers,	73 2 10
Pamphlets,	36 16 6
Postages, Carriage of Parcels, &c.,	11 10 6
Advertising,	2 4 6
Balance in hands of Treasurer,	8 9 0
	£168 9 4

As the Subscription List was not given with last year's Report, it includes the whole Receipts since the commencement of the Society, and the Treasurer's statement covers the corresponding period.

FORMS OF PETITION.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

The Humble Petition of the Undersigned Inhabitants of

Sheweth,—

That the exclusion of Women, householders and ratepayers, legally qualified in every respect but that of sex, from the power of voting in the election of Members of Parliament, by depriving a considerable portion of the property, the industry, and the intelligence of the country of all direct representation, is injurious both to the persons excluded and to the community at large.

That women are competent, by law and in fact, to carry on a business, to administer an estate, and to fill other positions, which, both by investing them with interests requiring representation, and by affording tests of fitness, are usually considered to give a claim to the suffrage.

Wherefore your Petitioners humbly pray that your Lordships will pass the Bill, entitled—"A Bill to Remove the Electoral Disabilities of Women."

And your Petitioners will ever pray, &c.

TO THE HONOURABLE THE COMMONS OF THE UNITED KING- DOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED ;

The Humble Petition of the Undersigned Inhabitants of

Sheweth,—

That the exclusion of Women, householders and ratepayers, legally qualified in every respect but that of sex, from the power of voting in the election of Members of Parliament, by depriving a considerable portion of the property, the industry, and the intelligence of the country of all direct representation, is injurious both to the persons excluded and to the community at large.

That women are competent, by law and in fact, to carry on a business, to administer an estate, and to fill other positions, which, both by investing them with interests requiring representation, and by affording tests of fitness, are usually considered to give a claim to the suffrage.

Wherefore, your Petitioners humbly pray that your Honourable House will pass the Bill, entitled—"A Bill to Remove the Electoral Disabilities of Women."

And your Petitioners will ever pray, &c.

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Birmingham Society for Women's Suffrage,

SECOND ANNUAL REPORT, 1869-70.

Reports are more often burned than read. It is not from any predilection for flames, but because an account of expenditure is due to subscribers, that the Committee are induced to spend money in again recording their proceedings upon paper.

As will be seen by the balance sheet the largest outlay during the past year was incurred in obtaining the Masonic Hall, for Professor Newman's lecture. The Committee regret that the attendance was not more numerous, but they trust that this was the result of defective arrangements, rather than inability to appreciate his logical address.

To the petitions sent from Birmingham, the Committee are glad to record 2,238 signatures. Of these petitions two appear in the Parliamentary list as from Edgbaston, whilst Birmingham is only credited with one.

Although it is our lot again to chronicle Parliamentary defeat—such a defeat was next door to a victory, and our minority may be regarded as an embryo majority. Therefore it is with renewed hope that we again appeal for assistance. The fact that we get so little in Birmingham—a town rarely behindhand in wholesome reform, is probably due to a feeling that women's rights are antagonistic to men's. What could be more false! together we rise or fall—"The man is what the woman makes him," and conversely this is equally true.

Marriage is degraded by being made a woman's sole chance of prosperity, position, or livelihood. Any efforts which help women to become industrious and independent must be for the good of the community, and we look to an extension of our views as likely to check the evils arising from miserable and sordid unions, increase intellectual and domestic happiness, and lead to a better appreciation of the true dignity of labour.

We therefore ask any chance reader for a careful consideration of our question—which will not be answered by burning the Report. Any one willing to aid the Committee with work or funds, is requested to communicate with the Secretary.

COMMITTEE.

Miss ALBRIGHT.
Mrs ASHFORD.
Mrs BREAKSPEAR.
Rev. H. W. CROSSKEY.
Mrs CROSSKEY.
Mrs GRENFELL.
Mrs G. B. JOHNSON.
Dr. LLOYD.

Mrs C. E. MATHEWS.
Mrs MIDDLEMORE.
Mr ROGERS.
Mrs ROGERS.
Mrs A. SOUTHALL.
Mr WILLIAM TAYLOR.
Mrs TYNDALL.

Secretary—Miss STURGE, 17 Frederick Road.

Treasurer—Mrs WILLIAM TAYLOR, 10 Chad Road.

Mrs Taylor, Treasurer, in Account with the Birmingham Branch

OF THE

National Society for Enfranchisement of Women.

<p>DR.</p> <p>Balance in hand ...</p> <p>To Subscriptions ...</p> <p>Tickets and Reports sold ...</p> <p>Contributed anonymously ...</p>	<p>£</p> <p>0 16 7</p> <p>12 10 0</p> <p>2 16 9½</p> <p>2 10 3½</p> <hr/> <p>£18 13 8</p>
<p>CR.</p> <p>By Carriage, Postage, and Stationery ...</p> <p>Hire of Masonic Hall ...</p> <p>Advertisements ...</p> <p>Railway fare ...</p> <p>Printing Reports, 1869 ...</p> <p>Canvassers, &c. ...</p> <p>Pamphlets ...</p>	<p>£</p> <p>1 0 2</p> <p>6 6 0</p> <p>3 17 0</p> <p>1 3 0</p> <p>1 10 0</p> <p>3 14 6</p> <p>1 3 0</p> <hr/> <p>£18 13 8</p>

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THIRD ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

OF THE

MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING
NOVEMBER 23rd, 1870.

MANCHESTER:
ALEXANDER IRELAND & CO., PRINTERS.
1870.

List of Subscribers and Donors, 1869-70.

	£	s.	d.
Mr Albright, George Road	1	0	0
Miss Albright, ,, ,,	0	5	0
Mr Ashford, Speedwell Road	0	10	0
Mrs Ashford, ,, ,,	0	5	0
Mr J. E. Baker, Heath Green	1	0	0
Mr Carpenter, Charlotte Road	0	1	0
Mrs Dale, Bristol Road	0	5	0
Mrs Feast, West Bromwich	0	5	0
Mr Goodrick, George Road	0	10	0
Mrs Goodrick, ,, ,,	0	10	0
Mrs Grenfell, Reservoir Road	0	5	0
Miss Horton, Wheeley's Road	0	1	0
Mrs G. B. Johnson, ,, ,,	0	5	0
G. Lloyd, M.D., Birmingham Heath	1	0	0
Mrs C. E. Mathews, Augustus Road	0	5	0
Mrs Middlemore, Elvetham Road	1	0	0
Mr Pank, Gower Street, Lozells	0	2	0
Miss Robertson, Dubiin	0	2	0
Mrs Rogers, Wheeley's Road	0	10	6
Mrs R. C. Smith, Liverpool	0	2	0
Mrs A. Southall, Beaufort Road	0	5	0
Mr C. Sturge, Frederick Road	1	0	0
Miss Sturge, ,, ,,	1	0	0
Mrs Talbot, Harborne Road	0	4	0
Mr William Taylor, Chad Road	0	5	0
Mrs William Taylor, ,, ,,	0	5	0
Mrs S. Timmins, Elvetham Road	0	2	6
Mrs Toone, Doncaster	0	10	0
Mr J. P. Turner, Cannon Hill	0	10	0
Mrs Tyndall, Augustus Road	0	5	0

HUDSON & SON, PRINTERS, 18 BULL STREET.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

1869—1870.

IN presenting their Third Annual Report your committee have to record the proceedings of an eventful year, during which the cause, notwithstanding the vicissitudes of fortune which have attended the Bill, has made a substantial advance in public opinion, and in recognition as one of the questions of the day.

On Friday, February 11th, notice of a Bill to Remove the Electoral Disabilities of Women appeared on the paper of the House of Commons. On Wednesday, the 16th of February, Mr. Jacob Bright introduced the Bill. He briefly explained that his object was to enable women, when duly qualified by property and residence, to exercise the parliamentary franchise. The Bill was then brought in and read a first time, and the second reading fixed for the 4th of May. The text is as follows :—

“ A Bill to Remove the Electoral Disabilities of Women.

“ 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

In Acts relating to qualification and voting of parliamentary electors, masculine gender to include females.

“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.”

On the back of the Bill were the names of Mr. Jacob Bright, Sir Charles W. Dilke, and Mr. E. B. Eastwick.

On the 4th of May Mr. Jacob Bright rose to move the second reading of the Women's Disabilities Bill. In an able and comprehensive speech of about an hour's duration, he laid the case before the House, and set forth the arguments with a force and persuasiveness which left nothing to be desired. He was ably supported by Dr. Lyon Playfair, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Colonel Sykes, Sir George Jenkinson, and Mr. Muntz, who each made valuable contributions to the debate.

The opponents of the principle contented themselves on this occasion with moving “the previous question,” a mode of action usually adopted when the House wishes to get rid of a question without pronouncing an opinion on its merits. The opposition to the second reading was led by Mr. Scourfield and Mr. W. Fowler, followed by Mr. Beresford Hope and Sir Herbert Croft.

The Home Secretary (Mr. Bruce) on the part of the Government, after explaining that there were occasions when a member of the Government felt with great regret that he could not give an independent vote, said that he was bound to make an admission that Her Majesty's Government had not had time to give the subject full consideration in all its bearings. It had been his earnest desire to obtain the opinions of his colleagues upon this question, but such had been the pressure of business that they had not been able to give to it that consideration which would enable them to express their opinion as to guide the deliberations of the House, so far as the House would consent to be guided by them. Her Majesty's Government were not prepared to express an opinion on the subject, and therefore he could not give his support to the Bill. At the same time he wished it to be clearly understood that neither personally, nor as a member of the Government, did he give any expression of opinion upon the matter.

Mr. Jacob Bright, in the course of his reply, stated that he had just received a telegram stating that the Manchester Town

Council had that day agreed to petition Parliament in favour of the measure, by a majority of 42 to 12.

The Speaker then put the motion, and the House divided, when there appeared—

For the second reading	124
Against	91
<hr/>	
Majority in favour of the Bill... ..	33

The result was received with loud cheers, and the Bill was read a second time amid renewed cheers.

It is impossible to say that this division was a surprise. There was fair warning beforehand, a full debate, and a good attendance of members to take part in the division. The discussion showed moreover that there was a strong opinion in favour of the measure, while no party strenuously opposed it.

Such was the verdict and the sentiment in the House of Commons when left free by the Government to form an unbiassed judgment on the merits of the Bill. The supporters of the measure were justified in the expectation that the Government would maintain the attitude of neutrality it had assumed, and that in the further stages of the Bill no other opposition than that of fair reasoning and ordinary argument would have to be encountered. But before the time for going into committee it became known that the Government intended to depart from the principle it had laid down, of leaving the question in the hands of the House, and that the strongest pressure that the Treasury whip could bring to bear was to be used to crush the Bill. Against such an influence the contest was hopeless.

On Thursday night, or rather Friday, at one o'clock in the morning of May 13, Mr. Jacob Bright moved for going into committee on the Women's Disabilities Bill. The motion was opposed by Mr. Bouverie, followed by Lord Elcho, Lord Garlies, Mr. Newdegate, and Mr. Gladstone. The promoters of the Bill having laid their case before the House on the second reading, relied on the arguments adduced, and the vote given on that occasion, as a sufficient reason for going into committee. Consequently the burden of

the debate fell into the hands of the opponents, and the lateness of the hour, combined with the general feeling against a prolongation of the discussion, prevented any lengthened reply on the part of the advocates of the measure. Sir Robert Anstruther spoke in favour of the Bill, and Mr. Jacob Bright briefly replied at the close of the debate. The Speaker put the question, when there appeared—For going into committee, 94; against, 220; majority against, 126. The Bill was consequently lost.

There is much in the analysis of the division lists to afford encouragement to the friends of the cause. In the division on the second reading, 124 voted for the Bill, including the following members of the Government, Right Hon. J. Stansfeld, the Solicitor-General, the Solicitor-General for Ireland, and the Right Hon. Lord Otho Fitzgerald. Of this number, 65 were new supporters. 58 of those who voted with us on Wednesday afternoon were absent from the next division at two o'clock in the morning. But if we add to the 96 votes (including tellers) 23 who paired, we shall have 119, a number not far short of our original force, notwithstanding the loss of every member of the Government, and of every one whom the Government could possibly influence. Of the 94 who voted on Thursday, 29 did not vote in the previous division, and of these 17 were absolutely new recruits, members who had never previously voted or declared themselves in favour of our principle. Therefore, the two divisions have added 82 to our party in the House of Commons, that is, they have nearly doubled the number of known adherents.

Three members who voted with Mr. Mill in 1867, voted against us last session. Eleven members who voted against Mr. Mill's amendment voted for the present Bill.

Two constituencies, Leeds and Manchester, each gave three votes for the Bill. Twelve constituencies—Bolton, Brighton, Bristol, Carmarthen, Chelsea, Derby, East Essex, Edinburgh, Oldham, Penryn and Falmouth, Sheffield, and Wexford county, gave their full vote of two each in favour of the Bill. Fifty-one constituencies—Aberdeen, Andover, Ashton-under-Lyne, South Ayrshire, Banbury, Bandon, Berwick, Burnley, Calne, Caithness, Carlow, Cardigan county, Cardigan district, Chippenham,

Clonmel, Cockermonth, Denbigh district, Devizes, Dewsbury, Downpatrick, Drogheda, Dumbarton, Dundalk, Edinburghshire, Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities, Elgin and Nairn, Ennis, Fifeshire, Frome, Gateshead, Haverfordwest, Hertford, Invernesshire, Kilkenny, Knaresborough, Leith, Linlithgow, Londonderry, Malmesbury, Poole, Perth, Queen's County, Rochdale, South Shields, Stalybridge, Stirling, Stockton-on-Tees, Swansea district, Tynemouth, Wakefield, and Warrington, gave their full vote of one each for the Bill. Birmingham gave two votes for the Bill and none against it. Glasgow gave one vote for the Bill and none against it. Thirty-three constituencies—Aberdeenshire, Belfast, Bradford, East Cornwall, West Cumberland, Cork county, Cork, Dublin county, Halifax, North Hants, Huntingdon county, Leicester, Limerick, Newcastle-under-Lyme, South Northumberland, Plymouth, Reading, Roscommon, Shrewsbury, West Somerset, Southampton, East Stafford, Stockport, Stoke-upon-Trent, Stroud, Mid Surrey, West Surrey, Waterford, Wenlock, Weymouth, Wolverhampton, West Worcester, and York voted one each for the Bill and none against it, their other votes being neutral. Thirty-five constituencies—Carlisle, Colchester, Coventry, South Devon, North Durham, Durham city, Exeter, Finsbury, Glamorgan county, Hackney, South Hants, Ipswich, Mid Kent, West Kent, Kerry, Londonderry county, Macclesfield, Merthyr Tydvil, Newark, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Northampton, Nottingham, Portsmouth, Rutland, Salford, Salisbury, Scarborough, Sunderland, East Surrey, East Sussex, Tiverton, Westmeath, North Wilts, Winchester, and East Worcester, voted part for and part against the Bill, being thirty-four votes on each side.

It will thus be seen that 65 constituencies gave full and clear votes for the Bill, while 35 gave clear though not full votes for it, so that 100 constituencies are clearly ranged on the side of the Bill.

The total number of members now in the House of Commons who have voted or paired in favour of Women's Suffrage is 170.

The majority of 124 in favour of the Bill contained 93 Liberals, and 31 Conservatives; the minority of 91 against the Bill contained 52 Liberals, and 39 Tories; the majority of 220,

which threw out the Bill, contained 137 Liberals, and 83 Tories; the 94 who voted for going into committee comprised 60 Liberals, and 34 Conservatives. Neither Mr. Disraeli nor Mr. G. Hardy voted on the Bill. The members of the late Government generally abstained from voting. The number of members who voted or paired in favour of the Bill in the two divisions was 162, more than double the number who followed Mr. Mill into the lobby three years ago. This affords evidence of substantial progress, and should encourage us to renewed effort.

A conference of the friends of the movement was held in London on Saturday, May 21, at which the leaders and representatives of the various societies were present, to consider the course of action for next session. It was unanimously resolved that the Women's Disabilities Bill should be re-introduced next year, and Mr. Jacob Bright expressed his readiness again to take charge of it.

The interval between the first and second reading of the Bill was employed in promoting petitions in favour of the measure. Members and friends of the various branches of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, including Scotland and Ireland, exerted themselves with so much energy that 663 petitions, with 134,561 signatures, were presented to the House of Commons during the session. Forty-two of these were from public meetings or corporate bodies. Of this number 100 petitions, with 24,403 signatures, were obtained through the efforts of friends and correspondents of the Manchester Society. They are as follows:—From the Mayor, aldermen, and citizens of Manchester, under the corporate seal; public meeting at Crewe; public meeting at Halifax; members of the executive of the Holbeck Reform Association; members of the Holbeck Liberal Registration Committee; members and friends of the Edinburgh Branch of the National Secular Society; members of the Women's Club and Institute, Newman-street, London; from many ladies who sent separate individual petitions; and from inhabitants of the following places:—Ambleside, Altham, Altrincham and Bowdon, Ashton-under-Lyne, Barnstaple, Bolton (3), Budleigh Salterton (2), Cambridge, Cheetham Hill, Church Coniston (2), Congleton, Darlington, Endon, Exeter, Flixton, Framlingham, Garstang, Glenridding, Hawkshead, Hayward's

Heath, Heaton Chapel, Knutsford (2), Lancaster, Leeds (4), Liverpool (2), Macclesfield (2), Manchester (20), Middleton and Tonge, Monk Coniston, Nantwich, North Wootton, Oldham (2), Oxford, Preston, Rawtenstall (2), Rusholme, Sale and Timperley, Salford (10), Seasforth and Waterloo, Stockport (3), Stretford, Teignmouth (2), Tiverton, Worsley. The petitions from Manchester were signed by 11,000 persons, those from Salford by 5,300.

A complete list of all petitions for Women's Suffrage presented to the House of Commons during the session of 1870, extracted from the Report of the Select Committee on public petitions, is appended to the present report. Many petitions were also presented to the House of Lords, but of these no official report can be obtained.

The following is the copy of the petition from the Manchester City Council. Your committee desire to call the attention of women burgesses in municipal towns to this petition, and to suggest that if they would take steps for bringing the subject before their respective town councils, it is very likely that these would aid them in the endeavour to obtain the parliamentary franchise by adopting similar petitions to the House of Commons next session:—

*"To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland
in Parliament assembled.*

"The petition of the Municipal Corporation of the City of Manchester sheweth:

"That your petitioners have observed with satisfaction the introduction into your honourable House of a Bill entitled 'A Bill to Remove the Electoral Disabilities of Women,' and desire to recognise the importance of such a measure as affecting the political status and responsibilities of many thousands of their countrywomen.

"That as the consequence of the Municipal Corporation Amendment Act of 1869 (32 and 33 Vic. c. 55), by which women ratepayers in municipal boroughs are entitled to vote in the election of Councillors the names of 7,187 women have been added to the burgess roll for this city.

“ That a large amount of property, both in the boroughs and counties of the United Kingdom, is owned by women who are now excluded from the parliamentary register.

“ Your petitioners believe that the exclusion of so large a body of ratepayers and owners of property from the parliamentary franchise is unjust, and is in opposition to the true principles of popular representation, and pray that the Bill before referred to may receive the sanction of your honourable House.

“ And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.”

Your committee have pleasure in reporting that new branches in connection with the Manchester Society have been formed at Wigan and at Southampton. Energetic committees are at work in these towns whose exertions will doubtless tend to the advancement of the cause.

