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SPEECH OF

✓ MISS FRANCES POWER COBBE,

AT THE

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE MEETING, ST. GEORGES HALL,

MAY 13TH, 1876.

RIGHT HON. RUSSELL GURNEY IN THE CHAIR.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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## A LETTER

TO THE

RT. HON. JOHN BRIGHT, M.P.

FROM

A LADY IN "THE GALLERY."

London:

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

1876.

A LETTER

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

London, May, 1876.

SIR,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I am, Sir,

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



W15639374

NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

OFFICE:—

64, BERNERS STREET, LONDON, W.

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ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,

HELD IN

THE OFFICE OF THE SOCIETY,

May 13th. 1876.

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LONDON:

DUNLOP & CO., 95, BLACKMAN STREET, BOROUGH, S.E.

1876.

ANNUAL REPORT  
OF THE  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE

OF THE  
National Society for Women's Suffrage.

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

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

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

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

On a division being taken the numbers were—

For the Bill ... ..	152
Against ... ..	239

The Bill was therefore lost by a majority of 87.

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

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

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

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

Petitions in favour of the Bill have flowed in very numerous during the session. Their abundance is the more remarkable from the continued absence (with one single exception) of any petitions to maintain the disabilities of women. Among the petitions were the following: from the Birmingham Liberal Association, from 45 Professors and 3 Lecturers of the University of Cambridge, from all the Masters of King Edward's School, and from 19 Masters of Harrow School. Twenty-two Town Councils and Municipal Corporations have petitioned for the Bill—twelve English and ten Scotch—namely: Aberdeen, Batley, Cupar, Denbigh, Dewsbury, Dumbarton, Edinburgh, Forfar, Hanley, Huddersfield, Hull, Kirkaldy, Lincoln, Linlithgow, Montrosè, Middlesborough, Northampton, Paisley, Selkirk, Southampton, Sunderland, and Wrexham. One Town Council, namely, Kilmarnock, petitioned against the Bill. The total number presented up to May 2nd was 1,033 petitions, of which 98 were official or under Seal. The number of signatures was

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### DIVISION LIST.

#### AYES.

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

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

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

#### NOES.

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

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

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

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

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

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

PAIRS.

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

# National Society for Women's Suffrage.

## CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

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

Dr.		£ s. d.		Cr.		
Balance in hand .. .. .	65	4	3	133	4	6
Donations and Subscriptions .. .. .	992	16	1	95	0	0
Sale of Tickets .. .. .	38	5	4	17	10	8
" Publications .. .. .	14	2	0	41	8	4
" Shilling League .. .. .	6	7	9	42	0	1
				10	1	0
				229	14	10½
				282	17	7½
				50	3	7
				84	8	7
				10	16	6
				5	8	0
				<hr/>		
				£1002	13	9
				104	18	1
				6	4	0
				2	19	7
				<hr/>		
				114	1	8
				<hr/>		
				£1116	15	5

## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

HELD IN THE SOCIETY'S OFFICE, 64, BERNERS STREET,  
ON SATURDAY, MAY 13TH, 1876.  
MR. W. H. ASHURST IN THE CHAIR.

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

FIRST RESOLUTION.—Proposed by Mrs. Lucas, seconded by the Hon. Miss Canning :—  
“That this Meeting adopt the Report and Financial Statement just read, and direct that they be circulated.”

SECOND RESOLUTION.—Proposed by MISS BEEDY, seconded by MR. BENNETT—  
“That the Executive Committee for the ensuing year consist of the following persons :

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

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

THIRD RESOLUTION.—Proposed by MRS. SIMS, seconded by MISS C. BIGGS:—  
“That the thanks of the meeting be given to Mr. Ashurst for presiding on this occasion.”

## SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS.

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

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

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

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



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

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

R U L E S

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

- The Central Committee shall consist of the present members and such others as the Executive Committee may from time to time elect.
- The Executive Committee shall consist of Members of the Central Committee to be elected at the Annual General Meeting and of single delegates the same being Members of local Committees appointed by local Associations to represent them; the Executive Committee having power to add to the number of the Central Committee and to its own number and to appoint the officers.
- A subscription of any amount constitutes membership of the National Society.
- A General Meeting of the Central Committee shall be held once a year to appoint the Executive Committee, to receive the Annual Report and the Financial Statement, and to transact any other business which may arise.
- The Executive Committee shall at its first meeting appoint the officers.
- A special General meeting may be called by the Executive Committee.

## NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

## CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

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

The Society seeks to achieve this object—

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

By holding public meetings in support of the Women's Disabilities Removal Bill.

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

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

6. A Special General meeting may be called by the Execu-

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

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

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

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

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

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

BY

✓ ARABELLA SHORE.

—♦♦♦—  
PRICE TWOPENCE.

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ON THE

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE,

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

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BY

ARABELLA SHORE.

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PRICE TWOPENCE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I am &c.

May 10th.

ARABELLA SHORE



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# Mr. FORSYTH, Q.C., M.P.,

ON

## WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

The glory of our legislation is that we are trying to improve the social condition of the people. We are occupied, day after day, and night after night, in discussing questions of education, of sanitary reform, of improving the dwellings of the people, of saving the lives and increasing the comfort of our seamen; and I want to know which of these questions can be said to have less interest for women than for the male population. Will you say that a woman is not as competent as a man to form an opinion on questions of health, of sanitary reform, and matters of that kind? If she is competent to form an opinion on matters that have to be discussed in this House, why is she to be deprived of a share in the voice of her representatives? . . . . There are 137,000 widows and orphans who are owners of land, who are subject to all the burdens attendant on the possession of property, who are discharging all the duties consequent on their position, and yet not one of them is possessed of the same privilege which is given to the drunken occupier of a house in a borough, who pays five shillings towards the relief of the poor.—*Speech in the House of Commons, April 26th, 1876.*

I dare say I shall be told that in the society in which hon. members of this House move there is no such desire as that to which I allude; that in the drawing-rooms of London not only is there no opinion in favour of the Bill, but, on the contrary, the majority of opinion would be found to be in opposition to it. I entreat the House not to be led away by any statement of this kind. It is not those who are nursed in the lap of wealth, who live in luxurious drawing-rooms, who are protected by fathers, husbands, brothers, and sons, who feel the pinching necessity of the case. I care not for the minions of fortune and those who are sheltered from the storms of adversity by the possession of rich and happy homes, but I plead for the tens of thousands of women who, unprotected by marriage, are obliged to fight the hard battle of life for themselves.—*Speech in the House of Commons, April 7th, 1875.*

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# Mr. FAWCETT, M.P.,

ON

## WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

EVERY one admits the importance now of giving to women the best education that they possibly can enjoy. If this is the case, should not the women of this country have some power in deciding to what extent the vast educational endowments possessed by this country should be devoted to the education of women? Then, again, in this House we constantly have industrial legislation protecting women. Not long ago we discussed a Bill for limiting the hours of labour of women; and in the course of that discussion the influence and feelings of women were again and again referred to. When you have to appeal to the opinions, the wishes, and the sentiments of a class to influence your legislation, the only direct, and the only certain, and the most constitutional appeal is the appeal to the influence they exercise upon that question. . . . . Women look forward to it with the best and most proper of all motives. Women who are actuated by no desire to leave their homes, women who are second to none in their interest and devotion to their children, these women look forward to the passing of this Bill not from any selfish or improper motives, not from any love of display, but because they think it will improve the welfare of the class to which they belong, and add to the general welfare of the country. . . . . I believe whenever you enfranchise a class, the first result of that enfranchisement is to make those who are enfranchised take a keener and a deeper interest in all that concerns the public affairs of the country. It does not draw them from their homes, it does not draw them from their shops, it does not draw them from their daily labour; but I believe that all experience will show that those who are the best workmen, those who are the best traders, and those who are the best merchants are those who are the best citizens; and I believe this will hold equally true when that day shall arrive when women who are ratepayers shall be enfranchised.—*Speech in the House of Commons, April 26th, 1876.*

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# FEMALE SUFFRAGE:

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

WITH SOME REMARKS ON THE

*Late Debate in the House of Commons,*

BY

✓ W. T. BLAIR, ESQ.,

Magistrate for Somerset.

LONDON :

VICTORIA PRESS, 85, PRAED STREET, PADDINGTON, W.

1876.

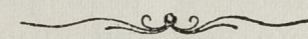
PRICE TWOPENCE.

MR. FAWCETT, M.P.

# WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

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... men who are taxpayers shall be enfranchised.—Speech in the House  
Commons, April 20th, 1876.

Fiat Justitia, ruat Coelum.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

W. T. BLAIR,

Magistrate for Somerset.

Twickenham Park,  
July, 1876.

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# NINTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

OF THE

MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR  
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

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

Price Sixpence.

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REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

1875-1876.

AT the close of another year of their labours your Committee have to report a continuance of the support, both Parliamentary and general, which has been heretofore accorded them, and to record many events having an important bearing on the progress and prospects of the measure which have occurred during their term of office.

Among these events, the re-election for Manchester of the original author of the Women's Disabilities Removal Bill, Mr. Jacob Bright, is first in order of time, and calls for especial recognition from this committee, who have the honour of numbering him among their members, and the advantage of his personal co-operation in their work.

The lamented and unexpected death of Mr. Callender in the early part of the year, caused a vacancy in the representation of Manchester. The election took place on the 17th of February, when Mr. Jacob Bright was returned by 22,770 votes, against 20,925 polled for his opponent, Mr. F. S. Powell—a majority of 1,785.

