

MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR  
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

RULES.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

Edinburgh National Society for  
Women's Suffrage,

HELD IN

THE FREEMASONS' HALL,

GEORGE STREET,

28th DECEMBER 1882.

EDINBURGH

PRINTING COMPANY, 41 CHAMBERS STREET.

JANUARY 1883.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

MRS M'LAREN, Newington House, *President.*

Miss ANDERSON, 8 Dryden Place.  
Miss BURTON, Liberton Bank.  
Miss CALDWELL, 2 Victoria Terrace, Portobello.  
Miss CRAIG, 6 Carlton Street.  
Mrs FERGUSON HOME of Bassendean.  
Mrs HODGSON, Bonaly.  
Mrs HOPE, 11 Polwarth Terrace.  
Miss HOPE, 11 Polwarth Terrace.  
Miss HUNTER, 5 Great Stuart Street.  
Mrs M'QUEEN of Braxfield, 3 Lansdowne Crescent.  
Dr AGNES M'LAREN, 26 York Place.  
Miss M. MATHESON, 19 Northumberland Street.  
Miss MURRAY, 6 Napier Road.  
Mrs NICHOL, Huntly Lodge.  
Mrs ORD of Muirhouselaw.  
Mrs PATERSON, 6 Bruntsfield Crescent.  
Miss RAMSAY SMITH, 9 Bruntsfield Crescent.  
Miss ELIZA STEVENSON, 13 Randolph Crescent.  
Miss LOUISA STEVENSON, 13 Randolph Crescent.  
Mrs WELLSTOOD, 6 Salisbury Place.  
Mrs WIGHAM, 5 South Gray Street.

Miss A. CRAIG, 6 Carlton Street,  
Miss SIMPSON, Selville, Portobello, } *Hon. Treasurers.*

Miss WIGHAM, 5 South Gray Street,  
Miss E. KIRKLAND, 13 Raeburn Place, } *Secretaries.*

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



EDINBURGH  
NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

ANNUAL MEETING.

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the EDINBURGH NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE, was held on 28th December 1882, in the Masonic Hall. There was, considering the disagreeable character of the day, a large attendance of ladies. Mrs DUNCAN M'LAREN, who presided, was accompanied to the platform, among others, by Mrs Kirk, Mrs Nichol, Miss Maitland, Mrs Wellstood, Miss Murray, Mrs Charles M'Laren, Miss Eva Müller, Madame Woyka; Miss Lang, Port-Glasgow; Mrs Hope, Miss Simpson; Mr Charles M'Laren, M.P.; Professor Calderwood, ex-Bailie Lewis, Mr R. A. Macfie, Rev. Dr Adamson, &c.

Mrs M'LAREN, in opening the proceedings, said this was a season of the year in which they could hardly expect a very large gathering. Everyone seemed intent on buying books and toys for children, who ruled the world at this day. (Laughter.)

Miss ELIZA WIGHAM then read the Annual Report, as follows:—

“The year 1882 will be a memorable one in the history of the Women's Suffrage question in Scotland, as several important events have marked its progress.

“We have first to allude to the Municipal Franchise, which has been extended for the first time to women ratepayers in this country. In anticipation of the exercise of this privilege, our Committee took steps to arouse the women to a sense of the responsibility which

attaches to it, and to the faithful discharge of this duty to the State. Five ward meetings were held in this City in summer, and one in Leith. These meetings were presided over by Town Councillors or other influential citizens. In Leith, the Provost took the chair. On all these occasions excellent and convincing addresses were given; and petitions were sent to the House of Commons, praying that the Parliamentary Franchise also should be extended to women ratepayers.

"No less than 40,000 leaflets on 'The Duty of Women in regard to the Municipal Vote' were circulated throughout Scotland. In Inverness, Dr M'Kenzie and Rev. G. Robson undertook that one of these leaflets should be put into the hand of each woman householder; and we are greatly indebted to those friends, and to others who thus patriotically interested themselves in the various other towns. Many newspapers copied the leaflet, and commended it to the consideration of the new electors.

"To aid the interest in this movement, Miss Jessie Craigen was sent by the Committee to circulate information and hold meetings in Aberdeen, Perth, and Dundee. Miss Kirkland also visited Perth, and did good service. Three meetings were held in Aberdeen; over one of these Rev. Mr Masson presided. His introductory remarks were reprinted and circulated. Two meetings were held in Perth, and three in Dundee. At all of these meetings influential citizens presided and took part. Provost Moncur took the chair at one meeting at Dundee, which was addressed by Miss Wigham as well as Miss Craigen. A meeting was also held in the Oddfellows' Hall, Edinburgh, shortly before the election, Mrs Wellstood presiding; Mrs Scatcherd, of Leeds, Mrs Shearer, from London, and Miss Stoddart, of Kelso, were present and spoke effectively. A resolution was passed, thanking Dr Cameron for the boon he had conferred on the women of Scotland by carrying this measure through Parliament, and pledging the meeting to promote a general and intelligent exercise of the vote.

"As a result of our efforts, we were glad to learn that on the 7th of November the women came out well in most towns, and manifested as warm an interest in their new duty as could reasonably have been expected.

"In Edinburgh there were contests in two wards only,—St Luke's and St Leonard's. In both of these the women voters came well forward to exercise their citizen right. In the latter ward, Mrs Wellstood was present as an authorised agent at the polling place, having been duly sworn in that capacity, and her services were most useful.

"No more striking indication of the progress our cause has made can be mentioned, than the fact that the Convention of Royal Burghs, the most important Parliamentary organisation in Scotland, spontaneously petitioned the House of Commons that the Parliamentary Franchise should now be extended to women, without further delay, seeing that they have had the municipal and other franchises accorded to them. Twelve Town Councils followed this example:—Banff, Leith, Dumfries, Aberdeen, Dunfermline, North Berwick, Peebles, Dunbar, Moffat, Paisley, Perth, and Edinburgh.

"Our Committee has sent numerous petitions, from Edinburgh and other places in Scotland, to Parliament, in support of Mr Hugh Mason's motion for the Removal of the Electoral Disabilities of Women. Also in support of a notice of motion to introduce the following clause in committee on the Corrupt Practices Bill in the House of Commons, "That all persons liable to be *rated for expenses* under the Election Commissioners Act 1869-70, shall be entitled to be registered as electors, and to vote at Parliamentary elections, any law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding." Owing to the pressure of business in Parliament no opportunity was afforded for bringing forward these motions.

"Perhaps the most conspicuous event of the year, connected with our agitation in Scotland, is the great Demonstration of Women which was held in Glasgow on the 3d of November. The preliminary arrangements claimed much labour on the part of our Committee. Our Secretary, Miss Kirkland, united with Mrs M'Corrick, Mrs Scatcherd, and Mrs Shearer, from England, in holding preparatory meetings. Of these, twenty-nine were held in Glasgow and the neighbourhood; seventeen of which were public meetings, eight drawing-room meetings, three mothers' meetings, and one a large and important conference, presided over by Ex-Bailie Burt, and addressed by many friends interested in the question. The Demonstration itself was probably the most remarkable meeting ever held in Scotland. It was a most inclement evening, but as the ladies who were to take part in the meeting drove up to the door of the hall, they saw large numbers of women being turned away, with the words that all Glasgow had been in the hall an hour ago. It was a sight to be remembered, as they entered the hall,—five thousand women assembled there, manifesting intelligent enthusiasm and calm resolve that political justice should be extended to them! The great doors of the Entrance Hall, which are only opened on special occasions, were thrown open. Our own President, Mrs M'Laren, occupied the chair; her beautiful speech, and the admirable addresses which followed it, were calculated to convince

and confirm all hearers. There was no opposing element, a most earnest tone pervading the meeting; and as the voice of prayer was heard entreating the Divine blessing on that large gathering, it was felt that our work was owned by Him who has willed that freedom should be the birthright of every human being. As speech after speech was heard, enforcing some important point of the subject, earnest attention was given by the vast audience, and the intelligent responses denoted appreciation and assent. The speakers were all highly gifted, and seldom or never were so many women's voices heard in such clear and eloquent tones advocating the right. There was Mrs Cady Stanton, from America, the veteran worker in the cause of the slaves' emancipation; Mrs Charles M'Laren, the youngest of the advocates, whose eloquent words went deep into the minds of the audience; Miss Becker, the apostle of Women's Suffrage; Miss Flora Stevenson, one of the two first elected lady members of the School Board in Scotland; Miss Burton; Mrs Scatcherd; Mrs Shearer; Mrs Wellstood; Mrs Beddoe, of Bristol; Miss Tod, of Belfast; Miss Craigen; and others,—all faithful, consistent advocates of equality before the law. Prominent on the platform sat Mrs Nichol, Miss Maitland, Mrs Kirk, Mrs Arthur of Barshaw, Mrs Lucas, Mrs Thomasson, Mrs Parker, Miss Sturge, &c., &c., &c. It was an unusually representative gathering, of all ages, denominations, and shades of political opinion. A long list of letters of sympathy was read by Miss Wigham, which included the names of many friends who could not be present that night, and yet to whom much of the present position of the cause was due. As we are issuing a large number of verbatim reports of the speeches, we need not on this subject say more, than to beg our friends to read attentively the serious words of those who addressed the great Scottish National Demonstration of Women, held in Glasgow on the 3d November 1882.

"The next morning a large Conference was held, to give practical effect to the sentiments expressed the night before; it was presided over by Professor Lindsay, and many speakers took part in the deliberations. A provisional committee was formed to carry out the objects of the Conference, and it is hoped vigorous action will follow.

"We must not omit to mention a remarkable change in the law affecting the position of women, which was gained in 1882,—'The Married Women's Property Act for England.' This Act completes the great measure of justice which was initiated by the Act of 1870, and finally secures to every married woman in England that which formerly could only be secured by costly and elaborate settlement,—

the absolute right to and control over all property, whether earned by her own exertions or coming to her by gift, inheritance, or bequest. So far as the ownership of property and the right to control are concerned, the status of a wife is now legally equal to that of a husband. The force which guided this bill outside Parliament, was directed by the untiring hands of Mrs Jacob Bright and Mrs W. Elmy. The bill, which was originally introduced by Mr Hinde Palmer in the House of Commons, was this Session taken up by the Lord Chancellor, and carried through the House of Lords without a division, and a similar happy fate befel it in the Commons. It ought to be remarked, that the Act carried by Mr Anderson in 1881, is yet far behind the English law on this question, although in itself a great gain.

"We must gratefully thank Miss Simpson, one of our own Committee, for her services in having, in June last, organised and carried to a most complete musical success, a concert for the benefit of the cause. Very favourable notices of this concert were given in the papers, and as it was entirely conducted by women, it formed a novel feature in musical entertainments.

"We have as usual to record the loss of faithful friends by death. Amongst these are—Mrs M'Culloch, of Dumfries, one of our earliest friends; Miss Rhoda Garret; and Sir David Wedderburn. Sir David was our constant advocate, in and out of Parliament, from the beginning of our Association. Miss Rhoda Garret always stood forth nobly as a representative and eloquent advocate of the true position of women in every department of life. Her distinguished and self-sacrificing career, so suddenly cut short, deserves a longer record than we have space for here.

"It has been considered expedient to alter the period of our financial year, so as to make it terminate with the statutory year. This Report therefore embraces only a period of nine months, and the subscriptions now due will be acknowledged in our next Report. In the meantime, we refer to last year's balance, on which we have been working during the summer and autumn, having been able to meet the extraordinary expenditure of the year through the means of a small legacy kindly left to us a few years ago by a sympathising friend; and the expense of the agitation regarding the Municipal Franchise, was met by a generous gift from Mr Thomasson, M.P., Bolton.

"We trust our friends will still rally round us, and enable us to go on with increasing vigour, for we believe we may take courage in the hope that the object of our Association will shortly be accomplished. When its ostensible end shall be obtained, its educa.

tional influences will be found to have been of great value in leading women to their true position in the important field of political service which they will be called upon to occupy, as we sincerely trust, for the purification and elevation of the moral and social relations of the country they love."

Mrs DUNCAN M'LAREN, who was received with applause, moved that the Report be adopted, printed, and circulated, and that the office-bearers be reappointed for the ensuing year. She said,—This interesting Report suggests much that I should like to say to you, but time will not permit. I daresay that part of it which has told of the recent great women's suffrage demonstration in Glasgow would surprise many here, as so little notice was taken of it by some papers which profess to give in their columns the historic events of the day. If upwards of thirty meetings had been held in and about Glasgow, crowned by a great gathering of five thousand men, to ask the Government to confer some right upon them, the papers would have been full of it. We have, however, amongst the press noble advocates of our cause, and an ever-increasing number; but there are some editors, and some members of Parliament, who are rather like the ostrich, they hide their heads, and think by neither hearing us or seeing us in meetings assembled, they can stop a movement whose success they are not anxious for. They deceive themselves. Wilful blindness cannot stay the great influences that are at work when any step in the way of human progress has to be made. We are still told by professed friends even, that they must decline to come to the front to help us until women show more zeal in the cause. I would ask such to tell us how we are to show our zeal, if meetings in which forty thousand women have assembled—meetings got up by women entirely, and addressed by women only—are not to be taken into account; if these demonstrations show no zeal, it is their duty to tell us how zeal is to be shown. It is always said there is no argument like one which touches the pocket. Well, it may be that women householders will yet refuse to pay the taxes which ought to qualify them for a vote, if the deaf ear be much longer unstopped, and our cries are not listened to. There are thousands of women who would come forward, if they were not otherwise influenced by their male relatives. Wherever women go to get up meetings women come to them. Long pent-up feelings give way, and revelations are made, which rouse us more and more to the work God has given us to do, to prosecute His will, that every human being should know the blessing of freedom without distinction of sex. It is like the dawn of a brighter day to many poor women to find their condition is being sympathised with, and they at once

join our ranks, believing that they see an opening for greater justice to women through the Parliamentary franchise. There never was a question carried through the Houses of Parliament but many, both inside Parliament and outside, were much against it. I was in the House of Lords the night the corn laws were repealed. I sat amongst noble ladies, so-called, and as one peer after another came up to them, they asked in apparent agony if nothing could avert the calamity which was coming. One peer looked up at the clock and said, "No, nothing; in twenty minutes we shall be a dead body." Well, instead of becoming a dead body, the landowners flourished wonderfully under that act of justice for a long time. I believe our country would, in like manner, be benefited if women had a voice in the State. Justice never can bring evil in its train. The Right Hon. William Edward Forster was in Glasgow ten days ago, and the Scotch papers have been full of the event. But let me tell you, that great as that meeting was, St Andrew's Hall was the scene of a far greater event on the 3d of November last, and one which history will take some account of. It pains me to criticise anything Mr Forster says, because he gave women the vote for school boards, and enabled them also to sit on these boards; but men ought to be consistent, and to know that when they raise human beings in the scale of work or knowledge, the mind cannot help but soar to higher steps; it cannot be satisfied to stand still. I have been told that when the Municipal Franchise Bill for Women passed the House of Commons, Mr Forster was heard to say, as he came out into the lobby, "Well, this means the other franchise." And so it does; and women will never rest till they get it. Mr Forster, at his meeting in Glasgow, said he rejoiced to see the doctrine had recently been proclaimed, that the safe rule in politics is to do to others as we would be done unto. He rejoiced to see that stated "as the rule of political life," and he cried shame upon those papers which had seemed surprised at so "novel a doctrine." We women would also greatly rejoice if Mr Forster would himself act upon that New Testament rule. He said also, that "everyone should do as much good as he could in life." Yet whilst he would not like to be deprived of a vote himself, he deprives women, who have exactly the same qualification for a vote which he possesses, from having a vote by which they could exercise a far greater amount of good than is now possible, by furthering questions in the House of Commons which are for the public weal, and in which they are deeply interested. He spoke of the County Franchise Bill, and said if any one had doubts as to its need, let him come to Glasgow and he would find there extraordinary facts in favour of it, in the intelligence of the Glasgow people. He might also have gathered an extraordinary fact

from Glasgow for the enfranchisement of women, but he ignored it. Mr Forster was speaking in that great St Andrew's Hall; the women he ignored were speaking in the same hall six weeks before, to an audience of women as large as the one he was addressing. He ignored us, but he must forgive us if we cannot ignore him, and the injustice he did us. Mr Forster suddenly jumped from the intelligence of Glasgow to poor Hodge in the agricultural districts of England. He said they used to think him too ignorant to have a vote. Well, they used to class women with Hodge, and say *they* were too ignorant to have a vote. But, Mr Forster said, thanks to the Education Act, the Hodge of to-day is very different from the Hodge of twenty years ago. Have not women also had the advantage of the Education Act? And when do you see these agricultural labourers, with all the advantages of that Act, getting up meetings of five or six thousand men, and asking for their rights with all the ability the best men of our land could show? The women of this country have advanced a hundredfold more than poor Hodge, in the last twenty years, and they started from a much higher platform. Mr Forster's injustice did not stop here. In acknowledging the beneficence of that great measure, the Married Women's Property Bill, he made it appear as though it had passed through Parliament with something almost like child's-play. Mr Anderson, M.P., knows too well, and so did Lord Advocate M'Laren, the gratitude we felt towards them for the great service they did women in Parliament in carrying that measure, to object to praise being given to others to whom it is due. Mr Forster also left unmentioned the work, which can never be fully told, of the women who pioneered that bill, and the one for England, through the House of Commons; watching the bills at every stage in both Houses, with legal heads and untiring hearts, and an ability which astonished the trained legal men who nobly co-operated with them. I wish you could all read the report of the wonderful work of the carrying of those Acts from the commencement. You would see what work some women are doing, whilst many keep aloof from political work because they are told it is the right thing for women not to meddle with politics, whilst they will gladly avail themselves of all the good which others have laboriously wrought for them.

The Report refers to workers who have gone to their reward. I would like to speak of Rhoda Garret, the cousin of Mrs Fawcett. Her name is synonymous with heroic action under a strong sense of duty. One could not, without entering into the details of private life, give any idea of her gifted mind and noble life. Conscious of the need there was to advocate more just laws for the women of her

country, she mastered the art of public speaking, and by her strong arguments, mingled with sarcasm and pathos, she would thrill large audiences as few men could do. She was one of those women who showed that to gain health, work and higher education were the stimulants which would best secure it. Often when I have seen her efforts, and those of other women, who have risen from beds of weakness in order to do good to others and benefit the world, I have thought their experience has been something like the woman we read of in Scripture, who touched the hem of the garment of Him who went about doing good, and she was healed. I do long that the younger women of this audience would understand for themselves how much richer life is, when these political questions, which are really social questions, are understood and worked for.

Rev. Dr ADAMSON seconded the resolution. He held there were men at the present moment who had votes who were unable to exercise them rightly; and that women, if they were enfranchised, would be capable of recording their opinion in a much more intelligent manner. Representation should go along with taxation; and he maintained that Mr Waddy, in the recent Parliamentary contest in Edinburgh, had taken up a wrong position on the question at issue. The history of our country proved decidedly, that ladies had taken a practical interest in the politics of the country. They had entered into the political aspirations of the country, and had great influence on the minds of those who made our laws. Personally, and speaking as a member of a school-board, he could not understand how business in connection with such boards could be carried on without the assistance of ladies. Ladies performed their work there with a self-sacrifice which few indeed could imagine. He would not be ashamed to see a lady Lord Provost of the city of Edinburgh. When we had a Queen on the throne, he could not see how we might not also have a lady occupying the civic chair. Such positions will never do anything that would dishonour the sex, or destroy their modesty, which was certainly their crowning glory.

The motion was then adopted, in spite of the opposition of a gentleman present, who attempted to prove from Scripture that women had no right to take part in matters of "government."

Mrs CHARLES M'LAREN moved the second resolution as follows:—  
"That this meeting considers it unjust and inexpedient to exclude from the Parliamentary franchise women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote, and who already are entitled to vote in municipal and school-board elections; and this meeting therefore learns with satisfaction, that Mr Hugh Mason intends to introduce a resolution during the next session of Parliament in favour of extend-

ing the franchise to women, and pledges itself to support him by every means in its power." In support of the resolution Mrs Charles M'Laren said, that those who had been in the habit of attending women's suffrage meetings must have noticed that the subject was now occupying a much more important place in society. Formerly they were treated with ridicule; now, however, a great change had taken place in the way of reviewing the question in society and in the House of Commons. Amongst its supporters they could now count a large number of the members of both parties, enlightened statesmen and cautious leaders,—so that if they had not the actual majority in the House of Commons, they had the intellectual majority; and they had a majority of the Scotch members. In the late Administration they had five Cabinet Ministers, and among the Ministers of the present day they had five warm friends; and they had the cordial support of many of the most important members of the House of Commons,—such as Mr Burt, the working man's member; Sir W. Lawson, the friend of temperance; Lord Kensington, the Whip of the Liberal Party; Mr Parnell, the leader of the Irish party; Mr Reginald Yorke, Sir M. Hicks-Beach, and Sir Stafford Northcote. In all they had a hundred and seventy-two who had voted for the extension of the Parliamentary suffrage to women; and in the present Parliament they should have more. Surely there must be something in the women's arguments which convinced those distinguished men that there was sufficient reason and justice on their side to warrant them vindicating their right to an equality before the law. There were people who apprehended danger from the movement, because they imagined that the purpose of its promoters was to enfranchise all women. That was quite a mistake. The proportion would only be about one in seven to the men, so that there was no cause for alarm. The great proportion of the new electors would be large proprietors, and school-mistresses, and ladies living by literature, and also ladies conducting business,—all of whom had as strong an interest in good government as men; and in some respects more so, for not being so strong and able to resist as men, they sometimes had to suffer larger injustice than men. In giving votes to such a class, they would strengthen rather than weaken the institutions of the country. Then there were others who objected to giving women the franchise, because they were likely to strengthen the Conservative party in Parliament. One member of Parliament, Mr Parry, had said so. They had no means of determining at present whether the admission of women to the electorate would alter the balance of parties, but she would say, that if Liberals objected to women on those grounds, she would not believe in Liberalism. Then there was the physical force argu-

ment, viz., that men were strongest, and better suited for the severer duties of life. But really it was not because men were strong, or wise, or honest, that they had votes, but simply because they were householders and proprietors. And were there not many intelligent women who stood alone, both as proprietors and occupants? It was a most anomalous arrangement. Then, it was urged against the movement, that courtesy to the sex would disappear. She had sometimes addressed meetings of working women, and asked them, what courtesy do you receive from men at present? do you find that the men think more of you because you are without the franchise? Their experience was the other way. The fact was, men paid attention to the young, and the pretty, and wealthy women, very much because it pleased men to do so. They were in no such hurry to pay their attentions to the old or the ugly. The reason why men revered women had not much to do with the question they were arguing. But she would remind men that they had received more from women than they could repay. They were indebted to woman for her loving care of them, and for a thousand little offices done for them, before they could care for themselves. It was time the men should do something more for them now. Give them the franchise in burghs and counties; take them out of the category of the criminal and the insane, and make them citizens of a whole nation. The importance of the vote was just this, whatever political consequences man might attach to it. History had taught this lesson, that just laws were never made for an unrepresented class. Lord Beaconsfield said that the laws affecting women were a disgrace to the statute-book. The laws of their country were made in the interests of men to the injury of women, in favour of husbands before wives, and brothers before sisters, and that was because of men possessing exclusive legislative power. Mrs M'Laren concluded with an earnest entreaty to her audience, to aid in furthering the movement for the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women. By doing so, although it would not correct all that they had good reason to complain of, still it would put them in a position whereby they could direct the attention of Parliament to the sufferings women had to endure from inequitable laws. Then they would see "the jocund day stand rosy on the mountain tops."

Mr GEORGE WATSON, advocate, seconded the resolution. He maintained that the inequitable treatment of which women complained, and the disabilities resulting therefrom, were exceptionally greater than the treatment of minors and the insane. A woman might possess intellectual gifts and educational acquirements by which she could attain to the highest pinnacle of distinction in the land, but she was not allowed to exercise them. He had looked in vain for

any argument in defence of such a state of affairs ; there was neither personal injury nor political danger to be apprehended. The only appearance of a rational excuse for it was afforded by a speaker in the last Parliament, who said it was possible the men and women might meet in two separate forces at the poll, and there a collision would take place which would result in the triumph of the stronger party, irrespective of the merits of the question at issue. He did not think that argument required an answer, although it was the only reasonable one he had heard for the maintenance of the present state of things. He thought the claims of the ladies were justifiable on the ground of expediency as well as of right ; for they might fairly expect it would have a good effect on the men, as well as improve the position of women. He concluded by complimenting the ladies on the manner in which they had all along conducted the movement, and now that they had got their right to vote for members of school-boards, and to vote at the municipal elections, he thought it was most inconsistent to withhold the Parliamentary franchise from women.

Miss EVA MULLER moved, and Madame WOYKA seconded, the third resolution,—“That the President be authorised to sign and forward a petition to Parliament in terms of the foregoing resolution ; and also praying, that in any movement for extending to householders in counties the franchise, provision may be made for also giving the franchise to duly qualified women.”

Both ladies having spoken in support of the resolution,—the former as a member of a parochial board, and the latter as a friend of temperance,—the proceedings were brought to a close with a vote of thanks to Mrs Duncan M'Laren for presiding.

### Subscriptions in Aid of the Scottish National Demonstration at Glasgow.

Donation from Manchester		Miss Thomson, Glasgow	£0 10 0
National Society	£50 0 0	Mrs J. S. Thomson, Glasgow	0 5 0
Mrs E. P. Nichol, Edinburgh	50 0 0	Mrs R. K. Watson, Glasgow	0 2 6
Mrs Garnett, Clifton, Bristol	30 0 0	A Friend	0 1 0
Mrs O. Scatcherd, Leeds	25 0 0	Misses Muller, London	10 0 0
Mrs Morrison, Garve, Ross-shire	20 0 0	Mrs Teacher, Bothwell, Glasgow	5 0 0
Mr James Hall Renton, London	10 0 0	Mrs F. Pennington, Broome Hall, Surrey	5 0 0
Mrs Duncan M'Laren, Edinburgh	10 0 0	Mrs Arthur, Barshaw, Paisley	5 0 0
Dr Muirhead, Cambuslang	10 0 0	Mrs Theodore Fry, Woodburn, Darlington	3 0 0
Mrs Arch. Campbell, Glasgow	5 0 0	Mrs Duncan Morrison, Naughton, Fife	1 0 0
Mr H. D. Pochin, Bodnant, Wales	5 0 0	Mrs Hodgson, Bonaly, Edinburgh	1 0 0
Mrs Illingworth, Bradford	5 0 0	Mrs Edward Clarke, Headington, Oxon	1 0 0
Mrs F. Priestman, Bradford	5 0 0	Mrs David Russell, Glasgow	1 0 0
Mr and Mrs W. Clark, Street	5 0 0	A Friend, M. G., Glasgow	1 0 0
Mr Walter Macfarlane	5 0 0	Miss Shearer, Cambuslang, Glasgow (2d subscription)	1 0 0
Mrs Ed. Oates, Leeds	5 0 0	Mr Joseph Murison, Glasgow	1 0 0
Mrs D. Greig, Glasgow	3 3 0	Mrs Lucas, London	1 0 0
Mrs J. Smith, Bothwell	3 0 0	Mrs M'Kinnell, Dumfries	1 1 0
Professor Edwd. Caird, Glasgow	2 2 0	Do. in memory of Mrs M'Culloch	1 1 0
Mrs F. Smith, Bothwell	2 0 0	Mrs A. B. M'Grigor, Glasgow	1 0 0
Miss Shearer, Cambuslang	2 0 0	Mrs Arthur, Glasgow	1 0 0
Mrs Ashton Dilke, London	1 1 0	Mrs Neilson, Glasgow	0 10 0
Professor Lindsay, Glasgow	1 1 0	Mr Paterson, Pitt St., Glasgow	0 5 0
Mrs Mason, Glasgow	1 1 0	Mrs Culross, Glasgow	0 2 6
Mrs Alex. Allan, Glasgow	1 0 0	Mrs Buchanan, Glasgow	0 2 6
Mr Edward Alexander, Glasgow	1 0 0	Two Friends, Glasgow	0 10 0
Ex-Bailie Burt, Glasgow	1 0 0	Mrs James Campbell, Tilliechewan Castle	2 0 0
Mrs Clarke, Glasgow	1 0 0	By Collections at District Meetings	0 16 6
Mrs Cowen, Nottingham	1 0 0	By Sale of Gentlemen's Tickets	7 2 6
Mrs Henderson, Pollokshields, Glasgow	1 0 0		
Mrs Law, Pollokshields, Glasgow	1 0 0	<i>Later Donations through Mrs M'Laren—</i>	
Mr and Mrs Walker M'Gregor, Glasgow	1 0 0	Miss Louisa Stevenson	15 0 0
Miss Eliza Wigham, Edinburgh	1 0 0	Miss Ramsay Smith	5 0 0
Professor John Young	1 0 0	Miss Hunter	2 0 0
Miss Henderson, Pollokshields, Glasgow	0 12 0	Miss Annie Fraser	1 0 0
Miss Greig, Glasgow	0 10 0	Miss E. Kirkland	1 0 0
Miss Henderson, Ferguslea	0 10 0	Mrs Matheson	1 0 0
Miss Kinnear, Glasgow	0 10 0	Miss Matheson	0 10 0
Mrs J. Ritchie, Glasgow	0 10 0	Mrs Wellstood	0 10 0
Mrs A. Sinclair, Langside, Glasgow	0 10 0		
Mrs M. S. Tait, Glasgow	0 10 0		

JESSIE T. GREIG, 18 Lynedoch Crescent, Glasgow,  
Hon. Treasurer for Demonstration.



INCOME and EXPENDITURE for the Nine Months from  
31st March to 31st December 1882.

INCOME.	£	s	d	EXPENDITURE.	£	s	d
Balance from last year	-	-	6	Travelling expenses in connection with Municipal Election Agitation in Aber- deen, Perth, and Dundee	10	7	0
Donation from Mr Thomasson	47	17	0	Expenses of Meetings, Hire of Halls, and Advertisements for ditto	50	0	0
Subscriptions for half-year	50	0	0	Hire of Halls in Edinburgh for ditto	5	19	6
Receipts from Concert	23	18	0	Newspaper Advertisements for ditto	7	5	1½
Interest on Bank Account	21	16	9	<i>Women's Suffrage Journal</i>	13	3	0
Cash from Legacy paid into Bank	0	8	4	Leaflets, Stationery, &c.	14	3	6
Balance due to Bank	64	0	0	Expenses of Concert	22	10	9
	11	16	2	Rent of Committee Room	0	18	0
	-	-	-	Expenses of Secretary	67	0	0
	-	-	-	Printing and Postages	28	9	10½
	-	-	-		219	16	9
	-	-	-		219	16	9

26th January 1883. — I have examined the Treasurer's Statement, with the relative Accounts and Vouchers, for the nine months from 31st March to 31st December 1882, and find the same correct; and that there remains a balance due to the Bank as at the latter date of Eleven pounds sixteen shillings and two-pence sterling.

ALEX. MATHESON, W.S.

## EDINBURGH WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION TRACTS.

### No. 1.—Why Women, who are Householders, should have the Parliamentary Franchise.

1. Because it is a recognised principle in the representative government of Great Britain that the possession of property and the payment of rates are the basis of political rights, and it is unjust that women who possess property, and who pay rates, should be excluded from those rights simply on account of their sex.

There are 37,806 women landowners in England and Wales, or one woman to every seven men landowners—they pay rates and taxes but have no voice in saying how the money is spent.

There are 11,373 women householders in Edinburgh, or one woman householder to almost every three men householders—they pay the same taxes, endure the same burdens, and obey the same laws as the men, but they have no votes, merely because they are women.

2. Because women often suffer from not having votes. Widows have been turned out of farms and out of houses in order to make room for men who had votes.

176 women farmers in the West of England and in South Wales petitioned Parliament in March, 1882, to grant the franchise to women, and one of the petitioners wrote saying, "I hope you will win, as there are lots turned out here because women cannot vote."

3. Because while men and women alike must obey the law, men at present alone elect the Members of Parliament—women have to obey the laws and have no share in making them. Thus it is that many of our laws while favouring men are unjust to women.

3,146,307 women and girls are earning their living in England and Wales, or one woman to every seven of the whole population. They are working under Labour Laws which they had no share in making, and which, in many cases, from the ignorance or carelessness of legislators greatly hinder them in trying to earn an honest livelihood.

When Sir Richard Cross introduced the Factories and Workshops Bill, he received deputations from working men, and refused to receive a deputation of working women. The Act had more to do with women's than with men's labour, but the wishes of women, who had no votes, were disregarded, while those of men, who had votes, were carefully attended to.

The time and hands of a poor woman are her capital, but the present labour laws "tie the hands of women struggling to earn their bread honestly—shut them out altogether from employment in some trades, and lessen their earnings in all."

4. Because the laws relating to a mother and her children are very unjust, and could not remain so if women had their due share in making laws.

By the present law, in every case of marriage the children belong solely to the father. He can apprentice them to any trade without the consent of the mother. He can remove them from the mother even in infancy. He can give them into the guardianship of any person he thinks fit.

On the other hand, according to English Law, the mother is bound to maintain the children out of her own earnings, if from any cause the father fails to do so. She cannot compel her husband to support their children, unless she becomes a pauper. A married woman has no legal ownership of her children. She cannot act as their legal guardian if her husband dies, unless he names her as guardian in his will, and even then she has no power to appoint a guardian in the case of her own death, unless her husband has made such a provision in his will.

5. Because the laws relating to the protection of women and girls are notoriously defective, and in all probability will remain so until women, by their votes, can influence legislation.

6. Because social legislation, *i.e.*, licensing, education, police, and marriage laws affect women in their daily life as much as, or even more than they do men, and it is therefore only just that women should have a voice in making or amending these laws.

7. Because women already have the Municipal and School Board franchise, and have used them well and wisely.

# REPORT

OF THE

Bristol and West of England Society

FOR

## WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE,

1882,

*Presented at the Annual General Meeting, held in the Office of the Society, 20 Park Street, Bristol, Jan. 29th, 1883.*

OBJECT.—TO OBTAIN FOR WOMEN HOUSEHOLDERS AND RATE-PAYERS THE RIGHT OF VOTING FOR MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

"Be just and fear not."

BRISTOL:

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

20 PARK STREET, BRISTOL.

REPORT

English and West of England Society for Women's Suffrage

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

1888

Report of the Annual General Meeting held at the Hotel, 20 Park Street, Bristol, on the 12th, 13th, and 14th of June, 1888.

Minutes of the Meetings held on the 12th, 13th, and 14th of June, 1888.

BY THE SECRETARY

MISS H. BLACKBURN, Secretary

should have a voice in making or amending these laws.

7. Because women already have the Municipal and School Board franchise, and have used them well and wisely.

Vice-Presidents.

- Mrs. BEDDOE, Clifton
- LADY BOWRING, Exeter
- Rev. J. W. CALDICOTT, D.D., Grammar School, Bristol
- Mr. E. H. CARBUTT, M.P., Newport, Mon.
- Mr. W. S. CLARK, Street
- Mrs. COLMAN, Clifton
- Mr. LEONARD COURTNEY, M.P.
- Mrs. CRAWSHAY, Cathedine, Bwlch, Brecon
- ELIZA W. DUNBAR, M.D., Clifton
- BARON DE FERRIERES, M.P., Cheltenham
- LORD EDMUND FITZMAURICE, M.P., Calne
- Mr. R. N. FOWLER, M.P.
- Mr. LEWIS FRY, M.P., Bristol
- LADY GOLDSMID, St. John's Lodge, Regent's Park
- Mr. ALAN GREENWELL, M.A., Clifton
- Mr. J. G. GRENFELL, B.A., Clifton
- Mr. SHOLTO VERE HARE, J.P., Knole Park, Almondsbury
- Rev. Preb. HEDGELAND, Penzance
- Sir JOHN JONES JENKINS, M.P., Swansea
- THE COUNTESS OF MAR
- Mr. SAMUEL MORLEY, M.P., Bristol
- Professor F. W. NEWMAN, Weston-super-Mare
- Rev. Preb. PERCIVAL, D.D., Principal Trin. Coll., Oxford
- Mr. J. H. PULESTON, M.P., Devonport
- Mr. JAMES SADLER, Swindon
- Mr. H. B. SAMUELSON, M.P., Frome
- Mr. WILLIAM SOMMERVILLE, J.P., Bitton
- Mrs. CHARLES THOMAS, Stoke Bishop
- Mr. HERBERT THOMAS, J.P., Ivor House, Bristol
- Mr. KILLIGREW WAIT, J.P., Clifton Park
- Mr. S. C. EVANS WILLIAMS, M.P., Rhayader
- Mr. MARK WHITWILL, J.P., Durdham Park, Redland
- Mr. J. REGINALD YORKE, M.P., Tewkesbury

Committee.

- Chairman:—Rev. Urijah R. Thomas.
- |                              |                             |                       |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| *Mr. W. R. Barker            | *Miss Kennedy               | Miss Spender          |
| *Mr. Joseph Bartlett         | *Mrs. Linton                | Mrs. Walter Sturge    |
| *Rev. E. S. Bayliffe, B.A.   | Rev. A. C. Macpherson, M.A. | *Miss Caroline Sturge |
| *Rev. A. N. Blatchford, B.A. | Miss Pass                   | *Miss Tanner          |
| *Mrs. Bruce                  | *Miss M. Price              | Mr. J. G. Thornton    |
| *Mr. E. W. Cox               | *Miss Priestman             | *Miss Eva Tribe       |
| *Rev. J. Temperley Grey      | *Miss M. Priestman          | *Mr. Frank N. Tribe   |
| *Mr. T. G. P. Hallett, M.A.  | *Mrs. Sollas                | Mr. P. Watson         |
- Hon. Secretaries:—\*Mrs. Liliash Ashworth Hallett, \*Miss Sturge.
- Treasurer:—\*Mrs. Grenfell, 1 Cecil Road, Clifton.
- Bankers.—Messrs. Stuckey & Co., Promenade, Clifton.
- Secretary—Miss H. BLACKBURN. Office—20 PARK STREET, BRISTOL.
- Assistant Secretary—Miss M. COLBY.
- Those marked (\*) form the working Committee.

20 PARK STREET, BRISTOL.

**Corresponding Members :**

- Aberystwith* - Mrs. William Williams, St. David's Road
- Bridgwater* - Miss Thompson
- Bridport* - Mrs. R. L. Carpenter
- Cardiff* - Miss Jenner
- Cardigan* - Mr. H. R. Daniel
- Cheltenham* - Miss M. Colby
- " - Miss Baker
- Cirencester* - Rev. Henry Austin
- Exeter* - Mr. Frederick Townsend
- Falmouth* - Mrs. Howard Fox
- Fishguard* - Miss Schaw Protheroe
- Gloucester* - Mrs. Herbert Simpson
- Ilfracombe* - Mrs. J. P. MacRobert
- Llanelli* - Mr. W. Howell
- Leominster* - Miss Southall
- Minehead* - Mrs. Boucher
- Monmouth* - Mr. Thomas James, J.P.
- Mumbles* - Rev. J. C. Davies
- Neath* - Mrs. Elias Jones
- Newport* - Mrs. Turner
- Pembroke* - Miss Bowling
- Penzance* - Miss Courtney
- Plymouth* - Mrs. Bishop
- Portishead* - Mrs. de l'Hoste
- Sidcot* - Mrs. Arthur Tanner
- Street* - Mrs. W. S. Clark
- Swansea* - Mrs. E. Higginson
- Tavistock* - Miss Rachel Evans
- Teignmouth* - Mrs. Brine
- Tenby* - Mr. Howell Davies
- Tewkesbury* - Mrs. McIlquham
- Tiverton* - Rev. T. Cooper
- Yeovil* - Mrs. Marsh

7. Because women already have the Municipal and School Board franchise, and have used them well and wisely.

**REPORT FOR 1882,**

PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, JAN. 29th, 1883.

“BE JUST AND FEAR NOT.”

THE year which has just closed has again been devoid of progress in Parliament with regard to women's suffrage, and your Committee has therefore only to record the diligent watch for opportunities for discussion maintained by their Parliamentary leaders. Early in the session Mr. Hugh Mason succeeded in obtaining the evening of May 26 for moving the following resolution:—“That, in the opinion of this House, the Parliamentary franchise should be extended to women who possessed the qualifications which entitle women to vote in all matters of local government.” That day was, however, ultimately taken by the Government for the discussion of the Prevention of Crimes Bill. Mr. Mason again obtained a place on June 23rd, but, although up to the morning of that day it was believed that the Arrears Bill would reach its concluding stage early in the day, the discussion on that question was prolonged to nearly midnight, and Mr. Mason was again under the necessity of withdrawing his motion.

Another occasion for introducing the question of the suffrage to Parliament was afforded by the “Parliamentary Elections

20 PARK STREET, BRISTOL.

Corrupt and Illegal Practices Bill," and on May 18th Mr. Mason gave notice to move in Committee on that Bill, as an addition to the clause standing in Mr. Broadhurst's name, "that the expenses of returning officers be paid out of the rates," the following resolution:—"That all persons liable to be rated under this Act for expenses incurred at or for the purpose of any election by a returning officer, shall be entitled to be registered as electors, and to vote at such election, any law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding." In order however to be independent of the fate attending the clause of another member, Mr. Mason gave notice of the following substantive clause:—"That all persons liable to be rated for expenses under the Election Commissioners Acts, 1869 and 1871, shall be entitled to be registered as electors, and to vote at Parliamentary elections, any law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding." The Corrupt Practices Bill was, however, withdrawn by the Government before the stage of going into Committee had been reached.

Your Committee have endeavoured, by public meetings and lectures, by circulation of literature, &c., to extend their principle as far as the funds at their disposal would permit. In the early part of the year public meetings were held in Taunton Assembly Rooms, the Rev. J. Marsden in the chair; in the Corn Exchange, Gloucester, Mr. Samuel Bowly in the chair; in Malmesbury Town Hall, Mrs. Beddoe in the chair. Lectures were also given by Mrs. McIlquham to the Co-operative Society, Gloucester, and by your Secretary to the Working Men's Liberal Association, Plymouth, and the Junior Liberal Association, Devonport. Also a lecture to an audience of ladies on "Women's Suffrage as an element to the progress of culture," in the Library of the High School, Plymouth, kindly lent by Miss Kendall for the purpose.

7. Because women already have the Municipal and School Board franchise, and have used them well and wisely.

The most important meeting organised by your Committee in the past year was one held in the Guildhall, Plymouth, on Dec. 4th, Dr. Merrifield in the chair, which was addressed on behalf of the Society by Miss Becker, Mrs. Brine, Mrs. Ashworth Hallett, Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd. Your Secretary and Assistant Secretary spent some weeks in Plymouth for the purpose of organising this meeting, and in connection with it one held in the Temperance Hall, Devonport, on Nov. 30th, Mr. Alfred Norman, J.P., in the chair. Addresses were given by Mrs. Brine and your Secretary at a meeting in Dartmouth, Mr. R. F. Pound in the chair, to whose kind efforts the Committee were indebted for this meeting; by Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd at a drawing-room meeting in Launceston, due to the kindness of Mrs. Bunbury; and by your Secretary to the members and friends of the Working Men's Liberal Association, Liskeard, Mr. R. B. Rodd, J.P., in the chair; to the members and friends of the St. Austell Literary and Debating Society, Mr. F. R. Ray in the chair. Public meetings have also been held in the Town Hall, Bridgwater, Mr. W. S. Clark in the chair; in the Mechanics' Institution, New Swindon, Mr. James Sadler in the chair; in the Assembly Rooms, Town Hall, Cardiff, the Mayor, Mr. G. A. Stone, in the chair.

Accounts have been received of debates held by the Mutual Improvement Society, Hambridge; Young Men's Mutual Improvement Society, Launceston; Literary and Debating Society, St. Austell, Church of England Young Men's Society, Bath; Salem Young Men's Association, Cheltenham; Kingsland Chapel Young Men's Association, Plymouth; Debating Society and other Societies in Bath, Crediton, Llanelly and Tewkesbury. To most of these Societies information and pamphlets were sent from this office.

20 PARK STREET, BRISTOL.

Your Committee desire to acknowledge the ready co-operation they have received from the press both in Bristol and elsewhere, especially mentioning the *Western Daily Mercury*, the *Gloucester Chronicle*, the *North Wilts Herald*, and *South Wales Daily News*. They also desire to express their sincere gratitude to the many gentlemen who have with so much hearty co-operation taken part in and assisted their meetings.

At the Demonstration of women held in Sheffield on Feb. 27th, your Committee was represented by their Assistant Secretary, Miss M. Colby. At the National Demonstration of Scottish women held in Glasgow on Nov. 3rd, your Committee was represented by Mrs. Beddoe and Miss Emily Sturge. Your Secretary attended the meeting of the Social Science Association in Nottingham in October, and read a paper, in the Jurisprudence Department, on the "Legal status of women in England at the present time." She also assisted in the work of the Central Committee in London for a few weeks in the spring.

During the last session 51 petitions containing a total of 1,654 signatures were forwarded by the friends and members of this Society for presentation to Parliament. Amongst them was one signed by 176 women farmers in various parts of the West of England, which was sent to Sir Stafford Northcote for presentation, with the following letter:—

Claverton Lodge, Bath, March 20th, 1882.

MY DEAR SIR,—May I ask your kind attention to a petition to Parliament, which I venture to address to you at the House of Commons.

It is signed by 176 women farmers, praying for the removal of their electoral disabilities. The first name on the petition is that of Mrs. McIlquham, who was elected last year Poor-law Guardian for Boddington, where her farm is situated. The signatures have been for the most part collected singly and by post in the counties of Devon, Somerset and Gloucester, and a few in Cornwall and South Wales. Some of the

7. Because women already have the Municipal and School Board franchise, and have used them well and wisely.

women have written to express the great satisfaction they have had in signing the petition, and one of them adds that many women have been turned out of their farms in her neighbourhood owing to their inability to vote.

