# **Chapter 12 The Woman's Suffrage Movement**

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# The Woman's Suffrage Movement.

I should here perhaps pause to explain to the younger generation that the "qualification" for voting in the case of men was neither moral, mental nor physical. It was simply a property qualification. The voter had to be the owner of (at least a small) landed freehold property, or else to be registered occupier of a house rated at (or over) a certain annual tax-paying value. The successive "Reform Bills" were devoted in each case to lowering the annual value of the property or the loccupation that was to be received as the "qualification" for the vote, so as to admit to exercise of the Parliamentary franchise ever-growing numbers of less and less well-to-do persons. But besides the "property qualification" for voting, there was in fact set up a or who paid rates and taxes of a value that would give the vote to men (or any amount of higher value, indeed) were excluded, and held incapable of giving a vote, merely and solely because they were female This was obviously a tremendous insult to all women - to womanhood; and as we Suffragists maintained, it inevitably worked out in unjust laws, as well as in general depreciation, for our sex as such.

The notion of women having as much right as men to political

representation by means of the vote — or, to put it in another form, the admission that, if representative, elected government be agreed on as the best form of government, women ought to share in it — was still quite novel when, in 1873, I began my share in the long campaign for Women's Suffrage.

Mr John Stuart Mill was the first Nember of Parliament formally to introduce the subject into the House of Commons; and this he did in 1367, when he moved an Amendment to the Bill then beofre the legislature for greatly reducing the amount of the tax-paying qualification for voting in the case of men, so as to thereby admit hundreds of thousands more male voters: while still leaving all women, however largely taxed, or learned, or good, without a right to cast one vote. Mr Mill's Amendment (which was to the effect that sex alone should not disqualify for the Tranchise those women who would be qualified if they were men) was lost by a large majority; and he failed to secure his seat again in the election of 1868, which followed the passing of the Reformation of th

It was absurdly called "The Representation of the People Act", though not a single one of the female people act included in it. Several thousands of women in various constituences nevertheless claimed before the Revising Barristers (who had to settle disputes as to the lists of voters in the first instance) to be placed upon the voters' roll. They claimed on the ground that they had the "qualification" laid down for men, and that there exists also an Act of Parliament saying that wherever in the law the masculine gender is used it is to be held to imply females also, unless the contrary is distinctly

stated (as was not done in the new Act) to be intended.

Some of the Revising Barristers agreed to this contention, and placed women claimants' names on the lists.

Others refused to do so. There were 5,750 women claimants at Manchester; 560 at Birmingham; and so on. At Leeds, the claim of one, Mrs Mary Howell, was not only rejected, but she was fined for "making a frivolous claim".

As the Revising Barristers so differed, test cases were taken to the court of common Pleas. The judges decided against the women claimants. One judge said that he "would not admit that woman was man till they were reduced to the condition of zoological specimens." Another said that Revising Barristers were as much bound "to remove a woman's name from the list of voters, as they would be if they found that of a domestic animal, a horse or a dog, on the lists". Elizabeth or Catherine, it was clear, were on a par with Dobbin or Carlo in the learned judge's eyes. It was evident, therefore, that women had to win their Tranchise, as men had done, by an independent agitation, and by a demand for a special Act of Parliamentary Reform.

All this happened in IS68 and IS69. A few ladies
now met together in various centres, and formed local committee
Societies for obtaining Parliamentary Representation for Women.
The most active of these was at Manchester, largely because
of the very generous money assistance at once given to it by

Mr Thomas Thomasson and his son, Mr. J. P. Thomasson. There were also Women's Suffrage Societies formed in London; in Edinburgh for the whole of Scotland; in Dublin for all Ireland; in Bristol, for the West of England, and other centres.

Three or four years after, in 1872, these separate Societies so far coalesced as to form in London a "Central Committee of the National Society for Women's Suffrage". By this newly-organized "Central Committee" it was that I was first invited to the Suffrage platform, in 1873.

Public meetings, Petitions to the House of commons, private letters from constituents to Members of Parliament, letters and articles in the Press, and all the machinery of popular agitation for Parliamentary Reform was thus set up, and carried on with great expense, labour and self-sacrifice from many of us, for many weary years.

It was not, indeed, foreseen by most of the first workers\_that, it would be so long and hard a fight. Some of

them have left

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on record that they expected the walls of Jericho to fall at the first loud blast of the trumpets. It seemed in fact so just, so simple, so reasonable, that women who had every qualification, except the one that man shares with the beasts, for the exercise of a public right (or as I always preferred to put it, the performance of a public duty) should be allowed to fulfil the same, that the earliest workers would hardly have been able to believe that precisely fifty years would have to exercise from the date of Mr.Mill's motion before women would be recognised as citizens!