The election of Mr. Jacob Bright occurred a few days after the opening of Parliament, therefore when he took his seat the Women's Disabilities Removal Bill was already before the House of Commons. Mr. Forsyth introduced the measure on February 9th, and the second reading was fixed for Wednesday, April 26th. Sir Robert Anstruther, the Right. Hon. Russell Gurney, and the Right Hon. James Stansfeld again put their names on the Bill.

The debate on the second reading was opened by

Mr. Forsyth in a sound and effective speech. Viscount Folkstone moved and Mr. E. A. Leatham seconded the rejection of the measure. The Bill was ably supported by Mr. Jacob Bright, Dr. Ward, Professor Fawcett, Sir Robert Anstruther, and Sir Charles Legard, and opposed by Mr. Newdegate, Mr. Smollet, Mr. Henry Chaplin, Mr. Egerton Hubbard, and lastly by Mr. John Bright. Up to the rising of Mr. Bright the improved tone of the debate and of the temper in which the House appeared to regard the question justified the expectation of a corresponding improvement in the division list. But, as on a former occasion, when the House of Commons had assented to the principle of the measure, further progress was arrested by the action of a professedly Liberal government, so now when the House again appeared disposed to give favourable consideration to the claim a check was interposed through the agency of a professedly Liberal statesman. The opponents of the Bill appear to have been spurred to desperation by the smallness of their majority last year, and they brought forward the most powerful living advocate of free and representative government for men to contend against the application of the same principle to women. But though they succeeded in increasing the number of votes against the Bill, and in raising their majority from 35 last year to 87, it is a noteworthy proof of the strength of the movement that the eloquence of the most powerful voice in the House of Commons could not diminish, even by a unit, the numbers of those who stood firm by the principles of political justice without distinction of sex or class. Mr. Bright's speech was a remarkable one; it was characterised throughout by a tone of doubt and hesitation very unusual with the speaker; it contained the admission that the claim might become irresistible some time; it was rather a string of tentative objections than a connected argument; and it did not appear to contain anything which

need preclude the speaker from reverting to his original vote, should further reflection cause him to perceive the untenable character of most of the objections which he found to urge against the proposal.

The votes for the Bill were the same as last year, namely, 152; the votes against, 239; majority against the Bill, 87. The numbers last year were, for the Bill, 152; against, 187; majority 35.

Counting tellers and pairs in the divisions of 1871, 1872, 1873, 1875, and 1876, there were—

	FOR THE BILL.					AGAINST.					ABSENT.				
	1871.	1872.	1873.	1875.	1876.	1871.	1872.	1873.	1875.	1876.	1871.	1872.	1873.	1875.	1876.
English.....	109	112	121	122	116	172	191	180	163	194	197	160	165	173	148
Welsh.....	6	4	3	4	4	8	9	11	7	13	17	17	13	18	16
Scotch.....	25	25	26	24	20	14	14	15	16	20	22	21	19	20	20
Irish.....	19	22	22	20	21	34	28	33	19	18	53	55	50	63	64
Totals.....	159	163	172	170	161	228	242	239	205	246	289	253	247	274	245

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

	1870.										
	FOR THE BILL.			AGAINST.							
	Liberal.	Con.	Total.	Liberal.	Con.	Total.					
Votes.....	60	...	34	...	94	.....	137	...	83	...	220
Tellers ...	2	...	—	...	2	.....	2	...	—	...	2
Pairs.....	17	...	6	...	23	.....	11	...	11	...	22
	79		40		119		150		94		244
	1871.										
Votes.....	96	...	55	...	151	.....	118	...	102	...	220
Tellers ...	1	...	1	...	2	.....	1	...	1	...	2
Pairs.....	3	...	3	...	6	.....	4	...	2	...	6
	100		59		159		123		105		228
	1872.										
Votes.....	105	...	38	...	143	.....	114	...	108	...	222
Tellers ...	1	...	1	...	2	.....	1	...	1	...	2
Pairs.....	7	...	11	...	18	.....	8	...	10	...	18
	113		50		163		123		119		242
	1873.										
Votes.....	109	...	46	...	155	.....	116	...	106	...	222
Tellers ...	1	...	1	...	2	.....	1	...	1	...	2
Pairs.....	11	...	4	...	15	.....	6	...	9	...	15
	121		51		172		123		116		239

NEW PARLIAMENT.—1875.						
Votes.....	89	...	63	...	152	..... 72 ... 115 ... 187
Tellers ...	1	...	1	...	2	..... — ... 2 ... 2
Pairs .....	9	...	7	...	16	..... 4 ... 12 ... 16
	<u>99</u>		<u>71</u>		<u>170</u>	<u>76</u> <u>129</u> <u>205</u>
1876.						
Votes.....	90	...	62	...	152	..... 86 ... 154 ... 239
Tellers ...	1	...	1	...	2	..... 1 ... 1 ... 2
Pairs .....	3	...	4	...	7	..... 1 ... 6 ... 7
	<u>94</u>		<u>67</u>		<u>161</u>	<u>88</u> <u>161</u> <u>248</u>

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

Several changes have taken place in the constituencies since the division, but taking them as they then stood, the following result appears compared with the last Parliament. Those members who took part in the last division, and those who have at any time voted for the Bill, and have not given any indication of a change in their sentiments, are counted as supporters. On this basis six of the three-cornered constituencies—namely, Birmingham, Buckinghamshire, Glasgow, Leeds, Liverpool, and Manchester—give either their full vote, or each a majority of their vote, in support of the Bill. Thirty-four constituencies, as against twenty-four in the last Parliament, give their full vote of two each in favour of the Bill, namely:—

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

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

Aberdeen, City	Ennis	Marlborough
Abingdon	Evesham	Morpeth
Ashton-u-Lyne	Falkirk	Newport, I. W.
Athlone	Fife	Newry
Banbury	Flint Dist.	Northallerton
Beaumaris	Forfarshire	Orkney and Shet-
Bewdley	Glasgow and	land
Burnley	Aberdeen Uni-	Paisley
Caithness	versities	Pembroke Dist.
Calne	Gravesend	Perth
Cardigan Dist.	Greenock	Portarlinton
Carrickfergus	Grimsby	Richmond
Chatham	Haddington Dist.	Rochdale
Cheltenham	Haverfordwest	Stockton-on-Tees
Chichester	Hawick	Swansea
Cirencester	Helston	Tewkesbury
Cockermouth	Hythe	Tynemouth
Coleraine	Invernessshire	Wakefield
Darlington	Inverness Dist.	Wallingford
Devizes	Kidderminster	Walsall
Dewsbury	Kilkenny	Warrington
Droitwich	Kilmarnock	Westbury
Dudley	Kinsale	Wexford
Dumbarton	Lanark, S.	Wick
Dumfries	Launceston	Wigton
Dundalk	Leith	Wilton
Dungannon	Leominster	Windsor
Edinburgh and	Linlithgow	Youghal
St. Andrew's	Maldon	
Universities	Malmesbury	

Twenty-two constituencies gave one vote to the Bill, their other vote being neutral on the last division:—

Carmarthen Co.	Hants, N.	Marylebone
Devon, N.	Ipswich	Queen's Co.
Dublin City	Kildare	Southwark
Fermanagh	King's Co.	Stoke
Galway Co.	Leicester	Yorkshire West
Grantham	Limerick Co.	Riding N.D.
Greenwich	Londonderry Co.	Yorkshire North
Halifax	Louth Co.	Riding

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

Bath	Down	Penryn & Falmouth
Bedford	Durham S.	Reading
Boston	Gloucester E.	Scarborough
Bradford	Hackney	Sheffield
Bury St. Edmunds	Leicester N.	Somerset Mid.
Cambridge	Northampton	Sunderland
Chelsea	Northumberland S.	Surrey W.
Coventry	Oldham	Wolverhampton
Devon S.		

Thus 119 constituencies, as against 94 last Parliament, give clear and full votes for the Bill; and 26 clear, though not full, votes for it. Therefore 145 constituencies appear as clearly ranged in favour of the Bill.

The changes which have occurred in the representation of several of these constituencies since the division do not seem have a material influence on the calculations. The most noteworthy of these changes is the removal of Mr. Disraeli from the House of Commons to the House of Lords as Earl of Beaconsfield. Your Committee desire here to recognise the services

rendered by Mr. Disraeli to the cause of just and constitutional representation. He was the first member of the House of Commons who declared, during the debates on the Reform question which preceded the Act of 1867, his conviction that political rights were not the sole heritage of men. In April, 1866, Mr. Disraeli is recorded in Hansard to have said:—"If there is to be universal suffrage, women have as much right to vote as men; and more than that, a woman having property ought now to have a vote." In the revised and corrected edition of Mr. Disraeli's speeches on Parliamentary Reform the passage appears thus amplified:—"I say that in a country governed by a woman—where you allow women to form part of the other estate of the realm—peeresses in their own right, for example—where you allow a woman not only to hold land, but to be a lady of the manor and hold legal courts—where a woman by law may be a churchwarden and overseer of the poor—I do not see, where she has so much to do with the State and Church, on what reasons, if you come to right, she has not a right to vote."

Mr. Disraeli consistently acted on the principles here avowed by voting for the second reading of the Women's Disabilities Bill, when that motion was brought forward, whether by Mr. Jacob Bright or Mr. Forsyth. His vote was given in the divisions of 1871, 1873, 1875, and 1876—and in gratefully recognising his past services to their cause, your Committee desire to record their sense of the great loss which they have sustained in the withdrawal from the arena of the next campaign of so powerful and consistent a supporter as the head of Her Majesty's Government.