May I ask you kindly to do them the honour to present their petition to Parliament to-morrow evening, that being the night when a resolution in favour of the extension of the franchise to labourers in counties is to be brought forward by Mr. Arnold. We trust that some of our friends in Parliament will take advantage of the occasion to refer to the yet greater urgency of the claim of women to the franchise.

Believe me to remain, yours faithfully,

LILLIAS ASHWORTH HALLETT.

The Right Hon. Sir Stafford Northcote, Bart., M.P.

To which the following reply was received:—

30 St. James's Place, S.W., March 22nd, 1882.

MY DEAR MRS. ASHWORTH HALLETT,—I presented the petition last night, but you will see that the question of women's suffrage did not enter—or scarcely entered—into our academical debate. I still retain the views which I formerly expressed to you, that it is undesirable at present to lower the franchise, and therefore undesirable to deal with it in the way of extension at all, since it would be difficult to extend it without in some degree lowering it; but that if we should be called upon to pass a measure for that purpose, the case of the women ratepayers ought certainly to be dealt with. It will probably be a good while before we have to deal with anything practical in the matter.

Believe me, yours very faithfully,

STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE.

In reviewing the past year your Committee has sorrowfully to record the loss by death of two deeply valued friends, Miss Dora Greenwell and Miss Rhoda Garrett. Although the name of Miss Greenwell more especially belongs to literature, her sympathy with this question will ever be remembered. Probably the only time she spoke in public was when at one of our meetings in this city she said a few words expressive of her interest in this work. To speak of our other loss, the early

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English Society for Women's Suffrage,

death of Miss Rhoda Garrett, is to speak of one who devoted all her powers to the amelioration of the condition of women. It is now some years since she gave on behalf of this Committee a series of addresses in our Western towns, one of which delivered at Chettenham was printed by this Society in a pamphlet form and widely circulated. She subsequently addressed large meetings at Bath and Bristol. Questions connected with the industrial position of women, especially those having reference to the necessity of widening their sphere of employment, always took a prominent place in what she said and wrote. During the last few years of her life Miss Garrett, in conjunction with her cousin, successfully inaugurated a new branch of work for women, that of house decoration, and her own original designs in various departments of that business have been deservedly admired. But those among us who have heard her earnest and beautiful voice, as she pleaded the cause of the political enfranchisement of women, will in their sorrow associate her more nearly with this work of freedom which she helped so effectively, but which she was permitted only in faith to see accomplished.

The Report of this year would be incomplete without some reference to the remarkable step towards equal laws for women made in the passing of the Married Women's Property Act, which received the Royal assent on August 18th, 1882, and came into operation on January 1st, 1883. This Act may be regarded as one of the fruits of the long agitation for equal laws for men and women, of which the Women Suffrage Societies are the centre. The following resolution was forwarded after the passing of the Act from your Committee to the Married Women's Property Association:—"That this Committee records its deep sense of satisfaction at the great

7. Because women already have the Municipal and School Board franchise, and have used them well and wisely.

and remarkable change effected in the status of women by the Married Women's Property Acts of 1881 (Scotland) and 1882 (England and Ireland), and at the same time desires to convey to the Executive Committee of the Married Women's Property Association and to Mrs. Elmy its warmest congratulations on the success that has in these Acts crowned many years of their noble and continued efforts." A similar resolution of congratulation was also sent to Mrs. Jacob Bright. Your Committee desire to acknowledge the gift by the Married Women's Property Association of a number of copies of the pamphlet entitled "The Rights of Married Women in their Property," by a Barrister. They also desire to thank the Editor of the *English-women's Review* for a gift of 100 copies of that *Review*, for Jan. 15th, containing the text of the paper read by your Secretary at the Social Science Congress.

Mr. Mason has announced his intention of reintroducing his resolution as early as possible in the coming session. Your Committee cannot too earnestly remind the friends of this cause that each session brings nearer the long anticipated introduction of a measure to assimilate the borough and county franchise, to which the present Government is pledged; that, therefore, the principle this Society upholds approaches each session nearer to the most critical moment of its history, namely, the time when the country shall have a third Reform Bill before it. This then is essentially a time when action is most important, when apathy is most serious, and when every effort should be made to permeate public opinion with the justice of our claim. To carry out this work your Committee must be provided with the sinews of war, and they appeal therefore for contributions towards a special guarantee fund of £1,000, to which they pray for early and generous contributions.

20 PARK STREET, BRISTOL.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING  
 HELD IN THE  
 OFFICE OF THE SOCIETY, 20 PARK STREET,  
 JANUARY 29TH, 1883.

Mrs. COLMAN IN THE CHAIR.

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

RESOLUTION I.—*Moved by Professor SOLLIAS, seconded by Miss BRADLEY,*

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

RESOLUTION II.—*Moved by Mrs. JEFFERY, seconded by Mrs. CHARLES THOMAS,*

“That the following persons form the Committee for the ensuing year, with power to add to their number:—

- \*Mr. W. R. Barker, \*Mr. J. Bartlett, \*Rev. E. S. Bayliffe, \*Rev. A. N. Blatchford, \*Mr. E. W. Cox, \*Mrs. Grenfell, \*Rev. J. Temperley Grey, \*Mr. T. G. P. Hallett, M.A., \*Mrs. Ashworth Hallett, \*Mrs. Linton, \*Miss Kennedy, Rev. A. C. Macpherson, M.A., \*Miss M. Price, \*Miss Priestman, \*Miss M. Priestman, Miss Pass, \*Mrs. Sollas, Miss Spender, \*Miss Sturge, \*Miss Caroline Sturge, Mrs. Walter Sturge, \*Miss Tanner, \*Rev. Urijah. R. Thomas, Mr. J. G. Thornton, \*Miss Tribe, \*Mr. Frank N. Tribe, Mr. P. Watson.

\* Those marked (\*) forming the Working Committee.

7. Because women already have the Municipal and School Board franchise, and have used them well and wisely.

The Committee desire to call your special attention to the closing Paragraph of this Report.

*Sums already promised towards the Guarantee Fund of £1000 :*

MRS. HALLETT - - -	£100	(payable over two years).
MRS. GARNETT - - -	50	
MISS PRIESTMAN - - -	25	
MRS. MITCHELL - - -	10	

*Together with donations from other friends.*

*I approve of the objects of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, and promise to contribute to the Bristol and West of England Committee:—*

*Annual Subscription - - £ : :*

*Donation to Special Fund - £ : :*

*Signed* .....

*Name* )  
*and* )  
*Address* )  
*for post* )

*To Miss HELEN BLACKBURN, Secretary,  
 20 Park Street, Bristol.*

*Cheques and P.O. Orders to be made payable to the Treasurer,  
 Mrs. (Alice) Grenfell, or the Secretary.*

20 PARK STREET, BRISTOL.



RESOLUTION III.—*Moved by Mr. J. L. Daniell, seconded by Mr. Frank N. Tribe, supported by Mrs. Ashworth Hallett,*

“That in the opinion of this meeting no future measure of Parliamentary Reform will meet the requirements of the present time which does not provide for the representation of women householders and ratepayers; and this meeting desires to call the attention of the political associations of Bristol and the West of England generally to the fact that the Reform Bill promised by the Government brings the question of women’s suffrage within the immediate region of practical politics.”

RESOLUTION IV.—*Moved by Mrs. COLMAN, seconded by Miss STURGE,*

“That a petition to the House of Commons be adopted by this meeting and signed by the Chairman on its behalf.”

RESOLUTION V.—*Moved by Mr. JOSEPH BARTLETT, seconded by Miss MARY PRICE,*

“That the best thanks of the meeting be given to Mrs. Colman for presiding.”

7. Because women already have the Municipal and School Board franchise, and have used them well and wisely.

20 PARK STREET, BRISTOL.

## SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS

FOR THE YEAR 1882.\*

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Mr. J. Andrews, <i>Cardiff</i>	0	2	6	Miss Bryley, <i>Cardiff</i>	0	2	6
Mr. Jesse Argyle, <i>Williton</i>	0	1	6	Mrs. Bucknell, <i>Cheltenham</i>	0	2	6
Mrs. Atkinson, <i>Surrey</i>	0	5	0	Miss Bucknell, "	0	2	6
Miss Austin, <i>Weston-super-Mare</i>	0	5	0	Mrs. W. H. Budgett	1	1	0
Anonymous	1	0	0	" (don.)	1	1	0
Mr. and Mrs. Mills Baker	10	0	0	Mrs. S. Budgett	0	2	6
Miss Baker, <i>Cheltenham</i>	0	5	0	Mrs. Bulleid, <i>Glastonbury</i>	0	2	6
Miss Ball	0	2	6	Mrs. Bunbury, <i>Launceston</i>	0	14	6
Rev. J. H. Bardwell, <i>Chippenham</i>	0	2	6	C. L.	4	6	0
Miss Barham	0	5	0	Miss Cadwallader, <i>Usk</i>	0	2	6
Mrs. Barlow	0	2	6	Rev. J. W. Caldicott, D.D.	0	5	0
Mr. F. Gilmore Barnett	0	5	0	Mrs. R. L. Carpenter, <i>Bridport</i>	5	0	0
Mr. J. Bartlett	0	10	6	Mrs. Carslake	1	1	0
Mr. G. Bartlett, <i>Devonport</i>	0	0	6	Miss Carwardine, <i>Falfield</i>	0	1	6
Mr. John Bayly	1	0	0	Mr. Chapman, <i>Frome</i>	0	5	0
" (don.)	25	0	0	Mr. E. Chappell, <i>Bridgwater</i>	0	0	6
Mrs. Beddoe	1	1	0	Mr. J. Clark, <i>Street</i>	0	10	0
" (don.)	5	0	0	Mrs. F. J. Clark	0	5	0
" "	3	0	0	Mrs. Clark, <i>Cheltenham</i>	0	2	6
Miss Beddoe	0	3	6	Mrs. Clothier, <i>Street</i>	0	5	0
Mrs. Henry Belcher, <i>Gloucester</i>	0	1	0	Miss Cocks	0	5	0
General Berthon	0	1	6	Mrs. General Colby, <i>Cheltenham</i>	1	0	0
Dr. Bond, <i>Gloucester</i>	0	5	0	Ditto (don.)	0	14	0
Mrs. Bond	0	2	6	Miss A. E. E. Colby, <i>Cheltenham</i>	1	0	0
Mrs. Boucher, <i>Minehead</i>	0	2	6	Mr. T. Colby, <i>Pantyderi</i>	0	10	0
Lady Bowring, <i>Exeter</i>	1	0	0	Mr. W. H. Colby, <i>Widnes</i>	0	6	0
The Misses Bragg, <i>Plymouth</i>	2	0	0	Miss C. Colby, <i>Cheltenham</i>	0	4	0
Mrs. Brine, <i>Shaldon</i>	0	5	0	Mrs. Colfox, <i>Bridport</i>	0	10	0
" (don.)	0	5	0	Collection at Meetings	2	10	9
Mrs. S. W. Brown	1	0	0	Mrs. Colman	0	5	0
Mrs. Brown, <i>Bridgwater</i>	0	1	0	Mrs. Cooper	0	2	6
Rev. T. E. Browne	1	0	0	Miss Cooper	0	2	6
Mrs. Talbot Bruce	2	0	0	Miss Amy Cooper	0	2	6
Mr. J. Bruford, <i>Plymouth</i>	0	1	0	Mrs. L. Cordes, <i>Shaldon</i>	0	1	6
Miss Bryant	0	2	6	Mr. John Cory, <i>Cardiff</i>	1	1	0
				Mr. Richard Cory	0	10	6

\* Where not otherwise indicated, the contributions are from Bristol and Clifton.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Mrs. Cottrell	0	2	6	Mr. Andrew Fulton, <i>Cardiff</i>	0	5	0
Miss Courtauld	1	1	0	" (don.)	2	0	0
Mr. E. W. Cox	0	10	0	Mrs. Garnett	20	0	0
Mrs. Crawshay, <i>Bwlch</i>	100	0	0	" (don.)	20	0	0
(don.)	100	0	0	Mrs. Robert George, <i>Pembroke</i>	0	10	6
Mrs. Croggan	0	1	6	Miss Gibson, <i>Bridport</i>	0	5	0
Miss Crosland, <i>Worcester</i>	0	10	0	Miss M. Gibson	0	5	0
Mrs. Cunnington	0	3	0	Rev. G. P. Gould	0	5	0
Mr. J. L. Daniell	0	5	0	Mr. W. W. Grant, <i>Newport</i>	0	1	0
Dr. Davey	0	10	6	Mr. J. T. Grace	0	10	6
Mr. John Davies, <i>Cardiff</i>	0	2	6	Mrs. Gravely	0	5	0
Mrs. Davies	0	2	0	Mr. Alan Greenwell, M.A.	0	10	0
Mrs. Davis, <i>Bridport</i>	0	2	6	Mr. J. G. Grenfell, B.A.	1	0	0
Mrs. de l'Hoste, <i>Portishead</i>	0	10	0	Mrs. Grenfell	1	0	0
Mr. Dosson, <i>Bridgwater</i>	0	1	0	Mr. Griffin, <i>Plymouth</i>	0	2	6
Mrs. d'Oursey	0	2	6	Mrs. Griffiths	0	1	6
Mr. Dowson, <i>Wimbleton</i>	0	10	0	Mrs. Goss, <i>Redland</i>	0	5	0
Mrs. Dunn, <i>Bridgwater</i>	0	0	3	Mrs. Hale	1	1	0
Dr. Eliza W. Dunbar	1	0	0	Mrs. Ashworth Hallett, <i>Bath</i>	100	0	0
Miss Dykes, <i>Taunton</i>	1	0	0	Ditto ditto	50	0	0
Mr. S. Edgumbe	0	0	6	Ditto ditto	10	0	0
Mr. Albert Edwards, <i>Yeovil</i>	0	2	6	Mr. Hallett, <i>Bath</i> (don.)	20	0	0
Miss Edwards, <i>Aberystwith</i>	0	2	6	Miss Hall	0	10	0
Miss Elliott, <i>Cotham</i>	0	2	6	Miss Hall, <i>Stoke</i>	0	2	6
Miss Estlin	5	0	0	Mr. Hamlin, <i>Bridgwater</i>	0	0	6
Mrs. Sparke Evans	1	1	0	Rev. T. Hammond	0	5	0
Mrs. P. C. Evans, <i>Stroud</i>	0	10	0	Mrs. Harding	0	5	0
Mrs. Evans, <i>Cardiff</i>	0	1	6	Mrs. Hargrave	0	5	0
Mrs. Ewens, <i>Cheltenham</i>	0	2	0	Mrs. Harris, <i>Newport</i>	0	2	6
Mrs. Field	0	2	6	Mr. S. Harse	0	1	0
Mr. E. M. Field	0	2	6	Miss Harry, <i>Cardiff</i>	0	1	0
Miss Fitzherbert	0	5	0	Mrs. Hartnell	0	5	0
Miss Fouracre, <i>Gloster</i>	0	2	6	Mr. Hawkins, <i>Devonport</i>	0	0	6
Mr. W. H. Frank	0	2	6	Mr. Walter Hayes	0	2	6
Mr. George Franklin, <i>Exeter</i> (4 years)	1	0	0	Rev. Philip Hedgeland, <i>Penzance</i>	0	5	0
A Friend, per Miss M. Colby	0	5	0	Mr. Heliar, <i>Yeovil</i>	0	2	6
Ditto, per Miss Southall	0	5	0	Mr. R. Hellard, <i>Taunton</i>	0	5	0
Ditto, <i>Exeter</i>	0	1	0	(don.)	0	5	0
Ditto, <i>Devonport</i>	0	1	0	Mrs. Higginson, <i>Swansea</i>	0	5	0
Mr. Eli Fudge, <i>Yeovil</i>	0	2	6	Miss Higginson	0	2	6
				Miss Highmore, <i>Yeovil</i>	0	2	6
				Mrs. Hodges	0	1	6
				Mrs. Holroyd, <i>Frome</i>	1	0	0
				" (don.)	1	1	0

7. Because women already have the Municipal and School Board franchise, and have used them well and wisely.

20 PARK STREET, BRISTOL.

£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Mrs. Hopkins, <i>Cheltenham</i>	0	2	Mrs. Linton ...	0	10
Mrs. Hume-Rothery "	0	10	" (don.) ...	0	10
Mr. Hughes, <i>Bridgwater</i>	0	0	Mr. D. Lloyd ...	0	5
Mr. Hunnuck, <i>Plymouth</i>	0	1	Mr. Lord, <i>Cheltenham</i> ...	0	2
Mrs. Hunt ...	0	5	" " " " " " " "	0	10
Mrs. Hurman, <i>Bridgwater</i>	0	1	Mr. Luffman, <i>Yeovil</i> ...	0	2
			Miss Lutley, <i>Wiveliscombe</i>	0	5
Mrs. Impey, <i>Street</i> ...	0	5	Mr. Lusty, <i>Cardiff</i> ...	0	5
Miss James, <i>Pantsaison</i>	0	2	Miss G. Mackenzie, <i>Tor-</i>		
Mr. H. Jeff, <i>Gloucester</i>			<i>quay</i> (don.) ...	0	5
(don.) ...	0	5	Rev. A. C. Macpherson	0	10
Mr. Jennings ...	0	2	Miss Malin, <i>Mitcham</i> ...	1	0
Mr. Peter Jones, <i>Aberyst-</i>			Misses Marriott ...	0	10
<i>with</i> ...	0	5	Mrs. Marsh, <i>Yeovil</i> ...	5	0
Mrs. Griffith Jones, ditto	0	2	Mrs. Marshall, <i>Shaldon</i>	0	1
Mrs. J. M. Jones, ditto	0	2	Mrs. T. F. C. May ...	1	0
Mr. Richard Jones, ditto	0	2	Mrs. Meredith ...	0	1
Mrs. U. W. Jones, <i>New-</i>			Dr. Merrifield, <i>Plymouth</i>	0	2
<i>port</i> ...	0	2	Mr. Richard Michell,		
Mrs. W. Jones, <i>Cardiff</i>	0	2	<i>London</i> ...	1	1
Mr. Lloyd Jones, <i>New-</i>			Mrs. Miller, <i>Galway</i> ...	0	10
<i>port</i> ...	0	1	Mr. Moon, <i>Plymouth</i> ...	0	1
			Mrs. Morgan, <i>Wootton</i>		
Miss Kendall, <i>Plymouth</i>	0	10	<i>Bassett</i> ...	0	1
Miss Key, <i>Truro</i> ...	0	2	Mrs. Moyle, <i>Bridgwater</i>	0	1
Mr. Knight, <i>Gloucester</i>	0	2	Mr. Mulliss, <i>Cheltenham</i>	0	1
Mrs. Knowles "	0	1	Miss Mylne (don.) ...	0	2
Miss Lane ...	0	2	Mr. Councillor Neal,		
Mrs. Langdon, <i>Bridg-</i>			<i>Cheltenham</i> ...	0	2
<i>water</i> ...	0	0	Professor F.W. Newman,		
Mrs. Lapwood ...	0	1	<i>Weston-super-Mare</i> ...	1	0
Mrs. Alfred Latimer,			Mrs. Nichols, <i>Bridgwater</i>	0	0
<i>Plymouth</i> ...	0	2	Dr. Nicholson ...	0	5
Miss Latimer ...	0	5	Mr. Norton, <i>Cheltenham</i>	0	1
Mrs. H. F. Lawes ...	0	10	" " " " " " " "		
Miss Leedham ...	0	5	" " " " " " " "		
Rev. W. M. Lennox,			" " " " " " " "		
<i>Cheltenham</i> ...	0	5	D. Yardley ...	0	10
Mr. Councillor Lenthall,					
ditto ...	0	2	Mrs. Organ, <i>Cheltenham</i>	0	2
Mrs. Leon, <i>Aberystwith</i>	0	2			
Mrs. G. H. Leonard ...	0	10	Mr. Page, <i>Bridgwater</i> ...	0	1
Miss F. Leonard ...	0	5	Mr. B. Paget ...	0	10
Rev. H. Lewin, <i>Cheltenham</i>	0	1	Miss Parnall ...	0	5
Mrs. C. Lewis, <i>Newport</i>	0	2	Mrs. Parson, <i>Teignmouth</i>	0	1
Mr. D. Lewis, <i>Cardiff</i> ...	0	5	Mrs. Paul, <i>Bridgwater</i>	0	0
			Mrs. Pearse, <i>Plymouth</i>	0	5
			Mr. Pearse "	0	1
			Miss Pearse ...	0	1

£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Miss Pease, <i>Westbury-on-</i>			Mr. Edgell Searle, <i>Crediton</i>	0	2
<i>Trym</i> ...	0	2	Mrs. Shipley, <i>Westbury-</i>		
Mrs. Peck ...	0	2	<i>on-Trym</i> ...	0	10
Mrs. J. H. Perry ...	0	5	Mrs. Sheere, <i>Bridgwater</i>	0	0
Mrs. Perry, <i>Bridgwater</i>	0	2	Mrs. Shepherd, <i>Bridport</i>	0	1
Miss March Phillipps,			Mrs. Sibly, <i>Taunton</i> ...	0	5
<i>Cheltenham</i> ...	0	5	Mrs. Herbert Simpson,		
Mrs. Plant, <i>Gloucester</i> ...	0	1	<i>Gloucester</i> ...	0	2
Mr. Poole, <i>Bridgwater</i> ...	0	1	Mr. Dyke Smith, <i>Chel-</i>		
Mrs. Porter, <i>Street</i> ...	0	2	<i>tenham</i> ...	0	2
Mr. R. F. Pound, <i>Dart-</i>			Mrs. Sollas ...	1	1
<i>mouth</i> (don.) ...	0	10	Mr. Somerville, <i>Bitton</i> ...	4	0
Mrs. Price (the late) ...	5	0	Misses Southall, <i>Leo-</i>		
Miss Price ...	1	0	<i>minster</i> ...	1	0
Miss Mary Price ...	1	0	Mrs. Southall, ditto ...	0	5
Miss M. N. Price... ..	2	0	Mr. Spiridon, <i>Cardiff</i> ...	0	1
Mrs. Price, <i>Teignmouth</i>	0	6	Rev. J. B. Spring ...	0	2
Mrs. S. N. Price ...	0	6	Mrs. Spring ...	0	2
Misses Priestman (don.)	25	0	Mr. Councillor Steel,		
Miss Priestman ..	2	2	<i>Cheltenham</i> ...	0	5
			Miss Steel, ditto ...	0	2
Mr. Charles Radford,			Miss G. Stephens, <i>Brid-</i>		
<i>Plymouth</i> ...	1	0	<i>port</i> ...	0	5
Ditto ditto (don.)	1	0	Mrs. Stone ...	0	2
Miss Read, <i>Newport</i> ...	0	2	Mrs. Walter Sturge ...	0	5
Mrs. Reader, <i>Bridport</i> ...	0	2	Miss Sturge, <i>Cotham</i> ...	0	5
Mrs. Reid, <i>Swansea</i>	0	2	Mrs. Sturge ...	0	2
Mrs. Rendall, <i>Bridport</i>	0	5			
Mrs. Reynolds "	0	5	Mr. C. W. A. Tait ...	0	10
Mr. Richards, <i>Cardiff</i> ...	0	2	Mrs. Arthur Tanner,		
Rev. J. Robberds, <i>Chel-</i>			<i>Sidcot</i> ...	1	1
<i>tenham</i> ...	2	2	Miss Tanner ...	0	1
Mrs. Roberts, <i>Aberyst-</i>			Mrs. Temple ...	0	2
<i>with</i> ...	0	2	Mrs. Charles Thomas ...	5	0
Miss Roberts... ..	0	2	Mr. Herbert Thomas ...	2	2
Miss Ross, <i>Taunton</i> ...	0	1	Mrs. Thomas Thomas ...	1	1
Miss Rooker, <i>Plymouth</i>	0	5	Rev. Urijah R. Thomas	1	1
Miss M. Rooker "	0	5	Miss Gertrude Thomas	0	10
Miss Rowe "	0	1	Miss Thomas... ..	0	10
Mrs. Roscoe, <i>Mitcham</i>	0	5	Miss Lillie Thomas ...	0	10
Miss Roscoe "	0	5	Mr. D. C. Thomas, <i>Cardiff</i>	0	2
Mr. R. B. Rutter... ..	0	2	Mrs. F. G. Thompson,		
Mrs. R. B. Rutter ...	0	2	<i>Bridgwater</i> ...	0	10
			Mrs. A. Thompson, ditto	0	5
Mr. Jas. Sadler, <i>Swindon</i>	0	10	Miss Thompson, ditto...	0	2
Mr. Saunders, <i>Cheltenham</i>	0	2	Mrs. W. Thompson, ditto	0	2
Mrs. Scott "	0	2	Mrs. G. C. Thompson,		
Miss Schaw Protheroe,			<i>Cardiff</i> ...	0	5
<i>Fishguard</i> ...	2	0	Mr. J. G. Thornton ...	0	5
Ditto ditto (don.)	1	0	Mrs. J. G. Thornton ...	0	2

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20 PARK STREET, BRISTOL.

£ s. d.		£ s. d.	
Mr. Tite, <i>Yeovil</i> ... ..	0 2 6	Mr. Mark Whitwill ... ..	1 1 0
Miss Tribe ... ..	1 1 0	Miss Wightman, <i>Dorchester</i> ... ..	0 2 6
Mr. Tribe ... ..	0 10 6	Mrs. Eubulus Williams	0 10 0
Mr. F. N. Tribe ... ..	0 5 0	Mrs. William Williams, <i>Aberystwith</i> ... ..	0 10 0
Mr. W. N. Tribe ... ..	0 5 0	Mr. Philip Williams, do.	0 2 6
Mrs. J. T. Turner, <i>Newport</i> ... ..	0 2 0	Mrs. Williams, <i>Crouch End</i> ... ..	0 2 6
Miss Jane Tweedy, <i>Truro</i>	0 2 6	Mr. W. E. Williams, <i>Cheltenham</i> ... ..	0 2 6
Mrs. Vaughan, <i>Cowbridge</i>	0 6 6	Mr. Lewis Williams, <i>Cardiff</i> ... ..	0 5 0
Miss J. Venning ... ..	0 5 0	Mrs. Williams, ditto ...	0 1 0
Mrs. Walker... ..	0 10 0	Mr. G. H. Williams, <i>Cheltenham</i> ... ..	0 2 6
Miss Wansley, <i>Bridport</i>	0 10 0	Mr. Winslade, <i>Bridgwater</i>	0 0 6
Mrs. Ward, <i>Gloucester</i> ...	0 5 0	Mrs. Withcombe, <i>Plymouth</i> ... ..	0 0 3
Mrs. Waring ... ..	0 2 6	Mrs. Travers Wood, <i>Swansea</i> ... ..	0 10 0
Mrs. Warren... ..	0 5 0	Miss Yardley, <i>Norwood</i>	1 0 0
Captain Waters, <i>London</i>	0 17 6	Miss D. Yardley " ...	0 10 0
Mrs. Watson... ..	0 5 0		
Mrs. Weatherley, <i>Portishead</i> ... ..	0 2 6	£539 10 0	
Mr. Webb, <i>Plymouth</i> ...	0 1 0		
Miss Wemyss, <i>Gloucester</i>	0 5 0		
Mr. Whibley ... ..	1 1 0		
Mr. Whitbread, <i>Cheltenham</i> ... ..	0 5 0		
Mrs. G. D. White, <i>Aberystwith</i> ... ..	0 2 6		

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

RECEIPTS and PAYMENTS for the Year ending DECEMBER 31st, 1882.

RECEIPTS.		PAYMENTS.	
£ s. d.		£ s. d.	
By Balance on 1881	2 8 3	By Rent ... ..	20 0 0
Subscriptions and Donations	539 10 0	Salaries ... ..	174 12 0
Sale of Papers, &c. ...	4 17 7	Office Expenses ... ..	7 11 10
Rent of Office ... ..	0 13 0	Public Meetings and Lectures (including Halls, Printing, Advertising, Organising and Travelling Expenses) ... ..	188 15 7
		Petitions ... ..	0 16 11
		Printing and Publications ... ..	21 9 0
		Stationery ... ..	9 3 9
		<i>Women's Suffrage Journal</i> and other papers	32 17 7
		Advertisements and Posting at Elections ...	6 18 6
		Postage and Carriage, &c. ... ..	37 7 3
		Travelling Expenses of Secretary and Agents	46 16 6
		Balance on 1882 ... ..	£546 8 11
	£547 8 10		0 19 11
			£547 8 10

January 27th, 1883.—Audited and found correct,

(Signed,)

WILBERFORCE TRIBE.

7. Because women already have the Municipal and School Board franchise, and have used them well and wisely.

20 PARK STREET, BRISTOL.

# MR. FAWCETT, M.P.,

ON

## WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

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At a great demonstration promoted by the Liverpool Liberal Association, at Hengler's Circus, at Liverpool, on October 13th, 1882, Mr. Fawcett, Postmaster-General, among other remarks on the extension of the suffrage to which the Liberal Government is pledged, said :—

“There is also another point connected with the suffrage in which it is important that public opinion should declare itself. Is it or is it not desired that some of our most cherished political principles, such, for instance, that taxation and representation should go hand in hand, should cease to have any application when those who would benefit by them are women? There are probably hundreds in this room who know only too well that the money earned by a woman does not require less severe toil than when earned by a man; and, for one, I have never been able to see why she should be deprived of the same constitutional safeguard for its expenditure as those which men enjoy.” These observations were very much applauded by the audience.

7. Because women already have the Municipal and School Board franchise, and have used them well and wisely.

20 PARK STREET, BRISTOL.

M. P. FAWCETT, M.P.  
ON  
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

*[Faint, mirrored text from the reverse side of the page is visible through the paper. The text is largely illegible but appears to be a continuation of the title page and the first few paragraphs of the original document.]*

7. Because women already have the Municipal and School Board franchise, and have used them well and wisely.

# The Liberal Man Deviseth Liberal Things.

## What is the meaning of Political Freedom?

**JOHN STUART MILL** answered—"Is it anything but the control of those who do make their business of politics by those who do not? Is it not the very essence of Constitutional Liberty that men come from their looms and forges to decide, and decide well, whether they are properly governed and whom they will be governed by?"

Women do not make politics their business, they therefore should have a voice in choosing those who do. They should come from their kitchens, schools, and sewing machines to vote.

## What is the use of Political Freedom?

**Mr. GLADSTONE** has said that—"All who live in a country should take an interest in that country, should love that country, and that the vote gives that sense of interest and fosters that love."

Women live in this country and need the vote which helps to foster this love and interest.

**POLITICAL FREEDOM** is **NOT** one thing for Men and another thing for Women. It is the **SAME** for all.

**LIBERALS!** Help Women to obtain the Suffrage on the same terms as yourselves.

Forms of Petition and all information can be obtained from the Secretaries of the West of England Society for Women's Suffrage, 20 PARK STREET, BRISTOL.

The Liberal Man Deviseth  
Liberal Things.

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LETTER TO THE LADIES  
OF THE  
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE  
MOVEMENT.

# A LETTER TO THE LADIES

OF THE

## WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

---

LADIES,—

A TIME has come in which it is needful that we should ask ourselves—What principle holds us together? Why are we associated? What is it we are trying to do? We are of many shades of political and religious opinions, of widely separated stations in life, but we are bound together by our work, by labours towards a common end. What is that end? It is to uplift one half of the human race from political and social serfdom; to save thereby the other half from the sins of injustice, and both together from the demoralisation that injustice always brings; to make women more worthy of respect, and men more capable of feeling it for them; to bring the united action of men and women working harmoniously together to bear upon the sufferings of humanity, and to open to the whole human race the healing fountains of equal justice.

The immediate practical thing, by gaining which we think we shall take a long step towards that end, and to obtain which is the immediate and declared object of our Association, is to give women their fair share of power over the law which moulds the civic, and therefore largely, the social life of the people of this country; to procure the recognition of women as the equals of men in electoral power—(that is, to place them as voters for Members of Parliament on the same footing with men)—thereby securing the representation of womanhood in the Government of the country, and giving women the power of practical protest against oppression in the manner found to be most effective at the present day.



# A LETTER TO THE LADIES

OF THE

## WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

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The vital principle of the Society having this object is, the principle that human beings of both sexes are possessed of all the faculties and powers of humanity, and as being equal before God, by the very fact of possessing human faculties and powers in common, therefore men and women should be equal before the law.

As an associated body we do not touch on the basis of the Franchise; we could not work together if we did, for we hold widely differing views upon this point.

We simply accept the existing basis of the Franchise, be it what it may, only insisting that all women who possess the legal qualification which entitles men to vote, shall vote equally with men. For many years we have worked for this, *knowing*, while we worked, that none but single women and widows could be *immediately* enfranchised by our success, simply because the legal basis of the vote is a property qualification, and there was a bad law in force which forbade a married woman to hold property. But we knew that efforts were being made to alter that bad law. We felt sure those efforts must at some time succeed, and that *THEN* the married women who possessed property qualifications would be, as a matter of course, admitted with all others who held them.

Also some of us cared little for the temporary exclusion of married women—*MERELY* and *only because they could not hold property*. For the simple reason that we look upon *all* property qualifications as doomed very quickly to pass away. The barbarous idea that political power should go along with money-bags and rate-books, and bricks and mortar, is already growing obsolete. So surely as the sun will rise to-morrow from dawn to noon—so surely are we face to face with the rising powers of the people, a power which must be grounded on the only just and permanent basis of the Franchise—the intelligent human mind—and in looking forward to universal suffrage, it seemed to us a thing of little consequence, how many, or how few women were immediately enfranchised as mere holders of property. *THE GREAT THING* was to get the principle of *the perfect EQUALITY OF men and women as voters* firmly

established on the *Statute Book*. In order that, as the barriers of class rule gave way one after another before the rising tide of liberty, women might come naturally, and without effort, into the pale of the constitution and find themselves in the day of the emancipation of the people, *citizens*, and not *slaves*.

For this object the claim for the equal admission of all legally qualified women to the powers of voting seemed the one important thing. The Bill that was before the country appeared to make that claim in a clear and definite way.

I hear *now*, that for a long time there has been discussion amongst the leaders of the movement, and that some thought this claim was not fully made, while others shrank from making the claim, except for unmarried women only. But *I never* knew this *until now*. I knew there *was* division, but I thought it arose from mere personal quarrel. I was not a leader, nor ever in familiar intercourse with those who led the cause. I was for many years a very hard but very humble worker, labouring apart from all others, in far away country places, by myself, in isolation, and in ignorance of all that was not made public in the papers; and for the two or three years that I have been connected with others in this movement, it has never happened to me to hear that there was any difference of opinion on this point. It never occurred to me that there *could* be any. I was not on any committee, I have given much of my time and thought to other questions, and only occasionally been at suffrage meetings. I believe there has been a good deal of talk of this matter, but I have never heard of it till now, and there are many more who never knew it any more than I did.

At last the Married Women's Property Bill was passed in August last; since then I have known little or nothing of the suffrage movement, ill health and very heavy work kept me even from reading about it. I was told that all was going on well, and I rejoiced at it, and when, some weeks back, I was invited to speak at a meeting in support of Mr. Mason's

resolution, I consented very gladly. But some days before that meeting, a woman, to whom every woman in England and Scotland owes a debt of gratitude that *cannot* be overpaid, told me with deep sorrow that the claim now being made was *not* a claim for equality; that the speakers at the meetings professed not to ask for, or desire, the Franchise for married women possessing a property qualification; that justice required that a protest should be made; and she appealed to me to make that protest. I was overwhelmed with astonishment, and finding that the terms of the resolution remained the same as ever, I asked how it *could* be that the admission of legally qualified married women under it *could* be a matter of *doubt*. Then I found to my surprise and indignation that married women, *as such*, are held to be incapable of voting, and that no Bill and no resolution you can frame will enfranchise them, unless they are specifically mentioned in it. For they are disqualified, *not* because they cannot hold the property qualification (for *that* the Married Women's Property Act enables them to do), *not* simply because they are *women* (for Mr. Mason's resolution, if made law, would remove the disability of sex), but they are disqualified simply because they are *married*. Marriage, it seems, places the woman in a condition of coverture, in which her personality is lost in that of her husband. The Married Women's Property Act destroys coverture in matters affecting the possession of property, but *not* in relation to any political rights that that possession of property might carry with it. She can buy a farm and till it, and sell it again, but she cannot vote in respect of it. When I asked in amazement, "Is this certainly the law?" the reply was—"Nothing in law is certain till it is tested by the decision of a court, but it is the strongest probability that the decision will be given on these lines." When I heard this, that the mere fact of marriage stamped the mothers of our people with a barbarous brand of inferiority before the law, that no acquisition of property can remove, and no enfranchisement of sex can obliterate, that the chains of political degradation are so

riveted on to the feet of every wife, that, open the high road of noble citizenship as widely as you will, she cannot stir one step in it till you strike these fetters off by express law; when I heard this, my blood boiled with indignation. And even if upon trial in court, this is *not* found to be the case, even if by some happy chance the improbability should turn out to be the fact, and women possessed of property in their own right under the new law, *should*, contrary to present opinion, be able to vote under Mr. Mason's resolution, when made law, yet it is certain that in trusting to such a chance, we are betraying the vital principle of the women's suffrage movement. We are *not* making a clear and definite claim for equality before the law, for *this* is not equality, unless we ask at the same time that all married *men* shall be disfranchised as well as all married women. It seems that all this has been known to some of us for a long time, but *I never* knew it. As soon as I *did* know it, I threw every personal consideration on one side, and accepted the duty of moving the amendment.

The claim of married women to the Municipal Franchise will be tested next November; meantime we have to decide on the question whether we mean to ask for the vote for married women or not. Mr. Mason has greatly simplified matters by emphatically declaring in the debate, that *he* did *not* intend to do so. I hear it said, "Oh let us keep quiet, so that we may get the Franchise for women householders, as such, without raising the question of the married women's right. And then, if we find they are excluded, further legislation can be worked for to admit them. Only let us get this Bill through without calling attention to the question." This policy is weak, for does anyone suppose that the House of Commons will ever pass a Women's Suffrage Bill *without* raising the question—aye, and threshing it out to the very last grain? Those who think this possible have not reflected on the speeches in the past debates. It is absolutely certain that in the present state of public opinion, no House of Commons would pass such a Bill without taking care to have

it well understood that married women were excluded. So far as getting the claims of married women allowed is in question, we lose nothing by publicity. There is no possibility of their slipping into the Constitution by a back door, with an evasion in their mouths. The House of Commons will be sure to bolt the door before they pass the Bill. We gain nothing by trying to deceive our legislators, for we are certain not to succeed. But by the attempt to do so we give them a very powerful weapon against us; for whenever the subject is introduced, our adversaries say: "Oh, but this Bill will admit married women, it is the thin end of the wedge. If you give the Franchise to single women you must give it to married ones," &c.

And then the gentlemen of the House of Commons get frightened and vote against us. And so we have all the disadvantage of the claim, while we lose the advantage that a clear whole-souled appeal to principle would give us. The right way to meet the opposition of those who are afraid to admit the married women's claim is, not to go down on our knees and protest that we *do not* mean what we *do mean* all the time. But to take hold of the question by the handle of simple justice, and to ask boldly for the vote for all legally qualified women, married or single. By so asking we shall rouse the public opinion of the masses, and waken an agitation that will carry our claim into the House of Commons with the country at its back. So that when they say in that House—"Married women will vote under this Bill," the constituencies shall reply—"Yes; we require that women should be citizens before the law; why should they not vote?"

One of the speakers at the meeting touched beautifully on the hardship that might be inflicted by a law that would drag a sick baby out of its mother's arms. She might have spoken of the law of compulsory vaccination which comes to the baby and poisons its blood often with loathsome disease even while it hangs on her bosom, and she said, "ought not women to have power

## EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF PROTEST

BY

MRS. JACOB BRIGHT.

THE correspondence with Mr. J. S. Mill which pledged the societies to the principle of giving a vote to every qualified woman, married or single, is at 28, Jackson's Row, Manchester, the office of the Manchester Branch. That pledge has never been rescinded by any vote of the Committee. Individual speakers here and there have advocated Spinster Suffrage on the ground that it was easier to pass a Bill so limited, but *the societies* have never so limited the definition of their aim, on the contrary, these are the facts:—When Mr. Forsyth took the Bill and inserted his proviso, the Central Committee met, passed a vote of condemnation, appointed a deputation to wait on him, and finally he consented to withdraw the proviso. The Committee split in two on the question whether he ought to be supported at all—four of the most important members withdrew, I think these were Madame Venturi, Mr. and Mrs. Arnold and the Hon. Mrs. Drummond. I remained, as did several others, who would rather have declined him altogether as a leader. Since then there has been no vote passed limiting our aim to Spinster Suffrage. The money, the friends, have all been collected on the wider basis. It is inconceivable that we should refuse to exclude married women from our claim in the days when they had no qualification, and exclude them *now* when their qualification is just as good as anyone else's.

over the men who make these laws?" Yes, truly they should; but what women have so much right to that power as the *mothers* of these babies? To *them* the power of the vote would mean, perhaps, the power to save their little children from being legally murdered. This claim to the Franchise is the most sacred that was ever made in the whole history of the world's political struggles. Also, it is to be remembered, that many of the grievances that need to be remedied by law are those of married women; notably, the cruel wrong inflicted on the married mother by the legal doctrine that she has no claim on, nor relationship to, her own child. It is true that all women will surely use their votes against a law like this. But married women holding the legal qualification may surely plead that their claim to the Franchise, as the instrument by which this law may be amended, is too strong to be set aside.

But it is said, "let us keep quiet, let us take what we can get, we cannot get the Franchise for married women but we may get it for spinsters and widows, and they will work then for the married women; but if we make a noise about them now we shall never get it at all."

This simply means that we should throw over the claim for equality before the law and urge the claim for single women only, because it is thought that it will be easier to carry, and the married women's claim must take its chance afterwards.

To this there are several objections; one is, that it is very doubtful whether the votes for married women would follow so easily, or so readily as is supposed by those who take this view. If the married women's right is so difficult to urge *now*, when we are working for all women together, and grounding our agitation on a great principle, will it be easier to press it when principle has been abandoned, and when the claims of married women have been practically severed from those of other women by the separate enfranchisement of widows and spinsters? Will it be as easy then to keep up

an association, to gather funds, &c., for the enfranchisement of married women alone, as it is now, when the claim is for all women, and for equality before the law? Certainly not. But it is said the spinsters and widows will use their votes to press the enfranchisement of married women. Many of them, no doubt, would do this; but the pressure has to be long and constant to affect the Legislature. Many questions of interest to women—both as women and as political partizans—will appeal to their consciences, and divert them from the question of the extension of the suffrage to their less fortunate sisters. And it is to be remembered that you will then have an obstacle to contend with that you have not now, namely, that the disqualification of *wives* to possess the Franchise which other women possess, will then be *sanctioned* by the distinct acquiescence of the Women's Suffrage party, and familiarized to the minds of men by established law and usage. That is not so *now*. *Now*, no woman can vote in a Parliamentary election. We ask that *all* qualified women may be allowed to vote—and the request carries with it the conviction of its justice; but if you demand the Franchise for unmarried women only, you *stamp* into the public mind and *ratify* by your own consent the distinction between the qualified married woman and her single sister; and if you succeed in getting what you ask for, you will make this arbitrary distinction part and parcel of practical political life. Remember, that for many years, the Municipal Franchise has been given to widows and single women, but during all these years married women have come no nearer to obtaining it than they were at first: therefore, to throw over the married women in our present demand, will probably mean throwing them over—for many years, perhaps for ever—by stamping in on the Statute Book, and on the minds of the masses of working men, the subtle distinction between the wedded and unwedded woman's claim to political right, which is now confined to the theorizing brains of lawyers. Also it would be a desertion of our vital principle, it would leave our movement a body without a soul. It is by

justice only that we can conquer, we could not, (and would not if we could,) make any appeal to physical force, but in these days whoever repudiates the sword, must be prepared to use the tongue and pen with absolute fearlessness of consequences in the cause of justice. By *moral* force we mean to win our battle, but there *is* no moral force in injustice and cowardly equivocation. If we say to married women "your claim is just, but it is not expedient to urge it," men will say to us "your claim is just, but it is not expedient to grant it," and what answer can we in that case make to them?

Let me point out also, that by this modified claim you would introduce an element of class discord, by dragging into the movement a discussion as to the basis of the Franchise which we have hitherto avoided; for on what ground do we ask for the vote? To this question we have hitherto replied with unanswerable logic: "We possess the qualification to which the law attaches it, and therefore we claim it." But now we shall be answered with another question: "How about qualified married women?" I attended a meeting, which was addressed by some of our principal speakers, in order to assure myself of what was actually said on this point. I heard speaker after speaker openly declare that the resolution did not ask the vote for married women. But "Why," it will be said to us, "do you ask for single and not for married women?"

To this, two replies only can be made. The first is: "That we accept marriage as a disqualification in women, while it is not so in men; that is, we declare ourselves content to accept and consent to our own dishonour; we say that we are willing to be branded with a badge of serfdom before the law, because we follow the instincts of our holiest affections in becoming wives and mothers. I for one repudiate such a position, it is one which, even by the tacit acquiescence of silence, I can never sanction; it is against my conscience. Women are happier, happily married than they are unmarried, but they are *not* less holy, and should not be less honoured.