In the spring of this year your committee deemed it desirable to establish a means of systematically and regularly bringing the question under the notice of members of the Legislature, the press, and the general public. They, therefore, established the *Women's Suffrage Journal*, under the editorship of their Secretary. The *Journal* is published monthly, and contains information of the progress of the movement for removing the electoral disabilities of women, accounts of public meetings, and lectures, correspondence, and original articles on the subject. It furnishes a medium of communication among the members, and a record of the work done by the different branches of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, and by other societies and persons interested in improving the condition of women. The first number was issued in March, 1870, and your committee have received most gratifying assurances of approbation and continued accession of support, ever since the commencement of the undertaking. They undertook the charge of despatching the *Journal* monthly to every member of both Houses of Parliament, and to the editors of every newspaper in the three kingdoms. They have much pleasure in reporting that the Edinburgh Society has borne a share in this charge, by supplying the *Journal* to all the Scotch newspapers, and they hereby record their thanks for this valuable aid. Many newspapers in various parts of the realm give favourable notices,

and make extracts from the *Journal*. The subject is thus brought continually under the eyes of large sections of the public, whom your committee have no means of reaching directly.

Your committee desire to impress on all friends of the cause the great assistance they can give by promoting the circulation of the *Women's Suffrage Journal*. They send a copy to every subscriber to the funds of the society, and intend to continue the practice, but they respectfully request all members, and especially those who give small sums, to add to the amount already promised, one shilling and sixpence, yearly, to cover this charge. Many persons subscribe to the *Journal* who are not members of the society, and as such subscription in no way commits the purchaser to approval of the object of the society, a means is hereby afforded of bringing the arguments in support of the justice and practical need of the suffrage for women periodically to the minds of many who would not have commenced their acquaintance with the cause by any action which would have committed them to its support.

Your committee again thought it desirable to ascertain what proportion women bore to men in the burgess rolls of corporate boroughs, and to what extent they availed themselves of their right to vote, whenever a contested election took place, on the first of November, 1870. A similar letter to that issued last year, with a form of inquiry, was sent to the town clerks of municipal boroughs in England and Wales; and your committee acknowledge with many thanks the valuable assistance afforded by the courtesy of the gentlemen who kindly furnished them with the information sought. Comparing the returns this year with those of 1869, they are able to report a very considerable increase in the number of women on the municipal registers throughout the country, and in the number of women who voted in the elections of November 1st. The returns hitherto received are tabulated and presented as an appendix to the present report.

Your committee desire to call attention to the important concession of political rights to women made by the Elementary Education Act of 1870. Not only are women entitled to vote in the election of School Boards, but the Act has been framed with

the express intention of enabling them to sit on these boards, and thereby to exercise not merely elective, but legislative functions of the most stringent and important character. Moreover, the Government, as represented by Mr. Forster, has taken special pains to make known its desire that women should be elected to fill such responsible posts, and its opinion that they have some qualifications which fit them peculiarly for the office.

This very important gain is the fruits of the victory last year in obtaining the municipal franchise for women; but for the clause in the Municipal Franchise Act of 1869, women ratepayers would have been deprived of the vote in the election of a School Board in all corporate districts and most great towns. Had they been thus disfranchised over so large a section of the community, it is very improbable that they would have been deemed eligible as candidates, or that they would have had a reasonable chance of being elected, if they had come forward. It would have been said that a class of persons deemed unfit to vote for legislators on education was still less fit to furnish such legislators. But now that Parliament has seen fit to declare women eligible for legislative functions, it becomes still more difficult to understand how it can maintain the position of excluding them from merely elective functions.

Your committee, therefore, earnestly join in the request to their parliamentary friends that they would take steps early in the ensuing session for the re-introduction in the House of Commons of the Women's Disabilities Bill.

In so doing they here take the opportunity of placing on record their high sense of the ability and earnestness with which the question was discussed and advocated in Parliament by its promoters, and of the great advance in public opinion which has been thereby attained. To Mr. Jacob Bright especially, in whom the responsibility for the conduct of the measure rested, and on whom fell the chief burden of the debate, their thanks and acknowledgments are due. Under leadership so able they can work with confidence and hope, and they look forward to the coming year with the anticipation that they may be able to carry on their work with redoubled energy and be rewarded by increasing success to the cause.

They have now to call upon their friends for support in their efforts to promote this great and beneficial reform. Most arduous labour will be needed, and they earnestly appeal to those who sympathise with them to manifest that sympathy by way of personal co-operation or of subscriptions to the funds of the society. The zeal of fellow-labourers and the justice of the cause have enabled them to accomplish great results at a very small cost as regards money. Compared to the outlay involved in ordinary political agitation the cost of the movement has been infinitesimally small. The total expenditure of the Manchester Society for the past year has been less than £500. But if they had had more funds they could have done much more work, and they earnestly trust that their present appeal for increased material aid will not be made in vain.



ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Of the Society, held in the MAYOR'S PARLOUR, TOWN HALL,
MANCHESTER, November 23rd, 1870.

The MAYOR OF MANCHESTER in the Chair.

The Secretary read the Report of the Executive Committee.

The Treasurer read the Statement of Accounts.

Resolution I.—Moved by W. R. Callender, Jun., Esq.;
seconded by Dr. Pankhurst—

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

Resolution II.—Moved by Miss Wolstenholme; seconded by
Miss Alice Wilson—

That this meeting hereby expresses its earnest thanks to Mr. Jacob Bright, Sir C.
W. Dilke, Mr. E. B. Eastwick, Colonel Sykes, Dr. Lyon Playfair, Sir George
Jenkinson, and Mr. Muntz, for introducing and supporting the Women's
Disabilities Bill, also to the 162 Members who voted or paired in its favour in the
two divisions on the measure; and respectfully requests Mr. Jacob Bright and
his coadjutors to take steps for the re-introduction of the Bill at an early period
of the forthcoming session.

Resolution III.—Moved by Jacob Bright, Esq., M.P.; seconded
by the Rev. S. Alfred Steinthal—

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

Resolution IV.—Moved by Miss Becker; seconded by W. R.
Callender, Jun., Esq.—

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

S. ALFRED STEINTHAL,
IN ACCOUNT WITH
THE MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

From Dec. 1st, 1869, to Nov. 21st, 1870.

Dr.

Cr.

To Balance in hand	£	s.	d.
„ Subscriptions and Donations	122	8	0
„ Receipts on "Journal" Account	372	1	6
„ Receipts for Reports and other Publications ..	27	13	11
	5	3	7

£527 7 0

To Balance brought down

74 15 5

Audited and found correct,

Manchester, November 22, 1870,
LOUIS BORCHARDT, M.D.

By Payments per Miss Becker :	£	s.	d.
Wages and Office Expenses...	90	7	6
Canvassing	64	12	1
Postages	131	6	4
Furniture	3	4	0
Stationery	32	2	5
Advertising	0	5	10
Public Meetings.....	0	9	3
Balance in Secretary's hands.	0	14	7

Public Meetings	323	2	0
„ Printing and Advertising.....	17	14	0
„ London Society for Publications.....	88	19	2
„ Reporting Debates in Parliament	0	4	11
„ Receipt Books	21	0	0
„ Postages.....	0	11	6
	1	0	0

£452 11 7

74 15 5

£527 7 0

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS.
1869-70.

Addams, Miss	£0 1 0
Allan, Mr. W.	0 5 0
Ashby, Mrs. Jane	1 0 0
Ashworth, Miss L. S.	5 0 0
Barton, Miss... ..	0 10 0
Bayley, Mr.	0 5 0
Bazley, Sir Thomas, Bart., M.P.	5 0 0
Becker, Miss Esther	0 5 0
Behrens, Mrs.... ..	2 2 0
Bibby, Miss Ellen	1 1 0
Biggs, Miss C. A.	0 2 6
Black, Rev. J.	0 10 0
Bleakley, Miss	0 1 0
Blumer, Mr. J. G.	0 5 0
Bolton, Mr. C.	0 1 0
Boucherett, Miss Jessie	10 0 0
Bradlaugh, Mrs.	0 5 0
Briggs, Miss M. J.	1 0 0
Bright, Mrs. Jacob	20 0 0
Brine, Mrs.	0 2 6
Brittain, Mr. W. D.	0 2 0
Brittain, Mrs.	0 2 0
Brown, Miss M. A.	0 2 6
Butler, Mrs. J. E.	2 10 0
Campbell, Mrs.	0 4 0
Carbutt, Miss... ..	1 1 0
Carryer, Mr. S.	0 5 0
Cheveley, Mr. W. S. B.	0 2 6
Chorlton, Mr. Thomas	1 11 6
Clark, Mrs. Helen Bright	1 1 0
Clark, Mr. A. C.	0 1 0
Clarke, Mr. J.	0 2 6
Clarke, Mrs. J.	0 2 6
Clemesha, Miss	0 3 0
Colling, Miss	1 0 0
Coppock, Major (deceased)	0 10 0
Corney, Miss	0 7 6
Cowell Stepney, Mr. W. F.	2 2 0
Crippen, Rev. J. S.	0 1 0
Crompton, Mr. James	0 5 0
Crook, Miss	0 2 6
Crook, Mr. J.	1 1 0

Davies, Miss	£0 1 0
Dacey, Mr. A. V.	1 1 0
Dixon, Mrs.	0 10 0
Dolby, Mr.	1 0 0
Drewry, Miss E.	0 10 0
Embleton, Mrs.	0 3 6
Forester, Mr. N.	0 2 6
Foster, Mrs.	0 5 0
Friend, A, per Miss Rigbye... ..	0 5 0
Friend, A, from Guildford	0 2 6
Friend, A	0 1 0
Froggatt, Mr.	0 1 0
Fryer, Mr. A.	1 0 0
Gaddum, Mrs. H.	2 0 0
Gay, Mrs.	0 10 0
Gooneh, Mrs.	0 5 0
Greenbank, Professor	1 0 0
Gwynne, Mrs.	1 0 0
Hacking, Mrs.	0 5 0
Hacking, Miss	0 5 0
Hall, Mr. Thomas	10 0 0
Hampson, Mr.	0 5 0
Hampson, Mrs.	0 2 6
Harleich, Miss	0 1 0
Harcourt, Mr. A. Vernon	1 0 0
Harding, Miss	0 2 0
Hardwick, Miss	0 2 6
Hare, Mr. Thomas	0 1 0
Hargreaves, Mr. William	5 0 0
Heatherley, Mrs.	0 1 0
Heywood, Mrs.	3 0 0
Hill, Mr. James	0 5 0
Hindle, Mrs.	0 5 0
Holland, Mr.	0 5 0
Holland, Miss C.	0 5 0
Hooper, Mr. W. B.	0 5 0
Howell, Mrs.	0 2 6
Humble, Miss	0 10 0
Hume-Rothery, Mrs.	0 2 6
Hyde, Mr. W.	0 2 6
Jack, Mrs.	0 1 0
Jacob, Rev. J. A.	0 2 6
Jesper, Miss Anna	0 1 0
Jones, Miss Eliza	0 1 0
Kell, Rev. E.	0 2 6
Kennett, Mr. R. B.	3 3 0
Kenrick, Mrs.	0 2 6
Kingsford, Rev.	0 10 6
Kingsford, Mrs.	0 10 6
Kingsford, Mrs., collected by	0 7 6
Kitchener, Mr. F. E.	0 2 6
Kitchener, Mrs.	0 2 6

Lascaridi, Mr. P. F. ...	£0 5 0
Layton, Mrs. ...	2 10 0
Leaf, Miss ...	0 10 0
Leech, Mrs. ...	0 5 0
Leighton, Mr. A. ...	0 10 0
Leppoc, Mr. H. J. ...	1 0 0
Lewin, Miss ...	0 5 0
Liddell, Hon. Mrs. Thomas ...	0 10 0
Lister, Mrs. James ...	1 1 0
Lomas, Miss A. ...	0 1 0
Lupton, Mr. Joseph ...	0 10 0
Lytton, The Lady ...	0 10 0
Mactaggart, Miss ...	0 2 6
Martin, Miss Lizzie ...	0 1 0
Masson, Mrs. ...	0 5 0
Mc.Culloch, Mrs. ...	0 10 0
Mc.Kinnel, Mrs. ...	0 10 0
Mears, Mrs. ...	0 1 0
Meeke, Mrs. ...	0 2 0
Miall, Miss S. F. ...	0 5 0
Milne, Mr. J. D. ...	1 0 0
Mitchell, Mr. J. D. ...	0 5 0
Moore, Mrs. R. R. ...	0 10 0
Muir, Mrs. ...	1 0 0
Murray, Mrs. ...	0 10 6
Myers, Mr. E. ...	0 10 0
Myers, Mr. F. W. H. ...	2 0 0
Newman, Professor F. W. ...	1 3 0
Nicol, Mr. H. ...	2 2 0
Nicol, Miss Louisa ...	0 10 0
Nixon, Miss ...	0 2 6
Nutt, Mr. George (1870 and 1871) ...	1 0 0
O' Connor, Mrs. ...	0 5 0
Ogden, Mrs. ...	7 0 0
Ord, Mrs. ...	1 0 0
Oxley, the Misses ...	0 5 0
Pankhurst, Dr. ...	1 0 0
Peiser, Mr. J. ...	1 1 0
Pennington, Mrs. Fred ...	20 0 0
Pochin, Mrs. ...	2 2 0
Pope, Mr. John ...	0 1 0
Porter, Miss M. A. ...	0 5 0
Prideaux, Mrs. ...	0 5 0
Pung, Miss ...	0 5 0
Rae, Mr. W. F. ...	0 10 6
Ramsay, Miss (collected by) ...	0 16 0
Rawlings, Miss ...	0 3 0
Rhoades, Mr. J. ...	0 5 0
Richards, Mr. E. M. ...	1 0 0
Rigbye, Miss Harriette ...	10 0 0
Rigg, Mr. W. ...	0 2 0
Rigg, Mrs. ...	0 1 0
Robinson, Mrs. ...	0 1 0
Robinson, Mr. E. ...	0 2 6
Rogers, Mrs. Arundel ...	0 10 0
Royston, Mrs. ...	0 1 0

Rumney, Alderman ...	£1 1 0
Rusden, Mrs. R. D. ...	1 0 0
Rutson, Mr. Albert O. ...	1 1 0
Ryley, Mrs. ...	1 0 0
Samelson, Dr. ...	0 10 0
Scott, Mr. John ...	2 2 0
Scott, Mrs. ...	0 5 0
Sellers, Mr. C. ...	0 2 6
Shields, Mrs. W. ...	0 2 6
Shrewsbury, Rev. J. V. B. ...	0 5 0
Skerry, Mrs. ...	1 0 0
Slatter, Mrs. A. ...	0 2 0
Smith, Miss ...	0 1 0
Spence, Mr. P. ...	1 0 0
Sprading, Mr. A. W. ...	0 2 6
Sprading, Mr. J. W. ...	0 2 6
Standaloft, Miss ...	0 3 0
Steinthal, Mr. H. M. ...	5 0 0
Steinthal, Rev. S. A. ...	2 2 0
Street, Rev. J. C. ...	0 5 0
Sutcliffe, Mr. ...	0 5 0
Sutcliffe, Mrs. ...	0 5 0
Sutcliffe, Mr. R. ...	0 5 0
Sutcliffe, Mrs. R. ...	0 5 0
Taunton, Miss ...	5 0 0
Taylor, Miss ...	0 10 0
T., Mrs. ...	3 10 6
Taylor, Mrs. Tom ...	0 5 0
Thacher, Mrs. ...	0 2 6
Thacher, Miss A. ...	0 3 0
Thomas, Miss ...	0 2 6
Thomasson, Mrs. J. P. ...	20 0 0
Thomasson, Mr. Thomas ...	125 0 0
Thomson, Miss Dora ...	1 0 0
Thompson, Miss ...	1 1 0
Thorburn, Miss Jenny ...	0 3 6
Todd, Mrs. ...	1 10 0
Todd, Miss ...	0 10 0
Todd Miss E. ...	0 10 0
Todd, Mrs. ...	0 2 6
Thorneley, Mr. A. W. ...	0 2 6
Tootal, Miss ...	0 2 6
Wade, Miss ...	0 1 0
Watts, Mrs. Alfred ...	0 5 0
Webb, Mr. A. ...	0 5 0
Whitaker, Mrs. ...	0 1 6
Whitworth, Mr. B. ...	10 0 0
Whyte, Mr. A. C. ...	0 2 6
Williams, Mr. J. ...	0 1 0
Williams, Mrs. ...	0 10 0
Wilson, Mr. C. ...	0 5 0
Wilson, Miss A. ...	0 5 0
Winkworth, Mrs. S. ...	5 0 0
Wood, Mr. W. Thorold ...	5 0 0
Wood, Mrs. Francesca Maria d'Assiz ...	5 0 0
Woodhead, Mr. H. ...	0 3 0
Wolstenholme, Rev. J. ...	0 10 0

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS, 1870.

Name of Borough.	No of Voters on Register.	No. of Women on Register.	Proportion of Women to Men on Register.	No. of Wards.	No. of Contested Wards.	No. of Voters.	No. of Women who Voted.	Proportion of Women to Men who Voted.
Abingdon.....	915	104	1 to 7.8	1	1	698	56	1 to 11.5
Ashton-under-Lyne ..	5,258	746	1 to 6	4	3	1,816	253	1 to 6.1
Banbury.....	735	94	1 to 6.8	1	1	326	28	1 to 10.6
Barnstaple.....	1,716	248	1 to 5.9	2	1	493	30	1 to 15.4
Barrow-in-Furness ..	1,957	95	1 to 19.5	1	1	929	29	1 to 31
Bath (whole city)	6,456	1,308	1 to 3.9	7	7	...	...	...
.. (1 contested ward)	1,454	228	1 to 5.3	..	..	636	72	1 to 7.8
Beaumaris.....	269	0	..	1	1	120	0	..
Beccles.....	849	128	1 to 5.7	1	1	591	75	1 to 6.9
Bewdley.....	431	21	1 to 19.5	1	0	0	0	..
Berwick-upon-Tweed .	1,180	171	1 to 5.9	3	3	828	70	1 to 10.9
Blackburn.....	7,522	592	1 to 11.7	6	5	5,158	371	1 to 12.9
Bolton.....	11,877	1,534	1 to 6.7	6	4	6,060	723	1 to 7.3
Bootle-cum-Linacre ..	1,872	200	1 to 8.4	3	3	1,383	117	1 to 10.8
Boston(whole borough)	2,388	406	1 to 4.8	2	1	..	..	1 to 5.5
.. (1 contested ward)	1,467	no retn.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bristol.....	20,988	2,477	1 to 7.4	10	5	5,400	abt. 530	1 to 9
Buckingham.....	593	78	1 to 6.6	1	0	0	0	..
Burnley.....	4,675	654	1 to 6.7	4	2	ab. 2,600	ab. 260	1 to 9
Bury St. Edmunds ..	1,537	no retn.	..	3	0	0	0	..
Calne.....	317	60	1 to 4.2	1	1	172	23	1 to 6.4
Cambridge.....	3,779	546	1 to 5.9	5	0	0	0	..
Carnarvon.....	1,417	290	..	2	1	501	88	..
Chard.....	161	25	1 to 5.4	1	1	66	2	1 to 32
Chester.....	6,447	1,048	1 to 5	5	3	93	9	1 to 9.3
Chichester.....	1,231	235	1 to 4.2	2	2	823	100	1 to 7.2
Chipping Norton.....	402	26	1 to 14.4	1	0	0	0	..
Clifton, Dartmouth, |	611	86	1 to 6.1	1	1	317	16	1 to 18.8
Hardness.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Clitheroe.....	1,267	204	1 to 5.2	1	1	822	98	1 to 7.3
Coventry.....	6,995	1,022	1 to 5.8	5	*	271	11	1 to 23.6
Deal.....	1,012	152	1 to 5.6	2	1	265	6	1 to 43.1
Denbigh.....	1,051	188	1 to 4.5	1	1	717	106	1 to 5.7
Derby.....	9,255	1,270	1 to 6.3	6	0	0	0	..
Dorchester.....	728	75	1 to 8.7	1	1	188	3	1 to 61.6
Dover.....	3,413	462	1 to 6.3	3	3	2,049	168	1 to 11.8
Droitwich.....	545	44	1 to 11.3	1	0	0	0	..
Durham (whole city)	2,169	346	1 to 5.2	3	1	..	..	..
.. (1 contested ward)	978	128	1 to 6.7	..	1	805	98	1 to 7.2
East Retford.....	526	63	1 to 7.3	1	1	222	5	1 to 43.4
Evesham.....	706	71	1 to 8.9	1	0	0	0	..
Falmouth.....	710	134	1 to 4.3	1	1	367	60	1 to 5.1
Flint.....	656	64	1 to 9.2	1	0	0	0	..
Folkstone (whole bor.)	1,768	315	1 to 4.6	3	1	..	..	..
.. (1 contested ward)	707	80	1 to 7.8	..	..	412	28	1 to 13.7
Gateshead (whole bor.)	9,676	941	1 to 9.3	3	1	..	..	..
.. (1 contested ward)	3,368	314	1 to 9.7	..	1	1,169	63	1 to 17.5
Glastonbury.....	436	45	1 to 8.7	1	1	286	14	1 to 19.4
Great Grimsby.....	3,593	ab. 200	1 to 16.9	1	1	2,297	ab. 100	1 to 21.9
Great Torrington.....	627	147	1 to 3.2	1	0	0	0	..
Guildford.....	1,137	181	1 to 5.3	1	1	812	105	1 to 6.7
Harwich.....	719	69	1 to 9.4	1	0	0	0	..
Hastings.....	3,091	468	1 to 5.6	2	1	720	72	1 to 9
Haverfordwest.....	888	145	1 to 5.1	1	1	295	13	1 to 21.9
Hertford.....	733	112	1 to 5.5	1	1	263	29	1 to 8
Ipswich.....	4,980	426	1 to 10.7	5	0	0	0	..
Launceston.....	379	29	1 to 12	1	0	0	0	..
Leicester.....	16,377	1,621	1 to 9.1	7	5	7,573	603	1 to 11.5
Leominster.....	938	116	1 to 7	1	1	536	37	1 to 13.5
Lichfield.....	1,207	177	1 to 5.8	2	0	0	0	..
Liskeard.....	742	110	1 to 5.7	1	1	193	9	1 to 20.4

* No real contest.