During the session of 1876, there were presented to the House of Commons 1,117 petitions, signed by



370,166 persons in favour of the Women's Disabilities Bill. This far exceeds the number of petitioners for any other object during the session. One petition was presented against the Bill. This was from the Town Council of Kilmarnock, and it is conspicuous as a solitary instance of opposition to the measure. The petitions sent through the efforts of members and friends of the Manchester Society were 263—with 128,174 signatures. The petitions from Manchester received 40,059, and from Salford 20,159 signatures. Huddersfield sent a petition from 2,143 electors, headed by the leading members of both political parties, and containing some of the most influential names in the town. In addition to this, there was a general petition signed by 7,639 men and women, a petition signed by the chairman of one of the largest public meetings ever held in Huddersfield, and last, but not least, a petition in favour of the Bill from the Town Council. From this it is evident that whatever success the objections of Mr. Leatham may meet with in other quarters, he has failed to convince his own constituency that it is either just or wise to mar the recognition of the principle of household suffrage for men, by the confiscation and denial of the rights of thousands of householders whose claims both in equity and conformity with the laws regulating every other representative government in this country, are as good as those which are allowed. Your Committee desire to urge the great importance of the petition and to exhort their friends to continue this mode of action.

The meetings held during the past year have not been so numerous as formerly. Your Committee have proceeded on the principle that it was more desirable to use the resources at their disposal in endeavouring to make every meeting organised by them thoroughly successful

than to attempt to hold a larger number at the expense of bestowing less pains to render each one effective.

In the month of November, 1875, a great and densely crowded meeting was held in the Armoury, Huddersfield, when resolutions in support of the Bill were carried with hardly any dissentients. The meeting was characterised by the *Huddersfield Examiner* as one of the largest and most influential ever held in Huddersfield. There was a fair representation of all classes, the speaking was of the highest order, and the interest was fully sustained to the close. Meetings were also held at Stalybridge, York, under the presidency of Lord Houghton; Kendal, Batley, and Brighouse. Your Secretary has taken part in all these meetings, and has also attended meetings organised by other branches of the National Society at Kings Lynn, Lincoln, Knaresborough, Malton, Bath, Barnstaple, London (three), Ipswich, Edinburgh (three), Glasgow, Belfast, and Dublin. Miss Becker has also delivered lectures at Rhyl, Llandudno, Llanrwst, New Brighton, and Harrogate.

Some of the foregoing meetings were arranged or attended by Miss Beedy, who also arranged and spoke at a meeting at Bangor on behalf of your Committee, and visited the following places with good results:—Shrewsbury, Denbigh, Wrexham, Mold, Welshpool, and Newtown. Miss Beedy's able and energetic services to the Society during the few years of her residence in this country are deserving of the highest praise, and will be gratefully remembered by all interested in the movement.

During the past year your Committee's agent, Mrs. M'Cormick, has visited the following places:—Ripon (twice), Northallerton (twice), Middlesbrough (twice), Thirsk (twice), Huddersfield, Preston, Stalybridge, Southport (twice), Blackburn, York, Derby, Lichfield,

Hanley, Stafford, Batley, Wolverhampton, Walsall, Dudley, Kidderminster, Kendal, Bolton, Wigan, Liverpool, Congleton, Llandudno, Rhyl, Llanrwst, Colne, Harrogate, New Brighton, Carlisle, Grimsby, Hull, Darlington, Redcar, and Seaton Carew. Mrs. M'Cormick arranged and attended the five meetings organised by your Committee, attended at the five lectures delivered by Miss Becker, and devoted 173 days to office and other work in Manchester.

In the month of March proposals for an amalgamation of the Yorkshire Society with the Manchester National Society for Women's Suffrage were agreed to by the committees of both Societies. Your Committee believe that this arrangement will conduce to the efficiency and economy of the work in the North of England.

The Society continues to receive an accession of new members, and the *Women's Suffrage Journal* obtains a wider circulation. The income of the Society has been larger than that received in any previous year, and while a large proportion of the liabilities at the end of the last financial year have been discharged, the balance in hand shows a slight increase over that of the corresponding period of last year. There is urgent need for a continuance and an increase of support of this kind, for which your Committee desire earnestly to appeal to the friends of the cause.

They have to deplore the loss by death of valued friends and supporters. Pre-eminent among the friends thus mourned stands the name of the late Mr. Thomasson, of Bolton. He was one of the earliest and most generous contributors to the funds of the Society, and as his acquaintance with the movement grew his interest in it increased. He was an active member of your Committee, he was constant in his attendance at their meetings, and

ever ready to aid them with his counsels and his support. Your Committee desire to place on record their deep sense of his worth, of the value of his services to the cause of the enfranchisement of women and to political progress generally, and of the incalculable and irreparable loss they have sustained by his sudden and premature death.

Your Committee also have to deplore the death of Miss Mary Anne Humble, of Vicar's Cross, Chester, who for some years was a munificent though anonymous donor to their funds. The death of this esteemed lady, at a ripe age, closed a long life adorned with Christian graces and generous deeds, and sanctified by grateful memories.

Within the year there has likewise passed from among us one who was not only pre-eminently the political woman of the century, but pre-eminent among the political writers and thinkers of the time. Harriet Martineau died on June 25. She was an early and firm adherent and exponent of the necessity for the political representation of women, and though from the infirm condition of her health in her later years she was unable to take an active part in the movement, she signed the petitions year after year, and remained a warm and sympathetic friend of the movement to the close of her long and useful life.

At the Conference of the National Reform Union, held in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, in December of last year, an amendment was moved by Miss Sturge, and adopted by the Conference by a large majority, which pledged the Union to agitate for an extension of the franchise to *all* householders in counties, it being understood that the word "all" was intended to include women householders. The recognition of the principle of women's suffrage by so large and representative a

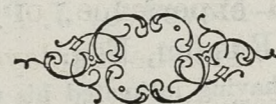
gathering is to be regarded as a mark of the advance of public opinion on the question, and as a proof that the claim cannot be logically resisted by an organisation of men who are putting forth similar claims for themselves.

On the re-election of Mr. Jacob Bright to the House of Commons, Mr. Forsyth intimated his desire to resign the charge of the Bill into the hands of its original author, a decision which he has subsequently carried into effect. Your Committee hereby record their grateful sense of the services rendered to the movement by Mr. Forsyth in taking charge of the Bill in 1874, by his able guidance of the question during the sessions of 1875 and 1876, and for his promise of continued support to the measure whenever it shall be again brought forward in the House of Commons. The Bill has passed through two divisions while in Mr. Forsyth's hands, in one it met with the smallest opposition majority it has ever encountered, and if the hostile majority was increased last session, it was by the activity of opponents and not by any lack of energy or loss of support on the part of the supporters of the measure.

It is with feelings of cordial satisfaction that your Committee record the resumption by Mr. Jacob Bright of the charge of the Women's Disabilities Removal Bill. Those who have had experience of the earnestness, ability, and prudence which he displayed during the four years of the last Parliament when he had charge of the measure, have a reasonable ground for looking forward with confidence and hope to the renewal of the campaign next session under the auspices of their old and tried leader.

Your Committee feel that the record of the past eventful year marks an era which calls for renewed and increased exertion. The issues are drawing closer, the

struggle is becoming more earnest. The increased activity of the opponents is a tribute to the growing strength of the cause, and demands yet more strenuous efforts to withstand. Much will depend on the result of the next debate and division in the House of Commons. It rests with the friends of the cause and of political justice to give adequate support to the efforts now to be made, and in asking for a renewal of their trust, your Committee earnestly appeal to those friends to sustain them in that persistence in the demand for the measure to which, as well as to its intrinsic justice, is doubtless owing to the fact that the number of its Parliamentary adherents is so large, and the support they give to the measure continues so steady. It is with the earnest conviction that the anomalous political status of women is not only unjust in itself, but injurious to the best interests of the country, that the promoters of this measure of reform press it for consideration and desire to see it removed by the wisdom of Parliament.



ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Of the Society, held in the MAYOR'S PARLOUR, TOWN HALL, MANCHESTER, November 29th, 1876.

The MAYOR of MANCHESTER in the Chair.

The Secretary read the Report of the Executive Committee.

The Treasurer read the Statement of Accounts.

Resolution I.—Moved by Jacob Bright, Esq., M.P., seconded by Rev. S. Alfred Steinthal:

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. Heywood, seconded by Mr. Councillor Booth:

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

Resolution III.—Moved by Mrs. Oliver Scatcherd, seconded by Dr. John Watts:

That the earnest thanks of this meeting are hereby rendered to Mr. Forsyth, Q.C., the Right Hon. James Stansfeld, the Right Hon. the Recorder of London, Sir Robert Anstruther, Bart., Mr. Jacob Bright, Dr. Ward, Professor Fawcett, and Sir Charles Legard, Bart., for introducing and supporting the Women's Disabilities Bill, also to the Members of the House of Commons who voted or paired in its favour in the division on the second reading of the measure on April 30th, 1876.

Resolution IV.—Moved by J. P. Thomasson, Esq., seconded by R. D. Rusden, Esq.:

That Mr. Forsyth having intimated his desire to resign the charge of the Women's Disabilities Removal Bill, this meeting hereby express their cordial satisfaction that Mr. Jacob Bright has consented to re-introduce the measure in the forthcoming Session of Parliament, and they pledge themselves to support his action by every means in their power.

The Chair was taken by the Rev. S. ALFRED STEINTHAL.

Resolution V.—Moved by Miss Becker, seconded by Miss A. Wilson:

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

THE MANCHESTER NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.  
STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST OCTOBER, 1876.