When this question has been raised in bygone times we have simply said, married women, as the law now stands, *cannot* possess the property qualification; we will discuss their claims when it arises. I have often added, speaking for myself at public meetings, "When married women can be legally qualified I shall consider that they ought to vote; but the matter need not be argued about till that time comes." Perhaps this was not the best way of meeting the question. I begin now to think it was wrong even to defer the consideration of the matter to the future. But the *future* of which we then spoke, is now the present, the day to which we put off this discussion is *now* come. And *now* we *must* decide between expediency and principle. It is one thing to postpone the consideration of a matter which we did not think ripe for argument, and it is another and a very different thing to deny our principles, or prevaricate about them when circumstances force us to take sides for right or wrong. It is one thing to say (as we *did* say) the hour is not come in which this claim should be urged; and it is another thing, now that the claim is before us, to say that we are afraid to make it. The first *may* have been wisdom, the second *must* be cowardice, and cowardice is *never* wise.

The Married Women's Property Bill has forced upon us some utterance, clear and distinct, upon the married women's claim to political rights. To shrink from making it well understood that we mean *all* qualified women, married as well as single, is simply to betray our cause by denying its first principle, and to abandon for the sake of the uncertain hope of an immediate advantage the ground of justice, on which we have found ourselves so strong.

But, if we do *not* say that we accept marriage as a disqualification, then to the question "why we press the rights of single women and widows only," there is only one other reply, and that is this: "That we do not ask the Franchise for married women, because their property is already represented by their husbands" (I have already heard this said).

But see what follows. You are no longer claiming representation for womanhood, but for a certain amount of property, which is in so unfortunate and deplorable a state as to have no man belonging to it to represent it, and therefore you beg for the admission of some 600,000 spinsters and widows to the Franchise, because their property will otherwise not get represented. Your movement then becomes no longer a movement for the representation of *women*, as beings of the same intelligence and the like passions with men, but a movement to get representation for certain property which has no man to represent it. You practically *dissolve* the Women's Suffrage movement, and substitute for it another movement which many of your followers could not support, because they do *not* believe in the representation of property at all. They have accepted it simply because it exists. They have been willing to lay aside all difference of opinion on a question which was a side issue, and ask for equality of citizenship for women, on the ground of actually existing institutions. But they cannot *sanction* a property qualification by making it the ground of a claim, made (as this claim must be made), on the ground of *property* only, and from which the associating principle, of equality of sex before the law, which bound us all together, has been eliminated. It is the representation of womanhood they desire, and not the representation merely of a rate-book, or an acre of mud, or a pile of bricks and mortar.

The next objection I notice, is one on which I have already touched, namely, that the claim for single women *only* will create a dangerous precedent, and if granted, will establish that precedent upon the Statute Book, namely, that of the principle that single women have rights of citizenship, which married women have *not*; that marriage is a political disqualification in women. This may seem a small thing *now*, for comparatively few married women *now* hold the qualification. If women were *all* enfranchised tomorrow on the present basis of the Franchise, the mass of the female voters would be widows and single women. But

small as this thing seems now, and few in number as the qualified married women are, by throwing them over you establish a precedent, and admit a false principle of exclusion. When universal suffrage comes (as *come it will*), that precedent will in all likelihood be still adhered to, and you will have a handful of women (widows and spinsters) voting, while *every man in the country votes*, and the great mass of women, being married, will be *dumb* before the law. What will the political power of womanhood be worth under such conditions? Almost nothing. It will be a mere feeble inarticulate cry, scarcely heard amidst the passionate voices of the millions of men, who will swamp at the ballot-box the small minority of women who alone will be voters. Are you prepared so to sacrifice the future to the present? Are you willing even to risk the possibility of doing so? If not, resist the evil *now*, while there is time to do so, by refusing to compromise the vital principle of equality of sex before the law. The womanhood of the future in this country may be noble or degraded, according as you *now* decide for the noble claim which will uplift all womanhood in unity, or the timid policy of expediency, by which with your own hands you may very probably bar the doors of liberty against the women of generations yet unborn.

I beseech you, my sisters, to be equal to the occasion. I know that many of you think as I do upon this matter. Be of good courage and do not be afraid to say that which you think. Believe me, we have nothing to be afraid of but our *own timidity*. Like children passing through a churchyard at night, we whisper, only because we are startled at the echoes of our own voices. The more freely and nobly we speak out the truth we know and feel, the more respectfully and readily we shall be heard by men.

As I stood on the platform of St. James's Hall the other night alone, except for the brave woman who went with me as my helper, and for one other woman who, only out of all my friends, was not ashamed to sit beside me and testify that she believed in my sincerity and honour, I felt unspeak-

able sadness, for, after all, what was it that I was going to do?

Only to propose that we should *say*, what most of us believe, that we should ask for that which most of us in our hearts know to be just; that we should meet the altered circumstances of to-day with a change of words that would lift us above the possibility of treachery to the most helpless women, and cowardice before the most unjust men. And for simply proposing that the opinion of the meeting be taken on this change of words, my friends turned away from me in bitter anger, and the very women, in whose cause I stood up an advocate, looked at me as though I had been a pariah. I could hardly restrain my tears, not so much for myself as for them; for the only reason they could have given for rejecting my amendment was, that though they knew it to be just, they were *afraid* to say so. Afraid to ask for justice; afraid to defend the oppressed, and plead the cause of weakness against strength, to repel with the dignity of womanhood the insulting ignominy of serfdom before the law; afraid that if they asked for too much, their masters might give them nothing. And, as I looked in their faces, I saw, as I never saw it before, how deeply the iron of slavery has entered into the very soul of woman.

With what yearning tenderness my soul longed to say to each and all of them, "Be of good cheer, we are strong enough to ask for justice." For many of those who sat round me have been long the objects of my affectionate respect; I have so honoured them for their unselfish devotion to the cause of women, for their ardent zeal, their unstinted labour, their self-sacrifice; I have looked up to them for years, trying with respectful tenderness to follow in their footsteps. But I feel that in this crisis, their very anxiety to do the best and most that *can* be done, makes them too fearful for the times they live in, and the task to which they have set their hands. To each of my sisters, over whom my poor and humble words can have any sort of influence, I



would say, "Do not be afraid to *ask* for justice." When fear is stifling thought, the first free spirits who dare to *say* what many think, fling living fire into the stronghold of oppression, and its walls go down like flax before the blaze. If we ask for justice God will hear us and will open the ears and hearts of men. Nay, they *are* opening already; we are supported by some of the best and noblest men. Our first and greatest advocate was the greatest leader of political thought that England has known for many years. I read the tender words in which he has enshrined the memory of the woman who for *him* filled life with happiness and beauty, and I ask, "would he have sanctioned a claim which tacitly accepted a barbarous insult to *her*, the woman so beloved, so honoured?" You know he would not. If he had been alive to-day, my insignificance would be sheltered by his greatness. His strong voice would be the support of my amendment. But he has passed away, and left behind him none so great as he to plead our cause. But can we not find the courage to be as noble, in our faithfulness to one another, as he was in his faithfulness to all of us?

Let us remember that there is one thing which is of more importance even than to gain the Franchise, and that is, to *deserve* it; to turn away from the policy of treachery; to hold the right of the weakest amongst us sacred as the right of the strongest; and to show that women will bring to the coming epoch of their political power, the advent of which none can hinder but themselves, the dignity of justice and the nobility of truth.

I am,

Yours with deep respect,

JESSIE CRAIGEN.

# ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

Central Committee

OF THE

# NATIONAL SOCIETY

FOR

## WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE,

29, PARLIAMENT STREET, LONDON, S.W.

PRESENTED TO THE GENERAL MEETING, JULY 19TH, 1883.

## NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

### CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

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

The Society seeks to achieve this object—

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

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

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

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1883-84.

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*Miss BECKER (Manchester).	C. H. HOPWOOD, Esq., Q.C., M.P.
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\*Delegate from Local Association.

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Organizing Agent—Miss MOORE.

Treasurer—Mrs. CHARLES McLAREN.

Bankers—LONDON AND COUNTY BANK, 3 VICTORIA STREET, S.W.

Office—29, PARLIAMENT STREET, LONDON, S.W.

## REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

1883.

IN presenting their Report your Committee record with satisfaction the improved position of the question in Parliament as shown by a comparison of the recent division with that on the last occasion when it was submitted to the House of Commons.

At the time of the Annual Meeting last year, on July 13th, Mr. Mason's Resolution stood on the Notice Paper of the House of Commons for July 21st. But when the date arrived the Government appropriated the night, and Mr. Mason was precluded from bringing forward his Resolution.

Since the opening of the present Session, continued efforts were made at the ballot for places on the Notice Paper of the House of Commons, to secure a night for the discussion of the Resolution. Ultimately, the date of Friday, July 6th, was obtained, when Mr. Mason moved his Resolution in the same form as that proposed last year.

The terms of the Resolution are as follows:—

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

Mr. Edward Leatham gave notice to move, as an amendment to Mr. Mason's motion, to leave out all the words after the word "House," in order to insert the words, "it is undesirable to change the immemorial basis of the Parliamentary franchise, which is, that men only shall be qualified to elect members to serve in this House."

Mr. Mason's Resolution was seconded by the Baron de Worms, and supported in debate by Mr. Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett, Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Mr. Jacob Bright and Mr. Courtney. It was opposed by Mr. E. A. Leatham, Mr. Inderwick, Mr. Beresford Hope, Mr. Newdegate, Mr. Raikes and Sir Henry James. On division, the supporters of the Resolution were 116, the opponents 132, including tellers—majority against the Resolution 16. There were 47 pairs.

These figures afford an encouraging comparison with the numbers on the last division. This took place in 1879, when the Resolution was defeated by 219 votes to 105, including tellers. Thus the opponents are decreased in numbers by 87 votes, and the supporters increased by eleven; the majority against the proposal has diminished from 114 to 16. It is also satisfactory to note that of members who for the first time had an opportunity of voting on the question, the proportion of those in favour to those against is about three to two in favour, the numbers of such members who voted or paired being 77 in favour to 53 against.

The division may be analysed as follows, including tellers and pairs:—

	In favour (Noes).				Against (Ayes).			
	L.	C.	H.R.	Total.	L.	C.	H.R.	Total.
Votes .	84	19	13	116	51	78	3	132
Pairs .	35	10	2	47	24	21	2	47
	<u>119</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>163</u>	<u>75</u>	<u>99</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>179</u>

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Miss J. BOUCHERETT.  
Dr. CAMERON, M.P.  
Miss COURTENAY.  
LEONARD COURTNEY, Esq., M.P.  
Mrs. COWEN (Nottingham).  
Miss MABEL SHARMAN CRAWFORD.  
Mrs. ASHTON DILKE.  
The Hon. Mrs. MAURICE DRUMMOND (Hampstead).  
Mrs. H. FAWCETT.  
Miss AGNES GARRETT.  
Rev. C. GREEN (New Beckenham).  
Mrs. ASHWORTH HALLETT (Bristol).  
Viscountess HARBERTON.  
THOMAS HARE, Esq.  
Mrs. HASLAM, (Dublin).  
Miss K. HILL.

FREDERIC HULL, Esq.  
Mrs. JOHN HOLLOND.  
C. H. HOPWOOD, Esq., Q.C., M.P.  
Mrs. JOHN HULLAH.  
Mrs. LUCAS.  
Mrs. E. M. LYNCH.  
ROBERT MAIN, Esq.  
Miss CHARLES McCLAREN.  
Miss HUBBER.  
FREDERICK PENNINGTON, Esq., MP.  
Mrs. F. PENNINGTON.  
Miss REEVES.  
Mrs. OLIVER SCATCHERD (Leeds).  
Mrs. SHEARER (Nottingham).  
Miss LILLIE STACPOOLE.  
Mrs. JAMES STANSFELD.  
Rev. S. A. STEINTHAL (Manchester).  
J. S. SYMON, Esq.  
Miss HELEN TAYLOR.  
J. P. THOMASSON, Esq., M.P.  
Mrs. THOMASSON.  
Miss Tod (Belfast).  
Miss WILLIAMS.

Secretary—Miss BECKER.

Assistant Secretary—Miss TORRANCE.

Organizing Agent—Miss MOORE.

Treasurer—Mrs. CHARLES McCLAREN.

Bankers—LONDON AND COUNTY BANK, 3, Victoria Street, S.W.

Office—29, PARLIAMENT STREET, LONDON. S.W.

[ PLEASE TURN OVER.

Your Committee recommend that steps should be taken to reintroduce the proposal in the House of Commons at the earliest practicable time, either in the form of an independent Bill or Resolution, or as a proposed addition to the County Franchise Bill promised by the Government, and they urge that active and energetic steps should be taken to support the action of the Parliamentary leaders.

In view of the expected Parliamentary debate, a great Meeting was held in St. James's Hall, on July 5th, under the presidency of Mr. Woodall, M.P. Preliminary Meetings were held the same week at Myddelton Hall, Islington, Mrs. Surr in the chair; in the Vestry Hall, Chelsea, Mr. Firth, M.P., in the chair; in "The Horns," Lambeth, Rev. C. E. Brooke, M.A., Vicar of St. John's, Brixton, in the chair; in the Westbourne Park Institute, Bayswater, Mr. Arthur Arnold, M.P., in the chair; and in the New Town Hall, Hackney, Mrs. Fenwick Miller, L.S.B., in the chair.

Meetings have also been held at Sandhurst, Yorktown, Leicester, Kettering, Daventry, Wellingborough, Sydenham, Stratford, Cheshunt, Thrapston and Grantham, which were assisted by your Committee. The Annual Meeting of the Bromley and Beckenham Branch of the Society was held in March. A Meeting was given by invitation of Miss Crossman at the Office of the Women's Protection and Provident League, Great Queen Street. In the month of September Miss Lillie Stacpoole arranged and took part in the proceedings of a series of meetings in the Isle of Wight, at Newport, Ventnor and Ryde, at which lectures were delivered by Miss Becker. Lectures have also been delivered by Miss C. A. Biggs at Kibworth and Mrs. Shearer at Blaby; and Drawing Room Meetings have been given by Colonel and Mrs. Byrne at Tekels Castle; by General and Mrs. Napier at Government House, Sandhurst; by Mrs. Alliston, Beckenham; by Mrs.

Southey at Forest Hill ; by Mrs. Turnbull at Sydenham Hill ; and by Mrs. Langdale at Hammersmith.

The Town of Croydon having been recently incorporated as a Municipal Borough, your Committee organized a Meeting of women burgesses in order to explain the duties and responsibilities of the municipal vote. Mrs. Lucas presided, and Miss Becker and Miss Frances Lord delivered addresses. The candidates in the municipal elections were invited to attend. Some were represented either personally or by a friend, and many letters from candidates were received, in nearly all of which they promised to support in the Council any proposal to assist the movement for extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to women.

The work recorded is that which has been done by your Committee in their character as a district society. It represents only a small portion of the work done in the movement throughout the country. Among the more important Meetings that have been held, promoted by other societies, may be mentioned great Meetings at Plymouth and Cardiff in December, a great Meeting in January in the Town Hall, Birmingham, also large Meetings in March at Malton and Scarborough, at York and Wakefield in April, and at Grimsby and Derby in May.

The magnificent demonstration of 6,000 women in St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, over which Mrs. Duncan McLaren presided, calls for special mention. It was attended by delegates from all parts of the three Kingdoms and was preceded by Meetings at Paisley, Greenock, Govan, Pollok-shiels, Helensburgh and many other places.

In the month of April, just as they were proceeding to arrange their work for the season, your Committee were obliged to quit their offices at 64, Berners Street, on account of structural alterations ; they therefore removed to their present

offices at 29, Parliament Street, Westminster, the situation of which affords many advantages for the prosecution of their work.

The series of afternoon receptions has been continued during the present season ; the first set was held before Easter at the old offices in Berners Street, the second set in June and July at the new offices.

Soon after the opening of Parliament, a Memorial to Mr. Gladstone was circulated among Liberal Members of Parliament, and received 110 signatures. The Memorial is as follows :—

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE WILLIAM EWART  
GLADSTONE, M.P., &c., &c., &c.

THE MEMORIAL OF THE UNDERSIGNED MEMBERS OF  
PARLIAMENT

SHEWETH :—

That in the opinion of your Memorialists no measure for the Assimilation of the County and Borough Franchise will be satisfactory, unless it contains provisions for extending the Suffrage, without distinction of sex, to all persons who possess the statutory qualifications for the Parliamentary Franchise.

Hugh Mason (Ashton-under-Lyne)	John C. Clarke (Abingdon)
Jacob Bright (Manchester)	Theodore Fry (Darlington)
James Stansfield (Halifax)	Wm. Summers (Stalybridge)
L. L. Dillwyn (Swansea)	E. W. Watkin (Hythe)
Chas. Cameron (Glasgow)	Daniel Grant (Marylebone)
Benj. Whitworth (Drogheda)	Thos. A. Dickson (Tyrone)
P. A. Taylor (Leicester)	Philip Callan (Louth)
Chas. H. Hopwood (Stockport)	Thomas C. Thompson (Durham)
Lewis Fry (Bristol)	Alfred Illingworth (Bradford)
C. P. Villiers (Wolverhampton)	C. Fraser Mackintosh (Inverness, &c.)

R. O'Shaughnessy (Limerick)  
 John Barran (Leeds)  
 J. Hinde Palmer (Lincoln)  
 Chas. McLaren (Stafford)  
 Geo. Palmer (Reading)  
 Arthur Arnold (Salford)  
 John P. Thomasson (Bolton)  
 Fredk. Pennington (Stockport)  
 Thos. Burt (Morpeth)  
 James E. Thorold Rogers (Southwark)  
 Peter McLagan (Linlithgow)  
 T. Richardson (Hartlepool)  
 Arthur Pease (Whitby)  
 Wilfred Lawson (Carlisle)  
 Henry Lee (Southampton)  
 Jos. Cowen (Newcastle-upon-Tyne)  
 E. H. Carbutt (Monmouth, &c.)  
 J. Passmore Edwards (Salisbury)  
 A. McArthur (Leicester)  
 Charles Forster (Walsall)  
 Henry Richard (Merthyr)  
 L. P. Pugh (Cardigan Co.)  
 W. Y. Craig (Staffordshire, N.)  
 Samuel Smith (Liverpool)  
 George Anderson (Glasgow)  
 John A. Blake (Waterford Co.)  
 Isaac Holden (York, W. Rid. N.)  
 Villiers Stuart (Waterford Co.)  
 S. Morley (Bristol)  
 J. F. B. Firth (Chelsea)  
 George Courtauld (Maldon)  
 W. Henry Leatham (York, W. Rid. S.)  
 Thos. Shaw (Halifax)  
 Morgan Lloyd (Beaumaris)  
 Matthew Wilson (York, W. Rid. N.)  
 P. Stewart Macliver (Plymouth)  
 E. J. Reed (Cardiff)  
 Frank Henderson (Dundee)  
 Benjamin Armitage (Salford)  
 J. G. McMinnies (Warrington)  
 C. M. Norwood (Kingston-on-Hull)  
 Edward Waugh (Cockermouth)  
 David Ainsworth (Cumberland, W.)  
 W. S. Caine (Scarborough)  
 Andrew Lusk (Finsbury)

J. Givan (Monaghan)  
 Eugene Collins (Kinsale)  
 W. E. Briggs (Blackburn)  
 W. M. Torrens (Finsbury)  
 James N. Richardson (Armagh)  
 S. C. Evans Williams (New Radnor)  
 E. Johnson (Exter)  
 W. S. Allen (Newcastle-under-Lyme)  
 F. O'Beirne (Leitrim)  
 John Brinton (Kidderminster)  
 Maurice Brooks (Dublin)  
 Joseph N. McKenna (Youghal)  
 C. Robert Spencer (Northants, N.)  
 R. Dick Peddie (Kilmarnock, &c.)  
 Henry Wiggin (Staffordshire, E.)  
 Henry B. Samuelson (Frome)  
 J. Spencer Balfour (Tamworth)  
 Walter J. Stanton (Stroud)  
 Jno. Simon (Dewsbury)  
 De Ferrieres (Cheltenham)  
 Arthur Cohen (Southwark)  
 Wm. Findlater (Monaghan)  
 James Howard (Bedfordshire)  
 John J. Jenkins (Carmarthen, &c.)  
 John Slagg (Manchester)  
 Thos. Eustace Smith (Tynemouth)  
 Samuel Storey (Sunderland)  
 Edw. T. Gourley (Sunderland)  
 Charles H. Wilson (Kingston-on-Hull)  
 W. H. Wills (Coventry)  
 W. Woodall (Stoke-on-Trent)  
 John Kinnear, D.D. (Donegal)  
 John Morley (Newcastle-on-Tyne)  
 Jesse Collings (Ipswich)  
 T. P. O'Connor (Galway)  
 Marston C. Buszard (Stamford)  
 Cyril Flower (Brecknock)  
 W. R. H. Powell (Carmarthenshire)  
 J. G. T. Sinclair (Caithness)  
 Justin McCarthy (Longford)  
 R. P. Blennerhassett (Kerry)  
 Enoch Baldwin (Bewdley)  
 Andrew Grant (Leith &c.)  
 W. Holms (Paisley)  
 J. Dodds (Stockton-on-Tees)

The Memorial was forwarded by Mr. Mason to the Prime Minister on May 29th, and the following reply was received :

“ 10, DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL,  
 “ May 30th, 1883.

“ DEAR MR. MASON,

“ I have received the Memorial in favour of extending the franchise to women, and I beg to thank you for forwarding it to me. I hope you will understand that my reason for not receiving a deputation was not from any doubt as to the importance of the subject, but because I find it of little avail to enter orally on a question of this kind except when it is to come immediately under practical consideration.

“ I remain, dear Mr. Mason,

“ Faithfully yours,

“ W. E. GLADSTONE.”

At the time of the presentation of the Memorial no day had been obtained for the discussion of the Resolution in the House of Commons.

As soon as a date had been secured for Mr. Mason's Resolution, a letter was sent from your Committee to Local Boards throughout the country, and by other Committees to Town Councils and to Liberal Associations, asking them to petition in favour of Mr. Mason's Resolution. Although the notice was so short that many of these bodies did not meet until after the debate, the response to the appeal has been highly encouraging. The following official and representative petitions have been adopted and presented:—

*English Municipal Councils*—Huddersfield, Yeovil, Wrexham, Rotherham, Bewdley, Birmingham, Dewsbury, Manchester, Walsall, Over Darwen, Accrington, Jarrow-on-Tyne, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Lincoln, Northampton, Exeter.

*Scotch Municipal Councils*—Edinburgh, Galashiels, Aberdeen, Torres, Dingwall, Dumfries, Inverness, Paisley, St. Andrews, Peebles, Helensburgh, Dumferline, Dundee, Lochmaben, Kirkcaldy, Sanquhar, and North Berwick, also the Commissioners of the Royal and Parliamentary Burghs.

*Local Boards*—Moss Side District; Madron, Cornwall; Winsford, Cheshire; Dalton-in-Furness; Radcliffe; Felling, Durham; Mansfield Improvement Commissioners; Whitwood; Walton-on-the Hill.

Petitions in favour of the proposal have been sent from the General Committee of the Birmingham Liberal Association (the 800) signed by Mr. George Dixon, President; from the Executive Council of the Leeds Liberal Association and from the following nine Liberal Associations of Leeds, Beeston, Beeston, Burley, Kirkstall, New Wortley, Armley Radical Club, East Hunslet, Brunswick, North Ward, Central; from the Huddersfield Liberal Registration Association, Nottingham Liberal Council, Liberal Associations of Grimsby, Kettering, Mid-Somerset, Paddock, Bridport, Barrow-in-Furness, Cleator, Stourport, Bewdley, Failsworth; Booth Town Liberal Club, Halifax; Middleton and Tonge Liberal Club; Prestwich Liberal Club; Crewe and District Liberal Association; Llandudno Liberal Association, Hull Radical Club; Burley Liberal Club; Public Affairs Committee, Croydon; Wotton-under-Edge Liberal Association; and others.

Four hundred and sixty-nine Petitions have been presented this year to Parliament in favour of Mr. Mason's resolution, containing 13,575 signatures, of these 88 with 2,209 signatures have been obtained by friends and correspondents of the Central Committee.

Your Committee cordially recognise the great value of the assistance which has been given to the movement by the London and Provincial Press. Able articles and notices

in support of the principle have appeared in the *Daily News*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Daily Chronicle*, *Pall Mall Gazette*, *Globe*, *Echo*, *Evening News*, *Morning Advertiser*, *Weekly Dispatch*, *Weekly Budget*, *Westminster Gazette*, *Manchester Examiner*, *Christian Union*, *Hull Eastern Morning News*, *Nottingham Daily Express*, *Bradford Observer*, *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, *Leeds Mercury*, *Birmingham Daily Post*, *Darlington Northern Echo*, *Sussex Daily News*, *Belfast Evening Telegraph*, *Aberdeen Journal*, *Northern Whig*, *Dundee Advertiser*, *Liverpool Daily Post*, *Liverpool Mercury*, *Christian Chronicle*, *Sunderland Daily Echo*, *Inverness Northern Chronicle*, *Plymouth News* and many other papers.

Your Committee have to deplore the loss from the ranks of their Parliamentary supporters of Sir David Wedderburn, who died in September last, and of Mr. Ashton W. Dilke, who died in March. Sir David Wedderburn spoke and voted in the House of Commons, in favour of Women's Suffrage. Mr. Dilke would have supported it also, had he lived to take part in the division.

Your Committee record with grief the death, in November last, of Miss Rhoda Garrett, one of the earliest and most able of the promoters of the cause. Latterly Miss Garrett had been unable to take any active part in the movement, partly owing to delicate health and partly to the pressure of other occupations. But she continued up to the date of her death to be a member of your Committee, and her last public act was to send a letter of sympathy to the Demonstration of Women at Glasgow, just previous to her decease.

Your Committee has also to deplore deeply the loss by death this month of one of the earliest supporters of the cause, Mr. Edward B. Eastwick, C.B. When he was in Parliament, Mr. Eastwick joined with Mr. Jacob Bright in bringing forward the Bill in 1870, 1871, 1872 and 1873, and



also spoke in the debates. Since he retired from the House of Commons he has remained a member of the Executive Committee, and has always been prompt to aid the movement by his much prized sympathy and advice.

The presence in London of two ladies from the United States, Mrs. E. Cady Stanton and Miss Susan B. Anthony, who were among the earliest advocates of the enfranchisement of women in America, seemed to your Committee an appropriate occasion to invite these ladies to give addresses on the position of women in the United States. A meeting was accordingly convened in the Prince's Hall, Piccadilly, under the presidency of Mr. Jacob Bright, M.P., when Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton addressed an influential and interested audience.

A Subscription Ball in aid of the funds of the Society was again held in the Kensington Town Hall. The Ball took place on April 6th. Miss Eastwick acted as Secretary. There was an influential list of patronesses, and the result was an addition of £109 10s. to the funds of the Committee.

Your Committee desire to acknowledge the kindness of the Manchester Committee, in placing at their disposal the services of their agent, Mrs. McCormick, for assisting at the arrangements of the meetings at Grantham and of the St. James's Hall and other meetings in London.

In February Mr. R. B. Kennett generously offered £500 to the funds of the Women's Suffrage Society on condition of £1,000 being contributed from other sources, this sum to be divided between the funds of the Central and the Manchester Committees. Although this amount was not fully made up, Mr. Kennett, with characteristic generosity, did not insist on the completion of the conditions, but, in consideration of the effort that had been made, sent a bank note for £500, of which £250 was paid to the funds of your Committee. It has been thought desirable to invest this money, in order that it may be in reserve to meet any increased expenditure or

sudden emergency that may arise during the passage of the Reform Bill through Parliament, or in case of a dissolution of Parliament. The following sums were paid to the funds of your Committee in response to Mr. Kennett's offer. Mrs. P. A. Taylor, £100; Miss Jessie Boucherett, £25; Mr. and Mrs. Pochin, £25; Miss Williams, £5; Mrs. Streatfield, £5; Miss Hull, £1; Miss Mordan, £1; Miss Courtenay, £100; Mrs. Lynch, £4 4s.; Mrs. E. Carbutt, £5; Mrs. Frank Snoad £5; Mrs. Garrett Anderson, £2 2s.; Mrs. Ruth £1; Miss Wilson, 10s. 6d.; The Kensington Ball Committee, £109 10s.; Miss Mills, 2s. 6d. Total £389 9s. The moiety of Mr. Kennett's donation was consequently received by your Committee.

Although the balance sheet shows a considerable sum in the hands of the Treasurer the amount will be absorbed in liabilities already incurred for public meetings and other work in connection at the preparation for the debate. Your Committee therefore earnestly call on their friends for the renewal and extension of the pecuniary support they have hitherto received.

In concluding their report your Committee desire to point out the urgent necessity for pressing the claims of duly qualified women to the suffrage in view of the measure for the assimilation of the county and borough franchise which may be brought forward next session, and which cannot be long delayed. They believe that the opinion of the country is in favour of including provisions for extending the Parliamentary franchise to women in the next Reform Bill, and that Parliament is prepared to give effect to that opinion as soon as its force shall be clearly manifested to them. They regard the present as a most momentous and hopeful period in the history of the movement, and they have every confidence in urging their friends throughout the country to continue and redouble their exertions with a reasonable hope that the cause is now within measurable distance of success.

## THE DIVISION LIST.

\* AYES.—130.

Acland, Sir T. Dyke (Devon, N.)  
 Allsopp, Charles  
 Armitstead, George  
 Bailey, Sir Joseph Russell  
 Barttelot, Sir Walter B.  
 Bass, Hamar (Tamworth)  
 Beach, Rt. Hon. Sir M. H. (Glo. E.)  
 Bentinck, Rt. Hon. G. C. (Whit'n)  
 Blennerhassett, Sir Rowland  
 Brassey, Henry A. (Sandwich)  
 Bright, Rt. Hon. John (Birmingham)  
 Bruce, Sir H. Hervey (Coleraine)  
 Bryce, James  
 Bulwer, James Redfoord  
 Cameron, Donald (Inverness)  
 Campbell, Sir George (Kirkcaldy)  
 Carden, Sir Robert Walter  
 Cartwright, William C.  
 Causton, Richard Knight  
 Cecil, Lord Eustace H. B. G.  
 Chaplin, Henry  
 Clive, Col. Hon. G. Windsor  
 Cole, Viscount  
 Colebrooke, Sir Thomas Edward  
 Corry, James Porter  
 Cotton, William J. R.  
 Crichton, Viscount  
 Cropper, James  
 Curzon, Major Hon. Montagu  
 Dalrymple, Charles  
 Davenport, H. T. (Staffordshire, N.)  
 Digby, Col. Hon. E.  
 Donaldson-Hudson, Charles  
 Duff, Robert William  
 Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir William Hart  
 Eaton, Henry William  
 Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton (Ches.)  
 Egerton, Adm. Hon. F. (Derby, E.)  
 Elliot, Hon. Art. R. D. (Roxburgsh.)  
 Errington, George  
 Estcourt, George Sotheron  
 Evans, Thomas William  
 Feilden, Lieut.-General  
 Finch, George H.  
 Fitzwilliam, Hon. H. W. (York)  
 Floyer, John  
 Folkestone, Viscount  
 Fort, Richard  
 Foster, Wm. Hen. (Bridgnorth)  
 Fremantle, Hon. Thomas F.  
 Gardner, Richardson  
 Gladstone, Rt. Hon. W. E.  
 Gladstone, Wm. Hen. (Worc. E.)  
 Glyn, Hon. Sidney Carr  
 Goldney, Sir Gabriel  
 Gordon, Sir Alex. (Aberdeen, E.)  
 Gower, Hon. E. F. Leveson  
 Greer, Thomas  
 Grosvenor, Lord Richard  
 Gurdon, Robert Thornhagh  
 Hamilton, Ion Trant (Dublin Co.)  
 Hamilton, Rt. Hon. Lord G. (Midx.)  
 Hamilton, J. Glen C. (Lanark, S.)  
 Hartington, Marquis of  
 Hay, Rt. Hon. Admiral Sir J. C. D.  
 Hayter, Sir Arthur Divett  
 Herbert, Hon. Sidney  
 Hill, Lord Arthur Wm. (Down)  
 Holland, Sir H. T. (Midhurst)  
 Holms, John (Hackney)  
 Holme, Lieut.-Col. David Milne  
 Hope, Rt. Hon. Alex. Beresford  
 Ince, Henry Bret  
 James, Sir Henry (Taunton)  
 Jerningham, Hubert Ed. Henry  
 Johnstone, Sir F. (Weymouth)  
 Kennaway, Sir John Henry  
 Kenny, Matthew Joseph  
 Kingscote, Colonel  
 Lefevre, Rt. Hon. Geo. John Shaw  
 Levett, Theophilus John  
 Lewisham, Viscount  
 Loder, Robert  
 Lowther, Hon. W. (Westmoreland)  
 Lyons, Robert Dyer  
 Maitland, William Fuller  
 Makins, Colonel  
 March, Earl of  
 Marriott, William Thackeray  
 Martin, R. B. (Tewkesbury)  
 Master, Thos. William Chester  
 Maxwell-Heron, J. (Kirkcud.)  
 Miles, Chas. Wm. (Malmesbury)  
 Miles, Sir Philip J. W. (Som. E.)  
 Mills, Sir Charles Henry  
 Monckton, Francis  
 Mowbray, Rt. Hon. Sir John R.  
 Newdegate, Charles Newdigate  
 Newport, Viscount  
 Pemberton, Edward Leigh  
 Percy, Earl (Northumberland, N.)  
 Percy, Lord Algernon (West'r.)  
 Plunket, Hon. David R.  
 Raikes, Rt. Hon. Henry Cecil  
 Ralli, Pandeli  
 Rendlesham, Lord  
 Ritchie, Charles Thomson  
 Roundell, Charles Savile  
 Russell, Lord Arthur (Tavistock)  
 St. Aubyn, Sir John (Corn. W.)

\* NOTE.—Owing to the form in which the question had to be put, the Ayes are the opponents and the Noes the supporters of Mr. Mason's Resolution.

Scott, Lord Henry (Hants, S.)  
 Scott, Montagu D. (Sussex, E.)  
 Sheil, Edward  
 Stevenson, James Cochran  
 Sykes, Christopher  
 Talbot, John Gilbert (Ox. Univ.)  
 Thornhill, Thomas  
 Tollemache, H. J. (Chesh. W.)  
 Tollemache, Hon. W. F. (Ches. W.)  
 Tomlinson, Wm. Edw. Murray  
 Vivian, Sir Hen. Hussey (Glam.)  
 Wallace, Sir Richard  
 Warburton, Piers Egerton  
 Warton, Charles Nicholas  
 Webster, Dr. John  
 Whitbread, Samuel  
 Willis, William  
 Winn, Rowland (Linc. N.)  
 Wodehouse, Edmond Robert  
 Wroughton, Philip  
 Tellers for the Ayes, Mr. Edward Leatham and Mr. Inderwick.

NOES.—114.

Agnew, William  
 Anderson, George  
 Arnold, Arthur  
 Ashmead-Bartlett, Ellis  
 Baldwin, Enoch  
 Barran, John  
 Bateson, Sir Thomas  
 Bective, Earl of  
 Biggar, Joseph Gillis  
 Blake, John Aloysius  
 Blennerhassett, Rowland P. (Kerry)  
 Borlase, William Copeland  
 Briggs, William Edward  
 Bright, Jacob (Manchester)  
 Brooks, W. Cunliffe (Chesh. E.)  
 Burt, Thomas  
 Cameron, Charles (Glasgow)  
 Clifford, Charles Cavendish  
 Cohen, Arthur (Southwark)  
 Collings, Jesse  
 Collins, Eugene (Kinsale)  
 Courtney, Leonard Henry  
 Cowen, Joseph  
 Creyke, Ralph  
 Cunliffe, Sir Robert Alfred  
 Davies, David (Cardigan)  
 De Ferrieres, Baron  
 Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles  
 Earp, Thomas  
 Edwards, Passmore (Salisbury)  
 Farquharson, Dr. Robert  
 Fawcett, Rt. Hon. Henry  
 Firth, Joseph F. B.  
 Forester, Cecil Theodore Weld  
 Fowler, Henry H. (Wolverhampton)  
 Fry, Lewis (Bristol)  
 Fry, Theodore (Darlington)  
 Gabbett, Daniel FitzGerald  
 Giles, Alfred  
 Grant, Andrew (Leith)  
 Grant, Daniel (Marylebone)  
 Harvey, Sir Robert Bateson  
 Henderson, Frank  
 Hibbert, John Tomlinson  
 Hollond, John Robt. (Brighton)  
 Hopwood, Charles Henry  
 Howard, James (Bedfordshire)  
 Illingworth, Alfred  
 James, Charles (Merthyr Tydvil)  
 Jenkins, Sir John J. (Carmar.)  
 Kennard, Colonel (Lymington)  
 Kinnear, John  
 Knightly, Sir Rainald  
 Lalor, Richard  
 Lawson, Sir Wilfrid  
 Leahy, James  
 Leake, Robert  
 Leamy, Edmund  
 Leatham, W. H. (York, W.R., S.D.)  
 Lechmere, Sir Edmund A. H.  
 Lee, Henry (Southampton)  
 Lusk, Sir Andrew  
 Macliver, Peter Stewart  
 M'Arthur, Alexander (Leicester)  
 M'Arthur, Sir Wm. (Lambeth)  
 M'Laren, Charles B. B.  
 Morgan, Hon. Fred. (Monm. Co.)  
 Morley, Arnold (Nottingham)  
 Morley, John (Newcastle)  
 Morley, Samuel (Bristol)  
 Nolan, Colonel  
 O'Beirne, Major  
 O'Brien, William (Mallow)  
 O'Connor, A. (Queen's Co.)  
 O'Gorman Mahon, Colonel The  
 Palmer, George (Reading)  
 Palmer, John Hinde (Lincoln)  
 Peddie, John Dick  
 Pennington, Frederick  
 Porter, Andrew Marshall  
 Potter, Thomas Bayley  
 Powell, W. Rice H.  
 Power, Richard (Waterford)  
 Pugh, Lewis Pugh  
 Puleston, John Henry  
 Ramsay, John  
 Rankin, James  
 Richard, Henry  
 Richardson, J. N. (Armagh Co.)  
 Richardson, Thos. (Hartlepool)  
 Roberts, John  
 Roe, Thomas  
 Ross, Alex. Henry (Maidstone)  
 Round, James  
 St. Aubyn, Walter M. (Helston)  
 Shaw, Thomas (Halifax)

Sinclair, Sir John G. Tollemache  
Smith, Eustace (Tynemouth)  
Spencer, Hon. Charles Robert  
Stansfeld, Rt. Hon. James  
Summers, William  
Taylor, Peter Alfred  
Thomasson, John Pennington  
Torrens, W. T. M.  
Villiers, Rt. Hon. C. Pelham

Tellers for the Noes, Mr. Mason and Baron Henry De Worms.

PAIRS FOR MR. MASON'S RESOLUTION.

FOR.

R. B. Mackie  
L. L. Dillwyn  
S. C. Buxton  
R. N. Fowler  
W. Findlater  
W. H. Wills  
Sir C. Forster  
W. J. Stanton  
J. McCarthy  
F. Buxton (Andover)  
P. Rylands  
J. Dodd  
J. E. Thorold Rogers  
C. F. Mackintosh  
W. N. Nicholson  
Right Hon. G. Cubitt  
Sir H. Verney  
J. F. Cheetham  
J. Slagg  
Sir Massey Lopes  
C. R. M. Talbot  
J. S. Balfour  
H. Wiggin  
H. B. Sheridan  
E. R. King-Harman  
J. E. Gorst  
A. Orr Ewing  
G. Courtauld  
H. Villiers Stuart  
B. Armitage  
M. C. Buzsard  
T. W. Boord  
P. McLagan  
H. B. Samuelson  
G. W. Hastings  
R. O'Shaughnessy  
C. M. Norwood  
J. C. McCoan  
Sir B. Leighton, Bart.  
T. R. Hill  
W. S. Caine  
J. G. McMinnies  
E. H. Carbutt  
T. C. Thompson  
C. J. Kennard (Salisb.)  
F. T. Mappin  
Cyril Flower

Walrond, Col. William Hood  
Watkin, Sir Edward W.  
Waugh, Edward  
Whitworth, Benjamin  
Williams, S. C. Evans (Radnor)  
Williamson, Stephen  
Wilson, Sir Mathew (York. W.R.)  
Woodall, William  
Yorke, John Reginald

AGAINST.

A. Pell  
C. T. D. Acland  
Hon. L. Stanley  
Col. Blackburne  
D. R. Onslow  
W. H. Long  
Rt. Hon. J. G. Dodson  
C. J. Monk  
E. Whitley  
Hon. W. H. B. Portman  
J. E. Severne  
G. B. Gregory  
H. Edwards (Weymouth)  
J. Stewart  
Sir H. Maxwell  
Rt. Hon. Sir R. Cross  
W. L. Jackson  
R. P. Bruce (Fifeshire)  
F. W. Grafton  
A. P. Vivian  
W. B. Beaumont  
Rt. Hon. W. E. Baxter  
A. Peel  
Lord Burghley  
A. Loftus Tottenham  
T. Salt  
Sir F. Herschell  
Sir E. H. K. Lacon  
C. Seeley  
J. C. Bolton  
Rt. Hon. W. E. Forster  
Hon. P. S. Wyndham  
Sir W. H. B. Ffolkes, Bt.  
A. Moore  
Sir J. Eardley Wilmot, Bt.  
A. H. Bellingham  
W. F. Ecroyd  
Sir J. Trevor Lawrence, Bt.  
Lord Moreton  
R. N. Philips  
H. Broadhurst  
E. Hicks  
Sir M. W. Ridley, Bt.  
R. J. Reid  
C. J. Phipps (Westbury)  
Rt. Hon. Sir W. Harcourt  
Lord Baring

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

*Of the Central Committee, held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, on  
Thursday, July 19th, 1883.*

LEONARD COURTNEY, Esq., M.P., IN THE CHAIR.

*The Secretary read the Annual Report and Statement of Accounts.*

*Chairman's Address.*

*Resolution I. :—Moved by Dr. CAMERON, M.P.; Seconded by  
COLERIDGE J. KENNARD, Esq., M.P.*

That this Meeting adopt the Report and Statement of Accounts  
just read, and direct that they be circulated.

*Resolution II. :—Moved by Mrs. ORMISTON CHANT; Seconded by  
W. H. ARCHDALE, Esq., M.P.*

That the best thanks of this Meeting be given to Mr. HUGH MASON,  
BARON DE WORMS, Mr. ELLIS ASHMEAD-BARTLETT, Mr. HENRY  
H. FOWLER, Mr. JACOB BRIGHT and Mr. COURTNEY for intro-  
ducing and supporting the Resolution for extending the  
Parliamentary Franchise to Women who possess the qualifica-  
tions which entitle Men to Vote, and who in all matters of  
local government have the right of voting, and this Meeting  
pledges itself to support any further steps that may be taken  
by their Parliamentary friends to obtain the assent of the  
Legislature to this proposal.

*Resolution III. :—Moved by The Rt. Hon. JAMES STANSFELD, M.P.;  
Seconded by Miss MÜLLER; Supported by Miss  
WILKINSON.*

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

The Chair was taken by A. W. BENNETT, Esq.

*Resolution IV. :—Moved by Miss TOD; Seconded by Miss  
C. A. BIGGS.*

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

\* For list of Executive Committee, see page 2.

STATEMENT of RECEIPTS and EXPENDITURE from JULY 1st, 1882, to JUNE 30th, 1883.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
£	s. d.	£	s. d.
To Balance in Bank at last Account	65 9 4	By Salaries	285 8 0
" Cash in Secretary's Hand	2 0 3	" Rent	76 5 0
" Subscriptions and Donations	8 18 0	" Office Expenses	36 16 7
" Sale of Publications	5 6 6	" Postage and Carriage	70 14 10
" Tickets		" Stationery	7 19 5
" Interest on Capital		" Printing	63 18 6
		" Petition Headings	5 1 5
		" Publications bought—W. S. Journal	44 8 0
		" " Newspapers	4 16 10
		" " Parliamentary Papers	3 0 0
		" Meetings	52 4 10
		" Bank Charges	145 18 5
		" Auditing Accounts	1 9 10
		" Investment of Special Donation	2 2 0
		" Balance in Bank	250 0 0
		" Cash in Secretary's Hand	241 4 8
			21 9 3
	<u>£1,260 12 9</u>		<u>£1,260 12 9</u>

Examined and found correct.—MARY E. WARNE.  
13th July, 1883.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS.