Name of Borough.	No. of Voters on Register.	No. of Women on Register.	Proportion of Women to Men on Register.	No. of Wards.	No. of Contested Wards.	No. of Voters.	No. of Women who Voted.	Proportion of Women to Men who Voted.
Llanidloes.....	396	25	1 to 14.9	1	1	347	16	1 to 20.6
Ludlow.....	774	120	1 to 5.4	1	1	547	64	1 to 7.5
Lyme Regis.....	361	69	1 to 4.2	1	1	164	11	1 to 13.9
Maidenhead.....	480	46	1 to 10.4	1	1	315	12	1 to 25.2
Maidstone.....	3,457	364	1 to 8.4	4	1	134	3	1 to 43.6
Maldon.....	873	85	1 to 9.2	1	0	0	0	..
Manchester(whole city)	62,124	9,013	1 to 5.9	15	9	no ret.	no ret.	..
.. (15 contested wards)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Marlborough.....	546	38	1 to 13.3	1	0	0	0	..
Monmouth.....	637	101	1 to 5.3	1	0	0	0	..
Morpeth.....	708	142	1 to 4	1	1	587	107	1 to 4.5
Neath.....	1,271	118	1 to 9.7	1	1	816	56	1 to 13.5
Newark.....	2,072	229	1 to 8	3	2	1,223	101	1 to 11.1
Newport, Isle of Wight	1,196	182	1 to 5.5	2	0	0	0	..
Northampton.....	5,379	333	1 to 15.1	3	3	3,404	119	1 to 27.6
Oswestry.....	1,276	213	1 to 4.9	2	0	0	0	..
Pembroke (whole bor.)	1,898	120	1 to 14.8	2	1	..	..	..
.. (1 contested ward)	572	61	1 to 8.3	..	..	351	25	1 to 13
Penryn.....	616	54	1 to 10.4	1	1	240	9	1 to 25.6
Penzance (whole bor.)	1,703	354	1 to 3.8	2	1	..	..	..
.. (1 contested ward)	851	155	1 to 4.4	..	..	466	65	1 to 6.2
Plymouth.....	5,179	no ret.	..	6	0	0	0	..
Pwllheli.....	461	0	..	1	1	31	0	..
Richmond, Yorkshire.	615	70	1 to 7.8	1	1	193	1	1 to 192
Ripon.....	1,224	194	1 to 5.3	1	1	620	45	1 to 12.7
Rochdale.....	7,973	1,018	1 to 6.9	3	3	5,077	688	1 to 6.4
Rochester.....	2,532	194	1 to 12	3	0	0	0	..
Ruthin.....	667	142	1 to 3.7	1	1	409	75	1 to 4.4
Ryde, Isle of Wight ..	1,711	327	1 to 4.2	2	2	1,162	157	1 to 6.5
Rye.....	565	38	1 to 14	1	0	0	0	..
St. Ives, Cornwall....	1,104	80	1 to 12.7	1	0	0	0	..
Salford.....	20,543	2,829	1 to 6.3	12	8	5,601	728	1 to 6.7
Sandwich, Kent.....	469	66	1 to 6	1	0	0	0	..
Scarborough.....	3,484	620	1 to 4.6	2	2	2,269	259	1 to 7.7
Tenby.....	445	65	1 to 5.8	1	1	280	16	1 to 16.5
Tenterden.....	512	58	1 to 7.8	1	0	0	0	..
Tewkesbury.....	811	51	1 to 14.9	1	0	0	0	..
Totnes.....	635	114	1 to 4.5	1	1	56	..	..
Wallingford.....	419	42	1 to 8.9	1	0	0	0	..
Wakefield.....	4,026	273	1 to 13.8	7	6	1,695	no ret.	..
Welshpool.....	1,296	abt. 50	1 to 24.9	1	1	620	abt. 22	1 to 27.2
Wisbech.....	1,595	277	1 to 4.7	2	2	982	132	1 to 6.4
Yerk.....	7,594	1,191	1 to 6.4	6	0	0	0	..



MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS, 1869-70.

Name of Borough.	No. of Women on Municipal Register in 1869.	No. of Women who Voted in 1869.	No. of Women on Municipal Register in 1870.	No. of Women who Voted in 1870.
Abingdon	83	49	104	56
Bath	1,250	111	1,308	72
Bolton	1,533	1,112	1,534	723
Bristol	2,465	242	2,477	530
Chester	698	150	1,048	9
Coventry	799	1	1,022	11
Durham	314	53	346	98
Falmouth	61	9	134	60
Grimsby	198	60	200	100
Guildford	171	104	181	105
Haverfordwest	128	62	145	13
Hertford	89	59	112	29
Leicester	870	265	1,621	603
Lyme Regis	67	6	69	11
Maidenhead	51	14	46	12
Maidstone	344	14	364	3
Morpeth	129	81	142	107
Newark	233	49	229	101
Northampton	394	78	333	119
Penryn	49	16	54	9
Penzance	306	46	354	65
Ruthin	135	30	142	75
Ryde	298	93	327	157
Salford	2,769	1,123	2,829	728
Scarborough	528	97	620	259
Wisbech	290	103	277	132

NOTE.—In many boroughs, as in Bath, Bolton, Chester, Penzance, &c., there were not so many wards in which there was a contested election in 1870 as in 1869, consequently the voting extended over a smaller portion of the constituency. In others, as in Coventry, Hertford, Penryn, &c., there was no real contest, or one which excited little interest. With the exception of Maidenhead, in which there is a decrease of women on the burgess roll, in every borough where there has been a decrease in the number of women who voted as against last year, there has been a corresponding decrease in the total number of persons who voted in 1870 compared to 1869.



REPORTS OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON PUBLIC PETITIONS—SESSION 1870.

FOR EXTENSION OF ELECTIVE FRANCHISE TO WOMEN.

The petitions marked thus ¶ have the addresses of some or all of the petitioners affixed. The petitions marked * are signed officially.

Feb. 10.	¶	Inhabitants of Taunton and vicinity (<i>Mr. Barclay</i>)	51
"	11.	Inhabitants of Kingstown, county of Dublin (<i>Mr. Pim</i>)	13
"	11.	Inhabitants of Blackrock, county of Dublin (<i>Mr. Pim</i>)	3
"	11.	Inhabitants of Williamstown, county of Dublin (<i>Mr. Pim</i>)	3
"	11.	Inhabitants of the county of Longford (<i>Mr. Pim</i>)	2
"	11.	Inhabitants of Booterstown, county of Dublin (<i>Mr. Pim</i>)	5
"	11.	Inhabitants of Dublin (<i>Mr. Pim</i>)	129
"	14.	*Inhabitants of Newcastle-on-Tyne in public meeting assembled. Signed, James Morrison, chairman (<i>Mr. Cowen</i>)	1
"	24.	Inhabitants of Normanton, Yorkshire (<i>Mr. Hadfield</i>)	14
"	24.	*Inhabitants of Barnsley, Yorkshire, in public meeting assembled; B. Deake, chairman (<i>Mr. Hadfield</i>)	1
"	24.	*Inhabitants of Sheffield, Yorkshire, in public meeting assembled; E. Priest, chairman (<i>Mr. Hadfield</i>)	1
"	28.	¶ Inhabitants of Salford (<i>Mr. Charley</i>)	127
"	28.	¶ Inhabitants of Edinburgh (<i>Mr. M'Laren</i>)	1,020
"	28.	Inhabitants of Hull, in public meeting assembled; T. Minto, chairman (<i>Mr. Norwood</i>)	1
March 10.		Inhabitants of Halstead (<i>Dr. Brewer</i>)	121
"	14.	*Inhabitants of Edinburgh, in meeting assembled; D. M'Laren chairman (<i>Mr. Miller</i>)	1
"	22.	Isabella Hughes, 30, Broad street, Aberdeen (<i>Colonel Sykes</i>)	1
"	22.	Ann Reid, 25, Marywell-street, Aberdeen (<i>Colonel Sykes</i>)	1
"	22.	Margaret M'Donald, 26, Dee-street, Aberdeen (<i>Colonel Sykes</i>)	1
"	23.	¶ Inhabitants of Dumfries (<i>Sir Wilfrid Lawson</i>)	904
"	23.	Inhabitants of Shetland (<i>Mr. M'Laren</i>)	45
"	24.	*Inhabitants of Trowbridge, Wilts, in public meeting assembled; D. Lucas, chairman (<i>Sir George Jenkinson</i>)	1
"	25.	Inhabitants of Leeds and neighbourhood (<i>Mr. Carter</i>)	178
"	28.	Women householders of Aberdeen; 113 petitions (<i>Colonel Sykes</i>)	113

March	28.	Ann Gordon, and others, Aberdeen (<i>Col. Sykes</i>)	12
"	29.	Inhabitants of Paignton, county of Devon (<i>Mr. Solicitor-General</i>)	19
April	5.	Inhabitants of Rawtenstall, county of Lancaster (<i>Mr. Holt</i>)	254
"	12.	¶ Inhabitants of Roscommon, and others (<i>Mr. Pim</i>)	21
"	27.	Women householders of Aberdeen; 32 Petitions (<i>Colonel Sykes</i>)	32
"	28.	Mary Thomson, Paris Lodge, Old Aberdeen (<i>Col. Sykes</i>)	1
May	2.	* Inhabitants of Bradford-on-Avon, in public meeting assembled; John Thomas Linom, chairman (<i>Lord Charles Bruce</i>)	1
"	2.	* Inhabitants of Market Lavington, county of Wilts, in public meeting assembled; Samuel Saunders, chairman (<i>Lord Charles Bruce</i>)	1
"	2.	Diana Jamieson, Aberdeen (<i>Colonel Sykes</i>)	1
"	2.	Inhabitants of Putney and other places (<i>Mr. Broderick</i>)	47
"	2.	Inhabitants of Capel, Ockley, and other places (<i>Mr. Onslow</i>)	68
"	4.	Mary M'Leish, 7, Cornwall-street, Edinburgh (<i>Mr. M'Laren</i>)	1
"	4.	Inhabitants of Buckingham (<i>Mr. Taylor</i>)	5

Total number of Petitions 180—Signatures 3,200



REPORTS OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON PUBLIC PETITIONS—SESSION 1870.

WOMEN'S DISABILITIES BILL—In favour.

The petitions marked thus ¶ have the addresses of some or all of the petitioners affixed. The petitions marked * are signed officially.

Feb. 17.	¶	Inhabitants of Manchester (<i>Mr. Bazley</i>)	815
"	—¶	Chorlton-on-Medlock, Manchester (<i>Mr. Birley</i>)	600
"	—¶	Salford (<i>Mr. Cawley</i>)	500
"	—¶	Salford (<i>Mr. Cawley</i>)	588
"	—¶	Scarborough (<i>Sir Harcourt Johnstone</i>)	828
"	—	Church Coniston (<i>Colonel Wilson Patten</i>)	99
"	—¶	Lancaster (<i>Mr. Frederick Stanley</i>)	71
Feb. 18.		Inhabitants of Ardwick, Manchester (<i>Mr. Jacob Bright</i>) [APP. 61]...	716
"	*	Inhabitants of New Mills, Stockport, in public meeting assembled; John Pollitt, chairman (<i>Mr. John Benjamin Smith</i>)	1
"	—	High Wycombe (<i>Mr. Taylor</i>)	14
Feb. 21.	*	Inhabitants of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in public meeting assembled; W. Armstrong, chairman (<i>Mr. Cowen</i>)	1
"	—*	Riddings, near Alfreton, in public meeting assembled; A. Butler, chairman (<i>Mr. Cowen</i>)	1
"	—*	Crook, Durham, in public meeting assembled; T. Brown, chairman (<i>Mr. Cowen</i>)	1
"	—*	Alnwick, in public meeting assembled; W. Wright, chairman (<i>Mr. Cowen</i>)	1
"	—	Knutsford (<i>Mr. Wilbraham Egerton</i>)	2
"	—	Pinner, in the county of Middlesex (<i>Viscount Enfield</i>) [APP. 85]	129
"	—¶	Oxford (<i>Mr. Vernon Harcourt</i>)	41
"	—	Monmouth (<i>Mr. Taylor</i>)	15
"	—*	Crewe, in public meeting assembled; J. Eaton, chairman (<i>Mr. John Tollemache</i>)	1
Feb. 22.	¶	Inhabitants of the borough of Salford (<i>Mr. Cawley</i>)	503
"	—	Bolton, Lancashire (<i>Mr. Hick</i>)	220
"	—¶	Bristol	1,067
Feb. 23.	*	Inhabitants of Bacup, Lancashire, in public meeting assembled; J. Holland, chairman (<i>Mr. Holt</i>)	1
"	—	Rawtenstall, in the county of Lancaster (<i>Mr. Holt</i>)	213
"	—¶	Chelsea	2,832
Feb. 24.	¶	Inhabitants of Bolton (<i>Colonel Gray</i>)	303
"	—¶	" (<i>Colonel Gray</i>)	26
"	—¶	Hastings (<i>Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth</i>)	120
"	—	E. Slatter, Battle, Sussex, and others (<i>Mr. Taylor</i>)	180
Feb. 25.		Inhabitants of Bath (<i>Mr. Donald Dalrymple</i>)	105
"	—	" (<i>Mr. Donald Dalrymple</i>)	170
"	—	Heudon, Middlesex (<i>Viscount Enfield</i>)	218

Feb.	25.	Inhabitants of Harrow, Middlesex (<i>Viscount Enfield</i>)	100
"	25.	Inhabitants of Budleigh, Salterton, Devon (<i>Mr. Thos. Hughes</i>)	25
"	25.	Inhabitants of Church Coniston, Lancashire (<i>Mr. Frederick Stanley</i>)	102
"	28.	¶Inhabitants of Newton Saint Loe, Corston, and other places (<i>Major Allen</i>)	64
"	28.	*Inhabitants of Oldham, Lancashire, in public meeting assembled; Thos. Haigh, chairman (<i>Mr. Hibbert</i>)	1
"	28.	Inhabitants of Ambleside and other places (<i>Mr. William Lowther</i>)	72
"	28.	¶Inhabitants of Cheltenham (<i>Mr. Henry Samuelson</i>)	62
"	28.	¶Inhabitants of Stockport (<i>Mr. John Benjamin Smith</i>)	46
"	28.	¶Inhabitants of Beverley (<i>Mr. Taylor</i>)	646
"	28.	Inhabitants of Leominster	85
March	1.	¶Inhabitants of Manchester (<i>Mr. Jacob Bright</i>)	508
"	1.	¶Inhabitants of Marylebone (<i>Mr. Thos. Chambers</i>)	2,363
"	1.	¶Inhabitants of Tower Hamlets	1,779
"	1.	¶Inhabitants of Hackney	2,560
"	2.	Inhabitants of Ancoats, Manchester (<i>Mr. Birley</i>)	410
"	3.	Inhabitants of Hertfordshire (<i>Mr. H. Cowper</i>)	40
"	3.	Inhabitants of Inch, Wigtownshire (<i>Ld. Garlies</i>)	120
"	3.	Inhabitants of Preston and other places (<i>Mr. Hermon</i>)	60
"	3.	Inhabitants of Glenridding and other places (<i>Mr. William Lowther</i>)	53
"	4.	¶Inhabitants of Macclesfield (<i>Mr. Chadwick</i>)	136
"	4.	¶Inhabitants of Durham (<i>Mr. Henderson</i>)	495
"	7.	Inhabitants of Budleigh, Salterton (<i>Mr. Kekewich</i>)	39
"	7.	¶Inhabitants of Tottenham (<i>Mr. Taylor</i>)	11
"	8.	¶Inhabitants of Cheetham Hill, county of Lancaster (<i>Mr. Henry</i>)	49
"	8.	¶Inhabitants of Nottingham (<i>Mr. Auberon Herbert</i>)	1,440
"	8.	¶Inhabitants of Ashton-under-Lyne (<i>Mr. Mellor</i>)	1,004
"	8.	¶Inhabitants of Oldham (<i>Mr. Platt</i>)	157
"	9.	Inhabitants of Coventry (<i>Mr. Taylor</i>)	18
"	9.	Inhabitants of Peterborough	1,563
"	10.	¶Inhabitants of Manchester (<i>Mr. Birley</i>)	552
"	10.	¶Inhabitants of Rusholme, Lancashire (<i>Mr. Algernon Egerton</i>)	109
"	10.	¶Inhabitants of Oldham (<i>Mr. Hibbert</i>)	518
"	10.	¶Inhabitants of Stockport (<i>Mr. Tipping</i>)	202
"	11.	Inhabitants of Rugby, in public meeting assembled; James Littlemore, chairman (<i>Mr. Davenport</i>)	1
"	11.	Inhabitants of Stockport (<i>Mr. John Smith</i>)	92
"	11.	Inhabitants of South Shields, in public meeting assembled; John Strachan, mayor, chairman (<i>Mr. Stevenson</i>)	1
"	14.	Inhabitants of Teignmouth and other places (<i>Mr. Bouring</i>)	124