Gr.	INCOME.		EXPENDITURE.		Gr.			
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.		
To Balance	...	...	By Salaries and Office Expenses	533	6	3		
" Subscriptions and Donations	...	...	" Office Furniture, Rent, Gas, Coal, &c.	38	13	7		
" Journal	121	5 4½	" Postage and Telegrams	...	...	571	19	10
" Postage	31	19 9½	" Public Meetings	190	18	6		
" Advertisements, &c.	111	12 8	" Lectures	35	3	6		
" Pamphlets, &c.	...	...	" Canvassing	226	2	0		
" Tickets at Public Meetings	17	15 0	" Printing	345	17	3		
" Lectures	11	13 0	" Deputation Expenses	603	12	0		
" Banker's Interest	...	...	" Commission on Advertising	48	7	4		
			" Reporting Debate, &c.	25	18	11		
			" Agents' Expenses, Collecting Subscriptions	21	8	6		
			" Other Expenses:—	38	17	10		
			Banker's Commission	2	8	1		
			Advertising Journal	1	10	0		
						3	18	
						2,028	17	10
						153	15	9
			Balance: In hands of Treasurer	153	15	9		
			" Secretary	2	6	5		
						156	2	2
						£2,185	0	0

November 20, 1876.  
Liabilities... £193 0 0  
Subscriptions received since the accounts were made up... £11 10 0  
Amount owing to the Society... 40 5 6

Audited and found correct.

LOUIS BORCHARDT, M.D.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS.

FINANCIAL YEAR, 1875-1876.

	£	s.	d.
Onlooker ... ..	200	0	0
G. T. S. ... ..	200	0	0
A Lancashire Merchant... ..	100	0	0
A Lover of Pluck ... ..	50	0	0
A. G. ... ..	50	0	0
M. P. ... ..	50	0	0
A Friend (Huddersfield)... ..	1	1	0
R. L. ... ..	1	1	0
R. W. ... ..	1	1	0
Omega... ..	1	1	0
Gamma ... ..	1	0	0
B. ... ..	0	15	6
W. A. (Huddersfield) ... ..	0	10	0
J. R. ... ..	0	10	0
E. H. ... ..	0	5	0
J. H. ... ..	0	5	0
O. A. C. ... ..	0	5	0
A Friend (Liverpool) ... ..	0	5	0
Delta ... ..	0	5	0
Sigma ... ..	0	5	0
Iota ... ..	0	5	0
N. W. J. ... ..	0	5	0
Y. Z. (Colne) ... ..	0	5	0
A. C. (Colne) ... ..	0	5	0
A Friend (Huddersfield) ... ..	0	2	6
B. B. (Southport) ... ..	0	2	6
A, B, C (Liverpool) ... ..	0	2	6
Beta (Blackburn) ... ..	0	2	6
M. D. (Stafford)... ..	0	2	6
J. T. (Hull)... ..	0	2	6
G. B. (Dudley) ... ..	0	2	0
A Friend (Huddersfield)... ..	0	2	0
A poor Friend, per J. R.... ..	0	1	6
A Friend (Batley) ... ..	0	1	0
Anonymous ... ..	0	1	0
Small Sums ... ..	0	10	0
Ashworth, Miss ... ..	1	1	0
Ashworth, Miss L. S. ... ..	1	1	0
Adamson, Miss ... ..	1	0	0
Atkinson, Mr. J. ... ..	1	0	0
Avison, Mr. Thomas ... ..	0	10	6
Abbey, Mr. F. F. ... ..	0	10	6
Adams, Mr. Charles ... ..	0	10	0
Atherton, Mr. H. (Southport) ... ..	0	10	0
Atkinson, Miss ... ..	0	10	0
Atkinson, Miss Maria ... ..	0	10	0
Akers, Mr. H. T. (2 years) ... ..	0	10	0
Awde, Mrs. (2 years) ... ..	0	10	0
Ayre, Mr. W. (Thirsk) (2 years) ... ..	0	10	0

	£	s.	d.
Ayre, Mrs. (Northallerton) (2 years) ... ..	0	10	0
Ayre, Mr. George (Thirsk) (2 years) ... ..	0	5	0
Ayre, Mrs. George (Thirsk) (2 years) ... ..	0	5	0
Ayre, Mr. T. (Northallerton) (2 years) ... ..	0	5	0
Alexander, Miss ... ..	0	5	0
Alward, Mr. J. ... ..	0	5	0
Archibald, Mr. ... ..	0	5	0
Addison, Mrs. (Chathill)... ..	0	2	6
Alston, Mr. W. ... ..	0	2	6
Alward, Mr. G. ... ..	0	2	6
Atherton, Mrs. (Wigan) ... ..	0	2	6
Aulton, Mr. A. D. ... ..	0	2	6
Allen, Mr. John ... ..	0	1	0
Brooke, Miss Edith ... ..	25	0	0
Boucherett, Miss Jessie ... ..	5	0	0
Briggs, Mr. W. E., M.P. ... ..	5	0	0
Browne, Mrs. S. W. (London) ... ..	4	0	0
Birch, Mr. W., jun. ... ..	3	3	0
Buchan, The Dowager Countess of ... ..	3	0	0
Briggs, Mr. James (Blackburn) ... ..	2	2	0
Baker, Mr. J. (Hanley) ... ..	1	1	0
Barlow, Mrs. Gordon (St. Helens) ... ..	1	1	0
Barlow, Mr. James (Bolton) ... ..	1	1	0
Bennett, Mr. W. Garnett ... ..	1	1	0
Benson, Mr. R. ... ..	1	1	0
Binney, Mr. E. W., F.R.S. ... ..	1	1	0
Braim, Mr. J. (2 years) ... ..	1	1	0
Barnes, Miss ... ..	1	0	0
Baynes, Mrs. (2 years) ... ..	1	0	0
Biggs, Mr. H. ... ..	1	0	0
Black, Rev. J. (2 years) ... ..	1	0	0
Bowling, Miss L. A. ... ..	1	0	0
Bowman, Mrs. Charles ... ..	1	0	0
Borchardt, Dr. ... ..	1	0	0
Box, Mr. A. M. (2 years)... ..	1	0	0
Bradney, Mrs. ... ..	1	0	0
Brooke, Mrs. Edward ... ..	1	0	0
Browne, Miss Annie... ..	1	0	0
Burt, Mr. J. ... ..	1	0	0
Butler, Mrs. ... ..	1	0	0
Barton, Mr. E. ... ..	0	10	6
Bevington, Mr. A. (Hanley) ... ..	0	10	6
Blakiston, Mr. M. F. ... ..	0	10	3
Brown, Mr. W. Scott (Manchester) ... ..	0	10	6
Brown, Mr. Wm. (Manchester) ... ..	0	10	6
Burrows, Dr. ... ..	0	10	6
Brankston, Mrs. ... ..	0	10	6
Baumann, Mr. ... ..	0	10	0
Bayliss, Mr. M. ... ..	0	10	0
Biggart, Dr. ... ..	0	10	0
Bingham, Mrs. ... ..	0	10	0
Bishop, Mr. W. W. ... ..	0	10	0
Bleackley, Mrs. (2 years) ... ..	0	10	0
Bowman, Mrs. (Darlington) ... ..	0	10	0
Bowron, Mr. J., jun. ... ..	0	10	0
Bright, Mr. Thomas (2 years) ... ..	0	10	0
Brooke, Miss Octavia ... ..	0	10	0
Brown, Miss M. A. (Wigan) ... ..	0	10	0
Bruce, Mr. H. ... ..	0	10	0
Burnett, Mr. James .. ..	0	10	0
Byrne, Mr. S. H. ... ..	0	10	0

	£	s.	d.
Baker, Mr. (Stalybridge) ... ..	0	5	0
Baron, Mr. W. ... ..	0	5	0
Barran, Mr. A. (Batley) ... ..	0	5	0
Barrow, Mr. John (Southport) ... ..	0	5	0
Bates, Mr. John ... ..	0	5	0
Bell, Mr. J. H. (Darlington) ... ..	0	5	0
Bellis, Mr. ... ..	0	5	0
Bevington, Mrs. A. ... ..	0	5	0
Binns, Mr. R. ... ..	0	5	0
Blacow, Mr. J. ... ..	0	5	0
Blackburn, Mr. W. ... ..	0	5	0
Blumer, Mr. J. G. ... ..	0	5	0
Boddington, Mr. T. ... ..	0	5	0
Booth, Mr. E. H. ... ..	0	5	0
Borchardt, Miss ... ..	0	5	0
Boston, Mr. Joseph ... ..	0	5	0
Boult, Miss Lucy ... ..	0	5	0
Bradlaugh, Miss A. ... ..	0	5	0
Bramley, Mr. W. F. ... ..	0	5	0
Brook, Mrs. C. J. ... ..	0	5	0
Brown, Miss Rachel ... ..	0	4	0
Barwise, Mr. J. ... ..	0	3	0
Bracewell, Miss C. ... ..	0	3	0
Bulpit, Mr. ... ..	0	2	6
Baird, Mr. A. J. ... ..	0	2	6
Barnford, Mr. T. ... ..	0	2	6
Barker, Mrs. (Colne) ... ..	0	2	6
Barker, Miss ... ..	0	2	6
Barber, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	6
Barralet, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	6
Baxter, Mr. ... ..	0	2	6
Beale, Mr. A. W. ... ..	0	2	6
Bell, Mr. C. (Middlesborough) ... ..	0	2	6
Biggs, Miss C. A. ... ..	0	2	6
Blakemore, Mr. ... ..	0	2	6
Blamires, Mr. W. ... ..	0	2	6
Blinkhorn, Mr. T. (Walsall) ... ..	0	2	6
Bowers, Mr. J. ... ..	0	2	6
Brine, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	6
Briggs, Mr. J. (Ulverston) ... ..	0	2	6
Brooks, Mr. H. (Darlington) ... ..	0	2	6
Brook, Mr. W. (Kidderminster) ... ..	0	2	6
Broughton, Miss ... ..	0	2	6
Busby, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	6
Byers, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	0
Bridge, Mr. John ... ..	0	2	0
Brittain, Mr. W. Dale ... ..	0	1	6
Brooke, Miss E. (Kidderminster) ... ..	0	1	0
Bates, Mr. (Walsall) ... ..	0	1	0
Crook, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph ... ..	10	0	0
Cropper, Mr. James ... ..	2	2	0
Cholmeley, Rev. H. ... ..	1	1	6
Callender, the late Mr. W. Romaine, M.P. ... ..	1	1	0
Challinor, Mr. A. ... ..	1	1	0
Charles, Mrs. ... ..	1	1	0
Checkley, Mr. T. ... ..	1	1	0
Chorlton, Mr. Thos. ... ..	1	1	0
Clark, Mrs. Helen Bright ... ..	1	1	0
Cooke, Mr. Isaac B. ... ..	1	1	0
Cooper, Mr. Thos. (Congleton) ... ..	1	1	0
Crapper Mr. J. ... ..	1	1	0