July 1st, 1882, to June 30th, 1883.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Anderson, Mrs. Garrett	3	13	0	Brocklehurst, Mrs.	0	2	0
Anderson, Mrs. Hall	2	2	0	Blomfield, Mrs. S.	0	1	0
Allen, Mrs.	1	1	0	Courtenay, Miss	100	0	0
Astley, Miss	1	1	0	Carbutt, Mrs. Ed.	5	0	0
Askey, Mrs. F. D.	1	0	0	Cawston, Miss	3	0	0
Abbott, The Rev. E. A.	0	10	6	Courtauld, Miss	2	2	0
Armitage, Mrs. H. T.	0	10	0	Chamberlain, Mrs. V. Ind.	1	11	6
Albright, Mr.	0	10	0	Canning, The Hon. E. R.	1	1	6
Aldridge, Mrs.	0	5	0	Charles, Mrs.	1	1	6
Aneley, Miss	0	5	0	Courtney, The Misses	1	1	0
Anderson, Miss	0	5	0	Crook, Mrs. Joseph	1	1	0
Alger, Miss	0	5	0	Cross, Mr. J. Ashton	1	1	0
Andrews, Miss	0	5	0	Crawford, Mrs. Donald	1	1	0
Albert, The Misses	0	5	0	Colbeck, Mr. Ch., M.A.	1	0	0
Anonymous	0	2	6	Carpenter, Mrs. R.	1	0	0
Anderson, Miss	0	2	0	Conybere, Mr. C. A.	0	10	6
Ball Committee	109	10	0	Curtis, Mrs.	0	10	0
Boucherett, Miss J.	35	0	0	Clarke, Mrs. Benjamin	0	10	0
Brown, Mrs. W. S.	3	0	0	Clegg, Mrs. S.	0	10	0
Babb, Miss	2	2	0	Cook, Mrs.	0	7	6
Bowring, Lady	2	0	0	Carter, Miss	0	6	6
Boddy, Miss	2	0	0	Clarke, Mrs. Pickering	0	5	0
Bromley Committee	2	0	0	Corfield, Miss E.	0	5	0
Bewicke, Miss (2 years)	2	0	0	Charlesworth, Mrs.	0	5	0
Buss, Miss	1	1	0	Cowell, Mrs.	0	5	0
Bateson, Mrs.	1	1	0	Clark, Miss	5	0	0
Biggs, Miss C. A.	1	1	0	Cook, Miss	0	2	6
Biggs, Miss Ashurst	1	1	0	Clarke, Miss Pickering	0	2	6
Biggs, Mr. Joseph	1	1	0	Clodd, Miss	0	2	6
Bennett, Mr.	1	1	0	Corlass, Mr. F. C.	0	2	6
Bostock, Miss	1	1	0	Crossman, Miss J. H.	0	2	6
Bruce, Mrs.	1	1	0	Cooper, Miss T.	0	2	6
Babb, Mr. J. Staines	1	1	0	Chesterman, Miss	0	2	0
Beddard, Mr.	1	0	0	Dilke, Mrs. Ashton	5	0	0
Beale, Miss	1	0	0	Dixon, Mr. George	1	1	0
Bolding, Mrs.	1	0	0	Dilke, Sir Charles	1	0	0
Benham, Mr. James	0	10	6	De Morgan, Mrs.	1	0	0
Bolton, Mrs.	0	10	0	Drummond, The Hon. Mrs.	1	0	0
Bailey, Mrs. Walter	0	10	0	Dublin Committee	1	0	0
Buss, Mrs. Septimus	0	5	0	Du Sautoz, Mrs.	0	10	0
Beevor, Miss	0	5	0	Debenham, Mr. F.	0	5	0
Barningham, Miss	0	5	0	Davies, The Rev. J. L.	0	5	0
Bird, Miss Lucy	0	5	0	Deacon, Mrs.	0	5	0
Boyle, Miss	0	5	0	Eiloart, Mrs. (2 years)	1	1	0
Bridell-Fox, Mrs.	0	2	6	Fastwick, Mr. E.B., C.B.	1	1	0
Bevington, Mrs. A.	0	2	6	Estlin, Miss	1	1	0
Burns, The Rev. Robert	0	2	6	Ellis, Miss Jane	1	1	0
Bassett, Mr.	0	2	6	Elliott, Miss	0	5	0
Bell, Mr. A. G.	0	2	0	Edmonds, Mrs.	0	2	6
Brooksbank, Mrs.	0	2	0				
Barretto, Mrs.	0	2	0				

	£	s.	d.
Fawcett, Mr. & Mrs. Hy.	5	0	0
Fletcher, Mrs. G. H.	2	2	0
Finch, Miss	1	0	0
Furse, Miss Annie	1	0	0
Fisher, Mrs. R. C.	0	10	6
Fawcett, Mrs. W. W.	0	10	6
Fry, Mrs. Hume	0	4	0
Foa, Mr. Octave	0	2	6
Frewin, Miss	0	1	0
Garnett, Mrs.	75	0	0
Glover, Mrs. Susan	7	7	0
Grey, Mrs. William	2	2	0
Goldsmid, Lady	2	2	0
Gill, Mr. Lytton	1	1	0
Goldsmid, Miss C.	1	0	0
Greenock, Mr. Alan	1	0	6
Gwynne, Miss I.	1	0	0
Grove, Miss (2 years)	0	10	0
Grant, Mrs.	0	5	0
Greggs, Mrs.	0	5	0
Griffiths, Mr.	0	5	0
Greig, Mrs. T. D.	0	2	6
Heywood, Mr. James	10	10	0
Holland, Mrs.	5	0	0
Higgins, Mrs. Napier	2	3	6
Hopwood, Mr., Q.C., M.P.	2	2	0
Hill, Misses Davenport	2	2	0
Howard, Mrs.	2	0	0
Howard, Mr. James	1	1	0
Holland, Mrs. John	1	1	0
Holland, Miss	1	1	0
Hullah, Mrs.	1	0	0
Hull, Miss	1	2	0
Horn, Miss	1	0	0
Hill, Miss	1	0	0
Hill, Mr. Frederic	1	0	0
Hanbury, Miss Blanch	0	15	0
Harrison, Miss F.	0	10	6
Hales, Professor	0	10	6
Higgins, Miss	0	10	0
Hennell, Miss Sara	0	5	0
Hallock, Mrs.	0	5	0
Hallam, Miss	0	4	0
Helps, Mrs. Somers	0	2	6
Heblethwaite, Miss	0	2	6
Hart, Mr. P. M.	0	2	6
Hall, Mr. S.	0	2	6
Humphry, Mrs.	0	2	6
Hooper, Mrs. G.	0	2	6
Harris, Mrs.	0	1	0
Impey, Mrs.	0	5	0
Jones, Mrs. R. Compton	1	1	0
Jenkins, Mr. E.	0	10	6
Johnson, Miss	0	10	0
Jones, Miss (2 years)	0	6	0

	£	s.	d.
Johnson, Mrs. S. J.	0	3	0
Janion, Miss	0	2	6
Julians, Mrs.	0	2	6
Kennett, Mr. R. B.	250	0	0
Keer, Mrs. Clarke	0	5	0
Kitton, Miss	0	2	6
Lynch, Mrs.	5	15	0
Leon, Mrs. G. F. (2 years)	2	2	0
Lusk, Sir Andrew	1	1	0
Lewis, Mrs.	1	1	0
Lucas, Mrs.	1	1	0
Leach, Mrs.	1	1	0
Lawrie, Mrs.	1	0	0
Leonard, Mr. Selve	0	10	6
Ledsam, Miss M.	0	10	0
Lowe, Mrs.	0	10	0
Lee, Mrs. M. A.	0	5	0
Larkcom, Miss Agnes	0	5	0
Lord, The Misses	0	5	0
Langdale, Mrs.	0	5	0
Le Geyt, Miss (2 years)	0	4	0
Lechtie, Mrs.	0	2	6
Lewis, Mr.	0	2	6
Lawrence, Mrs. W. H.	0	2	6
Lewin, Miss	0	2	0
Larner, Mrs.	0	1	0
Morrison, Mrs. Frank	75	0	0
Mensbiers, Mrs.	1	1	6
Morris, Mrs. Lewis	1	1	0
Mordan, Miss	2	1	0
Metaxa, Count	1	1	0
Mowatt, Mrs.	1	1	0
Malleson, Mrs. William	1	1	0
Marsden, Mr. Mark	1	1	0
Morgan, Mr. William	0	5	0
Mills, Miss	0	7	6
McKee, Miss	0	5	0
Mattingly, Mrs.	0	5	0
Masters, Mrs. Catherine	0	2	6
Mayo, Miss	0	2	0
Masters, Mrs.	0	2	0
Newnham, Miss	1	1	6
Newcombe, Mrs. Prout	1	1	0
Nightingale, Miss	1	1	0
Newman, Professor	1	0	0
Nichols, Miss	1	0	0
Owen, Mrs.	0	5	0
Oakley, Mr. Alfred	0	2	6
Pochin, Mr. and Mrs.	25	0	0
Paulton, Mrs.	2	0	0
Pidgeon, Mrs.	1	1	0
Priestman, The Misses	1	1	0
Ponder, The Misses	0	5	0
Peppercorn, Miss	0	5	0

	£	s.	d.
Perrier, Mrs.	0	5	0
Pennack, Mrs.	0	2	6
Polley, Miss	0	2	3
Potter, Mrs.	0	2	0
Parsons, Mrs.	0	2	0
Ruth, Miss	2	1	0
Robertson, Miss	1	1	0
Rossetti, Mr. William	1	1	0
Roberts, Mr. Owen	1	1	0
Ransom, Mrs. Edward	1	1	0
Robertson, Mrs. G. E.	1	0	0
Rawlinson, Miss	0	10	0
Royce, Miss	0	10	0
Reid, Mr. J. S.	0	7	6
Reid, Miss	0	5	0
Raven, Miss	0	5	0
Rees, Miss	0	5	0
Robson, Mrs.	0	4	0
Rudd, Mrs.	0	2	6
Streatfield, Mrs.	6	1	0
Snoad, Mrs. Frank	5	0	0
Shaen, Rev. R.	1	1	0
Slack, Mrs.	1	1	0
Swanwick, Miss Anna	1	1	0
Shaen, Mr. William	1	1	0
Stone, Miss	1	1	0
Sterling, Mrs.	1	1	0
Symon, Mr.	1	1	0
Smith, Mr. E. H.	1	0	0
Slous, Mrs.	1	0	0
Savile, Mrs.	1	0	0
Scull, Mrs.	0	11	6
Sanderson, Mr. Cobden	0	10	6
Streatfield, Mr. and Mrs. W. H.	0	10	0
Smith, Mrs. Howard	0	10	0
Spokes, Lady	0	10	0
Southall, The Misses	0	10	0
Spokes, Miss	0	5	0
Spokes, Miss A.	0	5	0
Snow, Mrs.	0	5	0
Sercombe, Miss	0	5	0
Sainsbury, Mrs.	0	2	6
Shipton, Mr. S.	0	2	6
Slatter, Miss	0	2	6
Sharpe, Miss M. C.	0	2	6
Sharpe, Miss M.	0	2	6
Seakins, Mrs.	0	2	6
Seakins, Miss	0	2	6
Seakins, Mr.	0	2	6
Stanley, Mrs.	0	2	0
Shortt, Mr. J. F.	0	2	0
Samson, Miss	0	1	0
Taylor, Mrs. P. A.	100	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Thomasson, Mr. and Mrs.	50	0	0
Taylor, Mrs. Thomas	5	0	0
Turnbull, Mrs.	5	10	0
Tebb, Mr. and Mrs. W.	2	2	0
Tebb, Mrs. (Belalp)	1	5	0
Turle, Mr. J. M. D.	1	1	0
Thomas, Mrs. Charles	1	1	0
Taylor, Mrs.	1	1	0
Todhunter, Mr. W. H.	0	10	6
Thomas, Miss R.	0	10	6
Turnbull, Miss	0	10	0
Tennant, Mrs.	0	10	0
Travers, Miss	0	10	0
Toomer, Mr.	0	5	0
Torr, Mr. James F.	0	5	0
Turle, Miss	0	2	6
Turle, Miss S. A.	0	2	6
Turle, Rev. W. H.	0	2	6
Upton, Mrs.	0	1	0
Vincent, Miss	0	5	0
Van Putten, Miss	0	2	6
Vernon, Miss	0	2	0
Williams, Miss	15	0	0
Williams, Mr. Price	2	2	0
Wharnccliffe, The Dowager Lady	2	2	0
Wedgwood, Mrs. Hensleigh	2	0	0
Warrington, Miss E.	1	1	0
Williams, Mrs. Morgan	1	1	0
White, Mr. Meryon	1	1	0
Woodward, Mrs. Hosken	1	1	0
Wood, Mrs. Emma	1	1	0
Wyatt, Edgell Rev.	1	1	0
Wood, Mrs. M. A. (4 years)	1	0	0
Weld, Miss Helen	1	0	0
Wilkinson, Mr. J. K.	1	0	0
Wansey, Miss E.	1	0	0
Wilson, Mr. Arthur	1	0	0
Wells, Mr. T. H.	1	0	0
Willson, Miss	0	16	6
Warren, Miss	0	10	6
Warne, Miss	0	10	6
Wedgwood, Miss Julia	0	10	0
Williams, Mrs.	0	10	0
Wilson, Mr. T.	0	5	0
Waterall, Mr. Nathaniel	0	5	0
Weld, Miss Mabel	0	5	0
Waid, Mr. E. H.	0	5	0
Wates, Mrs.	0	5	0
Walker, Miss	0	3	0
White, Miss R. C.	0	1	0
Young, Mr. Thomas	0	10	0

## GENERAL COMMITTEE.

Allen, W. Shepherd, Esq., M.P.  
 Arnold, Arthur, Esq., M.P.  
 Baldwin, Enoch, Esq., M.P.  
 Blake, J. A. Esq., M.P.  
 Blennerhassett, R. P., Esq., M.P.  
 Bright, Jacob, Esq., M.P.  
 Brooks, Maurice, Esq., M.P.  
 Brown, Alexander, Esq., M.P.  
 Burt, Thomas, Esq., M.P.  
 Caine, W. S., Esq., M.P.  
 Cameron, Dr., M.P.  
 Collings, Jesse, Esq., M.P.  
 Collins, Eugene, Esq., M.P.  
 Courtauld, George, Esq., M.P.  
 Courtney, L. H., Esq., M.P.  
 Cowen, Joseph, Esq., M.P.  
 Craig, W. Y., Esq., M.P.  
 Dickson, T. A., Esq., M.P.  
 Earp, Thomas, Esq., M.P.  
 Ewing, A. Orr, Esq., M.P.  
 Fawcett, Rt. Hon. Henry, M.P.  
 Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmund, M.P.  
 Flower, Cyril, Esq., M.P.  
 Fowler, R.N., Esq., M.P.  
 Fry, Lewis, Esq., M.P.  
 Fry, Theodore, Esq., M.P.  
 Gourley, Col., M.P.  
 Holden, Isaac, Esq., M.P.  
 Hopwood, C. H., Esq., Q.C., M.P.  
 Howard, James, Esq., M.P.  
 Illingworth, A., Esq., M.P.  
 Jenkins, Sir J. Jones, M.P.  
 Jenkins, D. J., Esq., M.P.  
 Aldis, Prof. W. S. (Ryton-on-Tyne)  
 Aldis, Mrs.  
 Amos, Professor Sheldon (Hitchin)  
 Amos, Mrs. S.  
 Anderson, Mrs. Garrett, M.D.  
 Anstruther, Sir Robert, Bart. (Fife)  
 Anstruther, Lady  
 Anthony, Chas., Esq., jun. (Hereford)  
 Antrobus, Sir Edmund, Bart.  
 (Amesbury)  
 Arnold, Edwin, Esq., C.S.I.  
 Ashford, Mrs. (Birmingham)  
 Askey, Mrs.  
 Babb, Miss C. E.  
 Kennard, Coleridge J., Esq., M.P.  
 Kinnear, J., D.D., M.P.  
 Lawson, Sir Wilfrid, Bart., M.P.  
 Leatham, W. H., Esq., M.P.  
 Lusk, Sir Andrew, Bart., M.P.  
 McArthur, Alex., Esq., M.P.  
 McLagan, Peter, Esq., M.P.  
 McLaren, Charles, Esq., M.P.  
 McMinnies, J. G., Esq., M.P.  
 Mason, Hugh, Esq., M.P.  
 Morley, Samuel, Esq., M.P.  
 Mundella, Rt. Hon. Anth., J., M.P.  
 Nicholson, W. Newzam, Esq., M.P.  
 Otway, Sir Arthur J., M.P.  
 Palmer, George, Esq., M.P.  
 Palmer, J. Hinde, Esq., Q.C., M.P.  
 Pease, Arthur, Esq., M.P.  
 Pennington, F., Esq., M.P.  
 Potter, T. B., Esq., M.P.  
 Reed, Sir E. J., K.C.B., M.P.  
 Richard, Henry, Esq., M.P.  
 Roe, Thos., Esq., M.P.  
 Rogers, Prof. Thorold, M.P.  
 Rylands, Peter, Esq., M.P.  
 Samuelson, H. B., Esq., M.P.  
 Sinclair, Sir J. G. Tollemache, Bt., M.P.  
 Stansfeld, Rt. Hon. James, M.P.  
 Summers, W., Esq., M.P.  
 Taylor, P. A., Esq., M.P.  
 Thomasson, J. P., Esq., M.P.  
 Villiers, Right Hon. C. P., M.P.  
 Williams, S. C. Evans, Esq., M.P.  
 Woodall, W., Esq., M.P.  
 Bastian, H. C., Esq., M.D., F.L.S.,  
 F.R.S.  
 Becker, Miss (Manchester)  
 Beddoe, Mrs. (Clifton)  
 Bennett, Sir John  
 Bennett, Alfred W., Esq.  
 Bernays, Dr. A.  
 Biggs, Miss Ashurst  
 Biggs, Miss Caroline Ashurst  
 Bigg, Miss (Luton)  
 Blackburn, Miss Helen (Bristol)  
 Boecker, Miss  
 Bostock, Miss  
 Boucherett, Miss (Willingham)

Boucherett, Miss I. (Willingham)  
 Bowring, Lady (Exeter)  
 Bright, Mrs. Jacob  
 Brine, Colonel (Teignmouth)  
 Brine, Mrs.  
 Brooke, Rev. Stopford.  
 Browne, Mrs. Samuel W.  
 Buckton, Mrs. Joseph  
 Bunting, Percy, Esq.  
 Bunting, Mrs.  
 Burn, Rev. R., M.A., (Cambridge)  
 Burns, Rev. Dawson  
 Burns, Mrs. Dawson  
 Burton, Mrs. Hill (Edinburgh)  
 Buss, Mrs. Septimus  
 Butler, Rev. G. (Winchester)  
 Butler, Mrs.  
 Byers, Mrs. (Belfast)  
 Canning, Hon. Emmeline  
 Caird, Mrs. J. (Micheldever)  
 Carlyle, Mrs. Alex.  
 Charley, Sir W. T.  
 Chesson, F. W., Esq.  
 Chesson, Mrs.  
 Clark, Mrs. Helen Bright (Street)  
 Clarke, Thos. Chatfield, Esq.  
 Cobden, Miss  
 Cobden, Miss Jane  
 Cobbe, Miss F. Power  
 Collier, W. F. Esq. (Plymouth)  
 Colvin, Sydney, Esq., M.A.  
 Courtenay, Miss  
 Croad, G. H., Esq.  
 Crook, Joseph, Esq. (Bolton)  
 Crook, Mrs.  
 Cross, Mrs. Joseph, (Bolton)  
 Dale, Rev. R. W. (Birmingham)  
 Dalglish, Robert, Esq. (Glasgow)  
 Dalway, R. M., Esq. (Carrickfergus)  
 Davids, Mrs. Rhys  
 Davies, Rev. Llewelyn  
 Dilke, Mrs. Ashton  
 Dimsdale, Baron (Hertford)  
 Dixon, George, Esq. (Birmingham)  
 Drummond, The Hon. Mrs. Maurice  
 (Hampstead)  
 Duckworth, Canon  
 Eiloart, Mrs.  
 Ellis, Alex. J., Esq., F.R.S.  
 Estlin, Miss (Bristol)  
 Ewing, H. E. Crum, Esq. (Helensburgh)  
 Exeter, the Lord Bishop of  
 Fawcett, Mrs. H.  
 Fawcett, W., Esq. (Norwood)  
 Fawcett, Mrs. W.  
 Fisher, Mrs. (Midhurst)  
 Fitch, J. G., Esq.  
 Forsyth, W., Esq., Q.C.  
 Forsyth, Mrs.  
 Fraser, Rev. Donald  
 Garrett, Miss Agnes  
 Glover, Mrs. Susan  
 Goldsmid, Lady  
 Graves, A. P., Esq.  
 Green, The Rev. C. (Bromley)  
 Greenwell, Alan, Esq. (Clifton)  
 Grieve, Jas. J., Esq. (Gourock)  
 Hales, Professor  
 Hallett, Mrs. Ashworth (Bristol)  
 Hamilton, Mrs. (Bray, Dublin)  
 Hamilton, Mrs. J. (Ayrshire)  
 Hamilton, Miss  
 Harberton, Viscount  
 Harberton, Viscountess  
 Hare, Thomas, Esq.  
 Hargreaves, Mrs. William (Woking)  
 Haslam, Mrs. (Dublin)  
 Haweis, Rev. H. R.  
 Hawkes, Alderman (Birmingham)  
 Heywood, Jas., Esq., F.R.S.  
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 Hill, Mrs. Frank H.  
 Hill, Miss K.  
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 Holland, Mrs. Charles  
 Hollond, Mrs. John  
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 Kane, Lady  
 Kinnear, J. Boyd, Esq.  
 Kirk, Professor  
 Kitchener, F. E., Esq. (Newcastle-  
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 Law, Hon. W. Towrie  
 Lawrie, Mrs. A.  
 Laye, Mrs. Ramsay  
 Le Geyt, Miss Alice (Bournemouth)  
 L'Estrange, Rev. A. G.  
 Lewis, Mrs. G. H.  
 Liddell, Hon. Mrs. Thomas  
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- Lucas, Mrs.  
 Lucraft, Benjamin, Esq.  
 Lush, Dr. J. A.  
 Lynch, Mrs. E. M.  
 MacCombie, William, Esq. (Aberdeen)  
 Macdonald, Rev. W. (Hampstead)  
 Macdonald, Mrs. "  
 Macdonell, Mrs. James  
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 McLaren, Mrs. "  
 McLaren, Mrs. Charles  
 McLaren, Miss Agnes, M.D. (Edinburgh)
- Macmillan, Alex., Esq.  
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 Mar, Countess of  
 Marsden, Mark, Esq.  
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 Morrison, Walter, Esq.  
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 Müller, Miss  
 Murphy, Rev. G. M.  
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- Nichol, Mrs. (Edinburgh)  
 Nightingale, Miss Florence  
 Pankhurst, Dr. (Manchester)  
 Parry, Lady Maude  
 Parry, H., Esq.  
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 Pattison, Rev. Mark (Oxford)  
 Pattison, Mrs.  
 Paulton, Mrs. A. W. (Woking)  
 Pears, Edwin, Esq.  
 Pennington, Mrs. F.  
 Picton, Rev. J. Allanson, M.A.  
 Pochin, H. D., Esq.  
 Pochin, Mrs.  
 Poole, Stanley Lane, Esq., M.R.A.S. (Richmond)
- Power, Sir W. Tyrone, K.C.B.  
 Power, Lady  
 Pratt, Hodgson, Esq.  
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 Shaen, William, Esq.  
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 Suffield, Rev. Rudolph (Reading)  
 Swanwick, Miss Anna  
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 Taylor, Miss Helen  
 Taylour, Miss (Redditch)  
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 Thomas, Mrs. Charles (Stoke-Bishop, Bristol)
- Thomas, Rev. Urijah (Bristol)  
 Thomasson, Mrs.  
 Tod, Miss (Belfast)  
 Turner, Capt. Polhill  
 Wait, W. Killigrew, Esq. (Clifton)  
 Wallace, A. R., Esq., F.R.G.S.  
 Ward, Mrs. E. M.  
 Wedgwood, Hensleigh, Esq.  
 Wedgwood, Mrs.  
 Wedgwood, Miss Julia  
 White, Meryon, Esq.  
 Wigham, Miss (Edinburgh)  
 Wilde, Lady  
 Wilks, Rev. Mark  
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 Williams, A. J., Esq.  
 Wilson, Sir R. Knyvet, Bart. (Cambridge)
- Wingfield, Sir Charles, K.C.S.I.  
 Winkworth, Mrs. Stephen  
 Winkworth, Mrs. Susannah (Clifton)  
 Wyatt-Edgell, Rev. E.

## ESTYNIAD YR ETHOLFRAINT I FYNYWOD.

Cynnygiwyd y canlynol gan Mr. Mason, yn Nhy y Cyffredin, Gorffenhaff 6fd :—

“Fod y Ty hwn yn barnu y dylau yr Etholfraint Seneddol gael ei estyn i fynywod sydd yn meddu yr un cymhwysderau ag sydd yn rhoddi hawl i ddynion i bleidleisio, ar rhai sydd yn mhob materion o Lywodraith leol a hawl ganddynt i bleidleisio.”

Gellir cyfrif y ddadl ar ymranid y cynnygiad yma fel brwydr rhagarweiniol mewn dysgwyliad am yr ymdrech ddifrifol, a wneir i osod *Estyniad Etholfraint i Fyngwod* yn narpariaethau y Mesur Diwigiadol nesaf. Y mae yr hyn arddangoswyd gan y frwydr o natur galonogol iawn. Y mae “*result*” yr ymranid yn ddangos cynydd amlwg ai cydmaru ar yrmanid gymerodd le yn y flwyddin 1879. Cafodd cynnygiad Mr. Mason ei gefnogi gan 114 o bleidleisiau yn cynnwys yr canlynol.

O Deheudir Cymry, frwyd y gwrthwynebwyd ef gan 130, y mwyafrif yn eu herbyn, dim ond 16 yn unig. Yn 1879 cafod Mr. Courtney oedd a gofal y cynnygiad arno yr amser hyny 103 o gefnogwyr, a 217 o wrthwynebwyr. Felly y mae cefnogwyr y mesur wedi cynyddu 11, ar gwrthwynebwyr wedi lleihan 87. Ymae y mwyafrif gwrthwynebol wedi cwmpo o 114 i 16. Yr oedd 45 wedi “*paro*.” Yr oedd y mwyafrif o 132, yn cynnwys cyfrifwyr, a wrthwynebodd y cynnygiad yn cael eu gwneuthur i fyny o 78 o Ceidwadwyr, 51 o Rhyddfrydwyr, a 3 “*Home*

*Rulers.*" Yr oedd y lleiafrif 116, gan hefyd gyfrif y cyfrifwyr yn cael ei gwneuthur i fyny o 84 o Rhyddfrydwyr, 19 o Geidwadwyr, a 13 o "*Home Rulers.*" Cydmariad ar dosraniad ai ffigurem yn 1879 a dengys gynnydd amlwg o ffafwr y cwestiwn ar ochr Rhyddfrydol y Ty. Yn 1879 pleidleisiodd 64 o Rhyddfrydwyr yn erbyn, a 62 dros y cynygiad, felly yr oedd y cwestiwn yr amser hyny mewn lleiafrif bychan hyd yn nod ymlith Rhyddfrydwyr a gymerodd rhan yn yr ymranid. Ond yn awr or Rhyddfrydwyr a bleidleisiodd y mae mwyafrif o 31 o blaid mesur Mr. Mason. Wrth gyfrif pleidleisiau, cyfrifwyr, a rhai a "*barodd*" ar bob ochr, y mae y nifer yn 161\* dros, a 177† yn erbyn. Y mae o'r nifer olaf 99 yn Geidwadwyr, 73 yn Rhyddfrydwyr, a 5 yn "*Home Rulers.*" O'er aelodau Seneddol newyddion a gafodd fanters am y tro cyntaf o bleidleisio ar y cwestiwn, y mae ar gyfarbaledd 3 dros a 2 yn erbyn wedi cefnogi yr egwyddor. Y mae hyn yn dangos yn mha gyfeiriad mae barn boliticaidd a chyhoeddus yn myned, ac yn rhoddi tir rhesymol i ddisgwyl pan y daw y cwestiwn iw ddadleu yn ffurf ymarferol adran o'r mesur Diwigiadol nesaf, y bydd yn amhosibl i wrthod y cais rhesymol ar rhan y mynywod on derbyniad o fewn cledr y cyfansoddiad gwladol.

\*Yn ymismg yr aelodau cantynol dros ddeillion Cymry:—

David Davies, Abertifi; L. L. Dillwyn, Abertawe; Cyril Flower, Aberhonddi; C. H. James, Merthyr; Sir J. Jenkins, Caerfyrddin; W. R. H. Powell, Sir Caerfyrddin; L. P. Pugh, Sir Abertifi; Henry Richard, Merthyr; C. R. M. Talbot, Sir Forganwg; S. C. Evans Williams, New Radnor.

†Fuller Maitland, Aberhonddi; Sir Hussey Vivian, Morganwg.

## Dyfeisia y Dyn Rhyddfrydig Bethau Rhyddfrydig.

Beth feddylir wrth Rhyddid Politicaidd?

DYWED JOHN STUART MILL.—“A ydyw yn rhywbeth ond llywodraethiad y rhai hyny wna "*Politics*" yn "*Fusnes*" gan rhai na wna hyny? Ai nid hanfod Rhyddid gwladol ydyw fod dynion yn dyfod oddiwrth eu gwahanol alwedigaethau i benderfynu, a phenderfynu yn iawn, pa un a ydynt yn cael ei llywodraethu yn briodol a phwy gaiff en llywodraethu.”

Nid ydyw mynywod yn gwneuthur *Politics* yn *fusnes*, felly dylent gael llais mewn dewis rhai wnâ. Dylent ddyfod, on ceginau, au ffermydd, au llaethdai i bleidleisio.

Pa ddefnydd ydyw Rhyddid Politicaidd?

DYWEDODD MR. GLADSTONE.—“Dylai pawb sydd yn byw mewn glwad gymerid dyddordeb yn y wlad hyny, dylent garu y wlad, a gofalu fod y bleidlais yn ymwybyddu y dyddordeb ac yn meithrin y cariad.

Mae mynywod yn byw yn y wlad yma, ac yn amddifad or bleidlais sydd yn meithryn y cariad, ar dyddordeb yma.

*Nid ydyw Rhyddid Politicaidd* un peth i ddynion a pheth arall i fynywod y mae yr un i bawb.

*Rhyddfrydwyr!* Cynnorthwywch fynywod i gael yr Etholfraint ar yr un telerau a chwi eich hunain.

Gellir cael ffurfian o Ddeisebau a rhagor o wybodaeth, ond anfon at yr Ysgrifenyddion o Gymdeithas Estyniad yr Etholfraint i Fynywod dros Deheudu Cymry, 20, Park Street, Bristol.



## WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

### RECENT OPINIONS OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

The Postmaster-General, PROFESSOR FAWCETT, M.P., speaking at a great demonstration promoted by the Liberal Association at Liverpool, on October 13th, 1882, said:—

“There is also another point connected with the suffrage in which it is important that public opinion should declare itself. Is it or is it not desired that some of our most cherished political principles, such, for instance, that taxation and representation should go hand in hand, should cease to have any application when those who would benefit by them are women? There are probably hundreds in this room who know only too well that the money earned by a woman does not require less severe toil than when earned by a man; and, for one, I have never been able to see why she should be deprived of the same constitutional safeguards for its expenditure as those which men enjoy.” (Applause).

MR. SAMUEL MORLEY, M.P., in a letter to a constituent, June 23rd, 1882, writes:—

“I am ready to support Mr. Mason's resolution whenever he can bring it on. I have no doubt whatever of the justice of the proposal which he is anxious to make.”

MR. LEWIS FRY, M.P., speaking at a meeting organised by the Bristol Operative Liberal Association, held in Bristol, 1882, said:—

I see my recollection  
after without me  
was not for present in  
and now I come to her  
particularly in the Ball's class  
am not so sure that  
either! dear after  
suffragists are with

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MR. LEWIS FRY, M.P., speaking at a meeting organised by the Bristol Operative Liberal Association, held in Bristol, November 22nd, 1882, said:—

“He thought where circumstances cast upon a woman the duty of being at the head of a household, and having to pay taxes and perform those other duties which appertained in that country to the head of a household, he thought she should possess the privilege the law gave to the head of a household—(applause). Although it was a question he did not wish to discuss at any length, he repeated what he had said before, and many of them knew he was one of those members in the House of Commons—and they had seats on both sides of the House—who were prepared to say that when a woman was a householder and a taxpayer she should be also a voter”—(cheers).

MR. LEONARD COURTNEY, M.P., writing to the Hon. Sec. of the Birmingham Women's Suffrage Society, Jan. 25th, 1883, said:—

“I am glad to hear that you are going to have a meeting at Birmingham to-morrow, in favour of the claim of women to vote for Members of Parliament on the same conditions as men, and I hope that it will be very successful, of which I have little doubt. I have never been able to recognise the validity of the arguments by which women, possessing the property or occupation qualification, which give men votes, are themselves excluded from the franchise. It has been conceded to them in the election of School Boards and Town Councils; and the Bill extending this latter privilege to Scotland was recently passed through Parliament without, as far as I know, a single dissentient voice. It is somewhat ludicrous that M.P.'s should hesitate to enfranchise women only where their own elections are concerned. The barrier is unsubstantial, and I have great confidence that when the next great extension of the suffrage is effected, which promises to bring the agricultural labourer within the electoral ranks, women will be admitted also, as no less qualified in intelligence and character, and no less interested in legislation and the administration of public affairs.”

MR. DILLWYN, M.P., writing to Mrs. Higginson, Secretary of the Women's Suffrage Society in Swansea, in reply to an influentially-signed memorial forwarded to him on the occasion of the banquet given to him on Feb. 1st, 1883, says:—“I beg to assure you that I am more and more convinced of the necessity of the extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to Women, and I need not therefore say that I shall give my warm support to the measures for securing it which may be brought forward in Parliament.”

MR. HUGH MASON, M.P., has given notice to move the following Resolution during the present Session of Parliament:—

“That in the opinion of this House, the Parliamentary Franchise should be extended to women who possess the qualifications which entitle women to vote in all matters of local government.”

**ELECTORS!** Ask your Members when they address their constituents to support in the House of Commons this measure of equal justice to women.

I see my recollections of Mr. Morley's  
letter mislead me. The bill will  
not suit for present use —  
and now I come to look more  
particularly at the Ball's cheap article, I  
am not so sure that it will do  
either! I ~~am~~ afraid my  
suggestions are not useful!  
V. B.

The Postmaster-General, Professor FAWCETT, M.P., speaking at a  
great demonstration promoted by the Liberal Association at  
Liverpool, on October 18th, 1882, said:—  
"There is also another point connected with the suffrage in which it is  
important that public opinion should declare itself. Is it or is it not desired  
that some of our most cherished political principles, such for instance, that  
taxation and representation should go hand in hand, should cease to have any  
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validity of the arguments by which the advocates of the  
franchise have been content to rest the election of the  
House of Commons is affected by the fact that the  
Town Councils are now elected by the ratepayers, and I  
am sure that you will be able to show that the  
franchise is not a privilege but a right, and that it  
is not a question of expediency but of principle, and  
that it is not a question of the convenience of the  
State but of the justice of the cause."

RECENT OPINIONS OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.  
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

the administration of public affairs  
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"I am ready to support Mr. Mason's resolution whenever he can bring it  
on. I have no doubt whatever of the justice of the proposal which he is  
anxious to make."  
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23rd, 1882, writes:—  
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that some of our most cherished political principles, such for instance, that  
taxation and representation should go hand in hand, should cease to have any  
application when those who would benefit by them are women? There are  
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RECENT OPINIONS OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.  
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

**OPINIONS OF THE PRESS:**  
BEING  
**ARTICLES AND EXTRACTS**  
FROM THE  
**LONDON AND PROVINCIAL PRESS,**  
RELATING TO THE DISCUSSION ON  
**MR. MASON'S RESOLUTION**  
IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, JULY, 1883.

PRICE THREEPENCE.

PUBLISHED FOR  
**THE NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.**  
Central Committee:  
29, PARLIAMENT STREET, LONDON, S.W.

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## WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

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### OPINIONS OF THE PRESS, 1883.

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WEEKLY DISPATCH, July 1st.

Whatever decision is arrived at next Friday, it is to be hoped, in the true interests of Liberalism, that this measure of justice will not long be denied to English women. In one of the United States it has for years been granted, and it will not be very long before Canada follows the example. The chance of women lending their aid to the Conservative side is entirely outweighed by the far more important consideration that their political education will tend to lessen that apathy which has always been the great stronghold of the Tories. To the energetic Liberal who seeks by every legitimate means to awaken his neighbours to a sense of their citizenship, knowing that if they only study the questions of the day they are pretty sure to become adherents to the party of progress, women's suffrage will be a valuable aid, and the sooner it is granted the better it will be for the coming generation of voters.

GLOBE, July 5th.

\* \* Mr. Mason's resolution in favour of extending the Parliamentary franchise to women who possess the qualifications entitling men to vote, does not go beyond the principle that the object of granting the franchise to any given class is to ensure the representation of intelligence and of property; indeed, it only develops to a logical conclusion the constitutional axiom that those

who share in the burdens of the country should have a voice in the disposal of their contributions. From this point of view alone, it is unquestionably an "anomaly"—to use the favourite word of the hour—that an independent woman of wealth and position should, by reason of her sex, be deprived of the privilege which is enjoyed by the average labourer, who, thanks to the present arrangement of taxation, is scarcely compelled to contribute a penny to the finances of the country unless he pleases. This is not to maintain the "flesh and blood" doctrine in the slightest degree. The extension of the franchise to qualified women, so far from levelling downward, would have the distinct effect of raising the average of property and intelligence among the voting population, nor can it be assumed—to take a somewhat lower point of view—that the existing balance of parties would be perceptibly changed. It is true that a certain political section have been doing their utmost to take the question into their own hands, and this has no doubt helped to foster a degree of very natural prejudice against a reform of the franchise in this novel direction. But the movement has never been in want of Conservative sympathy—notably in the case of Lord Beaconsfield; and we need not go out of the way to remind our readers that Conservatism has never failed to give its active support to any and every reform of which the justice and social or political expediency have once been plainly proved.

In the present case, we have always held that these essentials have been plainly proved. \* \*

DAILY TELEGRAPH, July 6th.

\* \* Whatever be the fate of Mr. Mason's resolution to-night, it is pretty certain that the victory of the principle which it embodies will not be much longer delayed. It needs, indeed, but little foresight to perceive that the recognition of the political rights of women, in a qualified form at any rate, is fast becoming inevitable. The denial of the Parliamentary franchise to women who already possess the municipal suffrage was always a theoretical anomaly of a sufficiently irrational kind; and recent legislation and its results have made it so prominent as to disturb even our national indifference to symmetry and logic. Dialectical ingenuity was at one time wont to employ itself in inventing distinctions

between local administration and Imperial politics, with the view of proving that those who are consulted on the former matter possess no necessary fitness to have a voice in the latter. Such distinctions, however, have always been wanting in substance, and have never survived examination. The female ratepayer is a taxpayer also, and her interests in the second capacity are, of course, much greater than her interests in the first. It is of far more concern to her whether there shall be peace or war, light taxation or heavy, wise or foolish legislation, a capable or incapable Executive, than it is whether the streets of her town be well or ill kept, or its poor-law system providently or improvidently administered. To deny her all right of assisting to choose those, in whose hands these greater interests are to be placed, while she takes a share in selecting those who are charged with the care of minor civic concerns, is an utterly indefensible paradox. So long, however, as the female ratepayer, excluded from the Parliamentary franchise, only illustrated this paradox by her municipal vote, it was far less conspicuous than it has at present become. It would, indeed, have been just possible to argue that the proper remedy was not enfranchisement but disfranchisement, and that we ought to correct the anomaly rather by depriving women of the municipal than by granting them the Parliamentary suffrage. The passing of the Education Act of 1870, however, and the election of women to the membership of School Boards, dealt a fatal blow to any reasoning of this sort. It was a recognition of the complete civic equality of the sexes in respect to a highly important—perhaps, indeed, the most important—function of municipal life; and even perversity itself could hardly long resist the obvious inferences which flowed from it into the sphere of political duties and political rights.

That the force of these inferences will be practically acknowledged in the coming Reform Bill is no very hazardous prediction. All the omens seem favourable for it; all the signs of the times appear to point to it.

In the extensive form in which some of its supporters demand it, "women's suffrage," doubtless, is not likely to be soon or perhaps ever conceded; but in some modified shape the concession is inevitable. The franchise will be conferred on women who hold property, and thus the conditions which enable them now to vote

for local administrators, or even to act as such themselves, will be deemed, as they should be, sufficient to entitle women to a share in the choice of a Parliamentary representative. Effect would then be given to Mrs. Fawcett's ingenious and persuasive appeal to the Conservatives to enfranchise women of independent means in the name of the "interests of property," and with the view of securing to it the fullest possible representation. Whether the bare householder qualification of the male elector will, as was impliedly demanded by the resolution passed last night, be treated wherever it exists in the case of a woman as similarly qualifying her for registration, is another question. But even if the forthcoming legislation should go as far as this, the initial change in our electoral system would not be very great, nor the addition to the register very large. There are but a limited number of women who would be entitled as householders and personal ratepayers to be admitted to the register, and their enfranchisement would, on that ground, perhaps, be regarded with comparative equanimity even by those who disapprove of it on principle. \* \*

DAILY NEWS, July 7th.

Mr. Mason's motion in favour of giving the suffrage to women otherwise qualified was rejected in the House of Commons last night by the narrow majority of sixteen. There is nothing in this result seriously to discourage the supporters of a reasonable reform. The debate was interesting and important, though it necessarily travelled over familiar ground. Mr. Mason, in his moderate and sensible speech, was careful not to go beyond the terms of his own resolution. He asked the House of Commons to affirm that all women who can now vote in municipal elections ought to have the Parliamentary franchise conferred upon them. This would exclude all married women, for it has been judicially held that they cannot exercise the local suffrage, even if they are otherwise qualified. It is a little matter no doubt, but we cannot see why a wife who is also a ratepayer should not be entitled to a voice both in municipal and Parliamentary contests. However, the number of such cases is so small that the point is not of much practical moment. The question really is whether women who in the existing constitution of society have their own way to make

in the world, and who contribute to the maintenance of public funds, are to be debarred from all share in the election of a body supposed to represent the entire community. To say that they are intellectually unequal to the task is a mere impertinence, of which only very stupid men are guilty. It is idle nonsense to say that an educated woman is not capable of forming a rational opinion on the political topics of the day. The "St. James's Gazette" courteously and sagaciously contended yesterday against the introduction of what it called the "hysterical element" into politics. Considering the frequent, not to say the daily, contributions which our contemporary itself makes to that factor, its objection might be called highly disinterested if it did not slightly savour of jealousy. The notion that all women would vote alike on all questions, which is one of several absurdities postulated by this theory, is, of course, wholly absurd. There are just as many diversities of political opinion, and shades of political partisanship, in the one sex as in the other. Equally unreasonable is it to urge that women should not be allowed to vote because they will be influenced by the clergy. The assertion is unfounded, and if it were true it would be irrelevant. It might as well be argued that Roman Catholics ought to be disfranchised, to say nothing of the clergy themselves, who, if their instruction is so pernicious that it must be artificially counteracted, ought surely to be excluded from the polling-booths.

Mr. Mason made a good point last night when he referred to the Election Commission at Macclesfield. The expenses of that inquiry were very heavy, and they were most properly levied upon the ratepayers of a constituency in which gross corruption had been shown to prevail. But among those called upon to pay this fine were more than fifteen hundred women who could not by law take any recognised part in the election, and who could not therefore have sold their votes. This case indicates a very serious injustice, and one which Parliament ought to lose no time in removing. It may fairly be said that there is no department of public or social activity where women have been given the chance of succeeding and yet have failed. Of late years the limits of their work have been very greatly extended. The battle of life does not become easier for them, and they, or many of them, are called upon to perform duties from which one would gladly see them



relieved. But it is aggravating and not mitigating the evil to shut out some of the most labourious members of the community from all part in public affairs. The opponents of Mr. Mason's resolution made but a poor show in the discussion last night. Mr. Edward Leatham's "immemorial basis" was made to do such arduous and continuous duty that it palpably gave way under the strain. The supporters of female suffrage are called "sentimental politicians" by the soft-headed and rough-mannered persons who believe that all sentiment is a sign of weakness. But in this debate the dry fact and hard argument were on the "sentimental side." The facts are all in favour of the capacity of women for business and for practical life. The maxim that representation should follow taxation, or, in more homely language, that those who pay the piper should call the tune, is not exactly the random suggestion of feeling divorced from reason. On the other hand, "sentiment" does not become rational because it is narrow, grudging, and ill-informed.

DAILY CHRONICLE, July 7th.

\* \* The key-note of Mr. Mason's speech was the inquiry whether it is just to give women a vote. He left mere expediency out of account, and did not think it necessary to consider how the vote would be used if it were given. It was not difficult to show that by refusing to give women the Parliamentary franchise we are not only guilty of inconsistency but of violating an essential principle of the Constitution. The inconsistency lies, of course, in allowing women to take part in municipal elections, and to refuse them the privilege of voting for Members of Parliament, while it is an acknowledged constitutional principle that taxation and representation should go together. Mr. Mason quoted the case of Macclesfield, where there are five thousand five hundred electors and fifteen hundred women ratepayers; and it is certainly difficult to justify the practice of making them pay rates and taxes, and refusing to give them a voice in the administration of affairs for which they help to pay. Mr. Henry Fowler put this point forcibly when he said that, as women are taxed, they ought to be represented. We do not think there is equal force in Mr. Leatham's contention, that the suffrage should not be given to women because it would disturb the "immemorial basis" of the representation, for

this kind of argument would have been fatal to such a measure as the Married Women's Property Act, as well as various others. The Attorney-General advanced more forcible reasons against the concession asked for, and he was able to show that there is, on this as on most other subjects, much to be said on both sides. But as the municipal franchise has been given to women, and as no evil results have followed, it is not unreasonable to conclude that the concession of the Parliamentary franchise, though refused at present, must ultimately be granted.

PALL MALL GAZETTE, July 7th.