March	14.	¶Inhabitants of Strangeways, Manchester (<i>Mr. Jacob Bright</i>)	166
"	14.	Inhabitants of Dinas y Mowddy, Merionethshire (<i>Mr. Holland</i>)	43
"	14.	Inhabitants of Endon, Stoke-upon-Trent (<i>Mr. Melly</i>)	22
"	14.	Inhabitants of Mossley (<i>Viscount Milton</i>)	177
"	14.	Inhabitants of Blandford Forum (<i>Mr. Portman</i>)	43
"	14.	Inhabitants of Penzance, West Cornwall (<i>Mr. St. Aubyn</i>)	73
"	15.	Inhabitants of Bourton-on-the-Hill, county of Gloucester (<i>Mr. Holford</i>)	77
"	15.	Inhabitants of Moreton-in-the-Marsh, county of Gloucester (<i>Mr. Holford</i>)	23
"	15.	Inhabitants of Hawkshead (<i>Mr. Fred. Stanley</i>)	55
"	15.	¶Inhabitants of Monk Coniston (<i>Mr. Frederick Stanley</i>)	63
"	15.	*Inhabitants of Upper Largwith, in public meeting assembled; Alfred T. Blythe, chairman (<i>Mr. Taylor</i>)	1
"	15.	*Inhabitants of Stacksteads, Manchester, in public meeting assembled; James Cox, chairman (<i>Mr. Taylor</i>)	1
"		Inhabitants of Brighton	1,001
"	16.	Inhabitants of Thetford (<i>Sir William Bagge</i>)	58
"	16.	Inhabitants of Salford (<i>Mr. Charley</i>)	503
"	16.	¶Inhabitants of Deal (<i>Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen</i>)	71
"	16.	¶Inhabitants of King's Lynn, county of Norfolk (<i>Mr. Taylor</i>)	730
"	16.	Inhabitants of Chester (<i>Mr. John Tollemache</i>)	53
"	16.	¶Inhabitants of Finsbury (<i>Mr. W. M. Torrens</i>)	2,584
"	17.	Inhabitants of Liverpool (<i>Mr. Rathbone</i>)	500
"	17.	Inhabitants of Hackney (<i>Mr. Reed</i>)	2,419
"	17.	Inhabitants of Merthyr Tydvil (<i>Mr. Christopher Talbot</i>)	331
"	17.	¶Inhabitants of Leswalt, county of Wigtown	94
"	17.	Inhabitants of Portpatrick	86
"	17.	Inhabitants of Southwark	2,187
"	18.	Inhabitants of St. George's Ward, Manchester (<i>Sir Thomas Bazley</i>)	504
"	18.	Inhabitants of Westminster (<i>Capt. Grosvenor</i>)	2,123
"	18.	Inhabitants of Birkenhead (<i>Mr. Laird</i>)	72
"	18.	¶Inhabitants of Edinburgh (<i>Mr. M'Laren</i>)	531
"	18.	Members of the Executive of the Holbeck Reform Association; J. Denton, president, and others (<i>Mr. Miall</i>)	3
"	18.	Inhabitants of Dewsbury (<i>Mr. Serjeant Simon</i>)	142
"	18.	Inhabitants of Stranraer (<i>The Lord Advocate</i>)	859
"	21.	Inhabitants of Newburgh, county of Fife (<i>Sir Robert Anstruther</i>)	88
"	21.	¶John Harrison and others, 52, Stanhope-street, W.C. (<i>Dr. Brewer</i>)	202
"	21.	¶James Ralph and others (<i>Dr. Brewer</i>)	49
"	21.	Inhabitants of Devizes (<i>Sir George Jenkinson</i>)	399
"	21.	Inhabitants of Perth, in public meeting assembled; E. M. Lennie, chairman (<i>Mr. Kinnaird</i>)	1

March	21.	¶Inhabitants of Perth (<i>Mr. Kinnaird</i>) ...	437
"	22.	Inhabitants of North Wootton, county of Norfolk (<i>Sir William Bagge</i>) ...	17
"	22.	Inhabitants of New Luce, county of Wigtown (<i>Sir John Hay</i>) ...	110
"	22.	Inhabitants of Glenluce (<i>Sir John Hay</i>) ...	342
"	22.	Inhabitants of Lawrey (<i>Mr. Frederick Stanley</i>) ...	45
"	22.	¶Inhabitants of Edinburgh ...	1,005
"	23.	¶Inhabitants of Salford (<i>Mr. Charley</i>) ...	518
"	24.	Inhabitants of Newton Stewart, county of Wigtown (<i>Lord Garlies</i>) ...	46
"	24.	Inhabitants of Lambeth (<i>Sir James Lawrence</i>) ...	2,428
"	24.	¶Inhabitants of New Wortley, Leeds, and district (<i>Mr. Wheelhouse</i>) ...	507
"	25.	¶Inhabitants of Holbeck (<i>Mr. Carter</i>) ...	512
"	25.	¶Inhabitants of Edgbaston (<i>Mr. Dixon</i>) ...	806
"	25.	¶Inhabitants of Tunbridge Wells (<i>Mr. Mills</i>) ...	362
"	25.	¶Inhabitants of Bristol (<i>Mr. Morley</i>) ...	1,072
"	28.	¶Inhabitants of Weetwood, county of York (<i>Mr. Baines</i>) ...	512
"	28.	¶Inhabitants of Northampton (<i>Lord Henley</i>) ...	1,008
"	28.	Inhabitants of Gateshead (<i>Mr. Hutt</i>) ...	24
"	28.	*Inhabitants of Aberdeen, in public meeting assembled; Alexander Bain, Professor of Logic, University of Aberdeen, chairman (<i>Colonel Sykes</i>) ...	1
"	28.	¶Inhabitants of Shrewsbury (<i>Mr. Taylor</i>) ...	249
"	28.	¶Inhabitants of York (<i>Mr. Taylor</i>) ...	34
"	28.	¶Inhabitants of Wolverhampton (<i>Mr. Villiers</i>) ...	43
"	29.	¶Inhabitants of Saint Michael's Ward, Manchester (<i>Mr. Jacob Bright</i>) ...	441
"	29.	Inhabitants of Collegiate Ward, Manchester (<i>Mr. Jacob Bright</i>) ...	307
"	29.	Inhabitants of Chelsea (<i>Sir Charles Dilke</i>) ...	2,106
"	29.	*Inhabitants of Dalkeith, in public meeting assembled; William Thomson, chairman (<i>Sir Alexander Maitland</i>) ...	1
"	29.	Inhabitants of Denbigh (<i>Mr. Watkin Williams</i>) ...	111
"	29.	Inhabitants of Rhyl ...	18
"	29.	Inhabitants of Saint Asaph ...	43
"	29.	Inhabitants of Rugby ...	301
"	30.	¶Inhabitants of Edinburgh (<i>Mr. M'Laren</i>) ...	1,003
"	30.	Inhabitants of Lichfield ...	394
"	31.	Inhabitants of Evesham (<i>Colonel Bourne</i>) ...	16
"	31.	¶Inhabitants of Medlock Street Ward, Manchester (<i>Mr. Jacob Bright</i>) ...	502
"	31.	William T. Wood and others (<i>Sir Charles Dilke</i>) ...	3
"	31.	Inhabitants of Coupar Angus (<i>Mr. Parker</i>) ...	143
"	31.	*Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council of Edinburgh (<i>Mr. M'Laren</i>) ...	1
"	31.	Inhabitants of Carmarthen (<i>Colonel Stepney</i>) ...	166
April	1.	¶Inhabitants of Salford (<i>Mr. Cavley</i>) ...	129
"	1.	¶Inhabitants of Salford (<i>Mr. Cavley</i>) ...	377
"	1.	Fanny Rogers and others (<i>Sir John Ramsden</i>) ...	16
"	4.	Inhabitants of Dysart (<i>Mr. Aytoun</i>) ...	69

April	4.	Inhabitants of Flixton, county of Lancaster (<i>Mr. Algernon Egerton</i>) ...	16
"	4.	¶Inhabitants of Cupar (<i>Mr. Ellice</i>) ...	121
"	4.	¶Inhabitants of Sheffield (<i>Mr. Hadfield</i>) ...	2,375
"	4.	¶Inhabitants of Portobello (<i>Mr. Macfie</i>) ...	633
"	4.	Inhabitants of Alnwick (<i>Mr. Ridley</i>) ...	35
"	4.	Inhabitants of Ludlow (<i>Mr. Taylor</i>) ...	17
"	4.	*Inhabitants of Kentish Town; John Pearce, chairman (<i>Mr. Taylor</i>) ...	1
"	4.	¶Inhabitants of Sheffield ...	1,517
"	5.	Inhabitants of Salford (<i>Mr. Charley</i>) ...	529
"	5.	Inhabitants of Tenterden, Mid Kent (<i>Mr. Hart Dyke</i>) ...	35
"	5.	Inhabitants of Calne (<i>Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice</i>) ...	39
"	5.	Inhabitants of Finsbury (<i>Mr. Lusk</i>) ...	1,615
"	5.	Inhabitants of Camberwell and Walworth (<i>Mr. M'Arthur</i>) ...	16
"	5.	Inhabitants of Lambeth (<i>Mr. M'Arthur</i>) ...	2,184
"	5.	Inhabitants of Blairgowrie (<i>Mr. Parker</i>) ...	233
"	7.	¶Inhabitants of Macclesfield (<i>Mr. Brocklehurst</i>) ...	107
"	7.	¶Inhabitants of Middlesex (<i>Viscount Enfield</i>) ...	572
"	7.	¶Inhabitants of Brighton (<i>Mr. White</i>) ...	1,064
"	8.	¶Inhabitants of Oxford Ward, Manchester (<i>Mr. Jacob Bright</i>) ...	409
"	8.	¶Inhabitants of Saint Michael's Ward, Manchester (<i>Mr. Jacob Bright</i>) ...	561
"	8.	Inhabitants of Renfrew, in public meeting assembled; Andrew Brown, chairman (<i>Mr. Secretary Bruce</i>) ...	1
"	8.	Inhabitants of Peterhead (<i>Mr. Grant Duff</i>) ...	193
"	8.	Inhabitants of Chatham (<i>Mr. Otway</i>) ...	306
"	8.	Inhabitants of Dublin (<i>Mr. Pim</i>) ...	1,013
"	8.	¶Inhabitants of Glasgow ...	1,734
"	8.	¶Inhabitants of Windsor ...	1,855
"	11.	¶Inhabitants of Forfar (<i>Mr. Baxter</i>) ...	243
"	11.	Inhabitants of Knaresborough (<i>Mr. Illingworth</i>) ...	299
"	11.	Inhabitants of Marylebone (<i>Mr. Harvey Lewis</i>) ...	2,025
"	11.	*Inhabitants of Galashiels, in public meeting assembled; Thomas Clapperton Bailie, chairman (<i>Mr. Trevelyan</i>) ...	1
"	12.	¶Inhabitants of Loughborough (<i>Dr. Brewer</i>) ...	78
"	12.	¶Inhabitants of Dublin (<i>Mr. Pim</i>) ...	2
"	12.	Inhabitants of Monkstown (<i>Mr. Pim</i>) ...	23
"	12.	¶Inhabitants of Bray (<i>Mr. Pim</i>) ...	21
"	12.	¶Inhabitants of Tipperary (<i>Mr. Pim</i>) ...	20
"	12.	¶Inhabitants of Cavan (<i>Mr. Pim</i>) ...	13
"	12.	Inhabitants of Bantry (<i>Mr. Pim</i>) ...	20
"	12.	¶Inhabitants of Wexford (<i>Mr. Pim</i>) ...	14
"	12.	¶Inhabitants of Down (<i>Mr. Pim</i>) ...	20
"	12.	¶Inhabitants of Hackney (<i>Mr. Taylor</i>) ...	3,248
"	25.	¶Inhabitants of Kirkcaldy (<i>Mr. Aytoun</i>) ...	176
"	25.	¶Inhabitants of Montrose (<i>Mr. Baxter</i>) ...	336
"	25.	*Inhabitants of Greenwich, in public meeting assembled; J. Stuart Mill, chairman (<i>Mr. William Ewart Gladstone</i>) ...	1
"	25.	¶Inhabitants of London (<i>Mr. Goschen</i>) ...	1,015

April 25. Inhabitants of Tetsworth, county of Oxford (<i>Mr. Henley</i>)	266
" 25. ¶Inhabitants of Birmingham (<i>Mr. Muntz</i>)... ..	650
" 25. ¶Inhabitants of Lincoln (<i>Mr. Seely</i>)	558
" 25. Inhabitants of Saint Columb, county of Cornwall (<i>Sir John Trelawny</i>)	16
" 25. Inhabitants of Brimscombe (<i>Mr. Winterbotham</i>)... ..	44
" 25. Inhabitants of Helston, county of Cornwall (<i>Mr. Adolphus Young</i>)	24
" 26. ¶Inhabitants of Chesterfield (<i>Mr. Michael Bass</i>)	263
" 26. ¶Inhabitants of Renfrew (<i>Mr. Pleydell Bouverie</i>)... ..	152
" 26. Inhabitants of Renfrew (<i>Mr. Pleydell Bouverie</i>)	2
" 26. ¶Inhabitants of Stroud (<i>Mr. Dickinson</i>)	73
" 26. Inhabitants of Edgware and Little Stanmore, county of Middlesex (<i>Viscount Enfield</i>)	60
" 26. Inhabitants of Great Stanmore, county of Middlesex (<i>Viscount Enfield</i>)	5
" 26. Inhabitants of Gosport (<i>Mr. Taylor</i>)	12
" 26. ¶Inhabitants of Huntingdon (<i>Mr. Taylor</i>)... ..	16
" 26. ¶Inhabitants of Dumfries (<i>Major Walker</i>)... ..	407
" 27. Inhabitants of Marlborough (<i>Lord Ernest Bruce</i>).. ..	139
" 27. ¶Inhabitants of South Queensferry (<i>Mr. Campbell</i>)	156
" 27. ¶Inhabitants of Bath (<i>Mr. Donald Dalrymple</i>)	723
" 27. ¶Inhabitants of Bath (<i>Mr. Donald Dalrymple</i>)	163
" 27. ¶Inhabitants of Altrincham and Bowdon (<i>Mr. Wilbraham Egerton</i>)	235
" 27. Inhabitants of Knutsford (<i>Mr. Wilbraham Egerton</i>)	100
" 27. ¶Inhabitants of Finsbury (<i>Mr. Lusk</i>)	1,598
" 27. ¶Inhabitants of Folkestone (<i>Mr. Taylor</i>)	39
" 27. Inhabitants of Carperby, Bedale (<i>Mr. Taylor</i>)	74
" 27. *Inhabitants of Selkirk, in public meeting assembled; J. Johnston, chairman (<i>Mr. Trevelyan</i>)	1
" 28. ¶Inhabitants of Arbroath (<i>Mr. Baxter</i>)	263
" 28. ¶Inhabitants of Newcastle-upon-Tyne (<i>Mr. Cowen</i>)	532
" 28. Inhabitants of Retford (<i>Mr. Foljambe</i>)	203
" 28. Inhabitants of Bedford (<i>Mr. James Howard</i>)	121
" 28. Inhabitants of New Malton (<i>Mr. Thomas Hughes</i>)	242
" 28. Inhabitants of Northallerton (<i>Mr. Hutton</i>)	194
" 28. Inhabitants of Worcester (<i>Mr. Laslett</i>)	554
" 28. Inhabitants of Exeter (<i>Sir Massey Lopes</i>)	59
" 28. ¶Inhabitants of Plymouth (<i>Mr. Morrison</i>)	102
" 28. Inhabitants of Westbury (<i>Mr. Phipps</i>)	30
" 28. Inhabitants of Portsmouth (<i>Mr. Stone</i>)	108
" 28. Inhabitants of Aberdeen (<i>Colonel Sykes</i>)... ..	258
" 28. Inhabitants of Middlesborough	806
" 28. Inhabitants of Glasgow	2,337
" 29. ¶Inhabitants of Saint John's Ward, Manchester (<i>Mr. Jacob Bright</i>)	232
" 29. ¶Inhabitants of Ingatestone, county of Essex (<i>Dr. Brewer</i>)	160
" 29. ¶Inhabitants of Yapton (<i>Dr. Brewer</i>)	149
" 29. *Inhabitants of Stirling, in public meeting assembled; David Yellowlees, chairman (<i>Mr. Campbell</i>)... ..	1
" 29. ¶Inhabitants of Stirling (<i>Mr. Campbell</i>)	240

April 29. *Inhabitants of Paisley, in public meeting assembled; David Murray, chairman (<i>Mr. Crum-Ewing</i>)	1
" 29. ¶Inhabitants of Paisley (<i>Mr. Crum-Ewing</i>)	276
" 29. ¶Inhabitants of Huddersfield (<i>Mr. Leatham</i>)	325
" 29. *Inhabitants of Coupar Angus; William Marshall, chairman (<i>Mr. Parker</i>)	1
" 29. ¶Inhabitants of Westminster (<i>Mr. Taylor</i>)	1,529
May 2. *Inhabitants of Dundee, in public meeting assembled; D. Cork, chairman (<i>Mr. Armistead</i>)	1
" 2. Inhabitants of Derby (<i>Mr. Michael Bass</i>)	34
" 2. Inhabitants of Waterford (<i>Mr. Delahunty</i>)... ..	40
" 2. ¶H. Evelyn and others (<i>Sir Charles Dilke</i>)	2,865
" 2. ¶Inhabitants of Hartlepool (<i>Mr. Dimsdale</i>)	454
" 2. Inhabitants of Bridge of Allan (<i>Admiral Erskine</i>)	116
" 2. Inhabitants of Dumfries (<i>Mr. Jardine</i>)	419
" 2. Inhabitants of Marylebone (<i>Mr. Harvey Lewis</i>)	1,220
" 2. ¶Inhabitants of Rathmines and neighbourhood (<i>Mr. Pim</i>)	140
" 2. Inhabitants of Kingstown (<i>Mr. Pim</i>)	20
" 2. ¶Inhabitants of South Shields (<i>Mr. Stevenson</i>)	463
" 2. Women householders of Aberdeen; 27 petitions (<i>Colonel Sykes</i>)	27
" 2. ¶Inhabitants of Aberdeen (<i>Colonel Sykes</i>)	63
" 2. Inhabitants of Chelsea... ..	2,565
" 3. Inhabitants of Exeter (<i>Mr. Bowring</i>)	56
" 3. Reverend W. Sharp, Altham Vicarage, and others (<i>Mr. Jacob Bright</i>)	32
" 3. ¶Inhabitants of Chorlton-upon-Medlock (<i>Mr. Jacob Bright</i>)	100
" 3. ¶Inhabitants of Manchester (<i>Mr. Jacob Bright</i>)	145
" 3. Inhabitants of Gainsborough (<i>Sir Montague Cholmeley</i>)	212
" 3. Inhabitants of Kintore (<i>Mr. Grant Duff</i>)	79
" 3. Inhabitants of Nantwich (<i>Sir Philip Grey Egerton</i>)	16
" 3. Anne Barrington, Beddale, Parnelscroft, Congleton (<i>Mr. Wilbraham Egerton</i>)	1
" 3. Elizabeth Clarke Wolstenholme, Moody Hall, Congleton (<i>Mr. Wilbraham Egerton</i>)	1
" 3. Inhabitants of Anstruther (<i>Mr. Ellice</i>)	95
" 3. Inhabitants of Banbury (<i>Mr. Henley</i>)	33
" 3. Sarah Mitford and others (<i>Mr. Gore Langton</i>)	86
" 3. Inhabitants of Grimsby (<i>Sir Wilfrid Lawson</i>)	75
" 3. Inhabitants of Petersfield (<i>Sir Wilfrid Lawson</i>)	91
" 3. Isabella Garland, Aberdeen (<i>Mr. M'Combie</i>)	1
" 3. *Inhabitants of Inverness in public meeting assembled; J. Mackenzie, M.D., provost and chairman (<i>Mr. Mackintosh</i>)	1
" 3. Mary Thomas, 13, Buckingham Vale, Clifton, Bristol (<i>Mr. Morley</i>)	1
" 3. Louisa Leonard (<i>Mr. Morley</i>)	1
" 3. ¶Inhabitants of Guildford (<i>Mr. Onslow</i>)	39
" 3. Inhabitants of Alyth, county of Perth (<i>Mr. Parker</i>)	8
" 4. ¶Inhabitants of Manchester (<i>Mr. Birley</i>)	1,512
" 4. ¶Inhabitants of Dublin (<i>Mr. Bowring</i>)	211
" 4. Inhabitants of Magherafelt (<i>Mr. Bowring</i>)	24