	£	s.	d.
Carslake, Mrs. ... ..	1	0	0
Carter, Mr. J. (Batley) ... ..	1	0	0
Chambers, Mr. W. ... ..	1	0	0
Colling, Miss E. ... ..	1	0	0
Courtauld, Mr. S. ... ..	1	0	0
Crawford, Miss Mabel Sharman ... ..	1	0	0
Crowther, Mr. A., J.P. ... ..	1	0	0
Cudworth, Mr. W. ... ..	1	0	0
Carlill, Mr. B. ... ..	0	10	6
Chandler, Mrs. ... ..	0	10	6
Cooke, Mr. J. R. (Hanley) ... ..	0	10	6
Corbet, Mr. Miller ... ..	0	10	6
Cooper, Mrs. (Norwich) ... ..	0	10	0
Coppock, Mrs. ... ..	0	10	0
Cotterell, Mr. G. ... ..	0	10	0
Calvert, Mr. J. S. (2 years) ... ..	0	5	0
Cameron, Dr. ... ..	0	5	0
Carter, Miss M. ... ..	0	5	0
Chapman, Miss ... ..	0	5	0
Cheetham Miss ... ..	0	5	0
Clarke, Mrs. (Oxford) ... ..	0	5	0
Clarkson, Mr. G. F. (2 years) ... ..	0	5	0
Cogan, Misses ... ..	0	5	0
Cohen, Mr. ... ..	0	5	0
Cook, Mr. H. J. (Liverpool) ... ..	0	5	0
Cooper, Mr. Thos. (Wigan) ... ..	0	5	0
Copstick, Mr. T. ... ..	0	5	0
Cowen, Dr. ... ..	0	5	0
Crippen, Rev. Thos. G. ... ..	0	5	0
Crompton, Mr. James ... ..	0	5	0
Cross, Mr. John ... ..	0	5	0
Cooper, Mr. (Northallerton) (2 years) ... ..	0	4	0
Crosbie, Rev. W., M.A. ... ..	0	3	0
Capstick, Mr. J. ... ..	0	2	6
Carr, Mr. W. H. ... ..	0	2	6
Chatterton, Mr. ... ..	0	2	6
Christie, Mr. John ... ..	0	2	6
Cochrane, Mr. ... ..	0	2	6
Cooke, Mr. (Grimsby) ... ..	0	2	6
Constantine, Mr. J. ... ..	0	2	6
Court, Misses ... ..	0	2	6
Cox, Mr. J. T. (Stafford) ... ..	0	2	6
Cox, Mr. J. W. (Huddersfield) ... ..	0	2	6
Crookall, Rev. R. ... ..	0	2	6
Crosland, Miss ... ..	0	2	0
Chattaway, Mrs. ... ..	0	1	6
Dale, Mr. Thos. ... ..	1	1	0
Dalton, Mr. Henry R. ... ..	1	1	0
Dewes, Rev. Alfred, D.D. ... ..	1	1	0
Dalby, Mr. ... ..	1	0	0
De Hersant, Mrs. ... ..	1	0	0
Denham, Mr. ... ..	1	0	0
Dick, Miss Mary ... ..	1	0	0
Dowsing, Mr. ... ..	0	10	6
Dyer, Mr. ... ..	0	10	6
Daniell, Mrs. ... ..	0	10	6
Dixon, Mrs. ... ..	0	10	0
Donkin, Mrs. ... ..	0	10	0
Dawson, Mrs. ... ..	0	5	0
Dixon, Mr. J. (Walsall) ... ..	0	5	0
Dobson, Mr. George ... ..	0	5	0

	£	s.	d.
Dowson, Mr. George (2 years)	0	5	0
Drewry, Mrs. W. H.	0	5	0
Drewry, Miss Ellen	0	3	0
Davis, Mr. J. R. (Walsall)	0	3	0
Dunn, Mrs. S. H.	0	2	6
Davies, Mr. Hugh (Wrexham)	0	2	6
Davies, Miss M. (Wigan)	0	2	6
Dewe, Miss	0	2	6
Dowse, Mr. A.	0	2	6
Dunkin, Miss	0	2	6
Dunlop, Mr.	0	2	6
Eastwood, Mr. F.	1	1	0
Eastwood, Mrs. F.	1	1	0
Eccles, Mrs. (Darwen)	1	1	0
Edmondson, Mr. J.	1	1	0
Edwards, Mr. W.	1	1	0
Ellis, Mr. R. (Harrogate)	1	1	0
Every, Mr. J.	0	10	0
Eccles, Mrs. James	0	5	0
Earle, Miss A. M.	0	5	0
Earle, Mr. John	0	5	0
Earp, Mr. F.	0	5	0
Ebdell, Mrs. (2 years)	0	5	0
Elam, Mr.	0	5	0
Ellis, Mr. E. (Derby)	0	2	6
Elliott, Mrs.	0	2	6
Etchells, Mrs.	0	2	6
Evans, Miss M. A. (Wilmslow)	0	2	6
Evans, Rev. S.	0	2	0
Ellis, Mr. J. (Walsall)	0	17	0
Firth, Miss	0	11	0
Falconer, Mr. Thos.	0	10	0
Fox, Mr. W. J. K. (Batley)	0	5	0
Fairburn, Mrs. (2 years)	0	5	0
Fairburn, Mr. J. (2 years)	0	5	0
Fisk, Rev. Thos.	0	5	0
Fogg, Mr. J.	0	5	0
Fothergill, Mr. W.	0	5	0
Fox, Mrs.	0	5	0
Freeston, Rev. J.	0	5	0
Freeston, Mrs. J.	0	5	0
Frost, Mr. A.	0	5	0
Fuller, Mrs.	0	5	0
Furness, Mr. T.	0	3	0
Foggitt, Mr. W.	0	2	6
Fawcett & Acomb, Misses	0	2	6
Fisher, Mr. S. G. (Darlington)	0	2	6
Fothergill, Mr. S.	0	2	6
Fox, Mr. D.	0	2	6
Francis, Mr. J.	0	2	6
Franks, Rev. E.	0	2	6
Furnivale, Mrs.	0	2	6
Gell, Mrs.	5	0	0
Goldschmidt, Mr. P.	5	0	0
Goldsmid, Lady	2	0	0
Gaddum, Mrs.	2	0	0
Grey, Mrs. William	1	1	0
Gill, Mr. R.	1	1	0
Gourley, Col., M.P.	1	1	0