When Mr. Mill introduced his amendment in favour of substituting "person" for "man" in Mr. Disraeli's Reform Bill of 1867, he carried seventy-three members into the lobby with him. The first vote on the same question in the present Parliament has raised this number from seventy-three to one hundred and sixteen. The discussion last night must on the whole be pronounced inferior in breadth and force to that which took place sixteen years ago. Arguments against the extension of the franchise are always very like one another. The reasons why householders who pay rates should not have the parliamentary vote if they chance to be women were much the same as the reasons that were formerly given why male householders should not have votes if their annual rent chanced to be under ten pounds. The same reasons will be heard again next year when it is proposed to extend household franchise to the counties. Women are ignorant of affairs, said the Attorney-General; of the army and the navy, of foreign policy, of law, and of the great currents of trade and business. As if exactly the same will not be said, and more truly said, of the rural labourer. What does Hodge know of foreign policy, of law, of the great stream of public affairs? Yet Sir Henry James will vote for giving the franchise to him with unquestioning alacrity. Women will be under the influence of priests and parsons. As if Sir Henry James himself had not just insisted on a clause in his own Corrupt Practices Bill for protecting male voters against the undue spiritual influence of priests and parsons. Yet nobody is ever so foolish as to use the susceptibility, say, of Catholic voters to spiritual persuasions as a reason why Catholics should not have

votes. As if, too, one main cause of this influence did not lie in the exclusion of women from the bracing influence of political discussion and political responsibility! If the influence of the clergy be so great, how have they acquired it? First, because the exclusion of women from the responsible cultivation of political notions has tended to throw some of the best of them into the other great field of serious interest. Second, because the clergy take trouble to arouse and attract the enthusiasm of women towards their own subject; and that is altogether to their honour. If women had votes, laymen who care about politics would have a motive for taking the same pains to instruct and persuade them in great matters of public concern as priests and parsons take in things of purely spiritual concern. As a matter of fact, there is no reason to believe that women, taking them all round, are more especially under the thumbs of their spiritual advisers than men are. The majority of those whom Mr. Mason would enfranchise are women of the humbler rank, who are just as independent, and just as likely to resent the intrusion of the clergyman outside his own sphere, as mechanics and artizans notoriously are. But, as Mr. Courtney put it, why need we go further than experience? What is the use of wasting time in abstract reasoning about the comparative value of men's faculties and women's faculties, when we have an opportunity every day of seeing by practical observation how little this difference, whatever it may amount to, affects the fitness of women to vote for School Boards and for Boards of Guardians, and not only to vote but to be members of such Boards? If there was one thing, Mr. Courtney said, that might have been deemed more hazardous than another, it was allowing them to be members of Boards of Guardians, because the Poor Law has qualities about it which the supposed peculiarities of women would have made them singularly reluctant to recognize and to act upon. But they had properly appreciated the character of the Poor Law, and had assisted so admirably in carrying out its provisions, that the Local Government Board had itself nominated them where they had not been elected, and successive Presidents had promoted their election. What greater inconsistency can there be than to allow women to administer a law much of whose effect depends on the mode of administration, and to prevent them from having any voice in making the law? But

they have a voice, it will be said; if a woman has anything to urge she can lay her views before a Member of Parliament just as if she were a man. It is too late at this time of day to bring back the exploded theories of virtual or indirect representation. Wherever an extension of the franchise to a new class has been proposed, the opponents of the change have urged that the class in question could influence the Legislature just as efficiently without actually having votes as if they had them. No doubt next year we shall be told by Mr. Beresford-Hope and Mr. Raikes, though not by Sir Henry James, that the views and interests of the agricultural labourer are quite adequately represented by the present County Members. The argument will not be listened to by half of those including Mr. Gladstone, who went into the lobby against the admission of female householders and ratepayers last night. Mr. Gladstone will proclaim with Olympian thunder that no class can be safely trusted to represent the views and the interests, the opinions and the wants, of any other class. With what face, then, can it be contended that in a representative and parliamentary system like ours, one half of the community can be fairly excluded from power, on the strength of the care which the other half will take of their interests?

The usual eloquent pictures were drawn of the purity of the home, the beauty of the female character, the sacred duties of the wife and the mother. Words, words, words. Just as if you could metamorphose human nature by a vote; as if the family and maternal instinct were so light and superficial an affair that it would vanish from the female breast before the overwhelming delights of the canvassing-book and the polling-booth. Men are not always thinking of politics, simply because they have political power. Most men think of politics very little, and a great many men do not think about them at all. It would be the same with women. Why should they sink all their other duties for the sake of active politics, any more than men do? Of course nothing of the kind would happen. The vote, and the political curiosity which its possession would arouse, would only be an interest the more in lives that would be all the better worth living for the addition of responsible interests. Not only would the lives of women themselves be better worth living, but in at least an equal degree so too would the lives of the men who are their companions,

and to whom they are in a thousand respects the most potent of all surrounding forces. The truth is that half of this idealization of "woman's life" is flat hypocrisy. The chief opponents of the proposed reform conceal under their fine words a very hearty contempt for women. It is they who think no term so contemptuous as "womanish" who talk of the proposal of last night as the device of "womanish men," though that is hardly the name that we should think fit for a good many hundreds of its supporters, from Jeremy Bentham down to Lord Beaconsfield and Mr. Henley.

ECHO, July 7th.

The Woman's Suffrage Question had a fair discussion in the Commons last night. Its warmest advocates and most strenuous opponents represent Liberal constituencies. Two speeches—one for and the other against—came from the Treasury bench. Mr. Courtney, with unusual warmth, vindicated the political rights of women, and the Attorney-General, with still more warmth, opposed them. It would have been comical to see Mr. Fawcett answer the Attorney-General, and it would have become confusion worse confounded to have heard Mr. Gladstone answer Mr. Fawcett. Such a state of things might have occurred last night, but it was obviated by the lateness of the hour into which the debate drifted. There was scarcely an argument used last night against Mr. Mason's motion for granting the privilege of voting to widows and spinsters who are householders and who pay rates, which has not in modified forms been used against the extension of the suffrage to men who are householders. In fact the debate last night resembled, in one primary feature, the debate which took place in the House of Lords a week before on the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill. The opponents of the latter Bill, and particularly the Bishops, foretold dreadful consequences if the Bill passed. They said it would break up the foundations on which the marriage law has existed for fifteen centuries in the principal parts of Christendom, and introduce a disturbing and destructive influence into family life. As the Bishops of Winchester, Lincoln, and Exeter regarded the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill, so Mr. Leatham, Mr. Inderwick, and the Attorney-General regard the Woman's Suffrage Question. Mr. Leatham

would prevent women "sharing in the mire and filth of political elections," as if such elections consisted only of mire and filth. The Attorney-General regarded woman's suffrage with terror, as it would be politically detrimental and socially disastrous. We have heard similar forebodings, but from other lips, before. Other changes and reforms which were heralded by gloomy prediction were not succeeded by the deluge, and it is probable, to say the least of it, that if thirty or forty thousand women who are rate-payers, and who now vote at municipal elections, and who also exercise the right of voting for Poor-Law Guardians and School Boards, and who are eligible to serve as Guardians and as members of such Boards, should also have Parliamentary votes, that the decadence of England would not be the inevitable result. We are inclined to look at the matter in a different light. We are rather inclined to think the introduction of woman suffrage into political elections would tend to elevate and purify those elections, and at the same time broaden and deepen our constitutional system. During the last twelve or fifteen years the question has been well argued in and out of the House of Commons. It is questionable whether a repetition of the arguments for or against the innovation will, for some time to come, modify convictions or alter votes. Much now will depend on the attitude and action of women. If they want the suffrage, no power in this country can keep them from it. We do not mean a comparatively few women, but a fairly large proportion of the intelligent women of the country. If they are sufficiently numerous and sufficiently in earnest, they have only to unite and stretch forth their hands and they will obtain what sentiment may dictate and reason may claim. But we question whether they can command the most attention by using the coercive portion of the general machinery of political agitation. More ground can, in the long run, be gained by quiet and patient action than by more stormy demands. The still small voice, the private letter—which is in itself a mighty engine—and the home meetings of twenties or fifties, will, if sufficiently multiplied and persistently employed, become irresistible. Such were the methods which were to a large extent adopted to modify opinion and to create a majority in favour of the repeal of the Compulsory Clauses of the Contagious Diseases Act. If the means we indicate are not

successful it is because there is insufficient moral force in this country to put the woman who is at the head of a household, and who pays rates, in possession of the political franchise.

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EVENING NEWS, London, July 17th, 1883.

\* \* It is only logical that those who contribute to the income and property tax should have the chief control over the expenditure of Parliament. A widow or a spinster, very often a person of narrow income, contributes just as much to the public burthens as a man. She feels the results of good or bad legislation just as much as a man. Public affairs are of as much interest to women, and they take as much interest in them as the sterner sex. If, then, the principle that representation and taxation should be co-extensive is a true one, upon that principle, women who contribute to the direct taxation of the country, either in the shape of rates or income tax, are entitled to a voice in the election of representatives to Parliament.

Again, there are many questions which come before the Houses of Parliament which affect women far more than they do men, and in regard to which women are capable of forming a sounder judgment than men do. We might instance two Bills that have been before the House of Lords this year—the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill and the Bill for the Protection of Young Girls. It seems strangely unjust that women should have no direct voice in the election of the representatives who are ultimately to decide such questions as these.

If, then, upon other grounds it be just and politic that the Parliamentary suffrage should be extended to women ratepayers and taxpayers, have we any reason for supposing that there is any inherent infirmity in their sex by reason of which they cannot rightly exercise those powers? On the contrary, we believe that women as a class would prove to be, if anything, a more conscientious body of electors than men. We think, too, that most men will agree that women as a class are far more religious than men (using the word in its best sense), and have a far higher standard of morality. There are few men of mature years who would not in honesty have to confess that the average moral code which they

recognised in their youth appears low and contemptible to them in their late years. With women, especially in the upper and middle classes, matters are very different. They are carefully reared at home, out of the reach of the "seamy side of life," upon a code of truth and morality very far superior to any which is recognised by the schoolboy or undergraduate. It is to this height of moral aim and purity of conscience that women owe the great influence they possess over even the best and most thoughtful of men, who carry for decision before their purer judgment, doubts and difficulties which their own consciences, deadened more or less by contact with the world, are unable to discriminate. If, then, this purity of aim and strength of conviction is the chief characteristic of women as a sex—and we think that few thoughtful men will doubt it—why should we deprive ourselves as a community of the value of their judgment, which as individuals we prize so highly? Surely in the present day the besetting sin of politics is desertion of principle. Principles—religious, moral, social and political—which Conservatives and Christians have heretofore regarded as axiomatic are now declared, on high Liberal authority, to be "as dead as the worship of Osiris," or "only fit to be relegated to the planet Saturn." Whatever may be the temporary aberrations of the feminine mind, though they may now and then wander astray after crotchets, to those great principles they are warmly attached. We are confident that their moral superiority will infuse fresh life into politics, and enable us to hold fast some of those cherished truths which now seem to be slipping out of our grasp.

We think, then, that women ratepayers and taxpayers are entitled to claim the Parliamentary suffrage as a right, on the ground that those who directly contribute to the burdens of the commonwealth are entitled to a voice in its administration. We think that the country on its part is entitled to claim the benefit of their judgment in the election of representatives to Parliament in an age when their characteristic good qualities render that judgment of infinite value. We will hereafter treat of the necessary limits to the feminine element in politics, and endeavour to show that the objections usually urged to female voters are in reality applicable to female representatives.

## MODERN SOCIETY, July 14th.

It may probably be a mistake to allow women to vote, but, then, why are they to be called upon to pay? It is a matter of taste upon the part of the ladies whether they will exercise the right to vote, and perhaps a great number of good women will always refuse to do so, but the question is one of constitutional justice. It is possible to push the question of disqualification of sex too far, for it would lead us to say we erred in accepting Elizabeth, Anne and Victoria as Monarchs. Did ever King do better, or was his reign more illustrious?

## WESTERN MORNING NEWS, Plymouth, July 5th.

The leaders in the movement ought to be encouraged by the alarm which it begins to cause. Whenever a project is said to be changing the basis of the constitution, destroying the family life, and launching us forth upon a sea of disaster, we may be sure that it is going to pass. This exaggerated language is always the rhetoric of a despairing argument. It is the natural moan of a lost cause. It but precludes the acquiescence in change which follows the change. Such a point have we now reached: the opponents begin to declaim with more vigour than common-sense. Women seek the franchise just as men seek it, not to destroy the family, but to gain justice for themselves and to ameliorate the general conditions of life. The mere entrance into the political arena has changed the point of view of our politicians. Women have obtained higher education, the right to their own property, the right to sue in the courts, places on our School Boards, openings for a career in the civil service, and positions as doctors and lawyers. Gradually their sphere has widened; and no independent-minded young girl now needs to choose between the life of a governess and that of being a burden to her family. Complete justice is not yet done, and will not be done, until women have the vote; but the change in twenty years is so great that the prophet who in 1863 predicted it would have been laughed to scorn. It is to complete this great work that women now demand the franchise. They will do more. Instead of interfering with the work that is being done, with the lightness of irresponsibility, they will

have to devise themselves means for the abatement of intolerable evils. Instead of crying out about rights they will have to get rid of wrongs; and they will keep the Legislature to the point. The enfranchisement of women means an abatement of the great evils which now afflict our social constitution.

## SUSSEX DAILY NEWS, July 5th.

\* \* Time is on the side of the political equality of women, and the only arguments which can be used against them are such as time is gradually removing.

At one time it was regarded as a solecism in manners to talk politics before ladies; they were supposed to be too deeply immersed in the petty affairs of the household to give a thought or have a care for the deep problems of humanity agitating the great world. Nobody talks and few think like that now. Women are almost as keenly political as men; they take part in every political movement and help to form public opinion, and to restrain political action. From them have proceeded many of the movements of the time. There is hardly a great cause now agitating the world which does not find women engaged in it, whether it be the liberty to marry deceased wives' sisters, or the right of our Hindu fellow-citizens to equality with ourselves. The drawing rooms of London are as political as, in times of great interest, have been the salons of Paris. The great prejudices which prevented women from being interested in politics have been broken down; the woman is called a baby who does not know something about them, and she generally knows as much as the man; and with her interest in politics, should come her admittance to direct political interest.

Her exclusion is doing untold harm. A prejudice against "masculine legislation" has grown up among women, which is not only hurtful to our social progress, but is in some directions an absolute bar to it. Women are obtaining a veto upon legislation, while they are powerless to propose substitutes for it. We can always be certain that, if they unite in opposition to any bill, however salutary, it is doomed. They have proved it this very year. But when, having prevented men from taking their own way by the influence they exert, they are asked to propose a substitute for the check, which they have destroyed, upon an intolerable evil,

they admit their powerlessness. They ask us to give them the vote. Already they look after the poor as Guardians; already they tend the children as members of School Boards; they are eligible as High Sheriffs and as Churchwardens. Their enfranchisement needs only one more step. It is illogical and absurd to deny it to them. It is said they have not the physical capacity to vote, but to drop a paper into the ballot box needs no very great exertion. It is said they have not the intellectual capacity to judge of members; but put the women who pay rates alongside of the agricultural labourers, who are about to be admitted to the franchise, and it will be admitted that, for keenness of intelligence, they are not inferior to the men. They will be revolutionists, say some; priest-ridden, say others; blind and bigoted Tories, the strident Radicals declare. To hear people talk it would be supposed that our mothers, wives, and daughters were as unknown as the savages who inhabit the unexplored interior of New Guinea. Some of them will no doubt be revolutionists. There is a Louise Michel as well as a Rochefort. Some of them will be priest-ridden; there are such women, and there are priests. Some of them will be Conservatives; and it is just possible that in the sex one might be found to emulate the intelligence, the agreeable methods, and the beautiful innocence of Mr. Warton. This is just possible, but not at all probable. But if we are to disfranchise women because of Louise Michel, we should disfranchise men because of Rochefort. If we disfranchise women because they go to church too often, we should disfranchise the clergy who go to church to help the women. If we disfranchise a sex that probably does not contain a Warton, we ought to make Mr. Warton unable to sit in Parliament.

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BRADFORD DAILY TELEGRAPH, July 7th.

Mr. Hugh Mason's resolution affirming the desirableness of extending the Parliamentary franchise to women was defeated last evening, by a majority of sixteen, in a small house, the numbers being 114 for and 130 against. Comparatively little interest was manifested in the trial of conclusions, and Mr. E. A. Leatham with doubtful taste twitted the supporters of the movement upon the fact. Said the latter gentleman: "From having possessed in former years

the robust proportions of a Bill, it had shrunk to the lowest form which a motion could take to be a motion at all—a Friday's motion on going into Committee of Supply." Well, the reason of this retrograde movement is clear enough to most men's minds, if not to that of Mr. Leatham. We are within measurable distance of a new Reform Bill, and it may be taken for granted that when the measure is presented to the House it will be found to include a provision for removing the present electoral disabilities of women.

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BRADFORD OBSERVER, July 7th.

It would be flattering both supporters and opponents of women's suffrage to say that they made the debate in the House of Commons last night exceptionally interesting. Few of the speakers went beyond the stock arguments; and we do not notice that one of them dwelt with sufficient emphasis on the fact that the suffrage movement is only part of a far wider social change, which has been going on with unprecedented rapidity during the present generation, and which is beating down point by point the same kind of emotional dislike that meets the suffrage demand. This social change cannot be checked at the present stage any more than in the past; and those who cannot understand nor bring themselves to sympathise with it have simply to reconcile themselves to it gradually as best they may. In almost every direction women are expected to do more for themselves, and they have therefore necessarily greater liberty, than was the case a generation ago. Mere inattention to and ignorance of the real significance of the suffrage movement can alone excuse those who allege that it is an artificial agitation, got up by a few theorists and "social failures," and unsupported by any real sense of grievance shared by a considerable proportion of women. The truth is that in modern times the chivalrous ideal which sought to make of all women a sort of semi-angelic aristocracy has vanished altogether with many other similar ideals. It was never very successfully carried into practice, save amongst the wealthier classes; the facts of life proved too much for those lower in the social scale. Women must work as well as smile and weep, or they will be left to starve as unkindly as if they were men. And during this generation they have had to work in rapidly-increasing numbers. We need not at present inquire into

the economic or other causes to which the phenomenon is due ; nor would the inquiry be of any avail to the women themselves. Enough that the causes operate on a large scale ; that not only in the artisan class have multitudes of women to earn their living—the chivalric ideal never reached them—but in the middle classes, up to a line which is continually rising, is it more and more necessary that women should acquire some business by which they can obtain food and the comforts of life by their unaided exertions.

This is the phenomenon that explains the whole movement of which the women's suffrage demand is but a detail. Until the economic or other social causes have been removed or altered, it is sheer emptiness to quote or invent poetic phrases relating to the troubadour ideal of womanhood. Indeed, it is worse than emptiness, for it falsifies the problem which must be solved, and is being solved. \* \* Every class must do its best to influence the Legislature in its favour. It must agitate, propagandise, appeal to electors who happen to be ignorant and indifferent, hold meetings, put every kind of available pressure on members and candidates. If ten thousand women agree that there is some peculiar obstacle in the way of earning their livelihood which only the Legislature can remove, or any other grievance peculiar to them, what are they to do? They must proceed just as any other aggrieved class proceeds. They must associate, and the cleverest and most leisured of them must become leaders, and the leaders cannot help becoming politicians if they are to do their duty to their clients. How many thousand women, does Mr. Leatham suppose, have reason to thank leaders like Miss Becker for promoting legislative and social reforms which have opened careers to them and given them the title to their own property! How else could Miss Becker and her allies have done all this except by becoming most active and influential politicians, whose opposition or support is of very serious importance to Parliamentary candidates and to candidates for other public positions? And is it not absurd to withhold from women whose word already influences votes by the thousand, the right to record and enforce directly their own unit of influence?

Thus we see that the opponents of women's suffrage are not resisting a mere theory, or a false and mischievous notion about the equality of the sexes. They are trying to resist a great human

tide-movement arising from influences utterly beyond their control. Intellectual or physical equality of the sexes has nothing to do with the question. Here are a multitude of women who have some brains and some physical strength, which they are compelled to make the most of, for the same reasons which impel men to similar effort. To those who say that they are incapable of this, that, and the other, they make the same answer as a man—"We must try." And nothing else but experiment will be a satisfactory test. How many of the trials have resulted satisfactorily everyone knows. These women are convinced that the Parliamentary franchise will in various ways facilitate their struggle for existence. People who have not passed through their experience tell them that the vote would not help them in any way. They know better; for they have found their influence upon other voters of service to them, and they regard it as nonsense to say that the addition of more votes on the same side would not help it. They equally regard it as nonsense to talk about the immemorial experience of mankind and the laws of nature; because they know at first hand their own experience, which happens, the circumstances being changed, to differ from the alleged experience of former generations; and they have as good a right to discover what are the laws of nature as their opponents. An increasing number of women have to earn and live an independent life, it is becoming more the custom to expect that they should do so, and they want every weapon that will help them in the fight—there, in a nutshell, is the case for the women's suffrage movement, and the reason why it must presently succeed.

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DERBYSHIRE TIMES, July 7th.

We cordially trust that the day is not far distant when women householders will have votes. If you tax a woman and impose on her the responsibilities of a man, we cannot see why she should be deprived of the franchise. There are thousands of unmarried ladies at present who maintain themselves, do much useful work in the land, bear their share of the burdens of the State, and yet have no votes simply because of their sex. It is not urged that they are incapable of forming as good a judgment, or a better, of the qualifications of a candidate as many men voters. That would

be too absurd when we see the mental stamina of many of the present voters. Nor is it argued that women would be likely to vote for bad measures, for it is notorious that the sympathies of women would be more certainly given on the side of those things which are good than could be said of an equal number of men. By an accident women obtained the municipal franchise, but they have certainly used it so well that no one would now seek to deprive them of it. Why then should they not vote for members of Parliament? We can see no valid reason, and we hope that the extension of the franchise in this direction will speedily be effected. Laws are made for women as well as men, and they have therefore a right to have a voice in the election of the law-makers. Married women vote by their husbands, but at present the independent woman householder has every burden thrown upon her, and has no privilege except that of paying. The anomaly cannot last, and it ought not to do so.

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LIVERPOOL MERCURY, July 7th.

\* \* Women's rights as thinking and acting members of society have for years been impressing themselves with growing strength upon the consciousness of public men, and the hour has arrived when an earnest effort should be made to remove from the sex the one grievance regarding which they are now so sensitive and clamorous. Besides—and this is the most powerful plea of all—they possess the franchise in every election that is not to seat a member of Parliament. They vote for municipal corporations, for school boards, and for boards of guardians. If they are worthy of exercising a choice in the selection of all sorts of local representatives, it is an absurdity to assume that they are not equally worthy and capable of exercising a choice in the selection of our lawmakers. We draw no contrast of the kind as regards men, and there is something ridiculous in retaining it as regards women who have the same social responsibilities. The tendency of our legislation, indeed, is rather to broaden privileges in proportion to the higher importance of the electoral duty to be discharged, and this is illustrated, for example, in the fact that the Parliamentary franchise is much wider, fairer, and embracing than that which is put in motion to choose local boards of health. And this being

the actual and reasonable bent of our system, it is proportionately irrational to tell the woman that we form our judgment on what is right and expedient in the matter without any reference to her.

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LIVERPOOL DAILY POST, July 7th.

Although Mr. Leatham says that Woman Suffrage is making no way it is difficult to come to any other conclusion than that its triumph is at hand. The public are beginning to see that there is a want of reason in granting the municipal and withholding the Imperial franchise. Women are permitted to rent houses. Women who rent houses are compelled to pay rates. Taxation without representation is tyranny, and the sex of the taxed person who is not represented clearly makes no difference. These considerations suffice to establish a *prima facie* case, which must hold good unless great inconveniences can be brought home to female suffrage. No such inconveniences fall within any experience or can be divined by any ingenuity. We all feel—even if we prefer, as a matter of taste, that women should not take any part in politics—that there is no real fear of their becoming unsexed, or neglecting for politics those home duties which so well become them. In the absence of all complaints and of all reasonable apprehensions, it may fairly be presumed that the equality of householders before the electoral law will soon be established. The question would be discussed in a manner much more acceptable to many persons if it were deemed politic to put the argument for the change on higher grounds. With every extension of the scope of female intelligence it will be found that good is done. The common sense of home life is increased. The standard of family conduct is raised. And the line taken by public advocates becomes worthier of the politics of a great nation. This would be very largely the effect of extending the suffrage to women, and such ideas are really the animating forces at the back of the agitation. But it is not thus that we proceed in England, and Mr. Hugh Mason confines himself to the strictest demonstration of the justice of the principle of equality between householders in this matter. Fortunately this argument is strong enough to prove his case, and it will ere long be strong enough to silence or convert all gainsayers.

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## MANCHESTER EXAMINER, July 7th.

\* \* The question of women's suffrage occupies a very different position from what it did some years ago. The bestowal of the municipal franchise on women has changed the whole practical aspect of the case. The privilege which is now asked for in the election of members of Parliament has long been possessed by every female householder in the election of members of our local Parliaments. The experiment has thus been tried, and is found to answer well. Women are eager to vote; they vote in large numbers at every municipal election. The greater orderliness produced by the ballot enables them to exercise the suffrage without any inconvenience to themselves, and without a shade of unseemliness. Nor can there be much doubt that the change has had good social results. It is felt that a disability has been removed. Women are more alive to the injustice they once suffered, when, while bearing their share of the burdens of the municipality, they had no voice in the expenditure, or in the general management of the town, and they are sensible of the value of the privilege conferred upon them. What is true of municipal elections applies equally to School Board elections, with the significant difference that women can be elected on the Board. It must be admitted that, as a matter of principle, only very narrow standing room is left between conceding the municipal and School Board franchise and refusing the Parliamentary franchise. Most of the objections, we might say all the objections, which are urged against the bestowal of the Parliamentary franchise, apply with equal force to the municipal franchise, while as regards the latter they have been discredited and set aside, without the smallest inconvenience accruing. The nation is only a larger municipality. Essentially the same interests are involved in the one case as in the other. It may be urged that Town Councils are subordinate institutions, while Parliament is supreme. It may be further urged that Parliament deals with foreign as well as with domestic questions, and that foreign affairs occasionally involve operations in which women can take no part. Some theoretic arguments adverse to the claims of women, may be drawn from these facts, but they have but little practical weight. If women cannot take part in a campaign abroad, neither can one half the men. When a captain

is compulsorily retired at forty, and a recruit of that age would be laughed at, the non-combatant character of women cannot count for much as a political disqualification. In other respects, besides the admission of women to the municipal franchise, the aspect of the question is greatly changed. The Universities are thrown open to women. They compete on equal terms with men, and are equally successful in proportion to the numbers who enter the lists. One of the professions is opening its doors to women. Their claims have been and still are jealously contested, but they will have to be recognised. It is impossible, moreover, not to be struck with the growth of political capacity among women, taking as examples those of them who are most before the public. A monopoly of political intelligence can no longer be pleaded by those who would exclude them from political privileges. And the results of the greater political activity of women have been in a high degree beneficial. Important and most salutary legal changes must be placed among them. After giving due weight to these facts, it must appear almost absurd to refuse to women who possess the statutable qualifications, the right of giving their votes for members of Parliament. \* \*

## BIRMINGHAM DAILY POST, July 9th.

\* \* The debate on Friday night, when Mr. Mason moved a resolution in favour of conferring the franchise on those women who possess the qualifications which enable men to vote, plainly showed that the opposition was merely sentimental. The arguments in support of the motion were clear, intelligible, and, in our judgment, irresistible. It was first insisted that all persons alike, whether men or women, when owning or holding premises, paying rates and taxes, and being subject to the other responsibilities of citizenship, were entitled to a voice in the representation. Next it was shown by the experience of local elections—such as those for Town Councils, School Boards, and Local Boards—that there is no practical objection to the suffrage being exercised by women. Here the cause might have concluded; but some members thought it necessary further to point out that examinations and University competitions in late years have proved that women are a match for men in the intellectual powers an elector is supposed to require for guidance in the disposal of his vote. A

contrast was also drawn between the educated woman now excluded and the masculine elector who cannot even read the names of the candidates on the voting papers. The cause was no doubt strengthened by these additional recommendations; but it was quite strong enough without them.

The reasons given by different members for opposing the resolution were variously stated, but they were only repetitions of a few well-worn ideas, or we will venture to say antique prejudices. The first was that enfranchisement of women would be contrary to the "universal practice or experience of mankind," a proposition which might have been employed in resisting the introduction of railways, steamboats, telegraphs, or any other modern improvements. Then came the argument that woman is subordinated to man by Divine ordination, and is required to acknowledge her subjection at the marriage ceremony. As to this it is sufficient to remark that the resolution only proposed to confer the franchise on women who occupied an independent position. If it had been intended to enfranchise wives, there might be some force in the objection, but when a woman has to pay her own rent, rates, and taxes, and to get her own living, it is nothing short of a mockery to tell her that she occupies a position of dependence on man. Coming to the third reason, we find it still more feeble. It was that women do not possess that robustness of character which would fit them to fight and tussle in the streets during an election. How many men would also be disqualified if the want of this endowment were to prevail with them? But the time has gone by for fighting and tussling over elections in a physical fashion, and men who give themselves to such practices are the least worthy of being entrusted with the vote. We come then, to the fourth reason, which was that women had not asked for the franchise; but the supporters of the resolution declared that they had asked for it, and we are certainly under the impression that the demand has been repeatedly made. "Widows and spinsters" are not sufficiently numerous in the constituencies to get up monster demonstrations; but meetings are frequently held for the assertion of their political claims, and, unless reports are deceptive, they nearly always terminate with a unanimous vote in favour of the object Mr. Mason seeks to promote. Great stress was next laid on the argument that, if women obtained the right to vote, they

could not be denied the right to sit in the House of Commons. Singularly enough, this was especially dwelt upon by Mr. Raikes, though he represents a constituency composed in great part of clergymen, who, being graduates, can vote twice—once for the university and once for a county or borough—but who cannot be returned as members. With this example before him, Mr. Raikes could scarcely have been talking seriously when he contended that it could not be followed in regard to women. As if conscious that this and the preceding objections were too shadowy to rely upon, the opponents further asserted that if women were allowed to vote, once in five years or so, at Parliamentary elections, they would be rendered unfit for those domestic duties which constitute their proper employment; and also, that no one had a right to the privilege of the vote except those who were prepared to undertake the rougher work of fighting for their country. A large percentage of men would be excluded if the latter of these contentions were acted upon; and as to the former, it is strangely put forward at a time when women have already been voting at annual and triennial elections for 14 years. The Attorney-General, who was the propounder of the soldier theory, did not hesitate to attack the groundwork of the women advocates by denying that the right to vote depended on the property or occupying qualification. He said it was fitness that was required, and that qualification was merely one form of evidence of fitness. If, he said, putting the famous joke of Franklin in a new form, occupying was absolutely to qualify, it would not be every man who held a house that would vote, but every house that held a man. Believing women not to be fit, he thus got rid of their claim, though people will not find it easy to follow his line of reasoning, for, in point of fact, the property or occupying qualification is universal, with such rare exceptions as but serve to prove the rule. Mr. H. Fowler, in taking the part of the women, very properly said that as the owners and occupiers of one sex were admitted, it rested with those who objected to show why the other sex should be excluded. Instead, therefore, of asking why women should be admitted, he would rather put it—why should they not? Mr. Hope, Mr. Newdegate, Mr. Raikes, and the Attorney-General devoted themselves to answering this question, but their replies were so inconclusive that they may be said to have left the cause of women

stronger than it was before. The resolution was defeated by a majority of 16, but, after carefully reading the whole, we are driven to the conclusion that prejudice had a far greater share than reason in causing its rejection.

EASTERN MORNING NEWS, Hull, July 9th.

The most Radical House of Commons ever elected has rejected the proposal to enfranchise women by a majority of 16. If we are to judge of the reasons for this rejection by the arguments used in the debate, they were very weak. After all, they came only to an assertion that women are women and ought not, because they are women, to vote. Mr. Leatham has discovered that it is quite unscriptural, and declares it to be a new heresy. Sixty years ago he would probably have defended slavery on the same ground. It is worse than unscriptural, however; it is Nihilistic. A woman who wants to go to the ballot box and drop a paper in is of the persuasion of Vera Sassaulitch. But though this woman is a Nihilist, yet her shrinking from physical trouble is a bar to her enfranchisement. "Were women," Mr. Leatham asked triumphantly, "prepared to fight and tussle in the streets?" Because women are *not* prepared to fight and tussle, therefore they are to be disfranchised. No doubt Mr. Leatham is prepared for fighting and tussling. What the nature of his preparation for indulgence in street rows may be we do not know; but it is to be hoped that the police of Huddersfield, the town which he represents, will remember at the next election what he is prepared to do. If, however, Mr. Leatham will not disfranchise men as well as women, we may tell him that even men are not prepared to fight and tussle in the street at election time. No doubt it is a proof of the degeneracy of man, but it is a fact; and probably Mr. Leatham will soon be alone in his desire to carry on elections in this way. Sir Henry James put the argument somewhat higher when he said that the vote involved an obligation to military service, and there would be something in his position if the women of England were likely to send their husbands and brothers to fight in an unjust battle. But, as a matter of fact, the stress and strain of war are felt as much by women as by men; and it is unjust to deprive them of the political power which they would almost certainly use to

preserve peace. Quite as beside the mark was Sir Henry James's contention that women have not the requisite knowledge to judge of politics. "They lacked the experience," he declared, "which was necessary for the conduct of public affairs. The men sitting in that House had all had practical experience in different walks of life. Some had military experience, others legal, and others commercial. But what knowledge had women of such matters? Their only experience was domestic experience, which fitted them, perhaps, well enough for service on the School Board; and when questions of peace or war should arise, they would be found timid in a time of panic and violent in a time of outbreak. He believed that were a war to be proposed for the purpose of restoring the temporal power of the Pope, every woman in France would advocate it. If women were given political power they would often be guided by the impulses of the heart rather than by the reason of the mind." But is this so? Do not women now gain as much knowledge of the world bearing on politics as men? Sir Henry James doubtless has a larger experience than most women, but he has also a larger experience than most men. What is there in the daily life of a miner, or a carpenter, or a shoemaker, or an agricultural labourer which more fits a man to decide whether Mr. Gladstone is a good Prime Minister than the daily life of an ordinary housekeeper? If you desire knowledge of human nature you do not go to Dickens for it in preference even to George Elliot. Who shows more acquaintance with life than Mrs. Oliphant? Take the agricultural labourer and his wife, and we venture to say that the wife will be found the more cultivated of the two, and quite as shrewd in judging as her husband.

The whole argument rests, in fact, upon a prejudice. It is the idea that a woman who thinks about politics, who knows the difference between a Liberal and a Conservative, who can form an opinion on such a question as the annexation of New Guinea, or the Government of Ireland, will cease to be charming. "There was a class in this country," said Sir Henry James, in minatory tones, "which did not often make its voice heard, and yet it had at times determined the state of parties. He referred to those men who cared little for political life, who found their happiness in their homes, and who believed that upon the stability of those homes the greatness and prosperity of the country depended. If

once they should think that the women who formed their happiness were about to be called from their houses to join in political affairs, they would unhesitatingly prohibit such a movement. The proposed change could add nothing to the happiness of domestic existence, and in public life it would be a source of weakness, and it would, therefore, be detrimental to the interests of the country." But all this is so much rubbish. As a matter of fact, a woman who understands politics will simply have her head filled with something else besides the dress which she wears, and the heresies of the last new curate. She will talk politics as men talk politics. She will no more quarrel with her husband about the questions at issue between them in politics than she does about the questions at issue between them, say on Church Ritual or the use of the Athanasian Creed. The notion that with everything else in daily life to quarrel about, a couple will be good and sweet in their relationships so long as politics are excluded, but if politics become a topic of interest between them, will forthwith be maddened into furious controversy, is of all notions the most stupid. On the contrary, the introduction of questions of the sort will be beneficial to any home where the interest is narrowed. Loud and ribald laughter greeted Mr. Courtney's argument upon this head, but it was a good one. "If they wanted the heroic woman, the woman of public spirit, the companion and helpmeet of the ideal English citizen, they must have a woman who could understand and sympathise with the ideas of the age, and with the life of her husband. In many cases the husband was pulled down by a wife of deficient education and possessing no sympathy with the motives and ideas of his life, and unless they made a woman helpmeet for man they would not only find stunted woman but would be punished by finding society fall away, and the national life become impoverished, poor, and petty." What there is to laugh at in that we do not see; the laughter with which it was greeted is the measure of the reverence which the present House of Commons has for true womanhood.

LEEDS MERCURY, July 9th.

Mr. Mason, the Member for Ashton-under-Lyne, asked the House of Commons on Friday night to declare that in its opinion the Parliamentary franchise should be extended to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote, and who, in

all matters of local government have the right of voting." It will be observed that the terms of the resolution were limited "to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote;" in other words, to women who are independent owners or occupiers of property. The question has been from time to time so exhaustively discussed, both in Parliament and outside, that it would be impossible to say anything new upon it. The claim is urged upon the ground that morally and intellectually women possess qualifications equal to those of men, and that in the eye of the law they are equally responsible; and that single women, or women engaged in business independently of their husbands, are liable to all taxes and rates as if they were men. Responsibilities of this kind imply duties, and duties involve rights. Those rights are recognised as regards men, and in many respects as regards women. In all the ordinary relations of civil life women enjoy a status scarcely inferior to that of men. Politically, however, they have no recognised existence. It is against this illogical disability that the supporters of women's suffrage protest. Indeed, the maintenance of this disability can only be defended on the ground that it exists. It is a kind of conservatism, however, which is daily losing its hold upon the minds of thinking people. It is true that Mr. E. A. Leatham, who bolstered up a somewhat frivolous argument by an appeal to the authority of Scripture, asserted that the movement championed by the Member for Ashton was losing ground in the country. But there is little need to take account of this assertion from the lips of the representative of a borough the Town Council of which has petitioned in favour of the proposed change. The desire that properly qualified women should be enabled to vote for Members of Parliament gains ground in proportion as the popular aversion to injustice increases, and as it is more and more generally realised that the rights of citizenship with which women have recently been endowed have been used worthily, and, therefore, to the public advantage. There are still, indeed, those who argue as if physical strength sufficient for the adequate discharge of the functions of a special constable were a necessary qualification for the franchise. But we are glad to believe that the intelligence and the moral sense of the community condemn such reasonings, and that though Mr. Mason's motion was defeated by a small majority, the moderate claim to a share of

political rights which he urged on behalf of women will not much longer be rejected.

WESTERN MERCURY, Plymouth, July 9th.

It appears to us to be just as indefensible to refuse to assimilate the municipal and Parliamentary franchise, as far as women are concerned, as it is to refuse to grant to residents in the counties the same advantages as are enjoyed by inhabitants of the boroughs. We cannot disguise from ourselves the fact that Liberals are somewhat apprehensive of the way in which the female vote would go. Well, the female vote would not be large, and when the agricultural labourer is enfranchised, its influence at the poll would be proportionately reduced.

But as soon as the female receives the Parliamentary suffrage she would be appealed to on Imperial grounds, and although there are some weak women, as there are some weak men, we do not think that, when great issues are at stake—issues involving the continuance of a Ministry of despotism, of interference, of war,—the women who would be generally found subsisting upon the profit of investments, and keenly alive to the causes of a declension in their value, who are invariably found in receipt of incomes certain to be diminished by the pursuit of a policy of disturbance, would often be found casting the weight of their suffrages into the wrong scale. At any rate, Liberals ought never to shrink from the right because they fear that their party may suffer. They have never suffered in the end, and would not eventually suffer by making a sacrifice for the sake of the principle now under discussion. It is not to be forgotten that the pioneers of this agitation did not discover that they ought to hold votes before they found out that they could not avoid becoming Liberals, nor that the female politician, who has obtained any distinction at all in the world, has always been an advanced social reformer.

WESTERN INDEPENDENT, Devonport, July 11th.

\* \* When the question is properly defined and limited, we can hardly conceive that a majority of men would refuse Parliamentary representation to qualified women who have no husbands to vote for them. The principle of such feminine representation is not at all new in some other public matters. Female ratepayers

are entitled to vote for town councillors, guardians, vestrymen, and members of various local boards, including School Boards, and they may themselves sit as representatives in some of these bodies, Local franchises have in some cases been recently conferred on women, with the understanding that it was done to test their capacity for taking their share in public life; and we have heard no complaints of any evil effects following from such enfranchisement. On the contrary, we think it is generally acknowledged that a limited participation by women in public business has produced beneficial effects. There is one little consideration, however, that might perhaps check the ardour of unmarried women to obtain the Parliamentary franchise. If they thus receive the full rights of citizenship there seems to be no good reason why they should not fulfil its duties also, as, for instance, in the matter of serving on juries. Many men, now drawn from their business, would welcome this innovation; but some of the lady voters might not appreciate it as a favour, although the office would not be distasteful to a good many.

NOTTINGHAM DAILY EXPRESS, July 12th.

The day when women will have votes does not seem very far off when a resolution in favour of giving them the suffrage is only lost in the House of Commons by a majority of 16 votes. There is a curious admixture of parties among the supporters of the resolution, of firm Tories and advanced Liberals. Baron de Worms and Jacob Bright, Mr. Puleston and Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. James Round and John Morley are not often found voting side by side. One little dependency of the British Crown, not five hours' sail from our coasts, has already conferred the franchise on women. In the Isle of Man any woman who is possessed of separate property is, with certain qualifications, entitled to a vote.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE TIMES, July 13th.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.—The time was, and that not so very long ago, when the proposal to give the suffrage to women was pretty generally regarded as a mere fad or crotchet on the part of a few. The recent division in the House of Commons, however, shows two things—first, that the subject is seriously entertained by a large House (248, including tellers), and, secondly, that if the

majority of the members of that House are opposed to the proposal, the minority is a very respectable one. Mr. Mason's abstract motion called on the House to express an opinion in favour of giving the suffrage "to women who possess the qualifications which enable men to vote, and who in all matters of local government have the right of voting." The amendment called on the House to say that "it is undesirable to change the immemorial basis of the Parliamentary franchise, which is that men only shall be qualified to elect members to serve in this House." The motion was rejected by 130 to 114, giving the opponents of female suffrage the small majority of 16 only. The subject is thus disposed of, so far as the Legislature is concerned, for this session; but those who take the affirmative side are much encouraged, and will certainly continue their agitation with a view to another division on a similar motion next session.

PETERBOROUGH STANDARD, July 13th.

The House of Commons has refused to adopt a resolution in favour of extending the Parliamentary franchise to women. 114 members supported, and 130 voted against it. This is a question which, so far, has not become a party one, for we find a Radical proposing and a Conservative seconding the proposition; whilst in the division-list there is the same mixing up of party men. For ourselves, we agree with Lord Beaconsfield in respect to the justice of admitting women to the franchise. Some people talk as if it would be an innovation. It has been pointed out that prior to the Reform Bill of 1832 women possessed and exercised voting power, and the words "male person," which were introduced into that measure, actually disfranchised them. It should be borne in mind, too, that every one in seven holders of land, above an acre in extent, is a woman; and that there are between 300,000 and 400,000 female householders who possess the qualification for a Parliamentary voter. As yet, however, they are to be satisfied with the qualification.

SOUTH DURHAM HERALD, July 14th.

\* \* Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett asserted that the bestowal of the franchise on women would be an essentially Conservative measure. Undoubtedly it would, and it must be for that reason

the Liberal element shuns it as it shuns the pestilence. How easy it is to talk about liberty and progress, until the test is applied! I suppose the Liberal programme of "universal suffrage," over which members of Parliament grow fervid at mass meetings, does not include female enfranchisement. "We, the people, the men, the lords of creation;" that is the notion of the party of progress. The arrogance and impudence of some men is astounding. Most of the women of my acquaintance are a great deal more capable of forming a safe and sound opinion on the leading questions of the day than half the men one meets.

MIDLAND COUNTIES DAILY EXPRESS, Nottingham,  
July 16th.

It is evident that the proposal to bestow the privilege of voting on women has a great many advocates in the House of Commons—sufficient, indeed, to justify a continuance of agitation. A minority of 16 is one of those defeats second only to a victory, and notwithstanding that we live, as was suggested, in an age of fads, it is difficult to resist the impression that the time is not far distant when all women who already vote in municipal and other elections will have the Parliamentary franchise extended to them. Argued on the ground of necessity, there is, perhaps, not much to be said in favour of the proposal; but regarded in another light, that of strict justice, there is not much to be said against it. The Attorney-General, in his speech, said that inasmuch as a woman could not act as a special constable, a juror, or a bishop, she was unfit to exercise the duty of a voter. We are not disposed to endorse this theory, because each of the offices named would involve physical exertion, for which it might be presumed ladies are not designed; whereas the act of voting might, if the possessor so desired, be a perfectly silent deed. Stronger arguments than these will be required to stave off the proposed extension of the franchise to a distant period of the future.

NORTH BRITISH DAILY MAIL, July 7th.

\* \* The exclusion of women from the franchise is nothing more than a surviving remnant of the evil of old days when they were mere serfs, having neither property nor volition except those of their lord. Society has changed for the better in many respects

since then, but in none more conspicuously than in the larger place and the higher respect accorded to women. It has been supposed that to allow them to descend into the political arena and mingle there in the rough strife of tongues, would diminish the chivalrous feeling with which they are now very properly regarded. To discuss seriously considerations of this airy and tangible sort is to enter simply upon the region of cloudland. If the property qualification be a sufficient evidence of stability of mind and seriousness of purpose in the case of men, it ought to be equally admissible and conclusive in that of women. It is too late to introduce a Bill this session embodying the reform pointed at in Mr. Mason's resolution, nor is it desirable to separate this from other questions connected with the reform of the franchise. It may be taken for granted, however, that the next readjustment of electoral power will provide for this most just and necessary demand.

ABERDEEN JOURNAL, June 9th.