May 4. *Inhabitants of Dublin, in public meeting assembled; Robert Kane, Knight, F.R.S. (<i>Mr. Bowring</i>)...	1
" 4. Sarah Mary Maguire, 51, Westland Row, Dublin (<i>Mr. Bowring</i>) ...	1
" 4. Elizabeth Clare, 43, Caffee-street, Dublin (<i>Mr. Bowring</i>) ...	1
" 4. Caroline Cadosch, 28, Lincoln Place, Dublin (<i>Mr. Bowring</i>) ...	1
" 4. ¶Inhabitants of Hastings (<i>Mr. Thomas Brassy</i>) ...	60
" 4. Inhabitants of Heaton Chapel, and others, Levenshulme (<i>Mr. Jacob Bright</i>) ...	67
" 4. Inhabitants of Barnstaple (<i>Mr. Jacob Bright</i>) ...	47
" 4. Inhabitants of Framlingham (<i>Mr. Jacob Bright</i>) ...	89
" 4. Inhabitants of Manchester (<i>Mr. Jacob Bright</i>) ...	468
" 4. Inhabitants of Worsley (<i>Mr. Jacob Bright</i>) ...	35
" 4. Inhabitants of Sale and Timperley (<i>Mr. Jacob Bright</i>) ...	189
" 4. Inhabitants of Middleton and Tonge, county of Lancaster (<i>Mr. Jacob Bright</i>) ...	77
" 4. Inhabitants of Darlington (<i>Mr. Jacob Bright</i>) ...	6
" 4. Mary Clodd, Framlingham, county of Suffolk (<i>Mr. Jacob Bright</i>) ...	1
" 4. Inhabitants of Weymouth (<i>Mr. Jacob Bright</i>) ...	70
" 4. ¶Inhabitants of Wilmslow (<i>Mr. Brooks</i>) ...	103
" 4. ¶Inhabitants of Leeds (<i>Mr. Alderman Carter</i>) ...	717
" 4. Members of the Holbeck Liberal Registration Committee, Leeds (<i>Mr. Carter</i>) ...	39
" 4. Inhabitants of Leeds (<i>Mr. Carter</i>) ...	196
" 4. Inhabitants of Ilkley (<i>Mr. Carter</i>) ...	83
" 4. Members of the Women's Club and Institute, 77, Newman-street, London (<i>Mr. Thos. Chambers</i>) ...	71
" 4. ¶Inhabitants of Salford (<i>Mr. Charley</i>) ...	1,042
" 4. ¶Inhabitants of Glasgow (<i>Mr. Dalglisk</i>) ...	3,497
" 4. Inhabitants of Tiverton (<i>Mr. Denman</i>) ...	116
" 4. ¶Inhabitants of Edgbaston (<i>Mr. Dixon</i>) ...	782
" 4. ¶Inhabitants of Stretford (<i>Mr. Algernon Egerton</i>) ...	164
" 4. ¶Inhabitants of Hull (<i>Mr. Fawcett</i>) ...	86
" 4. Inhabitants of Haywards Heath (<i>Mr. Fawcett</i>) ...	55
" 4. Inhabitants of Norwich (<i>Mr. Fawcett</i>) ...	104
" 4. Inhabitants of Monaghan and other places (<i>Mr. Ion Trant Hamilton</i>) ...	22
" 4. Inhabitants of Glasthule (<i>Mr. Ion Trant Hamilton</i>) ...	30
" 4. Inhabitants of Dalkey (<i>Mr. Ion Trant Hamilton</i>) ...	2
" 4. Inhabitants of Sandycove, county of Dublin (<i>Mr. Ion Trant Hamilton</i>) ...	25
" 4. Inhabitants of Kingstown, county of Dublin (<i>Mr. Ion Trant Hamilton</i>) ...	60
" 4. Inhabitants of Dalkey, county of Dublin (<i>Mr. Ion Trant Hamilton</i>) ...	25
" 4. Inhabitants of Dundrum, county of Dublin (<i>Mr. Ion Trant Hamilton</i>) ...	20
" 4. Elizabeth Debitt, Leslie Avenue, Dalkey, county of Dublin (<i>Mr. Ion Trant Hamilton</i>) ...	1
" 4. Eliza Langan, 11, Sussex-street, Kingstown, county of Dublin (<i>Mr. Ion Trant Hamilton</i>) ...	1

May 4. Mary Weston, Cross Avenue, Blackrock, county of Dublin (<i>Mr. Ion Trant Hamilton</i>) ...	1
" 4. ¶Inhabitants of Newark (<i>Mr. Hodgkinson</i>) ...	140
" 4. Inhabitants of Thirsk (<i>Mr. Ulingworth</i>) ...	194
" 4. ¶Inhabitants of Salisbury (<i>Dr. Lush</i>) ...	128
" 4. ¶Inhabitants of Nairn (<i>Mr. Mackintosh</i>) ...	30
" 4. ¶Inhabitants of Edinburgh (<i>Mr. M'Laren</i>) ...	3,168
" 4. Inhabitants of Leith (<i>Mr. M'Laren</i>) ...	40
" 4. Inhabitants of Stirling (<i>Mr. M'Laren</i>) ...	24
" 4. Inhabitants of Helensburgh (<i>Mr. M'Laren</i>) ...	20
" 4. ¶Inhabitants of Perthshire (<i>Mr. M'Laren</i>) ...	64
" 4. Mary Burton, Silverton Bank, Silverton (<i>Sir Alex. Maitland</i>) ...	1
" 4. Inhabitants of Stapleton (<i>Mr. Morley</i>) ...	27
" 4. Catherine Norris, Clifton Park House, Clifton, Bristol (<i>Mr. Morley</i>) ...	1
" 4. Inhabitants of Glastonbury (<i>Mr. Neville-Grenville</i>) ...	43
" 4. Inhabitants of Wells, county of Somerset (<i>Mr. Neville-Grenville</i>) ...	20
" 4. Inhabitants of Street (<i>Mr. Neville-Grenville</i>) ...	148
" 4. Inhabitants of Kelso (<i>Mr. Robertson</i>) ...	428
" 4. Elizabeth Cobb, Congleton (<i>Mr. Hastings Russell</i>) ...	1
" 4. Inhabitants of Canterbury (<i>Mr. Taylor</i>) ...	94
" 4. ¶Inhabitants of Hertford (<i>Mr. Taylor</i>) ...	185
" 4. Inhabitants of Weymouth (<i>Mr. Taylor</i>) ...	3
" 4. ¶Inhabitants of Sunderland (<i>Mr. Taylor</i>) ...	31
" 4. Inhabitants of Liverpool (<i>Mr. Turner</i>) ...	498
" 5. ¶Inhabitants of Brechin (<i>Mr. Baxter</i>) ...	172
" 5. ¶Inhabitants of Manchester (<i>Sir Thomas Bazley</i>) ...	1,500
" 5. *Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of Manchester (<i>Sir Thomas Bazley</i>) ...	Seal.
" 5. *Inhabitants of Barrhead, in public meeting assembled; John Heys, chairman (<i>Mr. Sec. Bruce</i>)..	1
" 5. Inhabitants of Sheffield (<i>Mr. Cawley</i>) ...	1,194
" 5. ¶Members and Friends of the Edinburgh Branch of the National Secular Society (<i>Mr. Miller</i>) ...	16
" 5. ¶Inhabitants of Bristol and neighbourhood (<i>Mr. Morley</i>) ...	335
" 5. Inhabitants of Congleton (<i>Mr. Winterbotham</i>) ...	182
" 9. ¶Inhabitants of Dundee (<i>Mr. Armitstead</i>) ...	458
" 9. Inhabitants of Garstang (<i>Colonel Wilson Patten</i>) ...	11
" 9. ¶Inhabitants of Tavistock (<i>Mr. Arthur Russell</i>) ...	80
" 10. ¶Inhabitants of Gloucester (<i>Mr. William Philip Price</i>) ...	126
" 10. ¶Inhabitants of London (<i>Mr. Taylor</i>) ...	112
" 6. Mary Ann Estlin, Hereford House, Durdham Down, Bristol (<i>Mr. Morley</i>) ...	1
" 11. Inhabitants of Melrose (<i>Marquis of Bowmont</i>) ...	5
" 11. ¶Inhabitants of London (<i>Mr. Goschen</i>) ...	943
" 11. ¶Inhabitants of Dundee (<i>Mr. M'Laren</i>) ...	147
" 11. Women householders of Edinburgh; 4 petitions (<i>Mr. M'Laren</i>) ...	5
" 11. Inhabitants of Seaforth and Waterloo, county of Lancaster (<i>Mr. Turner</i>) ...	166
" 12. Alexina C. Eker, county of Fife (<i>Sir Robert Anstruther</i>) ...	1

May 12. *Members of the Kilmarnock Reform League ; Andrew Ingle, chairman (<i>Mr. Pleydell Bouverie</i>)	1
” 12. Catherine Love (<i>Mr. Pleydell Bouverie</i>) ...	1
” 12. *Inhabitants of Kilmarnock in public meeting assem- bled ; Alexander Webster, chairman (<i>Mr.</i> <i>Pleydell Bouverie</i>) ...	1
” 12. Janet Campbell (<i>Mr. Pleydell Bouverie</i>) ...	1
” 12. Eliza Flint, Watford (<i>Mr. Henry Robert Brand</i>) ...	1
” 12. Mary Ann Holbrook, Lower Vale, Hendon, county of Middlesex (<i>Viscount Enfield</i>) ...	1
” 12. Jane E. Taylour (<i>Lord Garlies</i>)... ..	1
” 12. Rose Ann Hall, Burton-on-the-Hill, county of Glou- cester (<i>Mr. Holford</i>)	1
” 12. Women householders of Edinburgh ; 14 petitions (<i>Mr. M'Laren</i>)	15
” 12. Women householders of Edinburgh ; 12 petitions (<i>Mr. Miller</i>)	12
” 12. Matilda Adriana Chaplin, 35, Blandford Square, London (<i>Mr. Taylor</i>)	1
” 12. Joseph Allen and others (<i>Mr. Taylor</i>)	157
” 12. Marion P. Aird, of Kilmarnock (<i>Sir D. Wedderburn</i>)	1
” 13. Inhabitants of Rutherglen (<i>Mr. Pleydell Bouverie</i>)...	431
” 13. ¶Inhabitants of Salford (<i>Mr. Charley</i>)	470
” 13. Inhabitants of Saint Ives (<i>Mr. Maguire</i>)	18
” 13. Inhabitants of Newcastleton (<i>Mr. M'Laren</i>)	85
” 16. Emma Mary Nicoll, Copt Hall, Hendon, county of Middlesex (<i>Viscount Enfield</i>)	1
” 17. Inhabitants of Southampton (<i>Mr. Fawcett</i>)	66
” 18. H. Sidgwick, Cambridge, and others (<i>Mr. Jacob</i> <i>Bright</i>)	7
” 18. ¶Inhabitants of Manchester (<i>Mr. Jacob Bright</i>) ...	701
” 18. ¶Inhabitants of Manchester (<i>Mr. Jacob Bright</i>) ...	327
” 19. ¶Inhabitants of Teignmouth (<i>Mr. Thomas Cave</i>) ...	105
” 20. Inhabitants of Cork (<i>Mr. Pim</i>)	30
June 9. Inhabitants of the Tower Hamlets (<i>Mr. Ayrton</i>)...	842
” 9.*Members of the Executive Committee of the Leeds Reform League ; J. Shepherd, chairman (<i>Mr.</i> <i>Carter</i>)	1
” 13. Inhabitants of Hightown and its vicinity (<i>Mr.</i> <i>Baines</i>)... ..	52
” 16. *Inhabitants of Arbroath, in public meeting assem- bled ; Joseph Jack, chairman (<i>Mr. Buxton</i>) ...	1
” 23. Elizabeth Cobb, Congleton (<i>Colonel Legh</i>) ...	1
July 28. *Inhabitants of Halifax, in public meeting assem- bled ; J. P. Dickin, chairman (<i>Mr. Rylands</i>)...	1

Total number of Petitions 441--Signatures 131,361

SUMMARY.

	No. of Petitions signed officially or under seal.	Total No. of Petitions.	No. of Signatures.
For Extension of the Elective Franchise to Women [2, 99]	8	180	3,200
Women's Disabilities Bill--In favour [61, 85]	34	441	131,361
	42	621	134,561

MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

RULES.

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

MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S
SUFFRAGE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

VIII. By endeavouring to increase the number of members.

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

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

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

A. Ireland and Co., Printers, Manchester.

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WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

GREAT MEETING IN EDINBURGH

IN

THE MUSIC HALL,

ON 12TH JANUARY 1871,

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF

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

EDINBURGH: PRINTED BY JOHN GREIG & SON.

MDCCLXXI.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

MRS M'LAREN, Newington House, PRESIDENT.

MISS BURTON, Liberton Bank.
MISS CALDWELL, 2 Victoria Terrace, Portobello.
MISS CRAIG, 6 Carlton Street.
MISS A. CRAIG, 6 Carlton Street.
MRS CRUDELIUS, Chapelside, Trinity.
MISS DICK LAUDER, 12 Melville Crescent.
MRS FERGUSON HOME of Bassendean.
MISS M. HUNTER, 5 Great Stuart Street.
MRS LOW, 30 Minto Street.
MRS M'QUEEN of Braxfield.
MRS NICHOL, Huntly Lodge.
MISS E. STEVENSON, 13 Randolph Crescent.
MISS WALKER, 7 Queen's Crescent.
MRS WIGHAM, 5 Gray Street.

MISS HUNTER, 5 Great Stuart Street, TREASURER.

MISS WIGHAM, 5 South Gray Street,
MISS AGNES M'LAREN, Newington House, } SECRETARIES.

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

GREAT MEETING

IN FAVOUR OF

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE,

IN THE

MUSIC HALL, EDINBURGH, JANUARY 12. 1871.

A PUBLIC MEETING was held in the Music Hall, on the 12th of January, in favour of conferring the Electoral Franchise on those Women who are duly qualified as being the owners or occupiers of lands or houses in their own right. Considerable interest was manifested in reference to the proceedings, as it was known that Mr John Stuart Mill would address the meeting. The large hall was crowded in every part, upwards of 2000 being present, a large proportion of whom were ladies. As Mr Mill appeared, accompanied by Mr and Mrs M'Laren, he was received with loud and prolonged applause. Amongst those on the platform were—Sir John Murray, Bart., of Philiphaugh; Mr Miller, M.P.; Professor and Mrs Kelland; Professor and Mrs Masson; Mrs and Miss Wigham; Professor and Mrs Fraser; Professor Calderwood; Rev. Dr Wallace; Bailie Lewis; Miss Dick Lauder; Miss Hunter; Miss Craig; Mrs M'Queen; Mrs Low; Miss Walker; Miss Agnes M'Laren; Mr and Mrs Wm. Smith; Dr Findlater; Councillors Mossman, Millar, Bladworth, Wormald, Sloan, and Murray; Messrs Hugh Rose, M'Crie, Cox, W.S., John Cox of Gorgie, John M'Laren, Advocate; John Greig, and others.

On the motion of Professor Calderwood, Mr Duncan M'Laren, M.P., took the chair.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, remarked that the fact of his having presided at a similar meeting last year, seemed to him, and to others, a very good reason why he should not have been asked to take the chair this year; and, accordingly, the Ladies' Committee, who had had the whole management—for the gentlemen had nothing whatever to do with it, and the ladies were pre-

sent on the platform to vindicate their own rights—(applause)—in the exercise of their discretion, very properly asked Sir Robert Anstruther, M.P., and Dr Lyon Playfair, M.P., severally, to take the chair at the present meeting. Sir Robert had written a very warm and friendly letter, which, unfortunately, had been mislaid; but in which he said he would not only have been glad to have attended the meeting, but would have been delighted to have presided, had not serious illness in his family prevented his leaving London. Sir Robert further stated that he felt most earnest in the cause of women's suffrage, and that the promoters of the movement might depend upon his services in a still more important arena—namely, the House of Commons. Dr Lyon Playfair had also been prevented from attending by family affliction; and he wrote—"I much regret this, for I should like to have reviewed the feeble positions taken up by Mr Bouverie and Mr Gladstone at the last debate in Parliament, and to have shewn how much the question has been strengthened by the late school elections. The chief argument of Mr Bouverie was, that it would injure women to expose them to the rough practices of an election. I went into the various polling-places in London at the recent election, and it was charming to see the interest of the female voters, and the orderly way in which everything proceeded. Their admission as voters will doubtless alter the tone of elections, but it will be by softening and improving it, just as women have softened and improved the habits of modern society." (Applause.) Sir David Wedderburn wrote—"I am very sorry I cannot be present at the meeting in Edinburgh, as I have engagements which will keep me in the south till the end of the month. You must not be afraid that I am one of the pusillanimous on the question of women's rights. The more I think on the subject, the better satisfied am I that women ought not to be content until they have obtained absolute equality—political, civil, and social—with men. Miss Garrett has already done this for herself individually, and I look upon her as a pioneer who ought soon to have many followers. In the mean time, the Parliamentary franchise is the thing to aim at as the best means of obtaining other ends, and I have no doubt your meeting will be a success." Letters had likewise been received from Mr M'Lagan, M.P., who was, unfortunately, detained in London, but who promised his cordial support in the House of Commons; from Professor Caird of Glasgow; and from Professor Baynes, St Andrews; and from many influential citizens—all expressing approval of the object of the meeting. He then read letters from Rev. Henry Renton, Kelso, and Mr M'Lennan, Advocate, who were to have spoken to-night, but were unavoidably absent on account of illness. Mr M'Laren went on to say that the progress of the cause had been very great within the last few months, and although it was sneered at by many, and laughed at and treated with contumely, he thought it was as certain to be ultimately carried as any question that was now the subject of public discussion in this country. (Applause.) The city and county of Edinburgh, and the burghs around, deserved to be specially noticed for the way in which their

representatives in Parliament had given the movement their support. The member for the County voted for it, as did the member for the University of Edinburgh, the member for the burghs of Leith, Portobello, and Musselburgh, and the members for the city of Edinburgh. The member for Linlithgowshire, intimately connected with our County, had also given the movement his cordial support. Then the Town Council of Edinburgh had the distinguished honour of being the first public body that petitioned Parliament for women's suffrage. (Applause.) The people of this district had, therefore, in their public capacity, done all that could possibly be expected, and he hoped that individually they would continue to exercise the influence they had in promoting the object in view.