	£	s.	d.
Gwynne, Mrs.	1	1	0
Goldsmid, Miss	1	0	0
Gilman, Messrs. S. & R.	0	10	6
Glaisyer, Mr. J.	0	10	6
Gregson, Mr. Thomas	0	10	6
Gammage, Dr.	0	10	6
Gatenby, Mrs. (2 years)	0	10	0
Gay, Mrs.	0	10	0
Gillett, Mr. J.	0	10	0
Goffey, Mr. Thomas	0	10	0
Greatrex, Mr. F.	0	10	0
Grece, Mrs.	0	10	0
Grece, Dr.	0	10	0
Grist, Mr. J.	0	10	0
Guthrie, Mr. James (2 years)	0	10	0
Garnett, Mrs. (Ripon) (2 years)	0	5	0
Garrett, Mr. George	0	5	0
Gasquoine, Rev. T.	0	5	0
Gee, Mr. W. T.	0	5	0
Gerard, Mrs. H. C.	0	5	0
Gibbs, Mr. G. S.	0	5	0
Gibson, Mrs. (Stafford)	0	5	0
Gibson, Mr. T. (Kendal)	0	5	0
Gilbert, Mr. J. W.	0	5	0
Glover, Mr. J.	0	5	0
Goouch, Miss J.	0	5	0
Grange, Mrs.	0	5	0
Gregson, Mrs. S. E.	0	5	0
Grundy, Mr. James	0	5	0
Guthrie, Mrs. A. (2 years)	0	5	0
Griffiths, Mrs.	0	2	6
Gendall, Mr. P.	0	2	6
Gibson, Mr. (Hartlepool)	0	2	6
Gidley, Mr. J., sen.	0	2	6
Gidley, Mr. J., jun.	0	2	6
Gillard, Mr.	0	2	6
Golding, Mrs.	0	2	6
Gray, Mr. T.	0	2	6
Guest, Mr. E.	0	2	6
Gurney, Miss	0	2	6
Gurney, Miss Amy	0	2	6
Humble, The late Miss Mary Anne	102	0	0
Hunter, Mrs. Stephenson	5	5	0
Hargreaves, Mrs. William	5	0	0
Hall, Miss Rose	2	2	0
Heywood, Mrs. Abel	2	2	0
Holland, Mrs. Chas. (Liscard)	2	2	0
Hervey, Miss Rosamond	2	0	0
Hamshaw, Mr. J.	1	1	0
Haworth, Mr. A. (Bowdon)	1	1	0
Haworth, Mrs. Jesse	1	1	0
Hetherington, Mrs.	1	1	0
Heyworth, Mr. Eli	1	1	0
Holden, Mr. E. T. (Walsall)	1	1	0
Hunt, Mrs.	1	1	0
Hutchinson, Miss R. P.	1	1	0
Harris, Dr.	1	0	0
Hart, Mr. H. G.	1	0	0
Haslam, Mrs. (Bolton)	1	0	0
Holland, Mrs. C. M. (Chester)	1	0	0
Horrocks, Mr. L. (Broughton)	1	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Higson, Mr. Thos., J.P. ... ..	0	10	6
Holbrooke, Misses ... ..	0	10	6
Holloway, Mr. G. ... ..	0	10	6
Howat, Mr. D. ... ..	0	10	6
Hughes, Mr. Thos. (Burslem)... ..	0	10	6
Hall, Miss Emily (Bowdon) ... ..	0	10	0
Heal, Mrs. (2 years) ... ..	0	10	0
Hindle, Mrs. (Blackburn) ... ..	0	10	0
Hunter, Rev. J. ... ..	0	10	0
Hutchence, Mr. W. A. (2 years) ... ..	0	10	0
Hadfield, Mr. Moses... ..	0	5	0
Hall, Mrs. J. W. (Thirsk) (2 years) ... ..	0	5	0
Hall, Mr. W. ... ..	0	5	0
Hardcastle, Mr. F. ... ..	0	5	0
Harding, Mr. W. ... ..	0	5	0
Hare, Mr. S. ... ..	0	5	0
Henderson, Mrs. J. ... ..	0	5	0
Hey, The Venerable Archdeacon ... ..	0	5	0
Hibbert, Miss ... ..	0	5	0
Hill, Mr. James... ..	0	5	0
Hicks, Miss Frances ... ..	0	5	0
Hinton, Mr. A. ... ..	0	5	0
Hodgson, Mr. C. (2 years) ... ..	0	5	0
Hargreaves, Mr. J. (Middlesborough)... ..	0	4	0
Heap, Mr. Thomas ... ..	0	3	6
Hadley, Mr. Josiah ... ..	0	2	6
Haigh, Mr. Joseph ... ..	0	2	6
Hall, Mr. S. ... ..	0	2	6
Haller, Mr. T. ... ..	0	2	6
Harris, Mr. H. (Northampton) ... ..	0	2	6
Harvey, Mr. J. P. ... ..	0	2	6
Hawke, Mr. J. O. ... ..	0	2	6
Heaton, Mrs. (Wigan) ... ..	0	2	6
Hickson, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	6
Hindle, Mrs. (Stockport) ... ..	0	2	6
Hirst, Rev. J. ... ..	0	2	6
Hobson, Mr. W. ... ..	0	2	6
Hargreaves, Mrs. (Burnley) ... ..	0	2	6
Hopps, Rev. J. Page ... ..	0	2	6
Horner, Mrs. R. ... ..	0	2	6
Horsfield, Mr. J. ... ..	0	2	6
Hughes, Miss Wood ... ..	0	2	6
Hunt, Captain R. A. ... ..	0	2	6
Husband, Mr. R. ... ..	0	2	6
Hutchinson, Mr. (Darlington) ... ..	0	2	6
Hall, Mr. J. W. (Thirsk) ... ..	0	2	6
Heaton, Mr. W. ... ..	0	2	0
Hill, Miss S. ... ..	0	2	0
Houghton, Miss M. ... ..	0	2	0
Howell, Mrs. ... ..	0	1	10
Hebden, Mrs. ... ..	0	1	0
Ireland, Mr. A. ... ..	1	1	0
Ingham, Mr. Samuel ... ..	1	0	0
Ingram, Mr. John (Dewsbury) ... ..	0	5	0
Jennings, Mr. J. (Middlesborough) (2 years) ... ..	1	1	0
Jaffrey, Miss ... ..	1	0	0
Jacques, Mr. (Wigan) ... ..	0	10	0
Johnson, Miss (Wigan) ... ..	0	10	0
Jordison, Mr. ... ..	0	10	0
Jubb, Mr. Samuel ... ..	0	10	0

	£	s.	d.
Jackson, Mr. S. B. (Liverpool) ... ..	0	5	0
Jackson, Mr. (Grimsby) ... ..	0	5	0
Jacques, Mr. (Thirsk) (2 years) ... ..	0	5	0
Jeffs, Mr. George, jun. ... ..	0	5	0
Jones, Mrs. E. E. (Kendal) ... ..	0	5	0
Jones, Mr. T. (Broseley) ... ..	0	5	0
Jeffreys, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	6
Jones, Mr. R. (Kidderminster) ... ..	0	2	6
Jones, Mr. Joseph (Derby) ... ..	0	2	6
Jones, Mr. John ... ..	0	2	6
Julian, Mr. J. W. ... ..	0	2	6
Jones, Miss E. (Weare Giffard) ... ..	0	2	0
Jeffs, Mr. H. ... ..	0	1	0
Kennett, Mr. R. B. ... ..	10	0	0
King, Mrs. E. M. ... ..	1	1	0
Knott, Miss ... ..	1	1	0
Kitching, Mrs. ... ..	1	0	0
Kenderdine, Mrs. ... ..	0	10	0
Kilner, Mr. Thos. ... ..	0	10	0
Kingsford, Mrs. A. ... ..	0	10	0
Kilmister, Mrs. ... ..	0	5	0
Kipling, Miss E. J. ... ..	0	5	0
Kitchener, Mr. F. E. ... ..	0	5	0
Kitchener, Mrs. F. E. ... ..	0	5	0
Kelsall, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	6
Kirby, Mr. Thos. ... ..	0	2	6
Langton, The Lady Anna Gore ... ..	20	0	0
Lightbown, Mr. H. ... ..	3	3	0
Long, Mrs. ... ..	2	0	0
Lytton, The Dowager Lady ... ..	1	10	0
Lawson, Mr. Wm. ... ..	1	1	0
Lester, Mr. C. L. ... ..	1	1	0
Lister, Mrs. James ... ..	1	1	0
Lodge, Mr. O. ... ..	1	1	0
Longdon, Mr. F., J.P. ... ..	1	1	0
Longstaff, Mr. G. B. (2 years) ... ..	1	1	0
Lucas, Mrs. ... ..	1	1	0
Lawson, Sir W., Bart., M.P. ... ..	1	0	0
Layton, Mrs. ... ..	1	0	0
Liddell, The Hon. Mrs. Thos... ..	1	0	0
Lee, Mr. George ... ..	0	10	6
Lester, Mr. T. ... ..	0	10	6
Laing, Mr. A. ... ..	0	10	0
Leaf, Mrs. ... ..	0	10	0
Lee, Mrs. J. B. (2 years) ... ..	0	10	0
Leighton, Mr. A. ... ..	0	10	0
Leslie, Mrs. ... ..	0	10	0
Lloyd, Mr. (Kidderminster) ... ..	0	10	0
Lyon, Mr. J. A. (2 years)... ..	0	10	0
Livens, Mrs. ... ..	0	6	0
Lamb, Mr. John... ..	0	5	0
Lambert, Rev. Brooke ... ..	0	5	0
Latham, Dr. ... ..	0	5	0
Laycock, Mr. W. ... ..	0	5	0
Lea, Mrs. W. ... ..	0	5	0
Leach, Mrs. ... ..	0	5	0
Letherbrow, Mrs. ... ..	0	5	0
Lind, Mr. R. ... ..	0	5	0
Littlecott, Rev. T. G. ... ..	0	5	0
Longmaid, Mr. W. H. ... ..	0	5	0