\* \* When we have a Queen on the Throne—and the best Queen that ever reigned—it is rather too much to contend that women are unequal to political duties; yet the Radical Mr. Leatham moved the traversing amendment, which was carried, and which thereby committed the Radical party to opposition to the political rights of the sex. It would have been well had the House considered, before coming to a vote, that in the election of both parochial and School Boards, women have now votes on the same terms and principles as men; and that in the course of time it must follow that the Parliamentary franchise shall be also conceded to them. It is even a moot point whether, as the law at present stands, women have not the right to vote at municipal elections; and most certainly it will not much longer remain in doubt. Mr. Fowler was the best exponent of Conservative principle who spoke in the course of the debate, when he showed that the Crown called the representatives of property to Parliament to give counsel as to how the people should be taxed for their national expenses. In such a case, a woman holding property to the amount of the minimum fixed by Parliament is just as much entitled to vote as a man; and it is a matter of fact that, under the *regime* of our old Saxon and Norman kings, certain lady abbesses and peeresses were summoned to Parliament equally with abbots and peers. There are

many functions in public life in which woman has not yet taken her proper part, but which this agitation for her enfranchisement in politics will help on. We refer especially to the care of the poor. If anywhere, the presence of a woman is especially desirable at a parochial board; for it is in the care of the poor, in charitable work, and in the outgoing of the heart in the work of healing and aiding, that woman finds her proper sphere. In this respect we have a lesson to learn from those whom in our pride we consider uncivilised, viz., the so-called "savages" of Central Asia. In the life of General Scobelev, recently published, we find that the Akkhal Tekkes, according to a very interesting communication made to the Russian Imperial Geographical Society, "although barbarians, are remarkable for the position which they accord their women." With them woman is the equal of man. She is not the slave of her husband. Her property is her own after marriage as it was before. "She can vote in all the national assemblies; and if her husband treats her badly she can demand a divorce." In this country, with a woman for chief ruler, there can surely be no dread of the influence of womanhood legitimately exercised on public affairs.

DUNDEE ADVERTISER, July 7th.

\* \* If the principle that taxation and representation should go together is to be consistently acted upon, the claim put forward in behalf of women householders ought in fairness to be conceded. It does not affect the argument to contend, as some do, that it is only a noisy minority of strong-minded females who ask for enfranchisement. The fact that representation has been based on the payment of rates should settle the question. To deny the franchise to the woman householder who is obliged to pay rates, simply because she is a woman, is to violate the principle upon which representation in this country is professedly based, and to establish a disability of sex. This is virtually the meaning of Mr. Leatham's amendment to Mr. Mason's motion. Mr. Leatham maintains that "it is undesirable to change the immemorial basis of the Parliamentary franchise, which is that men only shall be qualified to elect members of Parliament." This sounds strange in the mouth of a Liberal. The opponents of reform have always laid stress upon "immemorial" usage, and it is somewhat ungallant to plead

immemorial usage as a barrier to the extension of the suffrage to women householders. It is beside the question to say that the proper sphere of woman is to be found in the home, and not in the arena of political strife. It will hardly be seriously contended that those women who are obliged to fight their own way in the world are less capable of recording a judicious vote than the average male householder. Women, as a rule, do not concern themselves much about politics, but they are probably as well informed and as little liable to act from mere caprice as the bulk of those upon whom the Legislature in its wisdom has seen fit to confer the suffrage.

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DUNDEE COURIER, July 7th.

\* \* There is an anomaly in the fact that a highly educated female landowner cannot vote for a Member of Parliament, while the ignorant yokel who works on her land possesses the franchise. The strongest ground on which a change can be advocated is the fact that taxpaying and power to elect Parliamentary representatives ought to go together. The principle of allowing women who are ratepayers to vote for their representatives at public Boards has been practically acknowledged, and a man may legitimately hold that a female ratepayer might exercise the franchise for the election of a Member of Parliament without thereby unsexing herself. At the same time, the question is one which will have to be decided by the growth of public opinion on the matter. If the public come to think that a female ratepayer ought to possess the right of voting for the man who is to represent her in Parliament, and who will have power to vote away her money, then the Parliamentary franchise cannot be kept back from women. While it might be said that Mr. Mason's resolution could issue in nothing practical, the advocates of women suffrage might truthfully reply that the discussion of it is useful in familiarising the public with the arguments for and against the proposal. The result of the division is one with which Mr. Mason and those who think with him may be well satisfied, the figures being—For his motion, 114; against, 130—showing only a majority against of 16 votes.

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NORTHERN WHIG, Belfast, July 7th.

The probability of a new Reform Bill being introduced before the dissolution of the present Parliament has given additional interest to the movement for conferring the Parliamentary franchise on women householders. On Thursday the ladies held their annual meeting on this subject in London, and at the evening sitting of the House of Commons yesterday, Mr. Hugh Mason moved a resolution "That in the opinion of the House, the Parliamentary franchise should be extended to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote, and who in all matters of local government have the right of voting." This resolution is a very reasonable one. As a question of political justice the motion could not be opposed by Liberals generally. Women householders who have often to bring up families after the deaths of their husbands, or spinsters who have the responsibilities of providing for households thrown upon them, are likely to be as able to make a good use of the Parliamentary franchise as many men to whom the Legislature has given votes, or to whom it is intended to extend the right of voting. Women in England vote for representatives in the Town Councils and the Poor Law Boards, for churchwardens, and even surveyors of roads. In Belfast they can also vote for Harbour Commissioners and Poor Law Guardians, and some other local representatives. It is not easy to see why they should not vote for members of Parliament. \* \*

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BELFAST EVENING TELEGRAPH, July 7th.

\* \* Throughout the whole of the United Kingdom, the labours of the benevolent women have excelled those of the other sex, and they have given proof in the Prison Gate Missions, and in other instances, that they hold a high status of education. The question, therefore, at once arises, why is it that women should be deprived of the general rights of citizenship? Against this decision there can be no fair cause shown. There is no reason why there should be inequality, or that the female descendants of a family should not possess equal rights and privileges with the male members of the race. The denial of this right is foreign to the whole of our national instincts. It has been said that the child is



father to the man, but, according to the existing course of law, where is the mother?

While it may not be desirable that women should occupy seats in the Parliament of England, and sit, vote, and make their speeches from the benches, where they might captivate the support of several members of a youthful and promising description, there can be no reason why, in the course of general elections, the privilege of voting should not be afforded to a legitimate extent. In the course of electioneering contests, notwithstanding every Act of Parliament, the influence of the ladies has been felt, and, it is discovered that, in every instance, they are powerful factors throughout the United Kingdom on these occasions. It is impossible to disregard the importance of their power. It comes home to us in every circle. The person who proceeds to the ballot-box is scarcely an "independent elector." He has discussed the question at home. He is not the real, although he may be the practical voter. There is the wife in the case, who advises the manner in which he should make his cross on the ballot-paper. It is difficult, therefore, to see why it is that this powerful indirect influence should not be directly recognised. The rejection of the motion is opposed to the common sense and progress of the period, but, sooner or later, its promoters must achieve success.

CHRISTIAN CHRONICLE, London, July 12th.

"Shall ladies vote for members of Parliament?" was the important question which the House of Commons debated last week for four consecutive hours. Mr. Beresford Hope raised a laugh by suggesting the possibility of a young lady premier, and intimated that the leader of the Opposition and she might marry, and thus form a coalition Government. But the debate was a dull one on the whole. By 130 to 114 the House shelved the matter for another year. The House evidently does not hold with us in our views about the ministry of women. We think the House is wrong, and should have voted with the minority had we been there.

THE TABLET, July 14th.

SHALL WOMEN VOTE?—The debate upon Women's Suffrage was, if possible, a little more unreal than on previous occasions.

The Ministry opposed it, and on grounds which ought to weigh ten-fold force when the question of county franchise comes up for decision. Then it will be idle to talk of the danger of adding a body of ignorant, fickle, and gullible electors to the governing power of the country. If these epithets are applicable to any considerable body of English women, they apply to the whole of the rustics whom the Ministry are pledged to bring within the pale of the constitution. It is held sound reasoning, now, to urge that women are careless of politics, but when the same argument is urged against the agricultural labourers, Sir Henry James will tell the House that the best way to rouse them to an intelligent interest in the welfare of the nation is to let them feel that they have some share in the ruling of their own land, and in the shaping of the laws beneath which they live and suffer. We have no patience with the silly talk which would have us believe that the giving of a vote once in seven years would tell with disastrous effect upon the homelife of the country. The interests, the hopes and fears of most men lie quite outside the sphere of politics, and there is no reason to suppose that the lives of many women would be seriously changed because they were enabled to show effective approval of the conduct they thought best for the nation. It is legitimate, now, to say that the interests of women are well cared for by men, but that same argument will be torn to shreds when the County Franchise Bill comes on—we shall be told the old truth, that no class is fit to be trusted to legislate for another.

PROTESTANT STANDARD, Liverpool, July 14th.

Notwithstanding the defeat of Mr. Hugh Mason's resolution in favour of the ladies enjoying the Parliamentary franchise, yet have we little doubt that sooner or later the measure will be carried, unless indeed the so-called "lords of creation" evince a higher standard of capabilities than they have hitherto shown to protect the gentler sex from many gross acts of outrage and injustice which they are at the present time more or less subject to. As matters at present exist there is an unequal administration of some laws in relation to the sexes. An aristocratic debauchee may accost a woman in the street and escape unpunished, while a woman acting in the same manner towards a man is liable to im-

prisonment. Again, the C. D. Acts still exist for the purpose of degrading women to the vices of men, therefore, on account of these things and others of a minor nature which bear harshly on women, we think that it is high time that the ladies should be enfranchised in order that they may vote for such representatives in Parliament as will enact laws bearing with equal and even-handed justice on the morals of both sexes.

NORWICH ARGUS, July 14th.

That the question of Women's Suffrage, of which we have heard but little since the general election, has not been dead but sleeping, we had the proof in the lively discussion which took place on Friday evening, on the motion introduced by Mr. Hugh Mason and seconded by Baron H. de Worms. \* \* A special degree of interest was excited on the subject, because this was the first time it was brought before the present Parliament, although it had been introduced almost annually in the last. And although there was the counter attraction of the State Ball, and the time fixed for the debate was an evening Friday sitting, when, of all hours in the week the House of Commons is inclined to lassitude, yet, including tellers, no fewer than 248 members were present at the division, and this did not by any means indicate the full interest felt in the discussion, for there were no fewer than 40 pairs. The motion was rejected by a majority of 16, the narrowness of which is exceedingly significant, and indicates that the day is not distant when some change of the kind proposed will be introduced into our system of Parliamentary representation—not improbably when the time arrives for the extension of the county franchise and the redistribution of seats. The debate was conducted with commendable moderation and no small ability on both sides. Mr. Mason limited his claim for female franchise to unmarried women—whether widows or spinsters—who possessed the same qualifications as property owners or ratepayers as entitled men to vote. \* \* But it is not merely on the ground of property qualification that we would base the right of women to the franchise. Other considerations lead us to believe that the privilege might, with advantage, be confided to them. Withdrawn from the muddy current of party strife in which men so much intermingle, their judgment is likely to be calmer and less warped

than that of the angry combatants who meet in the excited arena of party conflict; and we will not conceal the conviction that, beside the essential justice of the measure, we believe the conferring the franchise upon women would give an additional element of strength to the Conservative party, as all who have studied the female character will agree with us that women who stand in an independent position are, as a rule, much more cautious with regard to great changes, and therefore naturally more Conservative than men. And in addition to this it is an anomaly which no ingenuity has been able to reconcile, that females should be denied the right of voting for Parliamentary representation under a Government at the head of which a woman sits and performs with such capacity the duty of a ruler. That this was the view taken of the subject by the great Conservative leader who is gone, there is no doubt, and on every occasion that the question was brought forward of the extension of the franchise to independent women who possess the qualification requisite for men, Lord Beaconsfield, then Mr. Disraeli, voted in its favour, and not only voted, but on various occasions spoke with great decision. Many years ago—in 1866—he expressed himself in these terms:—“A woman having property ought now to have a vote in a country in which she may hold manorial courts and sometimes act as churchwarden.” And subsequently speaking on the same subject, he expressed himself with equal emphasis and equal clearness. “What we desire to do,” said Lord Beaconsfield, “is to give every one who is worthy of it a fair share in the government of the country by means of the elective franchise.” For ourselves, we believe that the truest interests of the Conservative party will be most promoted in this matter by acting on the counsel of the wise philosopher who is gone, but who still speaks.

WILTS AND GLOUCESTERSHIRE STANDARD, July 14th.

\* \* For ourselves, not being very strong partisans on the question, and being therefore able to look at the matter in a judicial spirit, we have never been able to see any very good reason why women should *not* vote when they possess the same qualification as men; nor did the strength of the arguments lie on the side of the majority in Friday night's division. Mr. Leatham, for example,

fell back upon the time-worn arguments of immemorial usage and Holy Writ: would he allow either of those pleas to influence his vote on the marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill? Immemorial usage is a good and valid argument against innovations, unless good cause can be shown for the change, but it is a Conservative argument, and hardly fits the mouth of a Radical, whose principle rather is that if a practice or an institution has existed for centuries it is time it should be changed. There was also a good deal of assertion without proof or argument in Mr. Leatham's speech, as, for instance, when he said that "it was essential that the voter should be a man." Why so? That is just begging the question, when the very contention is that the woman is just as well able to exercise the power of voting with discretion as a man. He also asked "were women prepared to fight and tussle in the streets during elections?" Does he mean that to be a voter a man must know how to handle his fists? Has Mr. Leatham himself had many fights in the act of recording his vote? We have taken part in contested elections in which party spirit was running high, not only in our own quiet little borough here, but in a large town noted for its rowdiness, without losing *much* blood. *Some* men fight at elections, no doubt, and possibly some stout-limbed woman might "go for" an opponent under the influence of an exciting contest, but it is rather a coarse comment on the gentler sex to say that a woman of property and intelligence is not as competent to give a vote, and take a thoughtful interest in political questions, as some drunken brute who is ready to "tussle and fight" with any one who wears a ribbon of a different colour to his own.

A much better argument was that the logical result of assenting to Mr. Mason's resolution, taken in connection with the Married Women's Property Act of last session, must be to give the franchise to all women who are owners of property, whether married or single, since the vote represents a property qualification, and inasmuch as a married woman can now hold property independently of her husband, without the cumbrous intervention of a trust, there is no reason why her property should not carry a vote as well as her husband's. Well, if we were governed by strict logic there might be considerable force in that objection, but seeing that we are about the most illogical people in the world we may very well be content to adopt it as our rule that for electoral purposes the

husband represents the family of which he is the head. That is a tolerably well-defined line to which we can reasonably stick, logic or no logic. But what we fail to see is why, when that glorious creature, the husband, is removed, the family should have no representation at all. If the suffrage is an incident of property, representing a stake in the welfare of the country,—as it certainly is, since the pauper has no vote—why should not that property be represented when it is in the hands of a woman as well as when it is in the hands of a man? Seeing that one-seventh of the land-owners of England and Wales are women, it does not seem to be a very logical argument to allow that they are competent to hold and manage their estates, and yet refuse them a political privilege which is given to an ignorant boor who is unable to sign his own name, merely forsooth because the creature is a *man!* At any rate, if women are not to be allowed to vote at Parliamentary elections, they ought at least to be exempt from charges incident to such elections. If men claim the franchise as their sole and special prerogative it is not unreasonable that they should alone be responsible for any expenses that may arise out of their own abuse of their privilege. It does seem hard that the 1,500 women ratepayers at Macclesfield should have to pay their share of the expenses of the commission that enquired into the wrong-doings of that corrupt electorate with which they had nothing to do. \* \*

Rt. Hon. James Stansfeld, M.P.,

ON

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

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What is the situation at the present moment? We are coming very near to the question of the extension of the franchise—of household franchise from the boroughs to the counties. This is an occasion which you are absolutely bound, if you have only a little common sense, not to neglect—it is absolutely essential as a matter of prudence and ordinary political tactics that you should make your mark upon that Bill, so as to make it one step in your progress. I will tell you two reasons why you should do that. First, that if you do not do it, you postpone, I do not know for how many years, the occasion when you may have the chance and the opportunity of gaining something towards the object which you have in view. But you would not only postpone your chance to another time, but you would very seriously endanger—as seriously as it is possible for you to endanger—the future prospects of your cause if you were to allow household suffrage to be extended to the counties of England, and not make every possible effort to secure the admission of women to a share of that extension of household suffrage. If you do not succeed in an attempt of that kind, and if simply male householders are allowed to vote in the future by the passing of the County Suffrage Bill in both counties and towns, then it may be that the next question—and it may be ten or twelve years before that arises—of the extension of the suffrage will be the extension to manhood suffrage. And let me point out to you that that has been already indicated by an extremely influential member of the present Government and of the present Cabinet, namely, Mr. Chamberlain, the President of the Board of Trade, and one of the members for Birmingham, who has raised the flag of manhood suffrage. Now I say you must get women within the pale of the franchise before the question of manhood suffrage can be brought to the front. (Cheers.) And if there is no other reason, that is a reason why you should strike and not delay, in the vain hope that by delaying you may strike a more vigorous blow at a future time. I believe very probably you will attain your object.—  
*Speech at the Annual Meeting, Westminster Palace Hotel, July 19th, 1883.*

**MR. COURTNEY, M.P.,**  
ON  
**WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.**

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This is, I think, a strictly moderate and a Conservative proposition. It goes on that principle of politics which we all respect, since it proceeds from experience. We have tried it, and what are the results? Are they beneficial or are they the reverse? Are they advantageous, whether as regards the constitution of the boards so elected or the character of the women who form part of the constituency? If they have been beneficial, they are in favour of our going further. No one has said they have produced injurious effects in either direction. On those, then, who oppose the extension of the principle that has been so far successful, the burden is thrown of showing the ineligibility of women for the Parliamentary franchise. I can conceive one reason why hon. members may refuse to give votes for women being members of this House. They themselves might be affected by the change. This is, however, a very small reason indeed, and I should like to know what is the real explanation of this singular anomaly that hon. members are ready to give women votes at elections in which those hon. members are not directly concerned and yet they refuse them in cases where they are so concerned. I confess I should have thought that one of the most hazardous things possible was the giving women votes at elections for boards of guardians, except, perhaps, making them eligible for seats in the school boards. One would have thought that the enfranchisement of women in respect of boards of guardians might have tended to thwart the operation of the poor-law, yet, as a matter of fact, a totally different result had been witnessed, and so successful had been the experiment of admitting women, and so charitably and admirably had they endeavoured to carry out the operations of the poor-law, that the Local Government Board has used its power of nominating women as guardians where they have not been elected. If we take the case of elections to the school boards, I ask is there a single thing that is of more importance to the nation than the education of the democracy of the future? And yet we give women votes for school boards, and allow them to be elected as members of those boards, because they have to do with the education of girls. In making women capable of sitting on school boards we have supplied them with a strong argument in favour of this motion, for the work of the school boards far transcends in importance the ordinary questions that come before us at general elections. (Hear, hear.)—*Speech in the House of Commons, July 6th, 1883.*

MR.  
**Alfred Illingworth, M.P.,**  
ON  
**WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.**

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Nothing is so uncertain as political life, and it may be before we are twelve months older that we shall be in the midst of a Parliamentary agitation for the extension of the franchise to the agricultural labourer. Well, should the opportunity be lost for conferring the franchise upon women on the occasion when it is extended to the agricultural labourer, I should regard it as a great misfortune, not alone to the women who will have suffered defeat and been denied an act of justice; but because I believe that the community at large will suffer a loss almost incalculable in its range, extending not merely to the United Kingdom, but throughout the civilised world. Now, I would ask this very simple question: Is the state of society around us such as leaves nothing to be desired in a civilised and Christian nation? Is the war spirit such that nothing remains to be done? Is drunkenness an evil of a light nature, and are its consequences so trivial as not to be felt in every household and in every family and relationship of life? And what are known as the social evils, and the various forms of injustice and oppression and tyranny which still remain amongst us, are they so trivial as not to call for the anxious consideration and united efforts of all who have the welfare of the human race at heart? It is my belief that it is to the women that we may look with confidence and assurance for raising the tone of society on all these matters. We hear it said very glibly that the war system is supported as much by the favour of women as it is by the folly of men. It is my complaint that we have relegated women to a life of frivolity and treated them as children and as dolls, and that the male sex on their part have suffered a corresponding degradation, and have been worshippers of materialism, of martial glory, of brutality, and of many things that are degrading to our civilisation and Christianity. (Cheers.)—*Speech at St. James's Hall Meeting, July 5th, 1883.*

## STATISTICS ABOUT WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

If women householders are enfranchised in the next Reform Act between 400,000 and 500,000, or one woman to every seven men, will have the vote. According to the Return of Municipal Electors made in 1871 more than 108,000 women already possess, as householders, the Municipal Franchise,—being in the proportion of 16 per cent of the municipal voters of the nation.

The Return of Owners of Land in 1872, popularly called the New Domesday Book, gives the number of women landowners of one acre or upwards in England and Wales as 37,806 out of 269,547—a proportion of one in seven. In Ireland the proportion of women landowners is somewhat less, being one in eight. There are 22,000 women farmers in England and Wales.

From time immemorial women have possessed the same local and parochial franchises as men. They can vote in the election of Overseers of the poor, Poor-law Guardians, Churchwardens, Overseers of Roads, Board of Health and other local authorities. They may vote for School Boards. They may vote in Municipal elections. When the Municipal Corporation Act was amended in 1869, women were placed on the roll of voters. A letter of inquiry was addressed to the Town Clerk of every Municipal Borough after the first election under the new Act, and by the courtesy of these gentlemen it was ascertained that women had generally voted in equal, and in some cases in greater proportion to their numbers, than the male householders.

In May, 1883, a memorial was presented to Mr. Gladstone, signed by 110 Liberal members of Parliament, in these words: "That in the opinion of your Memorialists no measure for the assimilation of the County and Borough Franchise will be satisfactory, unless it contains provisions for extending the suffrage without distinction of sex to all persons who possess the statutory qualifications for the Parliamentary Franchise."

In the division which followed the debate on Mr. Mason's Resolution, on July 7th, 163 members, including tellers and pairs, voted for giving the franchise to women. These were as follows:—

	IN FAVOUR.				AGAINST.			
	Lib.	Con.	H. R.	Total.	Lib.	Con.	H. R.	Total.
Votes...	84	19	13	116	51	78	3	132
Pairs ...	35	10	2	47	24	21	2	47
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	119	29	15	163	75	99	5	179

The Resolution was therefore only lost by sixteen votes, whereas in 1879 the majority against it was 114.

Petitions in favour of women's suffrage were sent in during the session from seventeen English Town Councils, including Birmingham, Manchester, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Huddersfield, Exeter, etc., and from eighteen Scotch Town Councils, including Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Paisley, Dundee, etc., and from many Liberal Associations, including Leeds, Huddersfield, Nottingham, Grimsby, and the General Committee of the Birmingham Liberal Association (the 800). 609 petitions were presented during the session with 14,383 signatures.

# PROFESSOR FAWCETT, M.P.,

ON

## WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

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At a Meeting of his constituents at Hackney, on November 8th, 1883,  
Mr. FAWCETT said:

What had happened in recent years had convinced him of the great importance of at once extending the suffrage to the rural householders, and that it was not safe to exclude any class from enfranchisement when the interests of that class had to be considered side by side with those who were represented in Parliament. Considerations such as these had led him to rejoice that at the recent Conference of Liberal delegates at Leeds a resolution was passed affirming that it was not only desirable to remove the political disabilities of the rural householders, but that it was not less desirable to remove the equally indefensible political disabilities of women. Legislation had taken place in the past and legislation might be brought forward in the future which was calculated vitally to affect the wellbeing of women. Many present could tell only too well by bitter experience how hard it was for a woman to earn her living by honest toil. Legislation was proposed some years ago to place various restrictions upon the labour of adult women, and similar legislation might again be proposed. If this should be the case, could there be anything more illiberal, could there be anything more unjust, than that women should be deprived of the opportunity of expressing their opinions upon legislation which so vitally affects them through the constitutional means of representation? He would take another example drawn from a subject in which the electors of Hackney took a particular interest. The indications were so plain that those who ran might read that the time was not far distant when the question of disestablishment would occupy a prominent position in English politics. An impression prevailed that although a majority of the present electors were in favour of disestablishment, yet that so many women were deeply attached to the Church that if they were enfranchised it would be impossible to obtain a majority in favour of disestablishment. He was not saying on the present occasion whether he considered this opinion to be correct or not, but this he did say, that women had as good a right as men to express their opinions on questions affecting their religious welfare, and although it was unnecessary to assure them of his warm attachment to the principles of disestablishment, yet he said it would not be fair to secure disestablishment if a majority in its favour were obtained by excluding all women from expressing their opinion upon it.



M.R.

# Jacob Bright, M.P.

ON

## WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

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I contend that to declare women incapacitated to vote, whatever property they may have, whatever may be their intellect and their character, and yet to declare men capable of voting, however wanting they may be in the qualifications to which I have referred, is to degrade women in their own estimation and in the estimation of every one else. To give the franchise to men is to raise and to strengthen them. It would have the same effect upon women. Universally, to possess political influence is to command respect, and if women were more respected they would be less open to injury of every kind. We are going to enfranchise the farm labourer. Why, I ask, should we not also enfranchise the farmer? (Hear, hear.) I believe it has already been shown by the hon. member who moved the resolution (Mr. Mason) that a very large number of women are farmers—as many as ten per cent of the farmers in England and Wales being women employing farm labourers. If we are going to enfranchise the labourers, is it right that the women who employ them, who pay their wages, and who have all the responsibility of the enterprise on their shoulders, should be treated as political ciphers? Again, one-seventh part of all the persons holding land of one acre and upwards are women. On what ground can we refuse to give them a vote? Five per cent of the lay patronage of the Church of England is in the hands of women. Those women have a right to appoint the spiritual pastors of large and small parishes, and yet they are not allowed to perform the very humble function of giving a vote for a member of Parliament. There is no greater delusion than to imagine that a high qualification is necessary in order to give such a vote. The instincts of the people, as a rule, enable them to decide which is the ablest or the most trustworthy candidate.—*Speech in the House of Commons, July 6th, 1883.*

WHAT IS WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE?

AND

WHY DO WOMEN WANT IT?

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WHAT IS WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE?

WHY DO WOMEN WANT IT?

"They are the books, the acts, the academes,  
That show, contain, and nourish all the world;  
Else, none at all in aught proves excellent;  
Then fools you were, these women to forswear."

*Shakespeare.*

WHAT IS WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE?

AND

WHY DO WOMEN WANT IT?

THESE questions, sometimes asked seriously but more often as a joke, cannot be fully answered in the limits of a short pamphlet, but a sufficient reply may be given to prove their deep importance.

Women's Suffrage means, that women-householders who have the same property qualifications as men, should vote for Members of Parliament, as they already vote for members of Town-Councils and of School Boards. Experience has proved that there is nothing formidable nor unfeminine in a woman voting at these elections, and the future will show that she can with the same ease record her vote for a parliamentary candidate. Should she, however, be so indifferent to the good government of her town, or to the way in which the children of the poor are educated, that she will not register her vote in favour of the candidates who will best attend to these matters, there is no law to compel her to do this, and if she choose she can, as easily as a man, neglect her duty. The passing of the Ballot and Bribery Acts has removed the chief objection urged against women taking part in Parliamentary elections, and this argument no longer existing, they, who have so deep an interest in good government, should not rest until they have secured the right to vote for the law-makers of the country. Why they have such interest shall be briefly explained.

Women of all conditions and classes suffer from legal disabilities and injustices from which men are exempt; wives and mothers, from the inequality of the laws relating to Divorce and the custody and guardianship of children; working women, from laws which place restrictions on their labour and handicap them in their struggle for a livelihood

To amend or repeal these laws women are at present legally powerless. It is true that some of them, aided by the generous efforts of a few able men, have so far influenced Parliament that an equitable Married Women's Property Bill became law recently, but it is no exaggeration to say that had women possessed the direct influence of the franchise, years of labour and anxiety would have been saved.

Without the security which the Suffrage gives to its possessors, no class can protect itself from the imposition of unjust laws, nor defend itself from a repeal of just ones. Surely it is time for our countrywomen to realise that it is their duty to demand the franchise, to accept the responsibility which accompanies it, and no longer to remain indolently dependent on the self-denying exertions of a few men. Before leaving this part of the subject, I may repeat, that "Women's Suffrage means the extension of the parliamentary vote in parliamentary elections to such women as occupy the same position relatively to their families and their parish, as the men do who now vote; that is to say, the women who are ratepayers." Of this class there are about 500,000, or about 16 to every 100 men-voters, so that were they possessed of the franchise and a legitimate influence in public affairs, men would still retain their preponderating influence.

The second question heading this pamphlet,—“Why do Women want it,”—I answer by showing in what way the laws I have spoken of are injurious to women.

First may be mentioned the divorce laws. These laws, unhappily, maintain a different standard of morality for men and for women and by the assumption that what is criminal in a woman is venial in a man, undermine the moral sense of the community; they assume that adultery in a woman deserves heavier punishment than a similar offence does in a man; they allow a man to 'put away' his wife for this alone, but do *not* allow a woman to divorce her husband, "unless he has been guilty of adultery coupled with desertion without reasonable excuse for upwards of two years," or of "adultery coupled with cruelty." What constitutes "cruelty" in the eyes of the

divorce laws need not here be stated\* but it is sufficient to say that ordinary violence, such as would entitle a woman to a judicial separation, is not sufficient to give her a divorce. The inequality of these laws cannot be disputed, but not less unjust to women is the Custody of Children's law which considers the children of a marriage to belong solely to the father. "The father alone has the power to direct their education, to decide in what religion they are to be instructed; to apprentice them to any trade without the mother's consent, and to take their earnings. He can say where and with whom they shall reside, and can not only take them from their mother whilst they are infants but can send them to a foreign country if he think fit. In no case has the mother any remedy unless she is rich enough to invoke the aid of the Court of Chancery, and then the Court will help her only if she can prove. (a.) That the children have suffered serious physical and moral injury from the treatment of the father. (b.) That the conduct of the father has been such as to entitle her to a separation. But though the law gives all the power to the father alone, the mother is bound by law to maintain the children out of her own earnings, if from any cause the father fails to do so. She cannot *compel* him to support the children; he may refuse, and it is not until she goes into the workhouse that the Poor Law Guardians interfere and make him pay for the maintenance of his family, through an order obtained from a magistrate. If he refuse to obey this order he can be sent to prison, but in no case is he obliged to give more than a pauper's allowance to them."

In the guardianship of children the law is no less harsh to the mother. If a man die he may by will appoint any guardian or guardians he thinks proper for his children, ignoring his wife altogether if he choose. Thus at her husband's death a wife may find that she has no control whatever over her own children; no voice as to their home, their education or their religion. On the other hand, if a

\* See *Plowden v. Plowden*, May, 1870.

woman die, she has no power to appoint a guardian for her children, who,—if her husband marry again or neglect the children—could have a right to see that they were properly treated. If a man change his religion after marriage he can compel all his children to be brought up in the religion he has adopted, or he can forbid them to be instructed in any religion. If he has given a promise to his wife before his marriage it is not binding on him, even if it have relation to the religion his children shall be brought up in, as the judge's decision in the celebrated *Agar Ellis* has proved.

These inequalities of the law apply to wives and mothers only, but the Intestacy laws injuriously affect *all* women. Lest my statement of this law should be thought exaggerated I will quote the words of an able barrister who has recently written on the subject. He says, "One of the most notorious cases of inequality between the sexes, and that in a matter where there can be no reasonable excuse for it, is in the law of intestacy. Leaving out the law of land, which does not affect women so often and is not so unjust to them, let us see how the personal property of an intestate is distributed. A man dies intestate, one third of his property goes to his wife and the rest to his children; or if he has no children, one half of it goes to his wife and one half of it to his other relations. But if a woman dies intestate the *whole of her property* goes to her husband. Her children get nothing and in case she has no children, her other relations get nothing either. Now observe the effect. Suppose a woman marries twice and dies without making a will, her children by her first husband are dependent on their step-father's generosity. All their mother's fortune belongs to him. He can leave them their share of it if he likes; but if they quarrel with him he need not leave them a penny. The way in which a man's property goes upon his death without a will is fair enough, and should not the woman's be divided in the same way? And have not women a right to be consulted as to how their property should be distributed? In the same way women are unfairly treated in the distribution of an intestate's property where he, or she, dies unmarried. If a

single man or a single woman die leaving a father or mother living, the *father* gets all the money and the mother nothing. If the intestate have a father, brothers or sisters living, but no mother, the *father still takes all*. But if he leave no father, but mother, brothers and sisters, the mother only takes a share with the brothers and sisters. By applying the simple principle that the sexes should be treated with absolute equality, all inconvenience might easily be remedied. Whatever the *father* has, the *mother* ought to have the same. Whatever is the share of the husband, that should be the share of the wife. No assembly which had women amongst its constituents would think of upholding a system in which this equality was not observed."

Having now stated some of the inequalities of the law between men and women, I will show wherein the influence of women in political life is essential.

In any alteration of the marriage law, it will be admitted that women *have a right* to be consulted, and yet we know that in the debates in Parliament on the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill,—a Bill which if passed would affect nearly every household in the country,—*the opinion of women has not been asked*. Whether the majority of women are desirous or not that it should be legal for a man to marry the sister of a deceased wife, Parliament has no means of judging, but this is certain, that if a widower may marry his sister-in-law, the law must *in justice* allow a widow to marry her brother-in-law or a new disability will be placed on women. As the question at present stands, it is simply a discussion between two parties of *men*, and it seems incredible that Parliament should again attempt to legislate on it until those who are, equally with men, interested in its settlement have the means of expressing their opinion through the parliamentary franchise. It is true that women can sign petitions 'for' or 'against' the Deceased Wife's Sister's Bill, but these petitions involve trouble and expense, and can scarcely be said to influence Parliament, though they educate and inform those signing them. The vote of a single member of Parliament, whether to support or

oppose a measure, has more weight than any number of petitions,—and this vote women are powerless to influence.

Another question on which women ought to be consulted is the Bill for the Protection of Young Girls. At present the law monstrously asserts that a girl of 13 is old enough to protect herself. If she have a father he can protect her until she is 16 and can claim damages for 'loss of her services' if any man entice her away from her home. Should she be fortunate enough to have property, then the law guards her until she is 21. Recently, a "Bill for the Protection of Girls" was discussed in the House of Lords, and in spite of the kindly feeling which actuated some of the speakers, it was evident that even they could not realise the childishness of a girl of 13, nor the danger which *poor* girls of a later age incur.

It may be thought that a parliamentary vote can in no way ameliorate the position of the poor women who so frequently come before our magistrates, to complain of the cruel treatment they have suffered at the hands of their husbands or male companions. But every woman who reads in the daily newspapers reports of these brutalities, and notices how lightly they are punished compared with offences against property, should ask herself whether, if she or her fellows were represented in Parliament, stricter laws against ruffianism of this kind would not be made? She should also bear in mind this,—that whenever the State grants privileges and immunities to one class at the expense and degradation of another, it confuses the *moral sense* of those favoured, and the result of such moral confusion is seen in the contempt in which women are held by the ignorant,—a contempt brutally expressed in woman-beating and maiming.

In concluding these remarks I cannot do better than quote the words of an eloquent speaker on Women's Suffrage, who says, "We cannot afford as a nation to bid women stand aside from the work of the nation: we need all their spirit of duty, their patience, their energy in combatting the sorrow and sin and want that is around us. If women are anxious to see a higher Christian life in our Government, let them not despise the legal means of increasing their influence; if they want to

hold out a helping hand to the thousands of poorer and perishing sisters who now lie beyond their reach, let them try to infuse their own kindly and pitying spirit into the hearts of our legislators. When a woman whose children are her crown and glory, feels the clasp of their little arms round her neck, let her feel compassion for those other mothers who are deprived by human laws of the right to her own flesh and blood, and let her try to obtain the vote for women, that these laws may be altered. If she wants to do battle with the demon of drink, if she wants to put better wages into the hands of the toiling mothers of families, let her ask for the vote. If it is refused her now on the ground that she is a woman, let her ask for it for that very reason; because she is a woman with a woman's sympathies for the weak and defenceless; let her ask for it because she is a Christian, with a moral duty to perform towards the ignorant and perverted; let her ask for it because she is a citizen of the great nation whose power is as wide as the whole earth, and whose duties and responsibilities are commensurate with that power, and because she is bound to help, not only the material prosperity, but the moral growth, of her fellow citizens.

VERITAS.

November, 1883.

# THE DAUGHTERS OF COBDEN & BRIGHT

AT THE LEEDS CONFERENCE.

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A resolution, declaring "That in the opinion of this meeting any measure for the extension of the suffrage should confer the franchise upon women who, possessing the qualifications which entitle men to vote, have now the right of voting in all matters of local government," having been moved at the National Conference on Parliamentary Reform, held at Leeds, on October 17th, 1883, by Dr. CROSSKEY (Birmingham), seconded by Mr. Walter B. McLaren, and supported by Mr. Carbutt, M.P.

MISS JANE E. COBDEN (daughter of the late Richard Cobden) said she heartily supported the resolution. She begged of them, representing as they did the Liberal principles of all England, to give it their hearty support. They should recollect that this was no new struggle. It was only a continuation of the struggle in which Liberals had taken part during the last fifty years. Therefore she trusted that they would be true to their principles.

MRS. HELEN BRIGHT CLARK, of Street, Somersetshire (daughter of Mr. John Bright, M.P.), remarked that she was one of the delegates from a Liberal Association which comprised among its members a very few women. At its last meeting that association unanimously passed a resolution in favour of admitting women to the Parliamentary franchise, and therefore she thought she had a right to support the resolution. There was in this country a considerable and an increasing number of earnest women of strong Liberal convictions, who felt keenly the total exclusion of their sex from the Parliamentary suffrage. Their hope and faith was, of course, in the Liberal party. The Liberal women would not rest satisfied until there was throughout the United Kingdom a real and an honest household suffrage.

# OPINIONS OF M.P.'s

ON

## WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

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**Mr. COURTNEY, M.P.,**

FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY,

Speaking at Liskeard of the Leeds Conference, said:—"The question of women's suffrage was forced on them, and he believed that on a Reform Bill being brought forward women would have votes."

**Mr. W. S. CAINE, M.P.,**

Speaking at a great Liberal meeting at Yeovil, said:—"He did not believe in excluding women from the exercise of the franchise, and he did not think they would be excluded much longer."

**Mr. ARNOLD MORLEY, M.P.,**

At Nottingham, in reply to a question whether he would support a Bill enabling women householders to vote for members of Parliament, said:—"He had already done so, and would do so again."

**Mr. THEODORE FRY, M.P.**

At the Liberal soirée, Colston Hall, Bristol, Nov. 14th, 1883, Mr. Fry, after referring to the County Franchise Bill, said:—"He hoped that when Her Majesty's Government came to introduce this measure they would make it a thorough measure, and that they would settle the question for some years to come, and that not only would they settle those points which were alluded to by the first speaker, but that they would admit, in addition to those things, women ratepayers to have the suffrage. (Cheers.) He believed that there were many social questions which affected women and children in the present day which would receive much more attention if all those who paid the piper chose the tune—(hear, hear)—and that there was no reason at all why, if women ratepayers voted for guardians, town councillors, and members of school boards, they should not also vote for members of Parliament."



MR. SLAGG, M.P.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

MR. SLAGG, M.P.,

ON

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

At the Annual Meeting of the Manchester National Society for Women's Suffrage, on November 14, 1883, Mr. SLAGG said: There was no doubt that the result of the Parliamentary division on the subject during the past session was in the highest degree encouraging to them. He thought there were signs discernible throughout the whole country of a very considerable advance towards conviction on that subject, especially now when the franchise was under consideration in relation to its extension; and he believed that thinking people were making up their minds that if the household was to be the basis of the franchise there could be no logical or just reason advanced why every separate house should not be properly represented. . . . As things were at present, a great number of women were not content to be deprived of the right to vote, and he would ask whether there was any force of logic or any principle of justice which could possibly withhold the power from them if they wished to exercise it? It seemed to him that the bestowal of the municipal franchise had altered the whole aspect of the question. When we acknowledge the justice and desirableness of the vote being exercised by women in municipal matters, it seemed to him that the whole argument of those who opposed the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women was gone. What, indeed, were national and imperial affairs but municipal affairs in a state of expansion and extension? . . . It was late in the day to say that the public mind was not ripe for the practical application of the principle, and he invited those who had any misgivings on the subject to apply any test which seemed good to them. (Applause.)—*Speech at the Annual Meeting, Town Hall, Manchester, November 14, 1883.*

**MR. LEAKE, M.P.,**  
AND  
**MR. AGNEW, M.P.,**  
ON  
**WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.**

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The members for South-East Lancashire began their series of meetings with their constituents at the Liberal Club, Moss Side, Manchester, on November 17th, 1883.

In the course of his address, Mr. LEAKE, after referring to the male householders of Moss Side, said: But there are other householders; there is a small section of householders in our midst—small comparatively, but very important. I speak of those householders who are women—(cheers)—heads of houses, who have either to toil as men, toil to maintain their houses, or who have inherited the means, as many men do, wherewith to uphold them; who pay taxes and rent, and do the State much service. I think these householders should not be debarred from a share in giving a vote for someone to represent them and their interests as human beings. (Cheers.) They already vote in our municipal elections for the men who take care of our towns; they will do us no harm, but great good, and we shall do them great good and some justice if we permit them to vote for the representatives in Parliament who guide the destiny of the nation.

Mr. AGNEW said he was glad to say he believed that the country was within measurable distance of a reform bill. It was becoming dangerous for the franchise to be withheld from the people. It must be given to *every ratepayer*.

MR.  
John P. Thomasson, M.P.  
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE  
ON  
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE  
When they saw women compelled by law  
to pay taxes, it seemed but reasonable that  
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and it seemed also reasonable that women,  
whose sons and whose husbands were liable  
to be slaughtered in foreign wars, ought to  
have an effective and constitutional means  
of expressing their opinion of the justice or  
injustice of those wars.—*Speech at the Annual  
Meeting, Town Hall, Manchester, December 8th, 1880.*

MR.

# John P. Thomasson, M.P.

ON

## WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

---

When they saw women compelled by law to pay taxes, it seemed but reasonable that they should have a voice in the disposal of those taxes. When they saw women compelled to restrict their hours of labour by Act of Parliament, it was but reasonable that they should have a constitutional means of expressing their opinion on those Acts of Parliament. When they found Parliament passing marriage laws in which women were vitally interested, it was but reasonable that women should have the power of expressing their opinion as to the enactment and amendment of those laws; and it seemed also reasonable that women, whose sons and whose husbands were liable to be slaughtered in foreign wars, ought to have an effective and constitutional means of expressing their opinion of the justice or injustice of those wars.—*Speech at the Annual Meeting, Town Hall, Manchester, December 8th, 1880.*

MRS.  
Walter S. B. M'Laren  
(DELEGATE FROM THE KEIGHLEY LIBERAL ASSOCIATION),  
ON  
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

At the Annual Meeting of the National Liberal Federation at Bristol, on November 26, on the motion of Mr. Lewis Fry, M.P., to adopt women's suffrage, Mrs. Walter S. B. M'Laren said she had come to give her vote in favour of the resolutions which the men were passing for themselves, and she hoped in return the men would vote for resolutions in favour of women. (Cheers.) She claimed the franchise for women on the ground of simple justice. (Hear, hear.) Those who bore the burden of taxpaying should have a voice in the government of the country. They had been told that that was not the time to bring the question forward, and that they must wait because it was not acceptable to the Government. How long had it been the policy of the Liberal party so to frame their demands that they should be acceptable to Governments? (Cheers.) Did anyone doubt that Mr. Gladstone, who they were told would not give the women the franchise, would deny any just demand that the nation made upon him? (Hear, hear.) The question of what Parliament would or would not give was not one for the meeting to decide, but it was for the meeting to carefully and impartially inquire into the nature of the claim that women were making—(hear, hear)—and surely they would find that that claim was just, if they looked at the claims they themselves were making. Could they hesitate when they had felt the justice of that claim to help the women to obtain what they could not obtain by themselves? (Cheers.)

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WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

At the Annual Meeting of the National Liberal Federation on November 23, on the motion of Mr. Lewis...

# SIXTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

OF THE

## MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,  
NOVEMBER 14th, 1883.

MANCHESTER:  
ALEXANDER IRELAND & CO., PRINTERS.  
1883.

MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY

FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

Executive Committee :

Professor ADAMSON.	Dr. PANKHURST.
Mrs. ARMSTRONG.	Mrs. PANKHURST.
Miss MARIA ATKINSON.	Mrs. PEARSON.
Miss BECKER.	Mrs. PHILLIPS.
Miss CARBUTT.	Mrs. ROBY.
THOS. CHORLTON, Esq.	Mrs. OLIVER SCATCHERD.
Mrs. JOSEPH CROSS.	Miss ELIZ. SMITH.
THOS. DALE, Esq.	Rev. S. ALFRED STEINTHAL.
Mrs. GELL.	ARTHUR G. SYMONDS, Esq.
Miss HIBBERT.	J. P. THOMASSON, Esq., M.P.
Miss EDITH LUPTON.	Mrs. J. P. THOMASSON.
Mr. WALTER M'LAREN.	Miss LAURA WHITTLE.
Mrs. WALTER M'LAREN.	Mrs. BARTON WRIGHT.
Mrs. JOHN MILLS.	

SECRETARY : Miss BECKER.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY : Miss S. M. BACKHOUSE.

ORGANISING AGENT : Mrs. M'CORMICK.

TREASURER : Rev. S. ALFRED STEINTHAL.

OFFICE :

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SPECIAL CIRCULAR,  
November, 1883.

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WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

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KING STREET BRANCH, MANCHESTER.

THE Executive Committee of the above Society earnestly appeal for support in view of the present critical period of the movement.

It is expected that a measure for the extension of the franchise will be introduced by the Government in the next session of Parliament. Every effort will be made to procure

the insertion in this Bill of provision for extending its operation to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote.