Miss WIGHAM, one of the secretaries (who was received with most enthusiastic applause), then read the annual report of the Edinburgh branch of the Society:—

"The close of another year calls for a brief report of the proceedings of our committee, and of the progress of our cause. The work of the year commenced with a successful public meeting, held on the 17th January 1870, in the Queen Street Hall. The arguments in favour of women's suffrage on that occasion, so eloquently urged by able men of high position and influence, were intelligently responded to by a crowded and enthusiastic audience. A full report of this meeting has been extensively circulated through the press, and in a pamphlet form.

"No arguments of weight have been brought forward against the *justice* of conferring the electoral franchise on women; and those adduced against its expediency have been sufficiently and easily refuted. Referring our readers to the report we have mentioned for the removal of any lingering doubt they may have on this matter, we shall briefly recapitulate the operations of the Society.

"Aware of the important influence of public meetings, the committee, exerted themselves to promote them generally, and so successfully that thirty-nine meetings on the question of women's suffrage have been held during the year in various parts of Scotland.

"It was announced in our last annual report that Mr Jacob Bright and Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke were prepared to introduce into Parliament a bill to remove the electoral disabilities of women. The committee, therefore, in conjunction with others, directed its efforts to procure petitions in support of the bill. The result was that 299 petitions, with 24,805 signatures, were sent from Scotland; including petitions from the Edinburgh Town Council and other public bodies, and from twenty public meetings held in different towns.

"The committee desire to refer with grateful appreciation to the able services of Miss Taylour of Belmont, Stranraer, in delivering lectures in many towns in Scotland and the north of England. Her hearty and gratuitous services have aroused much public interest in the cause; and petitions in favour of women's suffrage, numerous signed, invariably resulted from the meetings she held. In many of the towns the Chief

Magistrate and other gentlemen accompanied her to the platform. Miss Taylour, in her more recent efforts, has had the efficient aid of Miss Burton, of Edinburgh. Together they have visited Glasgow, Dumfries, Wigtown, Castle Douglas, Whithorn, Ayr, Ardrrossan, Irvine, and Helensburgh; and wherever they have gone, they have been enthusiastically received. Since our last report, committees kindred to our own have been formed in Glasgow, Aberdeen, St Andrews, and Galloway.

"During last session of Parliament, 527 petitions were sent from English and Irish committees, with 109,761 signatures, in support of Mr Jacob Bright's bill. This bill was introduced by him, and passed the second reading by a majority of 33. On this occasion, the Home Secretary (Mr Bruce) declared, on the part of the Government, that they had not considered the question sufficiently to express an opinion upon it. When, however, the following week, Mr Jacob Bright moved that the bill be committed, it was found that the Government had abandoned their original position of neutrality, and having exercised their influence against the bill, they succeeded in getting it thrown out.

"On the second reading, 124 members had voted for the bill, including the Solicitor-General for England (Sir J. D. Coleridge) and other influential members of the Government. On the last occasion 94 only voted in favour, 58 of those who had previously voted for us being absent from the division, which it may be mentioned took place at two o'clock in the morning. Of these absentees 23, however, paired in our favour, bringing the total number of active supporters up to 119; and 17 of those who voted in this last division had never voted for us before. In this way, although we lost the support of out-and-out followers of the Government, we congratulate ourselves on the fact, that 170 members of the House of Commons have voted in favour of women's suffrage; and to shew that this is no party question, we may add that men of all shades of politics were found on our side.

"Since Mr John Stuart Mill, from his strong sense of justice, had the courage to bring this question before Parliament, the number of our supporters has been more than doubled. Whilst always remembering the debt of gratitude we owe to Mr Mill, we would also express our thanks to Mr Jacob Bright for his efforts in our cause last year, and to all the members who gave us their support; amongst whom we rejoice to record the names of all the representatives connected with Edinburgh, the members for the city, the county, and the University, as well as the member for Leith. We trust that in the coming session Mr Jacob Bright will be still more largely supported when he again introduces his bill. In England efforts are still progressing. An influential meeting was recently held in Manchester; and other great meetings have been held during the year, all having local and general interest. Full particulars of everything connected with the movement will be found in *The Woman's Suffrage Journal*, issued monthly by the Manchester Committee, large numbers of which have been circulated by us during the past year.

The readiness with which women have exercised their newly-acquired municipal franchise in England shews their capacity to take part in public matters, and also refutes the frequently alleged objections to our movement that women do not care for the franchise. The perfect good order which prevailed at these elections proves the possibility of women voting without anything occurring which would be unpleasant for women to witness.

"The fact that Mr Forster's Education Bill was so framed as to entitle women to vote and serve on School Boards shews that the Government recognises the importance of woman's aid in educational movements. The public voice has responded to this feeling by electing women, in several instances by large majorities, to take their seats at the school boards. This movement is eminently calculated to promote the further enfranchisement of women. It is 'another contribution to the freedom of humanity, and when we join in breaking off from society the heavy chain of legal, political, and social inequality, we are helping to give to humanity a time when, absolutely free, emancipated from every inequality, it shall make a mighty bound forward into the future, stronger and more ardent to do everywhere and always whatever works to the progress of truth, of justice, and charity.'

The Treasurer's statement, she said, included a balance from last year of £8, 9s, and the subscriptions and donations amounted to £162, 10s. 6d.—total, £170, 19s. 6d.; the expenses, including £87, 13s. 11d. for expenses of thirty-nine public meetings, were £176, 18s. 4d.—leaving a balance due to treasurer of £5, 18s. 10d. She thought it necessary to read the Treasurer's statement in order to shew that they could conduct the movement economically. (Laughter and cheers.)

Mr HUGH ROSE seconded the motion. The Ladies' Committee, he remarked, anxiously desired that those who were friendly to this movement, should go a little further than merely shew their sympathy with it by their presence on such occasions as this. The ladies hoped that those friends would cordially unite in raising the necessary means to agitate the question throughout the length and breadth of the land. (Hear, hear.) He was glad to say that a gentleman in England had remitted £100 to the Ladies' Committee, with which to commence the work of 1871. (Applause.) Two ladies, also from England, had sent £10 each. (Applause.) He trusted that Edinburgh would shew herself on this occasion worthy of the reputation she enjoyed of taking the lead in everything that was true, liberal, and just. (Applause.)

The motion was agreed to.

Mr JOHN STUART MILL, who was received with great enthusiasm, the audience rising and waving their hats and handkerchiefs, said—If there is a truth in politics, which is fundamental—which is the basis of all free government—it is that when a part of the nation are the sole possessors of power, the interest of that part gets all the serious

attention. This does not necessarily imply any active oppression. All that it implies is the natural tendency of the average man to feel what touches self, of vastly greater importance than what directly touches only other people. This is the deep-seated and ineradicable reason why women will never be justly treated until they obtain the franchise. They suffer, assuredly, much injustice by the operation of law. But suppose this changed; even then—even if there were no ground of complaint against the laws, there would be a break-down in their execution as long as men alone have a voice in choosing and in removing the officers of Government. All our recent constitutional reforms, and the whole creed of reformers, are grounded on the fact that the suffrage is needed for self-protection. All experience proves that if one part of the community is held in subjection by another part, it is not trusted with the ordinary means of self-defence, but is left dependent on the good-will and pleasure of those who are more privileged, the most vital interests of the subject-portion are certain to be, if not recklessly trampled upon, at least postponed to almost anything else. The treatment of women is certainly no exception to the rule. They have neither equal laws nor an equal administration of them. The laws treat them as they could not long be treated if they had the suffrage; and even if the laws were equal, the administration of the laws is not. Police magistrates and criminal judges cannot be exceptionally bad men; they are not chosen for their bad qualities; they must be thought, by those who appoint them, to represent fairly, or better than fairly, the moral feelings of average men. Yet, what do we see? For an atrocious assault by a man upon a woman, especially if she has the misfortune to be his wife, he is either let off with an admonition, or he is solemnly told that he has committed a grave offence, for which he must be severely punished, and he then gets as many weeks or months of imprisonment as a man who has taken five pounds worth of property gets years. We are told that the good feelings of men are a sufficient protection to women. Those who say so, can never, one would suppose, look into the police and law reports. If good feeling does not protect women against being beaten and kicked to death's door every day of their lives, and at last beaten and kicked to actual death, by their special guardians and protectors, can we expect that it will secure them against injuries less revolting to humanity? Most men, it will be said, are incapable of committing such horrible brutality. Perhaps so; but it seems they are quite capable of letting it be committed. If women who are maltreated by their husbands found a defender in every other man who knew of it, they might have some chance of protection without the weapon of the suffrage. But it is never so; slaves did not find it so; serfs did not find it so; conquered nations do not find it so; and neither do women. There are many men who would not consciously do them any wrong; but there must be a great moral improvement in human nature before most men will exert themselves to prevent or to redress wrongs committed by others under the sanction of law. And of these two things—the suffrage for women, and a grand moral improvement in human nature—the suffrage, to my thinking, is likely

to be the soonest obtained. (Cheers.) I could afford to stop here. I have made out an ample case. There is a portion of the population, amounting in number to somewhat more than half, to whom the law and its administration do not fulfil their duty, do not afford even the bodily protection due to all—this half happening to be that which is not admitted to the suffrage. Their most important interests are neglected—I do not say from deliberate intention, but simply because their interest is not so near to the feelings of the ruling half as the ruling half's own interest. The remedy is plain: put women in the position which will make their interest the rulers' own interest. Make it as important to politicians to redress the grievances of women as it is to redress those of any class which is largely represented in Parliament. If nothing more than this could be said in support of their claim to the suffrage, no claim could be more fully made out. (Cheers.) And if the claim is just, so also is it strictly constitutional. One of the recognised doctrines of the British Constitution is that representation is co-extensive with direct taxation. The practice of the Constitution, it is true, for a long time did not correspond with the theory; but it has been made to conform to it at last, in cities and boroughs, provided the tax-payer is of the male sex; but if a woman, she may be the largest tax-payer in the place, and the person of greatest practical ability beside; no matter, she has no vote. This is something very like punishing her for being a woman. The conditions which in the eye of the law and of the Constitution confer a title to a voice in public affairs are all fulfilled by her, with the single exception of having been born a male. This one deficiency, which I humbly submit she cannot help—(laughter)—is visited on her by the privation of a right as important to her as to any man, and even more important, since those who are physically weakest require protection the most. This is not an injury only, but an indignity. I grant that those who uphold it are in general quite unconscious of its being so; but this comes from the inveterate habit of having one rule and measure for all that concerns women, and another for everything else. Men are so much accustomed to think of women only as women, that they forget to think of them as human. (Hear, hear.) It is not only for their own sake that women ought to have the suffrage, but also for the sake of the public. It is for the interest of us all, both men and women, and of those who are to come after us. The reasons that may be given for this are many, but I may content myself with two. One, and the strongest, is what we sometimes hear unthinkingly urged as an argument on the other side—because women have so much power already. (Laughter.) It is true they have much power. They have the power which depends on personal influence over men. They have the power of cajolery—(laughter)—and often that of a petted favourite; power sadly inadequate to their own just and necessary protection against wrong, but sufficient at times to produce only too much effect upon the public conduct of the men with whom they are connected. But as this power, instead of being open and avowed, is indirect and unrecognised, no provision is made for its being rightly used. As it is convention-

ally assumed that women possess no power outside the domestic department, the power which they do and always will possess is exercised without the necessary knowledge, and without the proper responsibility. It having been decreed that public matters are not a woman's business, her mind is carefully turned away from whatsoever would give her a knowledge of them, and she is taught to care nothing about them—that is, until some private interest or private likings or dislikings come in, when of course these private feelings have it all their own way, there being no public principles or convictions to control them. The power, therefore, which women now have in public affairs is power without knowledge. It is also power without responsibility. A man's wife is very often the real prompter either of what he does well and nobly, or of what he does foolishly or selfishly; but as she gets no credit for the one, so she is not held accountable for the other; if she is selfish, a very little art suffices to exempt her from censure though she succeeds in compassing her ends; if she is simple and well meaning, she does not feel bound to inform herself, so as to have a reasonable opinion on what is solely the man's business, though all the while her ignorant prepossessions or her natural partialities may be acting as a most pernicious bias on what is supposed to be his better judgment. From this combination of absence of instruction and absence of responsibility, it comes to pass that, though women are acknowledged to have, as a rule, stronger conscientious feelings than men, it is but a very small minority of women who have anything that deserves the name of a public conscience. How great an evil this is, there needs no argument to shew. What is the greatest obstacle which the friends of political and social improvement have to struggle with—the drag which is constantly obstructing their efforts and disappointing their hopes? Is it not the weakness of the average citizen's political conscience? Is not this the special danger and failure to which popular institutions are exposed—that the elector does not sufficiently feel his obligations to the public, and either stays away from the poll, or goes there and votes on the prompting of some private interest? And how can we hope that he will learn to postpone private interests to public, while he has beside him, in the person of his closest intimate, one who has been trained to have no feeling whatever of his duties to the public, but who has the keenest feeling of his duties to his family, and who, even without intending it, cannot but sway his mind strongly in the direction of the only interests which she understands and appreciates? (Applause.) It must be remembered, too, that this is a growing evil. Time was when the wife was very little a companion of her husband—their lives were apart; the associates of his leisure and of his recreations were other men. But now the home and its inhabitants are so much to a man, that no other influence can, as a rule, compete with theirs. The time, therefore, is come when, if we would have public virtue in our men, we must have it in our women. (Hear, hear, and applause.) And how can a woman have a conscience about the public good, if she is told, and believes, that it is no business whatever of hers? Give women the

same rights as men, and the same obligations will follow. Instead of hanging a dead weight on men's public conscience, their greater general susceptibility of moral feeling will make their habitual influence a most valuable support to the honest performance of public duty. (Loud applause.) This, then, is one of the reasons why it is for the good of all that women should have an admitted right to take part in public affairs. Another is the vast amount of brain power and practical business talent which now runs to waste for want of an outlet into those great fields of public usefulness, in which no one, I suppose, will pretend that such qualities are not very much wanted. Few men, I suspect, are sufficiently aware of the great amount of administrative ability possessed by women; for want of considering that the essential qualities which lead to practical success are the same in what are called small things as in great. It is my belief that, in all those parts of the business of life which depend on the vigilant superintendence and accurate estimation of details, women, when they have the necessary special knowledge, are better administrators than men. And I am now speaking, not of women as they might be—not as some improved mode of education would make them—but of women as they now are, and of the capacities which they have already displayed. If an example is wanted of what women's powers of organisation can accomplish in public life, I appeal to one of the most striking facts of modern times, the Sanitary Commission in the late American War. The history of that Commission ought to be as well known all over the world as it is in America. From the beginning, and throughout, it was women's work. It was planned, organised, and worked by women. The Government was jealous of them at first, but the hopeless inferiority of its own arrangements made it soon glad to make over the first place to them. Not only had such work never been so well done, but nobody had ever supposed it possible that it could be so well done. I am aware that this argument would carry us much farther than the suffrage; but I suppose it will be acknowledged that those who are themselves eminently capable of practical business, must be fit to take a share in the choosing of those to whom practical business is to be entrusted. The ability which is specially required for the exercise of the suffrage—that of selecting the persons most capable for the work that is to be done—is one of the qualifications for business in which women have always excelled. Great queens have in nothing shewn themselves greater than in their choice of Ministers. When the ladies of the Sanitary Commission wanted men to help them, they knew the right men and how to use them; and they distinguished themselves not less by the work which they caused to be done, than by that which they did in their own persons. (Applause.) These are some of the reasons which make it equally just and expedient that the suffrage should be extended to women. It must, at the same time, be borne in mind that, by admitting them to the suffrage, no other question is in the smallest degree prejudged. Supposing it true, what some people are so fond of affirming, that women have nothing to complain of, and that the vast majority of them do not

desire any change; if so, giving them the suffrage can do nobody harm, and would afford them an opportunity of shewing their perfect contentment with their present lot, in a manner beyond the reach of dispute. (Applause.) If what we are told is true, that women ought to be, and always must and will be, in a state of domestic and social subordination to men, why, then they require the suffrage so much the more, in order that the sovereignty of men over them may be exercised under the fitting responsibility. None need political protection so much as those who are in domestic dependence, since none are so much exposed to wrong. On every possible supposition, therefore, they have a claim to the suffrage. And we live at a period of human development, when the just claims of large numbers cannot be permanently resisted. The whole movement of modern society, from the middle ages until now, greatly accelerated in the present century, points in the direction of the political enfranchisement of women. Their exclusion is a last remnant of the old bad state of society—the regimen of privileges and disabilities. All other monopolies are going or gone. The whole spirit of the times is against predetermining by law that one set of people shall be allowed by right of birth to have or to do what another set shall not by any amount of exertion or superiority of ability be allowed to attain. (Applause.) If nature has established an ineradicable and insuperable difference in the capacities and qualifications of the two sexes, nature can take care of itself. What nature has decided may safely be left to nature. But when we find people making themselves uneasy for fear that nature's purposes should be frustrated unless law comes to her assistance, we may be pretty certain that it is not nature they are so careful about, but law pretending to be nature. To all such pretences the growing improvement of mankind is making them more and more adverse. I do not know how long a time it may require to get rid of women's disabilities. Great changes in the habits and opinions of mankind are always slow. But of one thing I am certain—that when once they have been got rid of—when their true aspect is no longer disguised by the varnish of custom and habit—they will appear in the retrospect so devoid of any rational foundation, and so contradictory to the principles by which society now professes to guide itself, that the difficulty which will be felt will be to conceive how they can ever have been defended, and by what possible arguments they can ever have been made to appear plausible. (Loud cheers.) The resolution I have to propose is—"That the ownership or occupation of lands or house being the basis of representation in this country, it is unjust in principle to make sex a ground of disqualification, thereby excluding a large number of intelligent persons well qualified to exercise the electoral franchise; and the recent school board elections in England have proved not only that women are desirous to exercise this right, but that they can do so without the slightest inconvenience." (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

Mr MILLER, M.P., seconded the resolution. They all knew, he said, the benefit which society had derived in proportion as the influence of women had been brought to bear upon it. We had women exercising powers of which many in the country did not know the extent or value. We had them exercising the powers of representatives of parochial boards; we had them exercising the powers of heritors in districts; we had them exercising the powers of road trustees; and we had some of them exercising the powers of patronesses of church livings. In all these circumstances they had conducted themselves admirably; and why should they not do so in the question of the suffrage? (Hear, hear.) If there had been women's suffrage in this land not long ago, some Acts of Parliament which had been passed, and which many of us deplore, would never have been on the statute-book at all. (Applause and hisses.) The fact is, we want the softening influence of women in connection with the legislation of this country. (Applause.)

The resolution was unanimously agreed to.