	£	s.	d.
Lupton, Miss H. ... ..	0	5	0
Lawson, Mrs. (Blackburn) ... ..	0	2	6
Lohner, Mad. E. ... ..	0	2	6
Lomas, Miss A. ... ..	0	2	6
Lundy, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	6
Lawton, Mr. J. ... ..	0	1	0
Mason, Mr. Hugh ... ..	10	10	0
Markham, Mrs. ... ..	3	0	0
Mather, Mr. W. ... ..	2	2	0
Mills, Mrs. (Tooting) ... ..	2	2	0
M'Culloch, Mrs. ... ..	2	2	0
M'Kinnel, Mrs. ... ..	2	2	0
M'Kerrow, Mr. J. B. ... ..	1	1	0
Mander, Mr. S. S. ... ..	1	1	0
Marsden, Mr. J. ... ..	1	1	0
Measham, Mr. H. ... ..	1	1	0
Marriott, Mr. (Batley) ... ..	1	0	0
Marriott, Mr. W. (Huddersfield) ... ..	1	0	0
Mason, Mrs. (York) ... ..	1	0	0
Melling, Mr. W. ... ..	1	0	0
Milne, Mr. J. D. ... ..	1	0	0
Muir, Mrs. ... ..	1	0	0
Muirhead, Dr. ... ..	1	0	0
Mills, Mrs. (Bowdon) ... ..	0	14	0
Mills, Miss (Manchester) ... ..	0	10	6
Marshall, Mr. S. ... ..	0	10	0
Marshall, Miss Theodora ... ..	0	10	0
Martin, Mr. E. ... ..	0	10	0
Medley, Mrs. E. ... ..	0	10	0
Middleton, Mr. R. M. (2 years) ... ..	0	10	0
Moore, Dr. (Liverpool) ... ..	0	10	0
Moore, Mrs. R. R. ... ..	0	10	0
Muller, Mr. C. E. ... ..	0	10	0
Myers, Mr. J. J. ... ..	0	10	0
Munroe, Dr. ... ..	0	10	0
M'Kerrow, Mrs. (Southport) ... ..	0	9	0
Maclachlan, Dr. ... ..	0	5	0
McLean, Mr. ... ..	0	5	0
Martin, Mr. J. B. (Longsight) ... ..	0	5	0
Massey, Mrs. ... ..	0	5	0
Meadows, Mr. J. ... ..	0	5	0
Meeke, Mrs. ... ..	0	5	0
Melling, Mrs. ... ..	0	5	0
Melling, Mr. S. ... ..	0	5	0
Middlebrook, Mr. John ... ..	0	5	0
Middlebrook, Mr. J. P. ... ..	0	5	0
Moody, Mr. Walker ... ..	0	5	0
Mudd, Mr. H. ... ..	0	5	0
Mudd, Mr. William ... ..	0	5	0
Murray Mrs. (Dumfries) ... ..	0	5	0
Musgrove, Mr. W. ... ..	0	5	0
Mylne, Mrs. ... ..	0	5	0
Mackenzie, Miss S. P. ... ..	0	4	6
Mount, Mr. J. ... ..	0	3	0
Mackie, Mrs. S. ... ..	0	2	6
McKitrick, Miss ... ..	0	2	6
McRobie, The Misses ... ..	0	2	6
Markland, Mr. ... ..	0	2	6
Maude, Mr. J. ... ..	0	2	6
Melhuish, Mr. ... ..	0	2	6
Mellor, Mr. B. (Huddersfield) ... ..	0	2	6

	£	s.	d.
Micks, Mr. R. ... ..	0	2	6
Mogerley, Mr. G. ... ..	0	2	6
Molyneux, Mr. Geo. ... ..	0	2	6
Monkhouse, Mr. John (Kendal) ... ..	0	2	6
Monkhouse, Mrs. (Huddersfield) ... ..	0	2	6
Monkhouse, Mr. Thos. ... ..	0	2	6
Morgan, Mr. J. H. ... ..	0	2	6
Morrison, Miss ... ..	0	2	6
Moses, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	6
Martin, Miss ... ..	0	2	0
Mudd, Mr. S. ... ..	0	2	0
Nicholson, Mr. R. (Mayor of Southport) ... ..	2	0	0
Nicol, Mr. Henry ... ..	1	1	0
Newman, Prof. F. W. ... ..	1	1	0
Nicol, Miss Louise ... ..	0	10	0
Nicol, Miss (Hartlepool) (2 years) ... ..	0	10	0
Nichol, Miss M. ... ..	0	5	0
Nicholson, Miss (Moreton-in-the-Marsh) ... ..	0	5	0
Newbold, Mr. J. J. ... ..	0	2	6
Newton, Mr. W. ... ..	0	2	6
Noton, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	6
Oates, Mrs. ... ..	5	0	0
Ogden, Mrs. ... ..	2	2	0
Ormerod, Mr. Thos. ... ..	1	1	0
Ormerod, Mrs. Thomas ... ..	1	1	0
Oldroyd, Mr. John ... ..	0	10	0
Olney, Miss R. Allen ... ..	0	6	0
Oldham, Mrs. ... ..	0	5	0
Oliver, Mr. J. S. ... ..	0	5	0
Owen, Mr. J. ... ..	0	5	0
Oxley, the Misses ... ..	0	5	0
Pease, Mr. Arthur ... ..	10	0	0
Pochin, Mr. ... ..	10	0	0
Pease, Mrs. Gurney ... ..	5	0	0
Praed, Miss E. L. M. ... ..	4	2	0
Pease, Mrs. Fell ... ..	2	0	0
Palmer, Mr. J. Hinde ... ..	1	1	0
Pankhurst, Dr. ... ..	1	1	0
Peiser, Mr. J. ... ..	1	1	0
Phythian, Mr. Joseph ... ..	1	1	0
Pochin, Mrs. ... ..	1	1	0
Potter Mr. T. B., M.P. ... ..	1	1	0
Price, Mr. Mark ... ..	1	1	0
Pease, Mr. Henry ... ..	1	0	0
Pease, Mrs. S. B. ... ..	1	0	0
Powell, Mr. Thomas (Southport) ... ..	1	0	0
Peel, Mr. Thos. ... ..	0	10	6
Parker & Sons, Messrs. J. ... ..	0	10	0
Porter, Miss (2 years) ... ..	0	10	0
Parsons, Miss ... ..	0	5	0
Parker, Mr. W. Coor ... ..	0	5	0
Peachey, Mr. ... ..	0	5	0
Pearson, Mr. R. ... ..	0	5	0
Peck, Mr. Geo. ... ..	0	5	0
Peick, Miss ... ..	0	5	0
Phillips, Mrs. ... ..	0	5	0
Pollard, Mr. A. W. ... ..	0	5	0
Porter, Mr. A. ... ..	0	5	0
Preston, Mr. J. ... ..	0	5	0

	£	s.	d.
Prideaux, Miss G. M. (Darlington)	0	5	0
Proctor, Miss (Darlington)	0	5	0
Proctor, Mr. John W. (York)	0	5	0
Park, Miss Agnes	0	2	6
Parkinson, Mr. Giles	0	2	6
Paterson, Mr. John	0	2	6
Pick, Mr. David	0	2	6
Pugh, Miss	0	2	6
Purcell, Miss	0	2	6
Prideaux, Miss E. B. (Brighton)	0	2	0
Pearce, Mr.	0	1	6
Roe, Mr. T., jun.	2	2	0
Ramsbottom, Miss	1	1	0
Richardson, Mrs. H. (York)	1	1	0
Recketts, Mr. J.	1	1	0
Rhys, Mrs.	1	1	0
Rigbye, Miss	1	0	0
Roper, Mr. W. B.	1	0	0
Roberts, Mrs. (Pwhlheli) (3 years)	0	15	0
Renals, Mr. J.	0	10	6
Rentoul, Rev. J. L.	0	10	6
Richardson, Mr. H. (York)	0	10	0
Roe, Mrs.	0	10	0
Rowley, Mr. C., jun.	0	10	0
Ready, Mr. Thomas	0	5	0
Rhoades, Mr. James (Bournemouth)	0	5	0
Rhoades, Mr. John (Thirsk)	0	5	0
Ridgway, Mr. M. (Broughton)	0	5	0
Ridgway, Mr. Randall, J.P.	0	5	0
Ridgway, Mr. J. (Dudley)	0	5	0
Rimmer, Mrs.	0	5	0
Roberts, Mr. D. (Chester)	0	5	0
Robinson, Mr. John (Kendal)	0	5	0
Robinson, Mr. J. A. (Brighouse)	0	5	0
Roby, Mrs.	0	5	0
Rous, Miss	0	5	0
Russell, Mr. J.	0	5	0
Rawson, Mr. James (Wigan)	0	4	0
Raddings, Mr.	0	2	6
Raven, Mr. George	0	2	6
Rawson, Mr. P. L.	0	2	6
Robinson, Mr. G. H.	0	2	6
Robinson, Mr. H.	0	2	6
Randall, Mr. J.	0	2	0
Robertson, Mrs. (Elmpark)	0	2	0
Siddon, Miss	5	0	0
Scholefield, Mrs.	2	2	0
Shore, Miss Arabella	2	2	0
Smith, Mrs. Wm. (Huddersfield)	1	1	0
Smithson, Mrs. E.	1	1	0
Steinthal, Mr. H. M.	1	1	0
Steinthal, Rev. S. Alfred	1	1	0
Stephens, Mr. H. C.	1	1	0
Sargent Miss	1	0	0
Sharman, Mrs. N. Pearce	1	0	0
Shaw, Mrs. (Colne)	1	0	0
Shepherd, Miss E. C.	1	0	0
Simpson, Mr. Chas. (Lichfield)	1	0	0
Skerry, Mrs.	1	0	0
Smith, Mrs. G. H.	1	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Spence, Mrs. J. (York)	1	0	0
Spence, Mr. Peter	1	0	0
Steains, Mr. Arthur	1	0	0
Stephenson, the late Mrs.	1	0	0
Samuelson, Mr. James	1	0	0
Stuart, Mr. James (Hull)	0	10	6
Sawyer, Mrs.	0	10	6
Scott, Miss E. R.	0	10	0
Senior, Mr. W.	0	10	0
Smarey, Miss	0	10	0
Severs, Mrs. G. (2 years)	0	10	0
Simpson, Mr. W. (Liverpool)	0	10	0
Smallpage, Mrs.	0	10	0
Smith, Mrs. Alfred (Ripon) (2 years)	0	10	0
Smith, Mr. B. (Thirsk) (2 years)	0	10	0
Smith, Mr. James (Liverpool)	0	10	0
Spence, Mrs. Alfred	0	10	0
Stainsby, Mr. J. (2 years)	0	10	0
Stewart, Mr. Charles	0	10	0
Stuart, Miss (Balgonie)	0	10	0
Scanlan, Mr.	0	10	0
Senior, Mr. George	0	5	0
Severs, Mrs. (2 years)	0	5	0
Severs, Mr. John	0	5	0
Sibthorpe, Mrs.	0	5	0
Sinclair, Mrs.	0	5	0
Silvester, Mr. W.	0	5	0
Smethurst, Mr. sen.	0	5	0
Smethurst, Mr. jun.	0	5	0
Smethurst, Mr. J.	0	5	0
Smith, Mr. R. (Grimsby) (2 years)	0	5	0
Somervell, Mr. J.	0	5	0
Spencer, Mr. J.	0	5	0
Sproster, Mr.	0	5	0
Stephenson, Mr. (Grimsby)	0	5	0
Sutcliffe, Mr. R.	0	5	0
Sutcliffe, Mrs. R.	0	5	0
Swaine, Miss	0	5	0
Sinclair, Mr. Francis	0	5	0
Snow, Mrs. (2 years)	0	4	0
Salsbury, Mr.	0	4	0
Saunders, Mrs. J.	0	2	6
Sheard, Mrs.	0	2	6
Shelton, Miss	0	2	6
Sherratt, Mr. Jas.	0	2	6
Simpson, Mr. Thos.	0	2	6
Simpson, Mrs.	0	2	6
Smith, Mrs. (York)	0	2	6
Smith, Mr. F. H.	0	2	6
Southern, Mr. J.	0	2	6
Stroyan, Mrs.	0	2	6
Sarjeant, Mrs.	0	2	6
Thomasson, The late Mr. Thos.	330	0	0
Thomasson Mr. and Mrs. J. P.	100	0	0
Todd, Mrs. (Chester)	5	0	0
Trevelyan, Mr. A.	2	0	0
Taylor, Mrs. Henry	1	1	0
Taylor, Mrs. Thos.	1	1	0
Taylor, Mr. W. (Middlesborough) (2 years)	1	1	0
Tennent, Lady Emerson	1	1	0
Tozer, Mr. Alfred	1	1	0