The Society is pledged to support this action by every means in its power, and earnestly asks for aid in order to secure, if possible, an affirmative vote on the next occasion when the question will be submitted to Parliament.

The Society seeks to promote this object—

1. By holding public meetings and lectures in support of the claim of Women to the suffrage, and for the expression of public opinion in regard to it.
2. By promoting Petitions to Parliament in favour of the removal of the Electoral Disabilities of Women.
3. By the publication of pamphlets, leaflets, and other literature bearing upon the question, and more especially of the *Women's Suffrage Journal*.

Annexed is a form which those who desire to assist in these efforts by becoming members of the Society are requested to fill up and send to the Secretary. Subscribers are entitled to receive the *Women's Suffrage Journal* monthly, and the Annual Report of the Society.

## MANCHESTER 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 Manchester National  
Society for Women's Suffrage, and I agree to pay an Annual Subscription of £ : :  
Donation of £ : :

(Signed)

Cheques payable to S. ALFRED  
STEINTHAL.

Post Office Orders payable at  
the Head Office, Brown Street,  
Manchester.

Please insert here  
proper Address  
for Post.

To Miss BECKER, Secretary,  
28, Jackson's Row, Albert Square, Manchester.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

1882-3.

**D**URING the past year the question of the franchise for women has taken a decided step forward, and your Committee, in presenting their Report, have the satisfaction of recording the most favourable division that has taken place in the House of Commons since the second reading of the Bill in 1870.

Immediately on the opening of Parliament in February last, Mr. Mason began to ballot for a night for his Resolution. But it was not until Friday, July 6th, that a place could be secured, and by that time the Government had begun morning sittings, so that the debate did not begin till the evening sitting.

At nine o'clock on Friday, July 6th, Mr. Mason moved his Resolution in the same form as that proposed last year: "That, in the opinion of this House, the Parliamentary franchise should be extended to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote, and who in all matters of local government have the right of voting."

Mr. Edward Leatham gave notice to move, as an amendment to Mr. Mason's motion, to leave out all the words after the word "House," in order to insert the words, "it is undesirable to change the immemorial basis of the Parliamentary franchise, which is, that men only shall be qualified to elect members to serve in this House."

Mr. Mason's Resolution was seconded by Baron de Worms, and supported in debate by Mr. Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett, Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Mr. Jacob Bright, and Mr. Courtney. It was opposed by Mr. E. A. Leatham, Mr. Inderwick, Mr. Beresford Hope, Mr. Newdegate, Mr.



Raikes, and Sir Henry James. On division, the supporters of the Resolution were 116, the opponents 132, including tellers—majority against the Resolution, 16. There were 47 pairs.

These figures afford an encouraging comparison with the numbers on the last division. This took place in 1879, when the Resolution was defeated by 219 votes to 105, including tellers. Thus the opponents are decreased in numbers by 87 votes, and the supporters increased by 11; the majority against the proposal has diminished from 114 to 16. It is also satisfactory to note that of the members who for the first time had an opportunity of voting on the question, the proportion of those in favour to those against is about three of the former to two of the latter, the numbers of such members who voted or paired being 77 in favour to 53 against.

The division may be analysed as follows, including tellers and pairs:—

	In favour (Noes).				Against (Ayes).			
	L.	C.	H.R.	Total.	L.	C.	H.R.	Total.
Votes...	84	19	13	116	51	78	3	132
Pairs...	36	10	2	48	25	21	2	48
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	120	29	15	164	76	99	5	180

In May a Memorial, signed by one hundred and ten Liberal members of Parliament, was forwarded by Mr. Hugh Mason to Mr. Gladstone, with the following letter:—

“Groby Hall, Ashton-under-Lyne, May 29, 1883.

“Dear Sir,—I have the honour to send you a Memorial, signed by one hundred and eight members of Parliament, in favour of granting the Parliamentary franchise to women who possess the statutory qualifications. I am enabled to state that the memorial is not signed by the whole Parliamentary strength of the present House of Commons. Several members known to be favourable have not been seen, owing to absence and other causes, and of course various members of your Government who have previously voted for the measure have not been requested to sign. I am very sorry,

but not surprised, that the great pressure of public business has not allowed you to receive a small deputation to present the memorial personally. I am, however, quite sure that the memorial will not suffer in your opinion from the want of a personal interview. I have done all in my power, both in this Session and in the last one, to get a debate in the House of Commons on the question, but the ballot has not favoured me.—I have the honour to be your very faithful servant,

“HUGH MASON.

“Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P.,  
First Lord of the Treasury, &c., &c., &c.”

[COPY OF MEMORIAL.]

TO THE

RIGHT HON. WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE,  
M.P., &c., &c., &c.

THE MEMORIAL OF THE UNDERSIGNED MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT  
SHEWETH,

That in the opinion of your memorialists no measure for the assimilation of the County and Borough Franchise will be satisfactory unless it contains provisions for extending the suffrage, without distinction of sex, to all persons who possess the statutory qualifications for the Parliamentary Franchise.

Hugh Mason (Ashton-under-Lyne)	Peter McLagan (Linlithgow)
Jacob Bright (Manchester)	T. Richardson (Hartlepool)
James Stansfeld (Halifax)	Arthur Pease (Whitby)
L. L. Dillwyn (Swansea)	Wilfrid Lawson (Carlisle)
Chas. Cameron (Glasgow)	Henry Lee (Southampton)
Benj. Whitworth (Drogheda)	Jos. Cowen (Newcastle-upon-Tyne)
P. A. Taylor (Leicester)	E. H. Carbutt (Monmouth, &c.)
Chas. H. Hopwood (Stockport)	J. Passmore Edwards (Salisbury)
Lewis Fry (Bristol)	A. McArthur (Leicester)
C. P. Villiers (Wolverhampton)	Charles Forster (Walsall)
R. O'Shaughnessy (Limerick)	Henry Richard (Merthyr)
John Barran (Leeds)	L. P. Pugh (Cardigan Co.)
J. Hinde Palmer (Lincoln)	W. Y. Craig (Staffordshire, N.)
Chas. McLaren (Stafford)	Samuel Smith (Liverpool)
Geo. Palmer (Reading)	George Anderson (Glasgow)
Arthur Arnold (Salford)	John A. Blake (Waterford Co.)
John P. Thomasson (Bolton)	Isaac Holden (York, W. Rid. N.)
Fredk. Pennington (Stockport)	Villiers Stuart (Waterford Co.)
Thos. Burt (Morpeth)	S. Morley (Bristol)
James E. Thorold Rogers (S'thwark)	J. F. B. Firth (Chelsea)

George Courtauld (Maldon)	Maurice Brooks (Dublin)
W. Henry Leatham (York, W. Rid.)	Joseph N. McKenna (Youghal)
Thos. Shaw (Halifax) [S.]	C. Robert Spencer (Northants, N.)
Morgan Lloyd (Beaumaris)	R. Dick Peddie (Kilmarnock, &c.)
Matthew Wilson (York, W. Rid. N.)	Henry Wiggin (Staffordshire, E.)
P. Stewart Macliver (Plymouth)	Henry B. Samuelson (Frome)
E. J. Reed (Cardiff)	J. Spencer Balfour (Tamworth)
Frank Henderson (Dundee)	Walter J. Stanton (Stroud)
Benjamin Armitage (Salford)	Jno. Simon (Dewsbury)
J. G. McMinnies (Warrington)	De Ferrieres (Cheltenham)
C. M. Norwood (Kingston-on-Hull)	Arthur Cohen (Southwark)
Edward Waugh (Cockermouth)	Wm. Findlater (Monaghan)
David Ainsworth (Cumberland W.)	James Howard (Bedfordshire)
W. S. Caine (Scarborough)	John J. Jenkins (Carmarthen, &c.)
Andrew Lusk (Finsbury)	John Slagg (Manchester)
John C. Clarke (Abingdon)	Thos. Eustace Smith (Tynemouth)
Theodore Fry (Darlington)	Samuel Storey (Sunderland)
Wm. Summers (Stalybridge)	Edw. T. Gourley (Sunderland)
E. W. Watkin (Hythe)	Charles H. Wilson (Kingston-on-
Daniel Grant (Marylebone)	W. H. Wills (Coventry) [Hull]
Thos. A. Dickson (Tyrone)	W. Woodall (Stoke-on-Trent)
Philip Callan (Louth)	John Kinnear, D.D. (Donegal)
Thomas C. Thompson (Durham)	John Morley (Newcastle-on-Tyne)
Alfred Illingworth (Bradford)	Jesse Collings (Ipswich)
C. Fraser Mackintosh (Inverness)	T. P. O'Connor (Galway)
J. Givan (Monaghan) [&c.]	Marston C. Buszard (Stamford)
Eugene Collins (Kinsale)	Cyril Flower (Brecknock)
W. E. Briggs (Blackburn)	W. R. H. Powell (Carmarthenshire)
W. M. Torrens (Finsbury)	J. G. T. Sinclair (Caithness)
James N. Richardson (Armagh)	Justin McCarthy (Longford)
S. C. Evans Williams (New Radnor)	R. P. Blennerhassett (Kerry)
E. Johnson (Exeter) [Lyme]	Enoch Baldwin (Bewdley)
W. S. Allen (Newcastle-under-	Andrew Grant (Leith, &c.)
F. O'Beirne (Leitrim)	Wm. Holms (Paisley)
John Brinton (Kidderminster)	J. Dodds (Stockton-on-Tees)

The following reply was received from Mr. Gladstone in acknowledgment of the Memorial:—

“10, Downing-street, Whitehall, May 30, 1883.

“Dear Mr. Mason,—I have received the Memorial in favour of extending the franchise to women, and I beg to thank you for forwarding it to me. I hope you will understand that my reason for not receiving a deputation was not from any doubt as to the importance of the subject, but because I find it of little avail to enter orally on a question of this kind except when it is to come immediately under practical consideration.—I remain, dear Mr. Mason, faithfully yours,

“W. E. GLADSTONE.”

At the time of the presentation of the Memorial, no day had been obtained for the discussion of the Resolution in the House of Commons.

One of the most remarkable manifestations of the advance of public opinion on the question of the immediate extension of the franchise to duly qualified women was afforded by the vote given in the great Conference of Liberal Associations held last month at Leeds to consider Parliamentary Reform. The Conference was convened by three Liberal societies—the National Reform Union, the National Liberal Federation, and the London and Counties Liberal Union. Liberal organisations in all parts of the country, numbering in all 543, were represented. About 2,500 delegates had been appointed by these bodies, and about 1,600 attended, the Albert Hall, in which the Conference was held, being scarcely adequate for their accommodation. Mr. John Morley, M.P., presided at the Conference.

The Rev. T. W. Fowle having moved a resolution affirming the opinion that a measure for the extension of the franchise should confer on householders and lodgers in the counties the same electoral rights as those enjoyed by householders and lodgers in Parliamentary boroughs, which was seconded by Mr. Richards,

The Rev. Dr. Crosskey (Birmingham) proposed an addition to the former motion as follows:—“That in the opinion of this meeting any measure for the extension of the suffrage should confer the franchise upon women, who, possessing the qualifications which entitle men to vote, have now the right of voting in all matters of local government.” Dr. Crosskey moved the proposal in an effective speech, and was ably supported by Mr. W. B. M'Laren (West Riding, North Division, Liberal Association), Miss J. E. Cobden (Midhurst Liberal Association), Mr. E. H. Carbutt, M.P., and Mrs. Helen Bright Clark (Mid-Somerset Liberal Association). On being put to the vote the resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority, a perfect forest of hands being held up in its favour, and only about thirty against it.

In preparation for the Leeds Conference your Committee adopted a Memorial in the following terms, which was forwarded to Liberal Associations in the districts which were not able to be approached by deputations.

THE MEMORIAL OF THE MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR  
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE  
SHEWETH,

That the principles of just representation require that no class of taxpayers and ratepayers shall be excluded from the suffrage.

Wherefore your Memorialists express the hope that your Committee will instruct your representatives at Leeds to vote for any proposal that may be made to extend the franchise to all householders without distinction of sex.

Deputations from your Committee, including Mr. Thomasson, M.P., Mrs. Roby, Mrs. Gell, and your Secretary, were received by the Liberal Associations of Salford, Warrington, and Manchester. Mrs. Scatcherd attended at a meeting of the Newcastle Liberal Association, after which a motion was carried instructing their delegates to the Conference to vote in favour of the proposal. Miss L. Carbutt carried a similar resolution in the Liberal Association, Leeds; and the York Liberal Council, in compliance with a communication from the York Women's Liberal Association, gave instructions to their delegates to further the object. Bacup, Bury, Leigh, Hanley, and Longton gave like instructions to their representatives. Other Associations not within the district of your Committee also supported the proposal.

As soon as it was announced that Mr. Mason had obtained a place for his resolution, your Committee addressed a letter to Town Councils in England and Wales, asking them to petition in its favour. The notice was necessarily so short that many Councils did not meet in the interval, nevertheless many of the Councils of the largest boroughs adopted the petition. The petition was moved in the Manchester Council by Mr. Alderman Bennett, and carried by thirty votes to three. The petition was also adopted by the

Councils of Huddersfield, Yeovil, Wrexham, Rotherham, Bewdley, Birmingham, Dewsbury, Walsall, Over Darwen, Accrington, Jarrow-on-Tyne, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Lincoln, Northampton, Exeter.

SCOTCH MUNICIPAL COUNCILS.—Edinburgh, Galashiels, Aberdeen, Forres, Dingwall, Dumfries, Inverness, Paisley, St. Andrews, Peebles, Helensburgh, Dunfermline, Dundee, Lochmaben, Kirkcaldy, Sanquhar, and North Berwick, also the Commissioners of the Royal and Parliamentary Burghs.

LOCAL BOARDS.—Moss Side District, Madron (Cornwall), Winsford (Cheshire), Dalton-in-Furness, Radcliffe, Felling (Durham), Mansfield Improvement Commissioners, Whitwood, Walton-on-the-Hill.

Petitions in favour of the proposal have been sent from the General Committee of the Birmingham Liberal Association (the Eight Hundred) signed by Mr. George Dixon, President; from the Executive Council of the Leeds Liberal Association, and from ten Liberal Associations of Leeds, *i.e.*, Beeston, Stanningley, Burley, Kirkstall, New Wortley, Armley Radical Club, East Hunslet, Brunswick, North-west Ward, Central Ward; from the Huddersfield Liberal Registration Association, Huddersfield and District Power Loom Weavers' Association, Nottingham Liberal Council; Liberal Associations of Grimsby, Kettering, Mid-Somerset, Paddock, Bridport, Barrow-in-Furness, Cleator, Stourport, Bewdley, Failsworth; Booth Town Liberal Club, Halifax; Middleton and Tonge Liberal Club, Prestwich Liberal Club, Crewe and District Liberal Association, Llandudno Liberal Association, Hull Radical Club, Burley Liberal Club, Croydon Public Affairs Committee, Wootton-under-Edge Liberal Association, Tottington Reform Association, Paddock Liberal Club, Barrow-in-Furness Liberal Club, Cricklade Liberal Association.

Six hundred and seven Petitions have been presented this year to Parliament in favour of Mr. Mason's resolution, containing 14,380 signatures; of these, 122, with 5,489 signatures, have been obtained by friends and correspondents of your Committee.

Members of debating societies in the following towns have applied for and received papers and information for use in discussions on women's suffrage:—Newtown, Glasgow, Rochdale, Patricroft, Neath, Carnarvon, Liverpool, Manchester (4), Sheffield (2), Coventry, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Otley (2), Sunderland, Pollokshields, Wigan, and Bradford.

Public meetings have been arranged by your Committee at Malton, Scarborough, York (3), Wakefield, Derby (3), Grimsby.

District and preliminary meetings have been held in Hunslet and Woodhouse Lane (2), and Woodhouse Mechanics' Institute, Leeds; in Peckitt Road and Nunnery Lane, York.

Drawing-room meetings have been given by Mrs. Scatcherd (2) at Leeds, by Rev. B. and Mrs. Wilkinson at Holbeck, Mrs. Henry Richardson at York, Mrs. Burkill at Scarborough, and Mrs. Norton at Derby.

Municipal election meetings of women electors have been held in New Cross Ward, Manchester, addressed by Miss Becker and others, and at Keighley and Leeds addressed by Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd and Miss Carbutt, and at Hyde.

Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd has spoken at the following places during the past year:—Leicester, Plymouth (2), Launceston, Leeds (3), Holbeck (1), Woodhouse (3), Hunslet (1), Malton, Scarborough (2), York (3), Wakefield, Grimsby, Derby (4), London. Miss Carbutt has spoken in Scarborough, Wakefield, and four times in Leeds.

Miss Becker has lectured on Women's Suffrage for the National Reform Union at Lindley, Huddersfield, at the Moss Side Liberal Club, Manchester, and at the Radcliffe and Pilkington Liberal Club, near Bury. Miss Becker also lectured at a large meeting convened by Mrs. James Eccles at the Congregational Schoolroom, Rusholme Road, Manchester, and at Hyde. She attended on the deputation and addressed the Liberal Associations of Salford, Warrington, and Manchester in reference to the Leeds Conference.

During the past year your Secretary has also acted as Secretary for the Central Committee, and has attended in London during nearly the whole of the Parliamentary session. She spoke at a meeting in the Guildhall, Plymouth, arranged by the Bristol Committee; at Chelsea, and at the great meeting in St. James' Hall for the Central Committee. She has also continued to edit the *Women's Suffrage Journal*.

During the past year your Committee's agent, Mrs. M'Cormick, has visited the following places:—Scarborough, Malton, Wakefield, York, Southport, Huddersfield, Preston, Derby, Grimsby, Bury, Blackburn, Burnley, Liverpool, Accrington, Wigan, Crewe, Macclesfield, Leek, Hanley, Stafford, Lichfield, Wolverhampton, Walsall, Dudley, Kidderminster, Chesterfield, Newark, Boston, Hull, Retford, Stretford, Blackpool, Harrogate, Thirsk, Ripon, Middlesbrough, East and West Hartlepool, Bishop Auckland, Northallerton, Stockton-on-Tees, Darlington, Durham, Sunderland, South Shields, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Carlisle, Birmingham, Coventry, Kendal, Penrith, Ashton, Stalybridge, Stockport, Frodsham, Chester, Burslem, Longton, Stoke-on-Trent, Newcastle-under-Lyme, and Sheffield. Mrs. M'Cormick arranged and attended the meetings organised by your Committee, and devoted the rest of her time to office and other work in Manchester. Your agent also assisted the Central Committee in arranging meetings in Grantham and London in May, June, and July.

The Committee of the Hyde Branch report an increase of subscribers. A tea meeting in connection with the annual meeting was held under the presidency of Mrs. Dowson. A large petition, signed by women ratepayers only, was sent to the House of Commons. Out of 700 women ratepayers who were canvassed 608 signed the petition. Four general petitions with 197 signatures were also sent from Hyde.

Your Committee desire to record their sense of the great value of the service rendered to the cause by the London and Provincial Press. After the debate in the House of Commons, and also after the vote of the Leeds Conference,

many valuable articles have appeared in newspapers in various parts of the country. Articles in support of the principle have appeared in the *Daily News*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Daily Chronicle*, *Pall Mall Gazette*, *Globe*, *Echo*, *Evening News*, *Morning Advertiser*, *Weekly Dispatch*, *Weekly Budget*, *Westminster Gazette*, *Manchester Examiner*, *Christian Union*, *Hull Eastern Morning News*, *Nottingham Daily Express*, *Bradford Observer*, *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, *Leeds Mercury*, *Birmingham Daily Post*, *Darlington Northern Echo*, *Sussex Daily News*, *Belfast Evening Telegraph*, *Aberdeen Journal*, *Northern Whig*, *Dundee Advertiser*, *Liverpool Daily Post*, *Liverpool Mercury*, *Christian Chronicle*, *Sunderland Daily Echo*, *Inverness Northern Chronicle*, *Plymouth News*, *Western Times* (Exeter), *Glasgow News*, *Western Daily Mercury* (Plymouth), *East Sussex News*, *Cambridgeshire Times*, *Derbyshire Times* (Chesterfield), *Dundee Courier*, *Midland Counties Daily Express*, *Modern Society*, *North British Daily Mail* (Glasgow), *Norwich Argus*, *Peterborough Standard*, *Protestant Standard* (Liverpool), *South Durham Herald*, *Tablet*, *Western Independent* (Devonport), *Western Morning News* (Plymouth), *Wilts and Gloucestershire Standard*, and many other papers.

Your Committee have to deplore the loss from the ranks of their Parliamentary supporters of Mr. Ashton W. Dilke, who died in March, and of Mr. Hugh Birley, who died in October. Mr. Birley steadily voted in the House of Commons in favour of women's suffrage. Mr. Dilke would have supported it also had he lived to take part in the division.

Your Committee are glad to report an increase in the amount received in subscriptions, the funds contributed during the past year being more than in any previous year since the work of the Society began. The increase is in a great measure due to the generosity of Mr. R. B. Kennett, who in February last offered £500 to the funds of the Women's Suffrage Society, on condition of £1,000 being contributed from other sources; this sum was divided between the funds of the Central and the Manchester Committees. Although the stipulated amount was not fully made up,

Mr. Kennett, with characteristic generosity, did not insist on the completion of the conditions, but, in consideration of the effort that had been made, sent a bank note for £500, of which £250 was paid to the funds of your Committee.

The following sums were paid to the funds of your Committee in compliance with Mr. Kennett's offer. The Executors of the late Mr. Thomas Thomasson paid, in March, £200. Although this was promised before Mr. Kennett's offer was made, he kindly accepted it as part of the stipulated sum. Mr. Thomasson, M.P., £200; Mrs. Smithson, £5; Misses Prideaux, 10s.

Your Committee earnestly appeal to their friends for a continuance and increase of support, as more funds will be needed as the crisis of the movement approaches.

It is possible that the Government may introduce a Bill next session for extending the franchise to householders in the counties. Every effort will be made to procure the insertion in this Bill of provisions for extending its operation to women. Indications are not wanting that such provisions will receive from both sides of the House such influential support as affords reasonable hope that they will be carried.

The reply of Sir Stafford Northcote to the deputation of ladies at Belfast conveys a reiteration of his declaration that when the question of extending the suffrage to householders in counties comes up for discussion, the claim of the women householders will have to be dealt with along with the others.

Still more recently, Mr. Courtney, speaking at Liskeard, stated that he believed that on a Reform Bill being brought forward women would have votes. Your Committee believe that the realisation of this expectation depends in a great measure, if not entirely, upon the prudence, energy, and determination of those interested in the cause, and they call on their friends for renewed effort in the confident hope that their exertions may be speedily crowned with success.

MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE, YEAR ENDED 31ST OCTOBER, 1883.

Dr.		Cr.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Balance...	38 1 10	By Salaries and Office Expenses...	608 2 7
" Subscriptions and Donations...	1,783 3 4	" Office Furniture, Rent, Gas, &c...	51 8 6
" Journals...	£313 3 6	" Postage and Telegrams...	659 11 1
" Postage...	17 11 8	" Public Meetings...	35 5 10
" Advertisements...	55 0 5	" Printing...	260 7 6
" Pamphlets, &c...	385 15 7	" Petitions...	78 15 7
" Tickets sold—Meetings...	5 17 9	" Publications bought...	54 8 6
" Bankers' Interest...	0 11 6	" Deputation Expenses...	203 15 0
	4 12 11	" Agents' Expenses—Collecting...	18 7 6
		" Bankers' Commission...	25 18 10
		" Journal Account:—	2 15 8
		Printing...	350 14 4
		Postage...	131 5 0
		Distribution, &c...	154 17 11
		Reporting, &c...	36 5 2
			673 2 5
		Balance in Bank...	2,012 7 11
		Petty Cash...	197 2 9
			8 12 3
			205 15 0
			£2,218 2 11

Audited and found correct,  
H. SLATTER.

November 12th, 1883.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Of the Society, held in the TOWN HALL, MANCHESTER,  
November 14th, 1883.

The MAYOR OF MANCHESTER (Philip Goldschmidt, Esq.) in  
the Chair.

The Secretary read the Report of the Executive Com-  
mittee.

Miss M. Atkinson, on behalf of the Treasurer, read the  
Statement of Accounts.

Resolution I.—Moved by Mr. Slagg, M.P., seconded by  
Dr. J. Watts:—

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

Resolution II.—Moved by Mrs. Walter M'Laren, seconded  
by Mr. H. Slatter, supported by Miss Laura Whittle:—

That the cordial thanks of this Meeting be given to Mr. Hugh  
Mason, Baron de Worms, Mr. Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett, Mr.  
Henry H. Fowler, Mr. Jacob Bright, and Mr. Courtney for  
introducing and supporting the Resolution for extending the  
Parliamentary Franchise to Women who possess the qualifica-  
tions which entitle Men to Vote, and who in all matters of local  
government have the right of voting, and to the 163 members  
who voted or paired in its favour in the division of July 6th;  
and this Meeting pledge themselves to support any further  
steps that may be taken by their Parliamentary friends to obtain  
the assent of the Legislature to this proposal.

Resolution III.—Moved by Mr. Alderman Heywood,  
seconded by Mrs. M'Laren, supported by Miss S. B.  
Anthony:—

That the following persons be the Executive Committee for the  
ensuing year:—Professor Adamson, Mrs. Armstrong, Miss Maria  
Atkinson, Miss Becker, Miss Carbutt, Thomas Chorlton, Esq.,  
Mrs. Joseph Cross, Thos. Dale, Esq., Mrs. Gell, Miss Hibbert,  
Mrs. Lucas, Miss Edith Lupton, Mr. Walter M'Laren, Mrs.  
Walter M'Laren, Mrs. J. Mills, Dr. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pank-  
hurst, Mrs. Pearson, Mrs. Roby, Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd, Miss  
Elizabeth Smith, Rev. S. Alfred Steinthal, A. G. Symonds,  
Esq., J. P. Thomasson, Esq., M.P., Mrs. J. P. Thomasson,  
Miss Laura Whittle, Mrs. Barton Wright, with power to add to  
their number.

The Chair was taken by Rev. S. A. Steinthal.

Resolution IV.—Moved by Miss Becker, seconded by Mrs.  
Phillips:—

That the best thanks of the Meeting be given to the Mayor of  
Manchester for presiding on the present occasion.

## THE DIVISION LIST.

\* AYES.—130.

Acland, Sir T. Dyke (Devon, N.)  
 Allsopp, Charles  
 Armitstead, George  
 Bailey, Sir Joseph Russell  
 Bartelot, Sir Walter B.  
 Bass, Hamar (Tamworth)  
 Beach, Rt. Hon. Sir M. H. (Glo. E.)  
 Bentinck, Rt. Hon. G. C. (Whit'n.)  
 Blennerhassett, Sir Rowland  
 Brasse, Henry A. (Sandwich)  
 Bright, Rt. Hon. John (Birmingham)  
 Bruce, Sir H. Hervey (Coleraine)  
 Bryce, James  
 Bulwer, James Redfoord  
 Cameron, Donald (Inverness)  
 Campbell, Sir George (Kirkcaldy)  
 Carden, Sir Robert Walter  
 Cartwright, William C.  
 Causton, Richard Knight  
 Cecil, Lord Eustace H. B. G.  
 Chaplin, Henry  
 Clive, Col. Hon. G. Windsor  
 Cole, Viscount  
 Colebrooke, Sir Thomas Edward  
 Corry, James Porter  
 Cotton, William J. R.  
 Crichton, Viscount  
 Cropper, James  
 Curzon, Major Hon. Montagu  
 Dalrymple, Charles  
 Davenport, H. T. (Staffordshire, N.)  
 Digby, Col. Hon. E.  
 Donaldson-Hudson, Charles  
 Duff, Robert William  
 Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir William Hart  
 Eaton, Henry William  
 Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton (Ches.)  
 Egerton, Adm. Hon. F. (Derby, E.)  
 Elliot, Hon. Art. R. D. (Roxburgsh.)  
 Errington, George  
 Estcourt, George Sotheron.  
 Evans, Thomas William  
 Feilden, Lieut.-General  
 Finch, George H.  
 Fitzwilliam, Hon. H. W. (York.)  
 Floyer, John  
 Folkestone, Viscount  
 Fort, Richard  
 Foster, Wm. Hen. (Bridgnorth)

Freemantle, Hon. Thomas F.  
 Gardner, Richardson  
 Gladstone, Rt. Hon. W. E.  
 Gladstone, Wm. Hen. (Worc. E.)  
 Glyn, Hon. Sidney Carr  
 Goldney, Sir Gabriel  
 Gordon, Sir Alex. (Aberdeen, E.)  
 Gower, Hon. E. F. Leveson  
 Greer, Thomas  
 Grosvenor, Lord Richard  
 Gurdon, Robert Thornhagh  
 Hamilton, Ion Trant (Dublin Co.)  
 Hamilton, Rt. Hon. Lord G. (Midx.)  
 Hamilton, J. Glen C. (Lanark, S.)  
 Hartington, Marquis of  
 Hay, Rt. Hon. Admiral Sir J. C. D.  
 Hayter, Sir Arthur Divett  
 Herbert, Hon. Sidney  
 Hill, Lord Arthur Wm. (Down)  
 Holland, Sir H. T. (Midhurst)  
 Holms, John (Hackney)  
 Holme, Lieut.-Col. David Milne  
 Hope, Rt. Hon. Alex. Beresford  
 Ince, Henry Bret  
 James, Sir Henry (Taunton)  
 Jerningham, Hubert Ed. Henry  
 Johnstone, Sir F. (Weymouth)  
 Kennaway, Sir John Henry  
 Kenny, Matthew Joseph  
 Kingscote, Colonel  
 Lefevre, Rt. Hon. Geo. John Shaw  
 Levett, Theophilus John  
 Lewisham, Viscount  
 Loder, Robert  
 Lowther, Hon. W. (Westmoreland)  
 Lyons, Robert Dyer  
 Maitland, William Fuller  
 Makins, Colonel  
 March, Earl of  
 Marriott, William Thackeray  
 Martin, R. B. (Tewkesbury)  
 Master, Thos. William Chester  
 Maxwell-Heron, J. (Kirkcud.)  
 Miles, Chas. Wm. (Malmesbury)  
 Miles, Sir Philip J. W. (Som. E.)  
 Mills, Sir Charles Henry  
 Monckton, Francis  
 Mowbray, Rt. Hon. Sir John R.  
 Newdegate, Charles Newdigate

\* NOTE.—Owing to the form in which the question had to be put, the Ayes are the opponents and the Noes the supporters of Mr. Mason's Resolution.

Newport, Viscount  
 Pemberton, Edward Leigh  
 Percy, Earl (Northumberland, N.)  
 Percy, Lord Algernon (West'r.)  
 Plunket, Hon. David R.  
 Raikes, Rt. Hon. Henry Cecil  
 Ralli, Pandeli  
 Rendlesham, Lord  
 Ritchie, Charles Thomson  
 Roundell, Charles Savile  
 Russell, Lord Arthur (Tavistock)  
 St. Aubyn Sir John (Corn. W.)  
 Scott, Lord Henry (Hants, S.)  
 Scott, Montagu D. (Sussex, E.)  
 Sheil, Edward  
 Stevenson, James Cochran

Tellers for the Ayes, Mr. Edward Leatham and Mr. Inderwick.

NOES.—114.

Agnew, William  
 Anderson, George  
 Arnold, Arthur  
 Ashmead-Bartlett, Ellis  
 Baldwin, Enoch  
 Barran, John  
 Bateson, Sir Thomas  
 Bective, Earl of  
 Biggar, Joseph Gillis  
 Blake, John Aloysius  
 Blennerhassett, Rowland P. (Kerry)  
 Borlase, William Copeland  
 Briggs, William Edward  
 Bright, Jacob (Manchester)  
 Brooks, W. Cunliffe (Chesh. E.)  
 Burt, Henry Bret  
 Cameron, Charles (Glasgow)  
 Clifford, Charles Cavendish  
 Cohen, Arthur (Southwark)  
 Collings, Jesse  
 Collins, Eugene (Kinsale)  
 Courtney, Leonard Henry  
 Cowen, Joseph  
 Creyke, Ralph  
 Cunliffe, Sir Robert Alfred  
 Davies, David (Cardigan)  
 De Ferrieres, Baron  
 Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles  
 Earp, Thomas  
 Edwards, Passmore (Salisbury)  
 Farquharson, Dr. Robert  
 Fawcett, Rt. Hon. Henry  
 Firth, Joseph F. B.  
 Forester, Cecil Theodore Weld  
 Fowler, Henry H. (Wolverhampton)  
 Fry, Lewis (Bristol)  
 Fry, Theodore (Darlington)  
 Gabbett, Daniel Fitzgerald  
 Giles, Alfred  
 Grant, Andrew (Leith)  
 Grant, Daniel (Marylebone)  
 Harvey, Sir Robert Bateson  
 Henderson, Frank  
 Hibbert, John, Tomlinson

Sykes, Christopher  
 Talbot, John Gilbert (Ox. Univ.)  
 Thornhill, Thomas  
 Tollemache, H. J. (Chesh. W.)  
 Tollemache, Hon. W. F. (Chesh. W.)  
 Tomlinson, Wm. Edw. Murray  
 Vivian, Sir Hen. Hussey (Glam.)  
 Wallace, Sir Richard  
 Warburton, Piers Egerton  
 Warton, Charles Nicholas  
 Webster, Dr. John  
 Whitbread, Samuel  
 Willis, William  
 Winn, Rowland (Linc. N.)  
 Wodehouse, Edmond Robert  
 Wroughton, Philip

Hollond, John Robt. (Brighton)  
 Hopwood, Charles Henry  
 Howard, James (Bedfordshire)  
 Illingworth, Alfred  
 James, Charles (Merthyr Tydvil)  
 Jenkins, Sir John J. (Carmar.)  
 Kennard, Colonel (Lymington)  
 Kinnear, John  
 Knightly, Sir Rainald  
 Lalor, Richard  
 Lawson, Sir Wilfrid  
 Leahy, James  
 Leake, Robert  
 Leamy, Edmund  
 Leatham, W. H. (York, W.R., S.D.)  
 Lechmere, Sir Edmund A. H.  
 Lee, Henry (Southampton)  
 Lusk, Sir Andrew  
 Macliver, Peter Stewart  
 M'Arthur, Alexander (Leicester)  
 M'Arthur, Sir Wm. (Lambeth)  
 M'Laren, Charles B. B.  
 Morgan, Hon. Fred. (Monm. Co.)  
 Morley, Arnold (Nottingham)  
 Morley, John (Newcastle)  
 Morley, Samuel (Bristol)  
 Nolan, Colonel  
 O'Beirne, Major  
 O'Brien, William (Mallow)  
 O'Connor, A. (Queen's Co.)  
 O'Gorman Mahon, Colonel The  
 Palmer, George (Reading)  
 Palmer John Hinde (Lincoln)  
 Peddie, John Dick  
 Pennington, Frederick  
 Porter, Andrew Marshall  
 Potter, Thomas Bayley  
 Powell, W. Rice H.  
 Power, Richard (Waterford)  
 Pugh, Lewis Pugh  
 Puleston, John Henry  
 Ramsay, John  
 Rankin, James  
 Richard, Henry

Richardson, J. N. (Armagh Co.)  
 Richardson, Thos. (Hartlepool)  
 Roberts, John  
 Roe, Thomas  
 Ross, Alex. Henry (Maidstone)  
 Round, James  
 St. Aubyn, Walter M. (Helston)  
 Shaw, Thomas (Halifax)  
 Sinclair, Sir John G. Tollemache  
 Smith, Eustace (Tynemouth)  
 Spencer, Hon. Charles Robert  
 Stansfeld, Rt. Hon. James  
 Summers, William

Taylor, Peter Alfred  
 Thomasson, John Pennington  
 Torrens, W. T. M.  
 Villiers, Rt. Hon. C. Pelham  
 Walrond, Col. William Hood  
 Watkin, Sir Edward W.  
 Waugh, Edward  
 Whitworth, Benjamin  
 Williams, S. C. Evans (Radnor)  
 Williamson, Stephen  
 Wilson, Sir Mathew (York, W.R.)  
 Woodall, William  
 Yorke, John Reginald

Tellers for the Noes, Mr. Mason and Baron Henry De Worms.

PAIRS FOR MR. MASON'S RESOLUTION.

FOR.

R. B. Mackie  
 L. L. Dillwyn  
 S. C. Buxton  
 R. N. Fowler  
 W. Findlater  
 W. H. Wills  
 Sir C. Forster  
 W. J. Stanton  
 J. McCarthy  
 F. Buxton (Andover)  
 P. Rylands  
 J. Dodd  
 J. E. Thorold Rogers  
 C. F. Mackintosh  
 W. N. Nicholson  
 Right Hon. G. Cubitt  
 Sir H. Verney  
 J. F. Cheetham  
 J. Slagg  
 Sir Massey Lopes  
 C. R. M. Talbot  
 J. S. Balfour  
 H. Wiggin  
 H. B. Sheridan  
 E. R. King-Harman  
 J. E. Gorst  
 A. Orr Ewing  
 G. Courtauld  
 H. Villiers Stuart  
 B. Armitage  
 M. C. Buzsard  
 T. W. Boord  
 P. McLagan  
 H. B. Samuelson  
 G. W. Hastings  
 R. O'Shaughnessy  
 C. M. Norwood  
 J. C. McCoan  
 Sir B. Leighton, Bart.  
 T. R. Hill  
 W. S. Caine  
 J. G. McMinnies  
 E. H. Carbutt  
 T. C. Thompson  
 C. J. Kennard (Salisb.)  
 F. T. Mappin  
 Cyril Flower  
 Arthur Pease

AGAINST.

A. Pell  
 C. T. D. Acland  
 Hon. L. Stanley  
 Col. Blackburne  
 D. R. Onslow  
 W. H. Long  
 Rt. Hon. J. G. Dodson  
 C. J. Monk  
 E. Whitley  
 Hon. W. H. B. Portman  
 J. E. Severne  
 G. B. Gregory  
 H. Edwards (Weymouth)  
 J. Stewart  
 Sir H. Maxwell  
 Rt. Hon. Sir R. Cross  
 W. L. Jackson  
 R. P. Bruce (Fifeshire)  
 F. W. Grafton  
 A. P. Vivian  
 W. B. Beaumont  
 Rt. Hon. W. E. Baxter  
 A. Peel  
 Lord Burghley  
 A. Loftus Tottenham  
 T. Salt  
 Sir F. Herschell  
 Sir E. H. K. Lacon  
 C. Seeley  
 J. C. Bolton  
 Rt. Hon. W. E. Forster  
 Hon. P. S. Wyndham  
 Sir W. H. B. Ffolkes, Bt.  
 A. Moore  
 Sir J. Eardley Wilmot, Bt.  
 A. H. Bellingham  
 W. F. Ecroyd  
 Sir J. Trevor Lawrence, Bt.  
 Lord Moreton  
 R. N. Philips  
 H. Broadhurst  
 E. Hicks  
 Sir M. W. Ridley, Bt.  
 R. J. Reid  
 C. J. Phipps (Westbury)  
 Rt. Hon. Sir W. Harcourt  
 Lord Baring  
 Sir J. W. Pease, Bart.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS.

FINANCIAL YEAR, 1882-83.