Professor MASSON said, the resolution he had to propose was as follows:—"That this meeting desire to thank Mr Jacob Bright for his past efforts to remove the electoral disabilities of women, and respectfully request him to reintroduce his bill in the ensuing session of Parliament; and further resolve to petition Parliament at the proper time in favour of the bill; and authorise the chairman to sign the petition in name of the meeting." This resolution, he said, called them to look back a little to the past. It reminded them of a meeting which was held a year ago in Edinburgh on this subject, when they had the pleasure of listening to a most able and lucid exposition of the whole question by Mr Jacob Bright. (Loud applause.) It recalled to them not only that Mr Bright had done so, and had studied the question and promulgated right views of it long before, but also that on the 4th of May last he had reintroduced the question into Parliament in a most able and impressive manner. (Applause.) He (Professor Masson) had the chance to be present in the House of Commons when Mr Bright moved the second reading of the bill, and he saw the scene which had been described in the report read to them that evening. The second reading was moved by Mr Bright in an admirable, moderate, and striking speech; and he had been supported by five other members of Parliament, one of whom, he was glad to say, was his late colleague, Dr Lyon Playfair—(applause)—who was making himself felt in the House of Commons as he had made himself felt in the society of this city. (Loud applause.) Dr Playfair, growing into political note, had not done as some others wishing to attain the same distinction have done—he had not shrunk from putting his name to, and letting his influence go with, a movement like this, because at present it was perhaps in the minority. All that had passed during the last year in connection with this subject, all the argumentation of their opponents, had only made them more convinced that the measure was a right one, and that it ought again to be brought before

Parliament. (Hear, hear, and applause.) In the course of last year the opposition had coined itself—which it had hardly done before—into a few definitely stated arguments. These arguments might be enumerated and ticketed; and the very phrases in which they appeared in the House of Commons, and in which they appear in newspapers, might be stereotyped, for they always took the same form. He would dare to say, that at the very utmost, these arguments would amount to six or seven numerically; but it was a gain to the other side, and to the whole discussion, that the mere prejudiced opposition which existed had taken the trouble to state itself in articulate propositions at all. One of these propositions is a continuation of the old form of opposition, which lodged itself in the famous phrase—"The sphere of woman, Sir; the sphere of woman." (Laughter and applause.) They had heard this phrase in all possible varieties of elocution, and in all sorts of tones, and for a time the reasoning of people in the opposition did not extend beyond this. That phrase, however, he was glad to say, had disappeared from the vocabulary of Edinburgh. (Laughter.) No one to his knowledge in any public place had used the phrase for the last twelve months within a radius of five miles of the place where they now were. (Laughter and applause.) The same objection, however, had reappeared in a more special and distinct form, to the effect that there was a natural inequality of the sexes, and therefore there could not be and ought not to be a political equality. Now, what was meant by this phrase of "natural inequality?" It must mean either that there was an inequality of degrees of mental power between the two sexes, or, as he thought those who used the phrase wished it to mean, that there was a diversity of gifts and kinds of power between the two sexes. Whichever of these two meanings lay in the phrase, was there not a natural inequality amongst men? (Applause and laughter.) Were there not unequal degrees of ability and diversities of power and fitness among men!—(hear, hear)—and had it ever been said that on that account there should be no political equality among men? (Applause.) Why, the very nature and meaning of political equality was that all should be equal in the eye of the law in order that the natural superiorities of one man over another, and the natural differences between one man and another, might have fair play and exert and prove themselves to the very utmost. (Loud applause.) When it was proposed to arrange a suffrage among men on any principle of gradation of mental power, or on any plan deduced from observation of differences of faculty and fitness, then, and not till then, might they hear of the proposition he had referred to as regarded women. (Applause.) But he was pretty sure that the more this question was studied, the more that observation was brought to bear on the powers and faculties of women, whatever remains there might be of the notion of difference or even of inequality, the amount of the difference and the amount of the inequality would become less and less in the thoughts of all. (Applause.) Were even the archangel Raphael to appear and tell them he

knew precisely the sphere of woman as compared with the sphere of men, he (Professor Masson) should take the liberty of doubting whether even so serene a judgment had not been rather hasty. (Loud hisses and applause.) All he meant to say was that—(continued hisses and applause)—there might be inequality, and there might be difference, but it was impossible for any of them to tell precisely what or how much it was. The alleged inequality might be represented in the following way:—Suppose the ablest man was far abler than the ablest woman ever had been or ever will be, and suppose the stupidest woman was far more stupid than the stupidest man—(laughter and hisses)—suppose the two sexes were ranged in parallel lines like two thermometers, the masculine gauge going to a greater altitude of ability than the other—was it not to be thought that some of the women at the top of the feminine gauge might be very nearly up to the top in the masculine, and that, at all events, a large proportion of the total number of women would range within the same bounding levels as a large proportion of the total number of men? (Hear, hear, applause, and hisses.) The more practically this was examined into, even at present, when women have not the advantages of competition and stimulus which exist in favour of the other sex, the more was it found that, by all tests possible, they had to conclude that the difference in degree and in kind had been greatly exaggerated. (Loud applause.) Then it had been said that women were not a class; and, consequently, that the argument of fairness, in consideration of the admission gradually to the suffrage of class after class of the rest of the community, did not apply to them. He had heard Mr Beresford Hope, in the House of Commons, lay great stress on this verbal correction, as if it were a kind of discovery, and involved a profound amount of reasoning. What! treat a whole sex as a class! True, they had extended the suffrage to class beyond class among men, and many admitted that this was right, because the interests of different classes required representation; but were women to be spoken of as a class? Well, of course, in that particular way of speaking referred to by Mr Beresford Hope, what the honourable member had said was proper enough. But they might use the same words for different occasions, and they might use the word "class," as regards women in a way perfectly fair, and yet retain to the full the argument favourable to their side of the subject "Class," "section of the community," "division of the community"—the precise phrase used was of little moment; but, certainly, if they looked at those whom the law entitled to the suffrage, those who had a certain amount of property or paid rates, and if they saw a certain large section of that body disabled and not possessing the right they were thus entitled to, that section might fairly enough be spoken of as a class, for they were a large proportion of the community who would otherwise have the vote. (Applause.) Indeed, there were certain classes enumerated by law as disfranchised. These classes were, he believed, minors, criminals, idiots, lunatics, and women. (Laughter.) Minors were excluded because they were under age, criminals because they were criminals, idiots on account

of their idiotcy, lunatics on account of their lunacy, and women on account of their womanhood. (Loud laughter, applause, and hisses.) But it had been asked, why did they except married women from the benefit of this proposal? Why were they not logical, why did they not go to the extreme range to which their principles would lead them? Well, he had to say that they were perfectly logical, and also perfectly practical. They were proceeding upon the present basis of the representation, which basis of representation had been defined by the Legislature as consisting in certain property and ratepaying qualifications. If they chose, or if society chose at any time, to say that this system of representation was a crude and rude one—in which probably he should go along with them—(applause)—if it were said that they ought to arrive at a system of representation, the personal system or any other, which would give more scope to individual opinion and desire and energy, then, perhaps, they might alter the shape in which they brought forward this measure; but at present they were strictly logical and consistent, and also practical, in moving simply that those who were disqualified under the present system only by the fact of sex should no longer be so disqualified, but should possess the vote. (Loud applause.) It was also said, in opposition to the scheme, that women did not want the vote. But a great many women did want the vote, and had shewn that they wanted it in all possible ways; and, even if others did not want it, no harm was done, because, if the suffrage were conferred on qualified women, none of these needed to use their privilege unless they chose. The bill was not one to compel women to meddle with politics, or do anything they did not want to do; it was only a bill to enable those to vote who really wished and desired to vote. (Applause.) It was also said that, after all, the injustices done to women were very few under the present system—nothing to speak of. But he thought there had been proof sufficient, in such matters as the marriage laws and the laws concerning married women's property, that women did suffer injustices in a great many instances. (Cheers.) He would give the following passage from Lord Macaulay, which would be accepted as a true statement historically:—"If there be a word of truth in history, women have been always, and still are, over the greater part of the globe, humble companions, playthings, captives, menials. Except in a few happy and highly-civilised communities, they are strictly in a state of personal slavery. Even in those countries where they are best treated, the laws are generally unfavourable to them with respect to almost all the points in which they are the most deeply interested." (Applause.) That was a statement of a general kind by Lord Macaulay, amply borne out by detailed illustrations which had been brought forward of the unjust laws to which the women of this country were subject. (Cheers.) But it was said that these injustices and inequalities affected only married women, and that the very women whom it was proposed now to enfranchise might do almost anything that men might do—that they are not subject to so many injustices. At all events, however, they were subject to this injustice—that marriage for them

was rendered degrading, by having attached to it legal degradation as a necessary condition. If, when those who are unmarried become married, they have to consent to give up even certain rights which they possessed when they were unmarried, must not a strange sense of approaching injustice mingle with the feelings with which the unmarried look forward to marriage, and is there not thus a vitiation of the nature of the marriage-relation itself? And so, by the votes of unmarried women alone, might there not be a swift liberation of marriage from this wrong, and a rectification of the legal state of the married? But why dwell upon specific legal injustices to women, or make out a list of them? Talk of injustices! Were not impediments injustices—impediments fostered by law and removable by law? Let that be thought of, and let them only look round, anywhere, everywhere, through British society! The impediments to women that now existed were the greatest injustices possible. There were impediments in the way of women over the whole of this land—impediments in the way of the pursuit of industries—impediments at every door when they wished to enter on a new career of activity. (Loud applause.) There were about twelve millions of the sex in the population of England and Scotland, and nearly four millions of these were working for their bread in various ways—working for their bread in the most literal fashion; not only domestically, but in the sense in which the words were applied to men. If they considered what occupations these women were practising, they would find that they were always the lowest and most menial. Men who talked about women as being all supported by the earnings of men had no objection to the hard labour of women so long as it was menial and unintellectual; but the moment a woman wished to enter a career of industry that would occupy her highest faculties, that would make her more nearly a co-equal of man, and bring her in earnings and emoluments equal to those that men receive, then the whole of society, immediately in front of her, formed itself into a dead mass of oppugnaney, and woman was flung back. (Great cheering and hissing.) Then, again, let them look for a moment at what was doing in the matter of education. Men might, if their circumstances permitted, continue their training to a very high point. There are parish and primary schools; there are the high schools; then there are the universities, and so on. But all over the country, and by a sort of immemorial tradition, the education of women is kept down to a certain level, far beneath that attainable by men; and so much is this the case that the very notion of a university education for women, or anything of an equivalent, was a novelty that made people a short time ago stare. Yet there was no reason why all state helps and endowments for the highest education of men should not be equally available for women; and to bring about that state of things was an aim worthy of any amount of social endeavour. There was no reason why there should not be an equivalent to their High Schools for girls; and there was no reason why, whenever there was a university in any city, the women of that vicinity should not have the full benefit of the best and most systematic means and appliances for

education that are there established. (Applause.) He was glad to see that the business community of Edinburgh had shewn a fine example in this respect. He would not speak there in general about the great change in their educational institutions effected under the auspices of the Merchant Company of Edinburgh—(hear, hear, and applause)—headed by Mr Boyd. He would not speak of that, as it had been criticised in various ways; but there was one feature in the scheme to which there could be no objection, and which entitled the Company and Mr Boyd to the gratitude and admiration not only of Edinburgh but of the whole nation. That was, that in arranging for bursaries and scholarships for eminent pupils in the various schools the Company had founded, including the Merchant Maiden School, it was provided that there should be such bursaries or scholarships for the most meritorious girls as well as for the most meritorious boys; in order that these girls might pursue their further education in—he would quote the exact words of the Company's own document, so far as he remembered them—"in the universities or elsewhere." (Applause.) That was a look into the future, and he hoped a near future, by the commercial mind of Edinburgh, which ought to shame the mind which professed in many cases to move in higher orbits than the commercial. (Applause.) But to bring about these and other such improvements what was necessary was the suffrage for women. (Hear.) A great many improvements might be carried gradually here and there, but the short cut was the suffrage. When they were able to point to a parliamentary election turned by the votes of women, the knell of all these injustices to women would have begun to be rung. (Applause.) He next adverted to the objection—the grand, final, ever-recurring objection—that if this claim were granted the position of women would be lowered, they would be unsexed, and the respect entertained for women would depart, and so on. (A voice—"Hear, hear," and laughter.) He did not believe it, and he thought he could hint at proofs that would convince them that the very reverse would be the case. (A voice—"Give them, then." Laughter.) The position of women, like all things on this earth, had passed through various stages in the past, and was not now what it once was. The position of women in old times and in savage times, and as represented by savage countries in this day, was one of sheer subjection to brutality in its rudest form. That stage passed away over a large part of the earth, and a stage like that which still holds in the East was attained—a condition of women like that in Oriental countries where polygamy prevailed; and so on the advance had gone till they came to the state of women in Christendom and Western Europe. Now, he would appeal to them whether the romance about women, the sentiment of chivalry, the respect and reverence of man for woman, was not a sentiment that had grown gradually to what it now was by constant modification through these various stages. And, if along a certain number of stages we see this feeling growing and forming itself, have we not a right to suppose that it is susceptible of yet higher modifications, and that, if the same straight line is continued,

the feeling will grow more and more? But there was another way in which he would venture, though it was a daring venture, to express the same thing. They all knew, in the case of one of the greatest men of this earth, one of the greatest mediæval men—Dante—they knew that it had been the wonder of men after him, how in his great poem, which was a vision or symbol of the entire universe and the life of man—it had been a wonder to succeeding generations how that man in the very highest heaven, as a star looking down upon this vast symbol, had placed the name and the image of the woman Beatrice. That had been a wonder ever since. But, perhaps, that had been paralleled. He should not speak what he now spoke if he had not the guarantee of printed words; but, having that guarantee, he would say that there had been a philosopher since whose calm thinkings about all subjects had instructed and enlightened the world even when men differed from him in the results of these thinkings—a man, too, who had more than most men the true Christian feeling of sympathy with the abject and outcast, and whose desire was to do all the good he could in the world before death received him—and it chanced that that man, in the centre of his clear universal thinkings, had also placed the name and image and memory of a woman. That philosopher was Mr John Stuart Mill. (Immense cheering.) Was there a chance that a movement so traditionally and historically carrying on the line of higher and higher modification of sentiment in the whole past, and which had a pre-eminent representative of this kind in the present day, could by any possibility end in lowering women? No, quite the reverse. In an age like the present, when contempt for women was the characteristic of a large number of men—(hisses and counter cheers)—when the talk about women—(renewed hisses and cheers)—among all of us was too apt to be mere jocosity—it was something to be able to look forward, even in dreams, to the possibility of a higher estimate of woman, to be attained generally when she should be seen living and acting in complete civic co-equality with man. (Applause.) What they proposed was, that this bill of Mr Jacob Bright should be introduced next session. Evidently it would be a terrible session; but even in the discussion of such a question as national armaments, it was to be hoped that room would be found for the introduction of this bill, which promises one of the largest, subtlest, deepest, and most beautiful reforms in human society. (Hear, hear.) It was not a party question. There were Tories and Whigs on both sides. Mr Gladstone, he believed, had not given his opinion publicly on the subject. Mr Disraeli had distinctly, and even in speech, shewn sympathy with woman suffrage. (Hear, hear, and a voice "Three cheers for Disraeli.") Whether anything would come out of that he could not say. He would conclude, however, with two practical hints. One was that, until women had the franchise, those who thought they ought to have it might make a test question of it at elections. In the case of a man with whose views he did not in many respects agree, but who was right on this question, he would throw other feelings overboard unless paramount duty was too strong, and

vote for him. (Hisses and applause.) Unless there were a clear public duty the other way at the moment, he certainly would vote for the man who was prepared to give women the suffrage. Another thing was that there were plenty of opportunities, before the consummation aimed at was achieved, of putting women into important social positions. He thought the best policy in such a case would not be to put a man into any post who was favourable to women, but, if they could find a fit woman to put into any post, to do so. They had had a splendid instance of this in London. The thing was unexampled. In the London School Board elections there had been votes given for women, the like of which had never been given for any British human being before on any occasion whatever. That ought to be a signal to them, whenever they could in any way put a woman into an administrative post, to do so, and not wait until they got the suffrage for women generally. (Loud applause.)

Bailie LEWIS said that, in virtue of the principles he held in regard to political economy, he had no alternative but to support the present movement. Wherever there was taxation, in order to secure righteous legislation, the suffrage must be co-extensive with the taxation; and so long as he found women subject not only to local but to imperial taxation, he was driven, as a political economist, to support their enfranchisement. Mr Bouverie was afraid that women would be roughly handled at elections. He (Bailie Lewis) did not believe in anything of the kind, but if Mr Bouverie would like to get rid of that objection, he should come forward as an advocate of the ballot, for with that institution there would no longer be any need for anxiety on the subject. (Applause.) Was it not notorious that in the recent School Board elections, made by means of the ballot, peace and harmony had prevailed to an extraordinary extent? He could not understand the opposition to the present movement. They heard of women being kept in their proper sphere, but so long as he found women in the agricultural districts working in the fields, carting manure, spreading lime, or making drains, he asked if the principle of keeping women in their proper place was applied there? Or, when Grace Darling undertook a task which no man was brave enough to do, did not the country applaud, instead of reminding her that women should keep within their proper sphere? He thought Parliament would be vastly improved by the influence of female suffrage. However men might sneer at and ridicule and oppose the present movement, it was a movement destined to succeed. With 170 members of the present Parliament in favour of the female franchise, with the numbers always accumulating and gaining strength, and with the known persistency and determination of the women engaged in this righteous agitation—(laughter)—ultimate success was certain. He would like if many of the Scotch members were possessed of some of the pertinacity and fixedness of purpose which characterised women in prosecuting their objects. He had no doubt that the great body of the meeting would heartily respond to the resolution he had been called on to second—(ap-

plause)—that they were resolved that whatever other towns and cities might do, Edinburgh would give forth no uncertain sound—(applause)—but that a petition would emanate from the meeting, signed by their respected chairman, in favour of the movement. If he had been consulted in regard to the resolution, he would have ventured to suggest that constituencies be called upon to use their influence with their respective members. He would even have ventured, however much it might have been scoffed at, to suggest that a deputation of ladies be sent to London to press the question. (Laughter.) Whether this might be done in the ensuing session or not, he ventured to predict that the ladies, in pressing on the siege, would one day see it their duty to send a deputation to London to canvass the various members, and either make them support the measure, or give the reasons why they refused to do so.

The resolution was then put to the meeting, and carried by a large majority.

Professor KELLAND said he had a proposal to make which he was sure would meet with no opposition. As good wine needed no "bush," the motion he was going to make needed no preface. He moved a vote of thanks to Mr John Stuart Mill—a man known wherever the English language was spoken, as the greatest of modern philosophical thinkers—as one of the great thinkers who had set his mind to knock down all that opposed the progress of truth and liberty—(great cheering)—who had at great personal inconvenience come down from London, and had to go back again the following morning, simply for the purpose of giving—by the weight of his personal ability, his great knowledge and well-known determination upon this subject—a powerful impetus to the movement. (Loud applause.)

The Rev. Dr WALLACE, who was loudly cheered, said he felt great pleasure, and considered it a very high honour, to have a humble part in advocating this movement by seconding the motion of thanks to Mr Mill—a man to whom every one of them who had the slightest pretension to culture and intelligence would gladly acknowledge himself under obligations of gratitude that could not well be expressed—a great original philosopher who had not speculated for his own amusement, but who had directed earnestly all his great gifts to questions and enterprises bearing directly upon the highest welfare of mankind—a man who had all his lifetime set before himself the noblest objects, and who had striven to promote these, not by appealing to passion or prejudice, but by fairness and honesty of reasoning that was equalled only by the transcendent ability which he had exercised in that direction. (Loud applause.) He was sure that whatever difference of opinion there might be—and difference of opinion might be expected in so large an assembly as that with regard to the conclusions which Mr Mill had advocated before them—there could be but one sentiment of admiration and of gratification at having seen Mr Mill among them that night, and at having listened to an

example of that fair, and close, and honest reasoning which he had made popular in this country, and by so doing had contributed very largely to the development of intellectual veracity amongst them, which was not one of the least important virtues in those days when there were so many temptations to sophistry and the sinking down of the human intellect into ways that were not worthy of its dignity. (Loud cheers.)