	£	s.	d.
Tewson, Mrs. ... ..	1	0	0
Turner, Mr. J. Fox ... ..	1	0	0
Taylor, Mr. C. T. (Preston) ... ..	0	10	6
Taylor, Mr. Wm. (Blackburn) ... ..	0	10	6
Talbot, Mr. Wm. ... ..	0	10	0
Thompson, Miss (Preston) ... ..	0	10	0
Thorne, Mrs. M. A. ... ..	0	10	0
Thorpe, Mrs. Fielden ... ..	0	10	0
Thorpe, Mr. F. (Preston) ... ..	0	10	0
Towle, Miss M. H. ... ..	0	10	0
Turnbull, Rev. Dr. ... ..	0	10	0
Taylor, Mr. John (Blackburn) ... ..	0	5	0
Tanfield, Mr. D. ... ..	0	5	0
Thomas, Miss (Ashton) ... ..	0	5	0
Thompson, Mr. Richard (York) ... ..	0	5	0
Thompson, Mr. J. (Kendal) ... ..	0	5	0
Thorpe, Mr. James ... ..	0	5	0
Threlfall, Mrs. ... ..	0	5	0
Threlfall, Mrs. J. H. ... ..	0	5	0
Todd, Mrs. (Leeds) ... ..	0	5	0
Tootal, Miss ... ..	0	5	0
Turnbull, Mr. (Hartlepool) ... ..	0	5	0
Turner, Mrs. (Bognor) ... ..	0	4	0
Thompson, Mrs. (Ripon) (2 years) ... ..	0	2	6
Temperley, Mr. ... ..	0	2	6
Thomas, Mrs. (Llandyssul) ... ..	0	2	6
Thomas, Mrs. (Salford) ... ..	0	2	6
Thompson, Mr. J. (Blackburn) ... ..	0	2	6
Thompson, Mrs. (Dudley) ... ..	0	2	6
Tod, Miss I. ... ..	0	2	6
Tongue, Mr. Barnabas ... ..	0	2	6
Turner, Mr Thos. (Dudley) ... ..	0	2	6
Turton, Mr. G. ... ..	0	2	6
Thwaites, Mr. Thos. ... ..	0	1	6
Turnbull, Mrs. ... ..	0	1	0
Tenby, Mr. ... ..	0	3	0
Unwin, Mrs. ... ..	0	3	0
Villiers, Rt. Hon. C. P., M.P. ... ..	1	1	0
Vero, Mrs. David ... ..	0	2	6
Vero, Mr. Wm. ... ..	0	2	6
Winkworth, Mrs. Stephen ... ..	15	0	0
Walker, Mr. J. J. (Hanley) ... ..	1	1	0
Whittaker, Mr. W. (Broughton) ... ..	1	1	0
Winder, Mrs. R. ... ..	1	1	0
Woodall, Mr. W. ... ..	1	1	0
Woodhead, Mr. (Huddersfield) ... ..	1	1	0
Worthington, Mr. T. (Hanley) ... ..	1	1	0
Wright, Mr. Owen (Dudley) ... ..	1	0	0
Weiss, Mrs. ... ..	1	0	0
Whitehead, Mrs. ... ..	1	0	0
Wilkinson, Misses (York) ... ..	1	0	0
Wilson, Mr. and Mrs. H. J. ... ..	0	10	6
Ward, Mr. A. ... ..	0	10	6
Whiteside, Dr. ... ..	0	10	6
Wintringham, Mr. John ... ..	0	10	6
Woodruff, Mr. G. W. ... ..	0	10	6
Worthington, Mr. Thomas (Manchester) ... ..	0	10	6
Walton, Mrs. ... ..	0	10	0

	£	s.	d.
Walton, Miss ... ..	0	10	0
White, Mr. George ... ..	0	10	0
Whitmell, Mr. C. J. (2 years) ... ..	0	10	0
Wilson, Mr. Chas. (Garston) (2 years) ... ..	0	10	0
Wilson, Mr. J. Whitwell (Kendal) ... ..	0	10	0
Wright, Mr. B. P. (Stafford) ... ..	0	10	0
Watts, Mrs. Alfred ... ..	0	5	0
Wason, Mr. J. ... ..	0	5	0
Wayham, Mrs. (2 years) ... ..	0	5	0
Whitelegge, Miss ... ..	0	5	0
Whittle, Dr. ... ..	0	5	0
Wildman, Mr. ... ..	0	5	0
Wilkes, Mr. Job ... ..	0	5	0
Wilkinson & Airey, Messrs. ... ..	0	5	0
Wilson, Miss Alice ... ..	0	5	0
Witty, Mr. Thomas ... ..	0	5	0
Woodhead, Mrs. (Manchester) ... ..	0	5	0
Woodhead, Mr. H. (Manchester) ... ..	0	5	0
Woodhead, Miss Lucy ... ..	0	5	0
Woolley, Mr. W. J. ... ..	0	5	0
Worthington, Rev. A. W. ... ..	0	5	0
Wright, Mr. Thomas (Manchester) ... ..	0	5	0
Wright, Mr. S. (Middlesbrough) ... ..	0	5	0
Widdows, Mr. H. ... ..	0	4	0
Wright, Miss L. (Darlington) ... ..	0	3	0
Walker, Mr. Thomas (Huddersfield) ... ..	0	2	6
Walmesley, Mr. L. S. ... ..	0	2	6
Waugh, Mr. James ... ..	0	2	6
Webster, Mr. J. (Darlington) ... ..	0	2	6
Wenney, Mr. ... ..	0	2	6
Whyte, Mr. James ... ..	0	2	6
Woodhead, Mrs. (Leeds) ... ..	0	2	6
Wright, Mr. E. A. (Cork) ... ..	0	2	6
Walton, Mr. ... ..	0	2	0
Wheeler, Mrs. ... ..	0	2	0
Walsh, Mr. Thos. ... ..	0	2	0
Walker, Mrs. (Ripon) ... ..	0	1	0
Whalley, Mr. J. ... ..	0	1	0
Withall, Mrs. H. A. ... ..	0	1	0
Yates, Mrs. R. V. ... ..	3	0	0
Yeadley, Mr. ... ..	0	2	6

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

Pickup, Mrs. (Broughton) ... ..	1	0	0
Mc.Kerrow, Rev. Dr. ... ..	0	10	6
Dale, Mr. David (Darlington) ... ..	0	10	0
Lomas, Mr. W., J.P. ... ..	0	10	0
Whittaker, Mr. John ... ..	0	10	0
Berry, Mr. James ... ..	0	10	0
Fletcher, Mr. Peter ... ..	0	10	0
Graham, Mr. Joseph ... ..	0	10	0
Uttley, Mr. H., J.P. ... ..	0	10	0
Hurtley, Mr. R. J. ... ..	0	10	0
Cowgill, Mr. G. ... ..	0	10	0
Nutter, Mr. H. ... ..	0	5	0

	£	s	d.
Thompson, Mr. John	0	5	0
Dean, Dr.	0	5	0
Hall, Dr. and Mrs. S. T.	0	5	0
Howarth, Miss	0	5	0
Hurtley, Miss	0	5	0
Cronkshaw, Miss	0	5	0
Shepley, Mr. Thomas	0	5	0
Baldwin, Mr. W.	0	5	0
Sager, Mr. Thomas	0	5	0
Taylor, Mr. John	0	5	0
Hartley, Mr. Francis	0	5	0
Maw, Mr. N.	0	5	0
Haddock, Mrs.	0	5	0
Lascaridi, Mr. P. T.	0	5	0
Blacker, Mr. G. O.	0	5	0
Martin, Mr. J. P.	0	5	0
Fisher, Mr. A. G.	0	5	0
Folds, Mrs.	0	2	6
Willis, Mr. T.	0	2	6
Leather, Mrs.	0	2	6
Hargreaves, Mrs.	0	2	6
Crawshaw, Mr.	0	2	6
Smith, Mr. T. P.	0	2	6
Kippax, Mr. J.	0	2	6
Heap, Mr. James	0	2	6
Dawson, Mr. J.	0	2	6
X, Y, Z	0	2	6