"Sympathiser" ...	£150 0 0	Armstrong, Misses ...	£0 3 0
"Mitrailleuse" ...	100 0 0	Addison, Mrs. (Chathill) ...	0 2 6
"S. A." ...	50 0 0	Antcliff, Mr. W. ...	0 2 6
"A Friend" (Wakefield) ...	1 0 0	Allman, Mr. ...	0 2 6
"A. C. W." ...	1 0 0	Atherton, Mrs. ...	0 2 6
"R. L." ...	1 0 0	Alward, Mr. S. ...	0 2 6
"A Friend" (Huddersfield) ...	0 10 6	Atkinson, Mr. H. (Grimsby) ...	0 2 6
"Delta" ...	0 5 0	Ash, Miss ...	0 2 6
"H. E." ...	0 5 0	Axon, Mr. W. E. A. ...	0 2 6
"Neutral" ...	0 5 0	Ade, Mr. ...	0 2 6
"A Lover of Justice" ...	0 4 0	Atkinson, Mr. (Kendal) ...	0 2 6
"Anti-Church Disestablishment" ...	0 2 6	Altham, Miss ...	0 2 6
"B. B." ...	0 2 6	Atkinson, Mrs. (Penrith) ...	0 2 6
"V. H." ...	0 2 6	Brooke, Miss Edith ...	10 0 0
"A Conservative" ...	0 2 6	Browne, Mrs. S. W. ...	4 0 0
"Enquirer" ...	0 2 6	Buchanan, Dr. ...	3 3 0
"Beta" ...	0 2 6	Brennen, Miss ...	2 2 0
"X Y Z" ...	0 2 6	Buchan, The Dowager	
"W. R. A." ...	0 2 6	Countess of ...	2 0 0
"M. D." ...	0 2 6	Brooke, Mr. Thos. ...	2 0 0
"A Friend" ...	0 1 6	Barese, Princess Mele ...	1 1 0
Anderson, Mrs. ...	1 1 0	Barran, Mr. John, jun. ...	1 1 0
Armstrong, Mrs. ...	1 1 0	Baines, Sir Edward ...	1 1 0
Atkinson, Mr. Joseph ...	1 0 0	Browne, Miss Annie ...	1 1 0
Astley, Mr. A. F. ...	0 12 6	Benson, J.P., Mr. R. ...	1 1 0
Atkinson, Miss Jane ...	0 10 6	Brooke, Mrs. Edward ...	1 1 0
Atkinson, Miss Maria ...	0 10 6	Buss, Miss F. M. ...	1 1 0
Alcock, Mr. R. H. ...	0 10 0	Borchardt, Dr. (the late) ...	1 1 0
Addison, Mrs. (Preston) ...	0 5 0	Barlow, Mr. James ...	1 1 0
Aspden, Mrs. ...	0 5 0	Broad, Messrs. Jesse, & Co. ...	1 1 0
Alward, Mr. James ...	0 5 0	Burt, Mr. Jonathan ...	1 0 0
Alward, Mr. G. ...	0 5 0	Biggs, Mr. Henry ...	1 0 0
Alexander, Mr. ...	0 5 0	Brooke, Miss Octavia ...	1 0 0
Aldis, Mr. James ...	0 5 0	Bowling, Miss I. A. ...	1 0 0
Allwood, Mr. John ...	0 5 0	Birrell, Miss ...	1 0 0
Ainsworth, Mr. Ald. (Crewe) ...	0 5 0	Bingham, Mrs. ...	1 0 0
Ainsworth, Mr. T. H. (Stockton) ...	0 5 0	Bowman, Mrs. Chas. ...	1 0 0
Archibald, Mr. R. ...	0 5 0	Brankston, Mrs. ...	0 10 6
Ayre, Mrs. ...	0 5 0	Brocklebank, Mrs. Thos., jun. ...	0 10 6
Alderson, Mr. J. ...	0 5 0	Bevington, Mr. A. ...	0 10 6
Awde, Mr. J. ...	0 5 0	Booth, J.P., Mr. Ald. Geo. ...	0 10 6
		Butterwith, Mr. C. ...	0 10 6



Booth, Mr. John (Wakefield) £0 10 0  
 Barnes, Miss ... 0 10 0  
 Binks, Mrs. John ... 0 10 0  
 Butler, Mrs. Josephine ... 0 10 0  
 Brown, Mr. John (Stockton) 0 10 0  
 Burkell, Mrs. ... 0 10 0  
 Brown, Miss M. A. (Wigan) 0 10 0  
 Boddington, Mr. T. (two years) ... 0 10 0  
 Blair, Mr. G. Y. ... 0 10 0  
 Barber, Mrs. ... 0 5 0  
 Braithwaite, Mrs. ... 0 5 0  
 Boulton, Miss Lucy ... 0 5 0  
 Blacker, Mr. G. O. ... 0 5 0  
 Browning, Mrs. ... 0 5 0  
 Blumer, Mr. J. G. ... 0 5 0  
 Barrow, Mr. John ... 0 5 0  
 Bennington, Mr. Henry ... 0 5 0  
 Beacock, Mr. W. ... 0 5 0  
 Balgarnie, The Misses ... 0 5 0  
 Bright, J.P., Mr. F. ... 0 5 0  
 Birchall, Mr. W. ... 0 5 0  
 Baldwin, Mr. Wm. ... 0 5 0  
 Baron, Mr. ... 0 5 0  
 Bleakley, Mrs. ... 0 5 0  
 Briggs, Mr. Ald. (Crewe) ... 0 5 0  
 Barwise, Mr. ... 0 5 0  
 Beevor, Miss ... 0 5 0  
 Baynes, Mrs. ... 0 5 0  
 Brough, Mr. Joshua ... 0 5 0  
 Bell, Mr. J. H. ... 0 5 0  
 Blott, Mrs. ... 0 5 0  
 Biggart, Dr. ... 0 5 0  
 Broughton, Miss (2 years) ... 0 5 0  
 Barrett, Mr. F. ... 0 4 0  
 Brook, Mrs. J. (Batley) ... 0 3 0  
 Brown, Miss R. (Wigan) ... 0 3 0  
 Bridges, Mr. Ald. ... 0 3 0  
 Butler, Mr. Ed. ... 0 2 6  
 Barrows, Mrs. ... 0 2 6  
 Bowling, Miss (Leeds) ... 0 2 6  
 Barlow, Mrs. (Hyde) ... 0 2 6  
 Brooks, Mrs. John (Hyde) ... 0 2 6  
 Busby, Mrs. ... 0 2 6  
 Bullock, Miss ... 0 2 6  
 Briggs, Mr. Joseph ... 0 2 6  
 Biggs, Miss C. A. ... 0 2 6  
 Boston, Mr. Jos. ... 0 2 6  
 Brocklesby, Mr. J. ... 0 2 6  
 Brocklesby, Mr. C. ... 0 2 6  
 Bates & Quash, Messrs. ... 0 2 6  
 Briggs, Mrs. (West Hartlepool) ... 0 2 6  
 Brusey, Mr. J. ... 0 2 6  
 Beckwith, Mr. J. ... 0 2 6  
 Binnington, Miss ... 0 2 6  
 Broadhead, Miss ... 0 2 6  
 Beale, Mr. A. W. ... 0 2 6  
 Brook, Mr. Will ... 0 2 6  
 Booth, Miss ... 0 2 6

Bell, Mr. Wm. ... £0 2 6  
 Brown, The Misses (Hull) ... 0 2 6  
 Booth, Mrs. Wm. (Hyde) ... 0 2 6  
 Burton, Mr. R. ... 0 1 6  
 Burneston, Mrs. ... 0 1 6  
 Butterfield, Miss ... 0 1 6  
 Burland, Mrs. ... 0 1 6  
 Boyle, Miss ... 0 1 6  
 Brown, Miss (Leeds) ... 0 1 6  
 Bates, Mr. ... 0 1 6  
 Blakey, Miss ... 0 1 0  
 Carbutt, Miss ... 12 0 0  
 Crook, Mr. and Mrs. ... 5 0 0  
 Clark, Mrs. Wm. ... 1 1 0  
 Cross, Mrs. Joseph ... 1 1 0  
 Chorlton, Mr. Thos. ... 1 1 0  
 Cooke, Mr. Isaac B. ... 1 1 0  
 Crawford, Miss Sharman ... 1 0 0  
 Cary, Mrs. Stanley ... 1 0 0  
 Cudworth, Mr. ... 1 0 0  
 Carbutt, Miss F. ... 1 0 0  
 Cullwick, Mr. B. ... 0 10 6  
 Clark, Mr. C. F. ... 0 10 6  
 Crow, Rev. Thos. ... 0 10 0  
 Cooper, Mrs. ... 0 10 0  
 Common, Mr. A. ... 0 10 0  
 Chandler, Mrs. ... 0 10 0  
 Copstick, Mr. T. ... 0 7 6  
 Carpenter, Mr. Thos. ... 0 6 6  
 Carter, Mr. T. B. ... 0 5 0  
 Cameron, Dr. ... 0 5 0  
 Clarke, Mr. A. J. (Derby) ... 0 5 0  
 Crawshaw, Mr. ... 0 5 0  
 Cronkshaw, Mrs. ... 0 5 0  
 Cronkshaw, Miss ... 0 5 0  
 Cotterill, Mr. Coun. (Crewe) 0 5 0  
 Crapper, J.P., Mr. J. ... 0 5 0  
 Cooke, Mr. F. (Crewe) ... 0 5 0  
 Corbet, Mr. Miller ... 0 5 0  
 Cogan, The Misses ... 0 5 0  
 Crossley, Mr. ... 0 5 0  
 Cheetham, Miss M. E. ... 0 5 0  
 Cohen, Mr. ... 0 5 0  
 Cameron, Mr. R. ... 0 5 0  
 Clark, Mrs. Edmund ... 0 3 0  
 Cochran, Mr. C. ... 0 2 6  
 Calvert, Mr. J. S. ... 0 2 6  
 Carter, Miss (Derby) ... 0 2 6  
 Cross, Mr. H. M. ... 0 2 6  
 Curfew, Mrs. (Hyde) ... 0 2 6  
 Curwood, Mr. C. F. ... 0 2 6  
 Cook, Mr. Alfred (Grimsby) 0 2 6  
 Carnley, Mrs. ... 0 2 6  
 Carter, Miss (Scarborough) 0 2 6  
 Cockerill, Mr. H. M. ... 0 2 6  
 Crabtree, Mr. Councillor (Accrington) 0 2 6  
 Caryl, Mr. G., jun. ... 0 2 6  
 Cox, Mr. J. T. (Stafford) ... 0 2 6

Crew, Mrs. ... £0 2 6  
 Carr, Rev. W. H. ... 0 2 6  
 Clarkson, Mr. G. F. ... 0 2 6  
 Coatsworth, Mrs. ... 0 2 6  
 Cooper, Mr. (Northallerton) 0 2 0  
 Coles, Mrs. (Leeds) ... 0 1 6  
 Dale, J.P., Mr. Thos. ... 1 1 0  
 Dewes, Rev. Dr. ... 1 1 0  
 De Hersant, Mrs. ... 1 0 0  
 Dalby, Mr. G. B. ... 1 0 0  
 Denham, Mr. Ald. (Huddersfield) ... 1 0 0  
 Duckworth, Mr. J. ... 1 0 0  
 Dixon, Mrs. (two years) ... 1 0 0  
 Dodds, Mr. M. B. ... 0 10 6  
 Dale, Mr. David ... 0 10 0  
 Dobson, Mr. G. S. ... 0 10 0  
 Durham, Miss Mary ... 0 5 0  
 Dracup, Miss F. ... 0 5 0  
 Dawson, Mrs. (London) ... 0 5 0  
 Drewry, Miss E. ... 0 5 0  
 Drewry, Mr. H. R. ... 0 5 0  
 Dewe, Miss ... 0 5 0  
 Douglas, Mr. G. ... 0 5 0  
 Dullely, Miss ... 0 5 0  
 Dawson, Mrs. (Wigan) ... 0 5 0  
 Dixon, Mr. Joseph ... 0 5 0  
 Dullely, Miss Edith ... 0 5 0  
 Dunlop, Miss ... 0 2 6  
 Dixon, Miss (Birmingham) 0 2 6  
 Danson, Mr. F. C. ... 0 2 6  
 Danson, Mrs. F. C. ... 0 2 6  
 Derbyshire, Mrs. (Hyde) ... 0 2 6  
 Dowson, Mrs. (Hyde) ... 0 2 6  
 Dixon, Mrs. J. M. (Hull) ... 0 2 6  
 Dawes, Mrs. ... 0 2 6  
 Dodd, Mr. Thomas ... 0 2 6  
 Dunkin, Miss ... 0 2 6  
 Dean, Mrs. ... 0 2 6  
 Douglas, Mr. B. ... 0 2 6  
 De Rome, Mr. ... 0 2 6  
 Dickson, Mrs. Jas. ... 0 2 6  
 Devonport, Mrs. (Denton) 0 2 0  
 Dickinson, Mrs. ... 0 1 6  
 Eddison, Mrs. R. W. ... 1 3 6  
 Eastwood, Mrs. Fred. ... 1 1 0  
 Every, Mr. John ... 1 1 0  
 Eccles, Miss (Darwen) ... 1 1 0  
 Eccles, Mrs. James ... 0 10 6  
 Evans, Mr. (Earlston) ... 0 5 0  
 Empson, Mr. H. ... 0 5 0  
 Ellis, Mr. E. (Derby) ... 0 5 0  
 Earp, Mr. F. ... 0 5 0  
 Eaton, Mr. Councillor J. ... 0 5 0  
 Elam, Mr. E. ... 0 5 0  
 Ellis, Miss (Leicester) ... 0 4 0  
 Ellis, Mrs. C. (Batley) ... 0 2 6  
 Evans, Mrs. (Tewkesbury) 0 2 6

Ebdall, Mrs. ... £0 2 6  
 Evans, Miss M. A. ... 0 2 6  
 Ellis, Mr. Jonathan ... 0 2 6  
 Earnsbaw, Mrs. ... 0 2 0  
 Ellis, Miss Eliza (Leeds) ... 0 1 6  
 Ellis, Mrs. (Leeds) ... 0 1 6  
 Ford, Mrs. ... 11 1 0  
 Ford, Miss P. O. ... 5 0 0  
 Ford, Miss E. H. ... 3 0 0  
 Fry, Mrs. Theo. ... 2 0 0  
 Ford, Mrs. J. R. ... 1 5 0  
 Ford, Mr. J. R. ... 1 1 0  
 Firth, Mrs. C. H. ... 1 0 0  
 Fowler, Mr. Ald. ... 0 10 0  
 Fowler, Mr. M. ... 0 10 0  
 Frankland, Mrs. ... 0 6 6  
 Fothergill, Mr. S. ... 0 5 0  
 Flint, Mr. John ... 0 5 0  
 Fothergill, Mr. W. ... 0 5 0  
 Fowkes, Mr. H. ... 0 5 0  
 Foster, Mr. G. ... 0 5 0  
 Flint, Mr. F. L. ... 0 5 0  
 Fisk, Rev. Thos. ... 0 5 0  
 Finch, Miss M. A. ... 0 5 0  
 Fox, Rev. George ... 0 5 0  
 Frost, Mr. Alfred ... 0 5 0  
 Furness, Mr. C. ... 0 5 0  
 Furness, Mr. T. ... 0 5 0  
 Foggitt, Mr. ... 0 3 0  
 Foizey, Mrs. ... 0 2 6  
 Foldes, Mrs. ... 0 2 6  
 Fraser, Dr. ... 0 2 6  
 Fox, Miss (Chesterfield) ... 0 2 6  
 Fairburn, Mr. ... 0 2 6  
 Fawcett and Acomb, Misses 0 2 6  
 Fairburn, Mrs. ... 0 2 6  
 France, Mr. ... 0 2 0  
 Flockton, Mrs. ... 0 1 6  
 Garnett, Mrs. ... 100 0 0  
 Goldsmidt, Lady ... 5 0 0  
 Gell, Mrs. ... 5 0 0  
 Grey, Mrs. Wm. ... 2 2 0  
 Gillman, Messrs. T. R. ... 0 10 6  
 Grundy, Mrs. ... 0 10 0  
 Graham, Mr. Joseph ... 0 10 0  
 Goffey, Mr. Thos. ... 0 10 0  
 Greg, Mrs. ... 0 10 0  
 Goodwin, Mr. Stephen ... 0 10 0  
 Graham, Mr. C. H. ... 0 10 0  
 Gill, Mr. R. ... 0 10 0  
 Gowland, Mr. G. H. ... 0 10 0  
 Grey, Mr. W. ... 0 10 0  
 Glasspool, Mr. (two years) 0 8 0  
 Griffiths, Mrs. Thos. ... 0 5 0  
 Glover, Mr. John ... 0 5 0  
 Glaisyer, Mrs. ... 0 5 0  
 Gouch, Miss ... 0 5 0  
 Gillett, Mr. (Southport) ... 0 5 0

Grange, Mrs. ... .. £0 5 0  
 Gee, Mr. W. T. ... .. 0 5 0  
 Gammage, Dr. ... .. 0 5 0  
 Glover, Mr. T. (Crewe) ... .. 0 5 0  
 Glover, Mr. Ald. (Shields) ... .. 0 5 0  
 Gibson, Mrs. (Stafford) ... .. 0 5 0  
 Gibbs, Mr. G. S. ... .. 0 5 0  
 Grundy, Mr. James ... .. 0 5 0  
 Guthrie, Mr. Jas. ... .. 0 5 0  
 Gidley, Mr., sen. ... .. 0 3 0  
 Glossop, Mrs. ... .. 0 3 0  
 Gordon, Mrs. (Hyde) ... .. 0 2 6  
 Gurney, Miss Amy ... .. 0 2 6  
 Gidley, Mr., jun. ... .. 0 2 6  
 Godsman, Mrs. ... .. 0 2 6  
 Gibbons, Mr. ... .. 0 2 6  
 Gillard, Mr. ... .. 0 2 6  
 Gale, Mrs. ... .. 0 2 6  
 Gregson, Mrs. S. E. ... .. 0 2 6  
 Guthrie, The Misses ... .. 0 2 6  
 Gooch, Mrs. ... .. 0 2 0  
 Garnett, Mrs. (Ripon) ... .. 0 2 0  
 Giles, Miss Lizzie ... .. 0 1 6  
 Green, Mrs. (Romiley) ... .. 0 1 6  
 Gilling, Miss E. ... .. 0 1 6

Hunter, Mrs. Stephenson ... 5 7 0  
 Hargreaves, Mrs. Wm. ... 5 0 0  
 Heywood, Mrs. Abel ... 2 2 0  
 Holland, Mrs. ... 2 2 0  
 Hetherington, Mrs. ... 1 2 6  
 Haslam, Mrs. W. ... 1 1 0  
 Haworth, Mrs. Jesse ... 1 1 0  
 Hinners, Mrs. ... 1 1 0  
 Holden, J.P., Mr. Ald. (Walsall) ... 1 1 0  
 Hewson, Mrs. ... 1 1 0  
 Howarth, Mr. A. (Bowdon) 1 1 0  
 Hunt, Mrs. ... 1 1 0  
 Holme, J.P., Ald. (Derby) 1 0 0  
 Hulley, Mrs. (Liverpool) ... 1 0 0  
 Hart, Mr. H. G. ... 1 0 0  
 Haworth, Messrs., & Son (Accrington) ... 1 0 0  
 Hall, Mr. A. ... 0 10 6  
 Handley, Mrs. R. ... 0 10 0  
 Hill, Mr. Ed. (York) ... 0 10 0  
 Hewit, Mr. R. P. ... 0 10 0  
 Helm, Mr. S. L. ... 0 10 0  
 Hibbert, Miss (Hyde) ... 0 10 0  
 Hallett, Mrs. ... 0 10 0  
 Hurtley, J.P., Mr. R. J. ... 0 10 0  
 Hadwen, Miss ... 0 10 0  
 Hindle, Mr. Ald. (Accrington) 0 10 0  
 Herald, Mr. W. H. ... 0 10 0  
 Heath, Mr. Ald. (Crewe) ... 0 10 0  
 Hunter, Rev. John (Hull) ... 0 10 0  
 Hallam, The Misses ... 0 5 0  
 Hopkins, Mrs. (two years) 0 5 0  
 Hill, Mr. John (York) ... 0 5 0

Hill, Mr. James (Castleton) £0 5 0  
 Hall, Mr. Wm. (Derby) ... 0 5 0  
 Haywood, Mr. Ald. (Accrington) ... 0 5 0  
 Hodgson, Dr. ... .. 0 5 0  
 Holloway, Mr. Ald. (Kidderminster) ... .. 0 5 0  
 Husband, Mr. Ald. ... .. 0 5 0  
 Howarth, Mr. G. ... .. 0 5 0  
 Hodgson, Rev. S. S. ... .. 0 5 0  
 Hudson, Mr. Thos. ... .. 0 5 0  
 Hutchinson, Mr. (two years) 0 5 0  
 Haigh, Mr. B. (Retford) ... 0 5 0  
 Hindley, Mr. W. ... .. 0 5 0  
 Hinton, Mr. Amos ... .. 0 5 0  
 Heathcote, Miss ... .. 0 5 0  
 Holdsworth, Mrs. (Leeds) ... 0 5 0  
 Hollowell, Mr. W. C. (two years) ... .. 0 4 0  
 Howell, Mrs. ... .. 0 4 0  
 Heaton, Mrs. (Wigan) ... 0 4 0  
 Heap, Mr. Thos. (Kendal) 0 3 6  
 Hopkins, Miss ... .. 0 3 0  
 Higginbotham, Mr. J. ... 0 3 0  
 Hollins, Mrs. C. ... .. 0 2 6  
 Hopkinson, Mrs. ... .. 0 2 6  
 Heath, Mrs. R. ... .. 0 2 6  
 Hogg, Mrs. ... .. 0 2 6  
 Hodgson, Mrs. ... .. 0 2 6  
 Hibbert, Mrs. J. C. (Hyde) 0 2 6  
 Higginbottom, Mrs. (Hyde) 0 2 6  
 Haigh, Mr. J. (Huddersfield) 0 2 6  
 Hibbert, Mrs. A. T. (Hyde) 0 2 6  
 Hildyard, Mr. ... .. 0 2 6  
 Hart, Mr. Councillor (Scarborough) ... .. 0 2 6  
 Hall, Mr. S. (Derby) ... .. 0 2 6  
 Henderson, Mrs. ... .. 0 2 6  
 Hughes, Miss ... .. 0 2 6  
 Holden, Mr. Councillor R. (Burnley) ... .. 0 2 6  
 Heap, Mr. Jas. (Burnley) ... 0 2 6  
 Hadley, Mr. J. ... .. 0 2 6  
 Horsley, J.P., Mr. ... .. 0 2 6  
 Harvey, Mr. J. P. ... .. 0 2 6  
 Henry, Mr. R. ... .. 0 2 6  
 Haller, Mr. ... .. 0 2 6  
 Huntrod, Mr. ... .. 0 2 6  
 Hargreaves, Mr. J. ... .. 0 2 6  
 Hibbert, Mrs. Thos. (Hyde) 0 2 6  
 Heaton, Mr. Wm. (Kendal) 0 2 6  
 Hall, Mr. J.W. ... .. 0 2 6  
 Hibbert, Mrs. Charles (Hyde) 0 2 6  
 Hill, Miss (South Norwood) 0 2 0  
 Hepton, Mrs. ... .. 0 1 6  
 Hudson, Mrs. ... .. 0 1 6  
 Heath, Mrs. ... .. 0 1 0  
 Hudson, Miss ... .. 0 1 0  
 Heald, Mrs. ... .. 0 1 0  
 Harris, Mr. H. ... .. 0 1 0

Ireland & Co., Messrs. ... £1 1 0  
 Ingham, Mr. S. ... .. 1 0 0  
 Irwell, Mr. ... .. 0 5 0  
 Ingham, Mrs. ... .. 0 5 0  
 Ives, Mrs. ... .. 0 3 0  
 Imrie, Mr. J. ... .. 0 2 6

Jaffray, Miss ... .. 2 0 0  
 Jacoby, Mr. ... .. 1 1 0  
 Jennings, Mr. J. ... .. 0 10 6  
 Jackson, Mr. Wm. (Grimsby) 0 5 0  
 Jeffs, Mr. G. ... .. 0 5 0  
 Joyce, Miss ... .. 0 5 0  
 Johnson, Miss (Wigan) ... 0 5 0  
 Jordison, Mr. J. ... .. 0 5 0  
 Jenkinson, Mrs. ... .. 0 2 6  
 Johnson, Mrs. (Derby) ... 0 2 6  
 Johnson, Miss (Wapley) ... 0 2 6  
 Jackson, Miss Sara ... .. 0 2 6  
 Jones, The late Mrs. (Manchester) ... .. 0 2 6  
 Jowett, Mrs. ... .. 0 2 6  
 Jacob, Mrs. ... .. 0 2 6  
 Jackson, Mrs. (Hyde) ... 0 2 6  
 Jeffs, Mr. C. ... .. 0 2 6  
 Johnson, Mr. H. (Grimsby) 0 2 6  
 Jones, Mr. J. (Derby) ... 0 2 6  
 Jeffreys, Miss ... .. 0 2 0  
 Jones, Mrs. ... .. 0 2 0  
 Jones, Mrs. Evan (Leeds) ... 0 1 6

Kennett, Mr. R. B. ... .. 250 0 0  
 Kitson, Mrs. ... .. 1 0 0  
 Kerr, Mr. James ... .. 1 0 0  
 Kitching, Mrs. (Darlington) ... .. 1 0 0  
 Keys, Mr. Councillor (Derby) 0 10 0  
 Kenderdine, Mrs. ... .. 0 10 0  
 Kipling, Miss (two years) .. 0 10 0  
 Kitchen, Mrs. ... .. 0 5 0  
 Knott, Mr. Councillor (Crewe) 0 5 0  
 Kilmister, Mrs. ... .. 0 5 0  
 Kelsall, J.P., Mr. Ald. (Stafford) ... .. 0 5 0  
 Kitchener, Mr. F. E. ... .. 0 5 0  
 Kitchener, Mrs. F. E. ... 0 5 0  
 Kelly, Mr. H. (Grimsby) ... 0 2 6  
 Kirby, Mr. T. ... .. 0 2 6  
 Ker, Miss Alice ... .. 0 2 6  
 Kent, Mrs. ... .. 0 2 0  
 Kaye, Mrs. Edward ... .. 0 2 0  
 Kirkpatrick, Mrs. ... .. 0 1 6  
 Kendal, Mr. James ... .. 0 1 6

Lucecock, Mrs. ... .. 4 0 0  
 Lightbown, Mr. ... .. 3 3 0  
 Long, Mrs. ... .. 2 0 0  
 Lupton, Mr. Joseph ... .. 1 1 0  
 Lucas, Mrs. ... .. 1 1 0  
 Lawson, Mr. William ... .. 1 1 0

Longdon, J.P., Mr. Ald. (Derby) ... .. £1 1 0  
 Lupton, Miss Edith ... .. 1 1 0  
 Lodge, Mrs. ... .. 1 1 0  
 Lupton, Mr. Darnton ... .. 1 1 0  
 Lightfoot, Ald. (Accrington) 1 0 0  
 Langley, Mrs. Batty ... .. 0 10 6  
 Lee, Mr. Henry (Wakefield) 0 10 0  
 Lee, Mr. W. H. (Wakefield) 0 10 0  
 Lucas, Mrs. (Darlington), two years ... .. 0 10 0  
 Livens, Mrs. ... .. 0 6 6  
 Lamplough, Miss ... .. 0 5 0  
 Lupton, Miss M. ... .. 0 5 0  
 Lawson, Mrs. ... .. 0 5 0  
 Lyon, Mr. J. A. ... .. 0 5 0  
 Letherbrow, Mrs. ... .. 0 5 0  
 Lamb, Mr. John ... .. 0 5 0  
 Lingford, Mr. Joseph ... .. 0 5 0  
 Leech, Mrs. (Chorley) ... .. 0 5 0  
 Lingford, Mr. S. S. ... .. 0 5 0  
 Lea, Mrs. W. (Wigan) ... .. 0 5 0  
 Lucas, Miss C. (two years) 0 5 0  
 Lucas, Miss A. (two years) 0 5 0  
 Lamb, Dr. ... .. 0 5 0  
 Lester, Mr. Thos. ... .. 0 5 0  
 Little, Mr. James ... .. 0 5 0  
 Lyall, Mr. G. ... .. 0 5 0  
 Lohner, Madame ... .. 0 3 0  
 Leach, Mrs. (Batley) ... .. 0 3 0  
 Leatham, Mrs. Hy. ... .. 0 2 6  
 Lord, Miss Frances ... .. 0 2 6  
 Lundy, Mrs. ... .. 0 2 6  
 Lord, Miss E. ... .. 0 2 6  
 Lowe, Mr. J. ... .. 0 2 6  
 Lilly, Miss ... .. 0 1 6  
 Le Roy, Mrs. ... .. 0 1 6  
 Limb, Mrs. ... .. 0 1 6  
 Leadbeater, Mr. ... .. 0 1 6

Mason, Mr. Hugh, M.P. ... 21 0 0  
 Mather, Mr. W. ... .. 2 2 0  
 Mills, Mrs. John ... .. 2 0 0  
 Muir, Mrs. ... .. 2 0 0  
 M'Kinnel, Mrs. ... .. 1 1 0  
 M'Culloch, Mrs. (In Memoriam) ... .. 1 1 0  
 Manfield, Mr. M. P. ... .. 1 1 0  
 March, Mr. J. O. ... .. 1 1 0  
 Marshall, Mrs. John ... .. 1 1 0  
 Marsden, Mr. James ... .. 1 1 0  
 Muirhead, Dr. ... .. 1 1 0  
 Mason, Mrs. (York) ... .. 1 0 0  
 Marcus, Dr. ... .. 0 10 6  
 Mathers, Mr. J. S. ... .. 0 10 0  
 Marshall, Mr. Stephen ... 0 10 0  
 M'Connel, Mrs. ... .. 0 10 0  
 Moore, Dr. ... .. 0 10 0  
 M'Dougall, Mrs. ... .. 0 10 0  
 Massey, Mrs. ... .. 0 5 0

Moore, Mrs. R. R. ...	£0	5	0	Oates, Mrs. Edward ...	£12	2	0
March, Mrs. Colley ...	0	5	0	Ogden, Mrs. ...	2	2	0
Marsh, Miss... ..	0	5	0	Ogden, Mr. Henry, the late	1	1	0
M'Kerrow, Mrs. ...	0	5	0	Oxley, The Misses ...	0	10	0
M'Girr, Mr. ... ..	0	5	0	Oldham, Mrs. Joseph (Hyde),			
Mundahl, Mr. C. M. ...	0	5	0	two years ... ..	0	5	0
Mudd, Mr. Harrison ...	0	5	0	Owen, Mr. W. R. (West			
Mudd, Mr. Wm. ... ..	0	5	0	Hartlepool) ... ..	0	5	0
Moody, Mr. Walker ...	0	5	0	Oldham, Mrs. (Tonbridge)	0	5	0
Moss & Son, Messrs. ...	0	5	0	Owen, Mr. J. (Derby) ...	0	5	0
Molyneux, Mr. ... ..	0	5	0	Oldham, Mrs. Orlando (Hyde)	0	3	0
Melling, Mrs. ... ..	0	5	0	Oldham, Mrs. John (Hyde)	0	2	6
May, Mr. Councillor ...	0	5	0	Oldham, Mrs. Eliza ...	0	2	6
Melling, Mr. Sam ... ..	0	5	0	Oliphant, Miss ... ..	0	2	6
Morrison, Miss ... ..	0	5	0				
Mackenzie, Miss G. ...	0	5	0	Pease, Mr. Arthur, M.P. ...	10	0	0
Mackenzie, Mr. (Newark)	0	5	0	Pease, Mrs. Gurney ... ..	3	0	0
Minshall, Mr. Philip ...	0	5	0	Palmer, Mr. J. Hinde, M.P.	1	1	0
Maltby, Mr. Ald. (Boston)	0	5	0	Pankhurst, Dr. ... ..	1	1	0
Middleton, Mr. R. M. ...	0	5	0	Pankhurst, Mrs. ... ..	1	1	0
Moses, Mrs. (two years)	0	4	0	Peiser, Mr. ... ..	1	1	0
M'Kittrick, Miss... ..	0	3	0	Phythian, Mr. ... ..	1	1	0
Marsh, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	6	Price, Dr. Wm. ... ..	1	0	0
Maloney, Mrs. (Hyde) ...	0	2	6	Priestman, Miss (Glasgow			
Maude, Mr. John ... ..	0	2	6	Demonstration)... ..	1	0	0
Moss, Mrs. (Hyde) ... ..	0	2	6	Potter, Mr. T. B., M.P. ...	1	0	0
Moffett, Rev. J. ... ..	0	2	6	Pease, Miss (two years) ...	1	0	0
Mudd, Mr. Simon ... ..	0	2	6	Pain, Mr. Wm. ... ..	0	10	6
Monkhouse, Mr. J. ... ..	0	2	6	Pollard, Mr. A. W. (two			
Murgatroyd, Mr. ... ..	0	2	6	years) ... ..	0	10	0
Musgrove, Mr. W. ... ..	0	2	6	Petrie, Mrs. ... ..	0	10	0
Melling, Miss Emily ...	0	2	6	Prideaux, Miss (Darlington),			
Moseley, Mr. Joshua ...	0	2	6	two years ... ..	0	10	0
Martin, Miss ... ..	0	2	6	Parker, Mr. W. Coor (two			
Meakin, Mr. J. ... ..	0	2	6	years) ... ..	0	10	0
Mandall, Mr. E. ... ..	0	2	6	Pilcher, Miss ... ..	0	5	0
Milner, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	6	Philips, Mrs. ... ..	0	5	0
Mawer, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	0	Parsons, Miss ... ..	0	5	0
Mawson, Miss ... ..	0	1	6	Parker, Mr. T. (York) ...	0	5	0
Martin, Mrs. ... ..	0	1	6	Proctor, Mr. J. W. ... ..	0	5	0
M'Clung, Mrs. ... ..	0	1	6	Peacock, Mr. B. ... ..	0	5	0
Markland, Miss ... ..	0	1	6	Plaiستow, Mr. J. ... ..	0	5	0
				Prideaux, Miss E. B. ...	0	5	0
Nicholson, Mr. J. O. (Mac-				Preston, Mr. John ... ..	0	5	0
clesfield) ... ..	1	1	0	Pedley, Mr. R. ... ..	0	5	0
Nicholson, Messrs. W., &				Pearson, Mr. T. ... ..	0	5	0
Son (Wakefield) ... ..	1	0	0	Pearson, Miss ... ..	0	5	0
Neale, Mr. E. Vansittart ...	0	10	0	Parker, Mrs. (Chesterfield)..	0	5	0
Nicholson, Mr. Arthur				Pearson, Mr. (Thirsk) ...	0	5	0
(Leek) ... ..	0	10	0	Pierson, Miss (Harrogate)...	0	5	0
Nelson, Mr. Ald. ... ..	0	10	0	Pick, Mr. D. ... ..	0	3	6
Nicholson, Dr. ... ..	0	5	0	Passavant, Miss Laura ...	0	3	6
Nevins, Dr. ... ..	0	5	0	Patterson, Mr. E. F. ...	0	2	6
Newbegin, Mr. ... ..	0	5	0	Peter, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	6
Norton, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	6	Philips, Miss Emma P. ...	0	2	6
Neild, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	6	Pointon, Mrs. (Hyde) ...	0	2	6
Nicholson, Miss ... ..	0	2	6	Paterson, Mr. (Paisley) ...	0	2	6
Newham, Mr. ... ..	0	2	6	Pearce, Mr. ... ..	0	2	6
Nuttall, Miss ... ..	0	2	6	Parker, Mr. G. H. ... ..	0	2	6
Newton, Mrs. James ...	0	1	0	Pope, Mr. John ... ..	0	2	6

Priest, Alderman (Crewe) ...	£0	2	6	Sargent, Miss ... ..	£1	11	6
Potts, Mrs. A. W. ... ..	0	2	6	Smith, Miss (tea party at			
Partridge, Mr. E. ... ..	0	2	6	Hyde) ... ..	1	1	6
Pike, Miss ... ..	0	2	6	Stevens, Mrs. ... ..	1	1	0
Parry, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	6	Scott, Mrs. ... ..	1	1	0
Parkinson, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	0	Saxton, Miss ... ..	1	1	0
Puckering, Mr. ... ..	0	1	6	Sheffield, Mrs. ... ..	1	1	0
				Smith, Miss Jessie ... ..	1	1	0
Richardson, Mrs. Henry ...	3	2	0	Stephens, Mr. H. C. ... ..	1	1	0
Rigbye, Miss H. ... ..	3	0	0	Smith, Mr. J. Stores ... ..	1	1	0
Renals, Mr. Ald. (Derby) ...	1	1	0	Swanwick, Mrs. ... ..	1	1	0
Roe, Mr. Thos., M.P. ... ..	1	1	0	Samelson, Dr. ... ..	1	1	0
Richardson, Mr. Thos., M.P.	1	1	0	Spence, Mrs. ... ..	1	0	0
Rylands, Mrs. ... ..	1	1	0	Smith, Mr. Tom ... ..	1	0	0
Roby, Mrs. ... ..	0	10	0	Simpson, Mr. C. (Lichfield).	1	0	0
Roeder, Mrs. (Darmstadt) ...	0	10	0	Sharman, Mrs. N. Pearce ...	1	0	0
Rollason, Miss ... ..	0	5	0	Smith, Miss (Hyde) ... ..	0	10	6
Rotherford, Mrs. J. ... ..	0	5	0	Samuelson, Mr. James ...	0	10	6
Rowcroft, Mrs. (Hyde) ...	0	5	0	Southern, Mr. J. W. ... ..	0	10	6
Robinson, Mr. G. H. (Hud-				Sutton, Mr. John ... ..	0	10	6
dersfield) ... ..	0	5	0	Shadforth Mr. R. (Sunder-			
Russell, Mr. J. (Grimsby) ...	0	5	0	land) ... ..	0	10	6
Rowntree, Mrs. W. ... ..	0	5	0	Shackleton, Miss ... ..	0	10	0
Rowntree, Mrs. Joshua ...	0	5	0	Stead, Mrs. George ... ..	0	10	0
Rowntree, Mr. Joshua ...	0	5	0	Smithson, Mr. Ed. W. ... ..	0	10	0
Reinhardt, Mr. T. ... ..	0	5	0	Spence, Mrs. Alfred ... ..	0	10	0
Rowland, Mrs. ... ..	0	5	0	Shore, Miss ... ..	0	10	0
Rowlinson, Mr. ... ..	0	5	0	Smith, Mr. J. (Liverpool) ...	0	10	0
Ridgway, Mr. M. ... ..	0	5	0	Simpson, Mrs. Wm. ... ..	0	10	0
Ritchie & Eason, Messrs. ...	0	5	0	Stothart, Mr. J. ... ..	0	10	0
Rawson, Mr. James ... ..	0	3	0	Smith, Ald. W. (Accrington)	0	10	0
Roberts, Mrs. Thos. (Shef-				Seatree, Mr. W. ... ..	0	10	0
field), two years ... ..	0	3	0	Swanwick, Dr. (two years).	0	10	0
Rayner, Mrs. J. B. (Ashton)	0	2	6	Shawcross, Mr. ... ..	0	7	6
Ramsden, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	6	Smith, Mrs. Alfred ... ..	0	7	6
Rogers, Miss A. ... ..	0	2	6	Sherwood, Mrs. ... ..	0	5	0
Reuss, Mr. F. W. ... ..	0	2	6	Swaine, Miss, the late ...	0	5	0
Reynolds, Mr. R. ... ..	0	2	6	Smethurst, Mr. S. (Grimsby)	0	5	0
Randall, Mr. John ... ..	0	2	6	Stephenson, Mr. T. (Grimsby)	0	5	0
Ridgway, Mr. J. (Dudley) ...	0	2	6	Smethurst, J.P., Mr. H.			
Robinson, Mr. W. B. (Ches-				(Grimsby) ... ..	0	5	0
terfield) ... ..	0	2	6	Smethurst, Mr. H., jun. ...	0	5	0
Robinson, Mr. H. (Hull) ...	0	2	6	Sager, Mr. Thos. ... ..	0	5	0
Russell, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	6	Shepley, Mr. ... ..	0	5	0
Robinson, Mr. Jno. (Kendal)	0	2	6	Sugden, Mr. ... ..	0	5	0
Rhodes, Mr. ... ..	0	2	6	Shaw, Mr. Thos. ... ..	0	5	0
Rymer, Mrs. H. ... ..	0	2	6	Smith, Mr. B. (Thirsk) ...	0	5	0
Robinson, Mr. G. H. (North-				Shatwell, Miss M. ... ..	0	5	0
allerton) ... ..	0	2	6	Stainsby, Mr. J. ... ..	0	5	0
Rollin, Mr. J. G. ... ..	0	2	6	Shenton, Mr. J. ... ..	0	5	0
Ruscoe, Mrs. (Hyde) ... ..	0	2	6	Silvester, J.P., Ald. (Stafford)	0	5	0
Robinson, Mrs. C. H. (Batley)	0	2	0	Sharp, Mr. John ... ..	0	5	0
Rimmer, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	0	Saxton, Miss A. ... ..	0	5	0
Roberts, Mr. R. G. (Grimsby)	0	2	0	Scott, B.A., Mr. A. ... ..	0	5	0
Robinson, Mrs. S. A. (Leeds)	0	1	6	Sinclair, Mr. Francis ...	0	4	0
Robinson, Mrs. (Leeds) ...	0	1	0	Stroyan, Mrs. ... ..	0	4	0
				Stowe, Dr. Emily H.			
Scatcherd, Mrs. O. ... ..	10	0	0	(Toronto) ... ..	0	3	11
Smithson, Mrs. Edward ...	10	0	0	Smith, Mrs. (Kettering) ...	0	2	8
Scott, Mrs. (Burnley) ...	5	0	0	Snowdon, Miss ... ..	0	2	6

Sidway, Mrs. A. (Hyde) ...	£0 2 6	Thompson, Mr. R. (York)...	£0 10 0
Stanton, Mrs. (Hyde) ...	0 2 6	Talbot, Miss ...	0 10 0
Smith, Mrs. (York) ...	0 2 6	Thompson, Miss Preston ...	0 10 0
Smith, Mrs. J. K. (Hyde) ...	0 2 6	Taylor, Mr. Jno. (Black-	0 10 0
Sheard, Mr. F. ...	0 2 6	burn) ...	0 10 0
Senior, Mr. W. ...	0 2 6	Tweeddale, Mrs. (Hyde) ...	0 5 0
Sidway, Mrs. John (Hyde) ...	0 2 6	Thorp, Mrs. Fielden ...	0 5 0
Stephenson, Mr. J. ...	0 2 6	Thorpe, Mr. James ...	0 5 0
Slater, Mr. Thos. ...	0 2 6	Teale, Mr. J. W. ....	0 5 0
Swain, Mrs. John (Hyde)...	0 2 6	Thompson, Mr. Ald. (Burn-	0 5 0
Smith, Mr. R. (Grimsby) ..	0 2 6	ley) ...	0 5 0
Sinclair, Mr. R. ...	0 2 6	Tindale, Mrs. ...	0 5 0
Stevenson, Mr. W. ...	0 2 6	Thompson, Mr. J. (Kendal)	0 5 0
Smethurst, Mr. (Scarboro?)	0 2 6	Turnbull, Mr. E. ....	0 5 0
Shaw, Miss Susan ...	0 2 6	Tudor, Mrs. ....	0 3 0
Schofield, Miss ...	0 2 6	Tranmar, Miss ...	0 3 0
Smith, Mr. T. P. (Burnley)	0 2 6	Townend, Rev. J. (two	0 3 0
Smith, Mr. W. (Accrington)	0 2 6	years) ...	0 3 0
Solomons, Mrs. R. (Laver-	0 2 6	Teall, Mrs. ...	0 2 6
pool) ...	0 2 6	Tebb, Mrs. ...	0 2 6
Small, J.P., Dr. ...	0 2 6	Thorley, Mrs. (Hyde) ...	0 2 6
Saunders, Mr. ...	0 2 6	Thorneley, Mrs. (Hyde) ...	0 2 6
Shadforth, Mr. W. (Durham)	0 2 6	Theedam, Miss ...	0 2 6
Smith, Mr. W. Herbert (Dur-	0 2 6	Tugwell, Mrs. ...	0 2 6
ham) ...	0 2 6	Thompson, Mr. Ald. (Black-	0 2 6
Smith, Miss (Bishop Auck-	0 2 6	burn) ...	0 2 6
land) ...	0 2 6	Thompson, Mrs. (Dudley)...	0 2 6
Snow, Mrs. ...	0 2 6	Turner, Mrs. (Dudley) ...	0 2 6
Scotson, Mr. ...	0 2 6	Turton, Mrs. G. ...	0 2 6
Snaith, Mrs. ...	0 2 6	Tongue, Mr. B. ...	0 2 6
Simpson, Mr. T. (Kendal)...	0 2 6	Thompson, Mrs. (Ripon) ...	0 2 6
Scott, Miss (Penrith) ...	0 2 6	Tanner, Mr. Jacob ...	0 2 6
Sanderson, Mr. F. ...	0 2 6	Tannahill, Mrs. ...	0 2 6
Smith, Mr. J. (Grimsby) ...	0 2 6	Tewson, Mrs. ....	0 2 9
Sherlock, Mr. John ...	0 2 0	Taylor, Mr. W. (Middles-	0 2 6
Solomons, Miss ...	0 2 0	borough) ...	0 2 6
Starling, Mr. H. ...	0 2 0	Tanfield, Mr. ...	0 2 6
Smallpage, Mrs. ...	0 2 0	Villiers, Rt. Hon. C. P., M.P.	1 1 0
Sturton, Mrs. ...	0 1 6	Vincent, Madlle. Mary ...	0 6 9
Suteliffe, Miss B. ...	0 1 6	Vero, Mrs. D. ...	0 2 6
Sawyer, Miss ...	0 1 6	Winkworth, Mrs. ...	10 0 0
Smith, Mrs. T. H. (Leeds)...	0 1 6	Wright, Mrs. Barton ...	1 2 6
Sunley, Mrs. ...	0 1 0	Weiss, Mrs. ...	1 1 6
Sharp, Miss ...	0 1 0	Wilson, Mrs. Wycliffe (Shef-	1 1 0
Thomasson, Mr. and Mrs. 230	0 0	field) ...	1 1 0
Thomasson, Mr., J.P., M.P. 200	0 0	Wilson, Mr. Henry (Stock-	1 1 0
Thomasson, The Executors	0 0	ton) ...	1 1 0
of the late Mr. Thomas 200	0 0	Woodall, Mr. Wm., M.P. ...	1 1 0
Todd, Miss ...	5 0 0	Woodhead, Ald. (Hudders-	1 1 0
Taylor, Mrs. (Servia), two	1 1 0	field) ...	1 1 0
years ...	1 1 0	Walker, Miss Carrie ...	1 0 0
Taylor, Mrs. Thomas (Tets-	1 1 0	Wilson, Mr. & Mrs. H. J. ...	1 0 0
worth) ...	1 1 0	Walker, Mrs. Ed. ...	1 0 0
Taylor, Mrs. Henry (Man-	1 1 0	Whitehead, Mrs. (two years)	0 15 0
chester) ...	1 1 0	Wintringham, Ald. (Grims-	0 10 6
Tozer, Captain ...	1 1 0	by) ...	0 10 6
Tatham, Mr. Geo. ...	1 0 0	White, Mr. Ald. J. W.	0 10 6
Taylor, Mrs. Whateley Cooke	1 0 0	(Macclesfield) ...	0 10 6
Tattersall, Mrs. ...	1 0 0		

Worthington, Ald. (Man-	£0 10 6	Webster, Mr. W. J. ...	£0 2 6
chester) ...	£0 10 6	Woodhouse, Mr. ...	0 2 6
Wilkinson, Miss (York) ...	0 10 0	Whittaker, Mr. (Scarboro?)	0 2 6
Wilkinson, Mr. E. T. (York)	0 10 0	Whyte, Mr. Jas. (Dudley)	0 2 6
White, Mr. Geo. (Norwich)	0 10 0	Worthington, Mrs. T. (Han-	0 2 6
Whittaker, Mr. Ald. (Burn-	0 10 0	ley) ...	0 2 6
ley) ...	0 10 0	Wood, Miss (Boston)...	0 2 6
Whittle, Miss Laura ...	0 10 0	Winder, Mr. J. ...	0 2 6
Whittaker, Mrs. (Broughton)	0 10 0	Wood, Mr. F. W. (Darling-	0 2 6
Wright, Ald. T. (Boston) ...	0 10 0	ton) ...	0 2 6
Whitmell, Mr. C. T. ...	0 5 0	Walch, Mr. S. ...	0 2 6
Wilkinson, Miss Sophia ...	0 5 0	Wheeler, Mrs. ...	0 2 0
Worthington, Mrs. ...	0 5 0	Watkinson, Mr. W. S. ...	0 2 0
Walton, Mrs. ...	0 5 0	Wood, Mr. Henry (Crewe)	0 2 0
Walton, Miss ...	0 5 0	Willis, Miss ...	0 1 6
Wilkinson, Mrs. B. (Leeds),	0 5 0	Willans Mrs. ...	0 1 6
two years ...	0 5 0	Wood, Mr. (Hanley) ...	0 1 6
Wood, Mrs. (Batley) ...	0 5 0	Wolstenholme, Mrs. ...	0 1 6
Whittaker, Mrs. (Hyde) ...	0 5 0	Yates, Mrs. ...	5 0 0
Wood, Miss Alice (Liver-	0 5 0	Yates, Miss (Preston) ...	0 5 0
pool) ...	0 5 0	Yeoman, Mr. ...	0 2 6
Wilkinson, Miss (Wakefield)	0 5 0	Zossenheim, Mrs. ...	0 10 0
Whittle, Dr. ...	0 5 0		
Whittle, Miss ...	0 5 0		
Williams, Rev. C. ...	0 5 0		
Whittaker, Councillor J.	0 5 0		
(Accrington) ...	0 5 0		
Wilkinson, Councillor J.	0 5 0		
(Accrington) ...	0 5 0		
Wilkes, Mr. Job ...	0 5 0		
Wilson, Mrs. Whitwell ...	0 5 0		
Whitelegge, Miss R. ...	0 5 0		
Watts, Dr. ...	0 5 0		
Wright, Mr. L. ...	0 5 0		
Whittle, Ald. (Crewe) ...	0 5 0		
Welch, Mr. W. E. ...	0 5 0		
Woodhead, Mrs. ...	0 5 0		
Woodhead, Miss ...	0 5 0		
Woodhead, Mr. H. ...	0 5 0		
Woodhead, Miss (Rother-	0 3 0		
ham) ...	0 3 0		
Whitwell, Mr. R. J. ...	0 3 0		
Watson, Miss ...	0 2 6		
Wright, Miss ...	0 2 6		
Willcock, Miss ...	0 2 6		
Walker, Mr. Thos. (Hud-	0 2 6		
dersfield) ...	0 2 6		
Wallis, Mr. J. G. ...	0 2 6		

*Subscriptions received since the receipts were made up:--*

M'Laren, Mrs. Walter ...	5 0 0
Buchan, The Dowager	2 0 0
Countess of ...	2 0 0
Muir, Mrs. ...	1 1 0
Hall, Miss Fricker ...	1 1 0
Steinthal, Rev. S. A. ...	1 1 0
Abbott, Mr. and Mrs. T. C.	1 1 0
Slagg, Mr. John, M.P. ...	1 1 0
Price, Dr. Wm. ...	1 0 0
Wyatt, Mr. C. H. ...	0 10 0
Davis, Mr. Hugh ...	0 5 0
Christie, Mr. John ...	0 5 0
Carter, Mr. Thos. ...	0 5 0
Dunn, Mrs. (two years) ...	0 3 0
Axon, Mr. W. E. A. ...	0 2 6
Hollins, Mrs. J. C. ...	0 2 6
Oldham, Mrs. Eliza ...	0 2 2
Chorley, Mr. Geo. ...	0 2 0
Mawby, Mrs. ...	0 1 6
Griffiths, Mr. Will ...	0 1 6

MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR  
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

RULES.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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