The vote having been put and carried unanimously,

Mr JOHN STUART MILL said—I feel most strongly the kind manner in which my name has been received by the meeting, not that I think for an instant that I deserve a tenth part of the kind things said of me by the proposer and seconder of the motion; but I cannot refrain from saying that even much greater trouble than I have been put to in coming from London here would have been much more than requited by the sight of so grand a meeting as this. I know that the cause owes an immense debt to Scotland, and in Scotland to Edinburgh, and I cannot close these few words without moving the thanks of the meeting to a gentleman to whom, more perhaps than to any one in Edinburgh, the cause owes the most—Mr Duncan M'Laren. (Applause.) No one who has exerted himself in this cause has done more to promote it than that gentleman, and, I may add, the ladies of his family. (Hear, hear.) To their exertions may be ascribed the rapid success which has attended this movement, not only in Edinburgh but throughout Scotland. In moving a vote of thanks to Mr M'Laren for his conduct in the chair, I may also add, for his past services in this cause. (Applause.)

The vote having been passed and acknowledged, a vote of thanks was passed to the Ladies' Committee, on the motion of Professor CALDERWOOD.

The meeting then separated with loud cheers for Mr Mill.

TREASURER'S STATEMENT.

INCOME.		EXPENDITURE.	
Balance from last year	£8 9 0	Expenses of 39 Public Meet.	£87 13 11
Subscriptions and Donations	137 14 6	Canvassers	20 15 4
Collections at Miss Taylor's Meetings	16 18 4	Printing 5000 copies of Report of Edinburgh Meeting	31 11 0
Received from Galloway Committee	7 12 0	Printing Circulars and Petition forms	15 5 6
Tracts Sold	0 13 0	Prof. Neuman's Lect. (500 copies)	4 14 6
Due Treasurer	5 11 10	Miss Becker's Journal, 8 months	5 18 5
		Postages	11 0 0
	<u>£176 18 8</u>		<u>£176 18 8</u>

We regret that the valuable services of Mrs Nichol, as Treasurer, have been withdrawn on account of her health; while thanking her for these services, we rejoice that we may still have her aid in other departments of our work, and we are glad to have secured the name of Miss Hunter, 5 Great Stuart Street, to fill the office of Treasurer.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS.

Buchan, Countess Dowager,	£2 0 0	Millar, W. White, 16 Regent Terrace,	£2 0 0
Blyth, Mr E., Lauder Rd.,	5 0 0	Miller, John, M.P., Melville Crescent,	5 0 0
Blyth, Mrs Howard,	0 5 0	Miller, Mrs, Millerfield,	0 7 6
Boog, Mrs, Morningside,	0 2 6	Miller, Wm., Lancaster Gate, London,	3 0 0
Brown, M. H., Arthur Lodge,	0 5 0	Melrose, Mr, George Street,	0 10 0
Brown, Mrs	0 1 0	Mein, Mrs B., Kelso,	0 5 0
Brown, Miss	0 1 0	Malcolm, Mrs, 126 George St.,	0 1 0
Caldwell, Messrs, Waterloo Pl.,	1 1 0	Mutter, Mrs E., Broughton Place,	0 1 0
Caldwell, Miss, Portobello,	0 2 0	Murray, Sir John, Bart., Philiphaugh,	0 10 0
Clark, Mrs, 10 Duncan Street,	0 5 0	Macleod, Mrs, Ben Rhydding,	1 0 0
Christie, H., Dick Place,	0 2 6	Macgregor, Mrs, 7 Merchiston Crescent,	0 1 0
Craig, Miss, 6 Carlton Street,	5 0 0	M'Kinnell, Mrs, Dumfries,	1 0 0
Craig, Miss Agnes, do.	4 0 0	M'Queen, Mrs, 3 Lansdowne Crescent,	4 10 0
Cox, Robert, W S., Rutland St.,	1 1 0	M'Laren, Mrs, Newington House,	10 0 0
Crudelius, Mrs, Chapelside, Trinity,	2 0 0	M'Laren, Miss Agnes, Newington House,	2 0 0
Cross, Mr, Oxford,	0 10 0	M'Laren, Duncan, jun., Newington House,	1 1 0
Dalmahoy, Mr, 9 Forres St.,	0 10 0	Macfie, R. A., M.P.,	1 0 0
Dick, Miss, Burntisland,	2 0 0	Mossman, Councillor,	0 10 0
Dick, Miss, 35 Hope Street,	0 2 6	Munro, Dr, Melrose,	0 1 0
Friend, by Mrs Malcolm,	0 1 0	Nichol, Mrs, Huntly Lodge,	10 0 0
Friend, by Miss Dick Lauder,	0 5 0	Nelson, Messrs, Hope Park,	3 0 0
Friend, by Miss Walker,	1 0 0	Noel, Mr Ernest,	1 1 0
Fyfe, Andrew, S.S.C.,	0 10 0	Peat, Admiral,	5 0 0
Gibson, Miss, 1 Forres Street,	6 0 0	Paterson, John, Paisley,	0 2 6
Gibson, Messrs, Princes St.,	0 10 0	Peters, Mrs,	0 5 0
Gifford, Lord, 35 Drummond Place,	2 0 0	Peters, Mrs, 13 Dundas Street,	0 1 0
Gordon, Councillor, Heriot Bridge,	0 10 0	Pillans, Mrs, S. Clerk Street,	0 2 0
Gordon, Miss, Huntly,	0 2 0	Priest, Mrs, 12 Pitt Street,	0 1 0
Gordon, Mrs, Gordon Street,	0 2 6	Robson, Mr, Palmerston Road,	1 0 0
Harrower, Mrs, Nelson Street,	0 1 0	Richardson, J., Grassmarket,	0 10 0
Henderson, Helen, Paisley,	0 2 6	Robertson, Mr Thomas,	0 10 0
Hunter, Misses, 5 Great Stuart Street,	8 10 0	Renton, Mrs Alex., Leam. Ter.,	1 0 0
Hume, Mr, Register Street,	0 10 0	Renton, Mr and Mrs James, London,	3 3 0
Hoyes, Mrs, 7 Ainslie Place,	0 7 6	Rose, Hugh, Mr, 3 Hillside Crescent,	2 0 0
Harvey, Mrs, Glasgow,	1 0 0	Simpson, Lady, Queen Street,	0 10 0
Hill, Mrs M., Clerk Street,	0 2 0	Stevenson, Miss E., Randolph Crescent,	6 2 0
Horne, Mrs F.,	1 0 0	Trevelyan, Arthur,	2 0 0
Keith, Mrs, Westerhall,	0 5 0	Walker, Mrs, Grange Road,	0 5 0
Kirkland, Eliza, 13 Raeburn Place,	0 6 0	Warren, Mrs,	0 10 0
Kippen, Mrs J. D.,	1 0 0	Walker, Miss, 7 Queen's Cresc.,	0 10 0
Keith, Mrs, Gordon St., Nairn,	0 2 6	Walker, Miss Anne, do.	0 1 0
Kemp, Mrs, Clerk Street,	0 2 0	Westren, Mr, Princes Street,	0 10 0
Lillie, Mrs W., Minto Street,	0 2 6	Wellstood, Mrs, Dalrymple Cr.,	0 6 6
Lauder, Miss Dick,	4 0 0	Wellstood, Mrs S., do.	0 6 6
Lemmi, Mrs, 30 Rutland Sq.,	1 0 0	Wigham, Mrs, 5 South Gray St.,	0 10 0
Livingstone, Josiah, Minto St.,	0 10 0	Wigham, Miss, do.	0 5 0
Learmonth, Mrs,	0 10 0	Wilson, Mr, Meuse Lane,	0 10 0
Low, Mrs, Nicolson Street,	0 2 0	Wright, Mr, George Street,	1 1 0
Low, David, 30 Minto Street,	0 5 0		
Low, Mrs, 30 Minto Street,	0 5 0		
Millar, Mr and Mrs, 13 York Pl.,	7 0 0		

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Birmingham Society for Women's Suffrage.

THIRD ANNUAL REPORT, 1870-71.

The Committee of the Birmingham Women's Suffrage Association regret that the reluctance of Parliament to come to a liberal decision respecting the claims of women householders to representation, necessitates a continuation of their Annual Reports, and another appeal for help to maintain and extend their efforts. Two meetings on the question have been held in Birmingham during the last twelve months. Miss Craigen addressed a numerous audience in St. Clement's School-room, Nechells, kindly lent for the occasion. The public meeting in the Masonic Hall, December 5th, presided over by Mr. George Dawson, M.A., was crowded, and highly successful. Mrs. Fawcett and other speakers were attentively heard, and the resolutions were carried almost unanimously. Petitions from these meetings were signed by the chairmen, for presentation to both Houses of Parliament. The five general petitions from Birmingham last year obtained 7,000 signatures, an increase of 5,000 on those of the previous session. Several members of the Committee undertook personal canvassing, and the distribution of pamphlets in some of the wards. The Women's Suffrage Journal has a wide circulation; it is sent to the editor of every newspaper in the kingdom. The Birmingham Committee bear the expense of those distributed in Warwickshire and Worcestershire. Beyond this, the Birmingham Committee have little to record, and they feel these to be small results, compared with those of the London, Manchester, or Bristol societies. Little has hitherto been done in Birmingham to entitle the cause here to any participation in the Town's motto of "Forward;" but the admirable amendment affirming the equal rights of men and women in legislation, equally affecting both, which was carried at the recent public meeting, when the borough members met their constituents, was a substantial proof that Birmingham men will not continue backward in promoting the removal of the Disabilities of Women.

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List of Subscribers and Donors,
1870-71.

	£	s.	d.
Mrs. Albright, Westbourne Road	1	0	0
Mr. Ashford, Speedwell Road	0	10	0
Mrs. Ashford, Speedwell Road	0	5	0
The Misses Ashworth, Bath (don.)	20	0	0
Mr. G. Baker, Birmingham Heath	1	0	0
Mr. J. E. Baker, Heath Green	1	0	0
Mrs. Bartlett, Duchess Road	0	5	0
Mrs. Crosskey, George Road	0	5	0
Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, Augustus Road	1	0	0
Mrs. R. W. Dale, Bristol Road	0	5	0
Mrs. R. B. Feast, West Bromwich	0	5	0
Mrs. Gore, Islington Row	0	5	0
Mrs. Goodrick, George Road	0	10	0
Mrs. G. B. Johnson, Wheellys Road	0	5	0
Mrs. C. E. Matthews, Augustus Road	0	5	0
Mrs. Middlemore, Elvetham Road	1	1	0
Mr. Pank, Gower Street, Lozells	0	2	0
Miss Roberts	0	1	0
Mrs. Rogers, Wheellys Road	0	10	6
Mr. Sturge, Frederick Road	1	0	0
Miss Sturge	1	0	0
Mrs. Southall, Wellington Road, (don.)	0	10	0
Mrs. A. Southall, Beaufort Road	0	5	0
Mrs. Taylor, Chad Road	0	10	0
Mrs. Timmins, Elvetham Road	0	2	6
Mr. J. P. Turner, Cannon Hill	0	10	6
Mrs. Tyndall, Augustus Road	0	5	0

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Miss M. Priestman

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REPORT

OF THE

Bristol & West of England Society

FOR

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE,

1871.

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

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

1872.

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Bristol & West of England Society
FOR
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

REPORT FOR 1871.

DURING the past year this Society has greatly extended its operations. Its aim has been directed solely to the object for which it was originally formed—viz. to recover for women householders, and owners of property, their ancient right of voting for Members of Parliament.

On the 7th of March a large and highly successful public meeting was held in Colston Hall, Bristol, presided over by Prof. Newman, at which Mrs Fawcett delivered an address entitled "Why Women require the Suffrage." At the conclusion petitions to both Houses of Parliament were signed by the Chairman on behalf of the meeting. This meeting was the most influential that had ever been held in Bristol for this object. The largeness of the audience, and their enthusiasm, showed much increase in the intensity of popular feeling on the subject in the town and neighbourhood since the previous year.

The meeting at Bristol was one of a series arranged by this Society to take place in the following towns: Bath, Frome, Taunton, Exeter, Plymouth, and Tavistock; to

each of which a lecture was delivered by Mrs Fawcett, who had kindly accepted the invitation of your Committee. Similar meetings at Glo'ster, Cheltenham, and Cirencester, were addressed by Miss Becker, of Manchester, whose exertions for the political enfranchisement of her sex are so well known.

Thirteen lectures on "Women's Suffrage" were also given, under the auspices of this Society, at various places in South Wales and the Midland Counties; one of the largest taking place at Hereford. Whenever a petition to Parliament was proposed at these meetings in support of Mr Jacob Bright's Bill, it was always carried, usually with few if any dissentients.

During the past year this Society has also been engaged in printing and circulating pamphlets advocating the cause. In spring it issued 1000 copies of Lady Amberley's address on "The Claims of Women," 1000 copies of Mrs Fawcett's lecture "Women's Political Disabilities;" and large numbers of Professor Newman's lecture on "Women's Suffrage," "Sixteen Reasons," etc. etc. have also been circulated.

It must be mentioned that every month copies of the "Women's Suffrage Journal," edited by Miss Becker, and published in London and Manchester, are sent by this Society to every newspaper in the counties of Gloucester, Wilts, and Somerset.

Many new members have joined the Society during the past year, and the following ladies and gentlemen have consented to be added to our Vice-Presidents: the Countess of Mar, Lord Edmund Fitz-Maurice, Canon Kingsley, Dr Lush, M.P., and Miss Mary Carpenter.

We must also record with pleasure that among several new Committees in connection with our own, one has been formed at Bath, of which Lady Anna Gore Langton is President.

In drawing up this report your Committee have deemed it best to give merely a bare outline of the efforts of their own Society. There are now four principal centres of action in favour of Women's Suffrage in England: London, Manchester, Birmingham, and Bristol; the work of each of which is so interwoven with that of the others that it is difficult to offer any detailed account of the proceedings of any one branch without entering into a general review of the whole question. To do so here would be quite superfluous, as such information is fully given in the pages of the "Women's Suffrage Journal," and elsewhere.

A very important event in connection with this movement has been the formation, within the last twelve months, of the London Central Committee. Your executive passed a unanimous vote approving of that measure.

It will be seen by the published statement that no less than forty-two Provincial Associations have allied themselves to it; each to be represented on the Central Board by its own appointed delegates, and continuing independent as regards local action, but strengthened by the central influence, and all being ready to act together in every case where united action is called for. An organization of such combined force cannot fail of becoming a real power in the country.

While there is much that is encouraging in the position which this question has now attained, it is our earnest desire that the Bristol and West of England Society shall keep pace

with the rapid growth of public feeling throughout the kingdom; and in looking forward to the coming year, your executive Committee venture to anticipate that its operations will become more and more efficient; presuming, as it is hoped that we may presume, on increased funds placed at our disposal.

A political agitation like the present cannot be conducted without considerable expense, and if the means of meeting the inevitable outlay were withheld, the action of the Society would be crippled in every direction. The Committee therefore feel it their duty to call on all who approve of the movement to express their sympathy by pecuniary support. Contributions of any amount will be thankfully received.

The Women's Disabilities Bill is to be re-introduced by Mr Jacob Bright in the impending session; and before it comes on for second reading it is of great importance to obtain as much support as possible for the measure outside the House by petitions, and every other means within our reach, remembering that success often attends bravery and diligence earlier than expected.

Dr. THE TREASURER IN ACCOUNT WITH THE BRISTOL & WEST OF ENGLAND SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

January 1st to December 1871.

	£	s	d		£	s	d
Balance from 1870	Printing and Stationery	...	...	13 14 8
Subscriptions	Postage	...	...	2 3 10
Donations	Canvassing and copying Petitions	...	...	1 19 0
Pamphlets sold	Lectures and Public Meetings	...	...	56 12 7
Balance due	Woman's Journal	3 7 8
							<hr/>
							£77 17 9

Audited and found correct - JOHN W. CALDICOTT.

December 27th, 1871.

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SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS

FOR THE YEAR 1871.

	£	s	d		£	s	d
Armstrong, Miss W. M. ..	0	2	0	Malin, Miss ..	0	1	0
Ashworth, Misses ..	20	0	0	March, Mrs ..	0	5	0
Atkinson, Mrs ..	0	2	0	Matthews, Mr H. ..	0	2	0
Aufton, Mrs ..	0	2	0	Molle, Miss ..	0	5	0
Beddoe, Mrs ..	0	5	0	Moss, Mr ..	0	1	0
Blatchford, Rev A. N. ..	0	5	0	Myers, Mr F. W. H. ..	1	0	0
Brittan, Mrs A. ..	0	5	0	Newman, Prof. F. W., don.	5	0	0
Bowring, Lady ..	0	1	0	Norris, Mrs ..	1	1	0
Bunce, Mr H. ..	0	1	0	Norris, Rev Alfred ..	0	4	0
Caldicott, Rev J. ..	0	5	0	Norris, Mr & Mrs J. F. ..	0	10	0
Chapman, Mr J. ..	0	2	6	Oakley, Mrs ..	0	5	0
Clark, Mrs H. P. B. ..	1	1	0	Porteous, Mr Thomas ..	0	1	0
Cornish, Mrs ..	0	10	0	Priestman, Misses ..	0	10	0
Cotton, Mr J. F. ..	0	10	0	Ramsay, Miss ..	0	10	0
Courtauld, Miss ..	0	10	0	Rawlings, Miss ..	0	5	0
De l'Hofte, Mrs ..	0	10	0	Reynolds, Mrs T. ..	0	5	0
Edwards, Miss L. ..	0	5	0	Scott, Mr R. ..	0	1	0
Eftlin, Miss ..	0	10	0	Simpson, Mr W. ..	0	1	0
Evans, Mrs P. G. ..	0	10	0	Simpson, Mr J. ..	0	1	0
Foster, Rev J. Priestley ..	0	5	0	Smith, Mrs W. ..	0	5	0
Friend, a, donation ..	20	0	0	Smith, Mr H. ..	0	1	0
Glover, Mr R. ..	0	1	0	Southey, Mr ..	0	1	0
Grenfell, Mrs ..	0	5	0	Spencer, Miss ..	0	2	0
Hamilton, Mrs ..	1	0	0	Stewart, Mr J. ..	0	1	0
Herbert, Mr ..	0	1	0	Tanner, Mrs Arthur ..	1	0	0
Hill, Mr M. D. ..	1	1	0	Thomas, Mrs Charles ..	0	5	0
Hill, Miss ..	0	5	0	Thomas, Mr Herbert ..	0	5	0
Hill, Miss F. ..	1	1	0	Thomas, Miss ..	0	5	0
James, Rev W. ..	0	5	0	Thomas, Miss Gertrude ..	0	5	0
Knox, Rev W. ..	0	5	0	Thomas, Miss Kate ..	0	2	0
Layton, Mrs ..	1	10	0	Trehane, Mr ..	1	1	0
Le Geyt, Miss ..	0	1	0	Tucker, Mr ..	0	2	0
Leonard, Miss ..	0	5	0	Weir, Mr M. ..	0	5	0

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Amberley, Lord ..	1	0	0	Malin, Miss ..	0	2	6
Boucherett, Miss, for 1871	0	10	0	Morrison, W. Esq, M.F. don.	10	0	0
Carpenter, Miss ..	0	10	0	Neild, Mrs Theodore, don.	0	10	0
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Colman, Mrs C. ..	0	5	0	Ramsay, Mrs ..	1	0	0
Fitz-Herbert, Miss ..	0	2	6	Simpson, Mrs ..	0	1	0
Gore-Langton, Lady Anna	1	0	0	Solly, Miss ..	2	0	0
Green, Mr G. C. ..	0	10	0	Thomas, Rev U. R. ..	0	10	6
Green, Mrs G. C. ..	0	5	0	Tribe, Miss Eva ..	0	10	6
Green, Mr G. F. ..	0	5	0				

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