Autobiography, "to strike out the words which were understood to limit the electoral franchise to 'males', and substitute 'persons', and thereby to dumin the surrous all the electoral franchise to 'males', and substitute 'persons', and thereby to dumin the surrous all the electoral franchise to 'males', and substitute 'persons', and thereby to dumin the surrous all the electoral franchise to 'males', and substitute 'persons', and thereby to dumin the surrous all the electoral franchise to 'males', and substitute 'persons', and thereby to dumin the surrous all the electoral franchise to 'males', and substitute 'persons', and thereby to dumin the surrous all the electoral franchise to 'males', and substitute 'persons', and thereby to dumin the surrous all the electoral franchise to 'males', and substitute 'persons', and thereby to dumin the surrous all the electoral franchise to 'males', and substitute 'persons', and thereby to dumin the surrous all the electoral franchise to 'males', and substitute 'persons', and thereby to dumin the surrous all the electoral franchise to 'males', and substitute 'persons', and thereby the substitute 'persons' and the electoral franchise to 'males', and substitute 'persons' and 'males', and the electoral franchise to 'males', and substitute 'persons' and 'males' and 'males' all the electoral franchise to 'mal

Nothing more was done in Parliament for the next Cefore the Courts

two years, for the claim was being made, that women were in entitled to be registered under the new Act, and to cast their votes. But after the Judges had dismissed this claim, it was necessary to appeal to Parliament to pass another and specific Act to remove female sex from being a voting disqualification; and as Mr Mill had lost his seat, a new and able champion was found in Mr Jacob Bright, brother of John Bright, and of course a Member of the Society of Friends — a Quaker.

He introduced into the House of Commons, in the Session of 1870, "The Women's Disabilities Removal Bill". It consisted of

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"That in all Acts relating to the qualification and registration of voters entitled to vote in the election of Members of Parliament, wherever words occur which import the masculine gender, the same shall be held to include females for all purposes having reference to the right to be registered as voters, and to vote in each election, any law or urage to the contrary notwithstanding."

women as such, but only for the removal of the sex disability. The women who would actually have obtained the power to vote, those namely who fulfilled qualification entitling men to vote, were those only who owned (perhaps even a little) freehold landed property, or were themselves paying direct rates and taxes as as canying heads of households, or on some business and independently in the comparatively feet.

such women there would be to become Parliamentary electors, because they had been given votes for all local Boards, Town councils, etc, in a new Local Government Act passed in I869; in that Act Mr Jacob Bright had successfully moved to include all qualified women as municipal voters. In the Education Act of 1870, too, women were not only declared eligible to vote, but also to elected as Members of the School Board. Hence, it was ascertained that if our Bill passed, and women became entitled to vote for Members of Parliament "on the same terms as men", there would only be about one to every seven male voters. Most wives living in family with their husbands would not have been qualified, because the man would have been removed, and we

trusted, with the confidence engendered in us by our own loyalty towards and sympathy for other women, to the limited number of women who would receive the vote on those terms to represent their sex as a whole and in every way.

When Mr Bright succeeded, in May 1870, in first bringing
"The Women's Disabilities Removal Bill" to a debate and division
in the House of Commons, there was a notable and fairly satisfact.
increase in the number of its supporters: an improvement mainly
produced, of course, by women's work for it. There now voted
in favour II9 Members of Parliament, and this gave the Bill
its "Second Reading"; but the opponents then rallied against
it, and it was lost "in Committee".

The Woman's Suffrage Journal, speaking from inside knowledge, attributes the loss of the Bill in Committee 1/870 put forth entirely to the personal exertions against it by the "great Liberal", William Ewart Gladstone. The Journal says:-

"If at that time the Prime Minister had been favourably disposed to the measure, it is probable that it might have passed into law without serious opposition from any quarter. But unfortunately Mr Gladstone, who had preserved an attitude of neutrality during the discussion and division on the second reading, no sooner found that the House had taken a favourable view of the principle than he changed his attitude of neutrality for one of hostility, and all the influence of the Government was suddenly exerted to crush the Bill. Against such a manifestation of opposition from a then all-powerful Minister, Mr Jacob Bright found it vain to contend, and the Bill was lost".

The Bill was brought to a division again in ISVI; the friends numbered ISI, and the opponents 230 on this occasion.

The next year, our supporters were ISS in number, but they were outvoted by a muster of 242 foes to women's voting. In May, ISV3, Mr Jacob Bright had(including Pairs and "Jellers") IV2 supporters, and the "Noes", who were "told" by Mr Bouverie and Mr Scourfield, numbered 237.

speech for Women's Suffrage, — a few weeks before the 1873

Division in Parliament. The Secretary of the Central Committee did not delay in inviting me to speak at the Suffrage Society's further Meetings, but owing to other work I was not able to do so until that September (1873). In the interval, therefore, I had my professional stay at Mrs J.P. Thomasson's house, and inspiring talks with her and her mother, Mrs Lucas, helping to confirm and enlarge my views on these points.

were given at the two chief seaside towns of the Isle of Thanet, and were part of a plan adopted that summer for holding meetings at popular resorts. The idea was that visitors from many different towns might be drawn to hear the great and astonishing novelty of a woman speaking in public, and might then carry back to their own-home towns the new and startling idea, that some women claimed the parliamentary vote.

My dates were: Ramsgate, September 17th. 1873, Margate, eighteen the following night — so that I was still only years' old.

Arrangements had all been made by the Committee's organiser, who had secured an influential local gentleman as Chairman in each town - the leading Physician of Ramsgate, Dr. Henderson, and

the Vicar of Margate, Rev. W. Benham, B.D. Apart from that, I was the only announced Speaker. I must now admit that it was somewhat audacious of me to venture on this solitary and responsible task. I prepared my lecture entirely alone, with no advice or criticism available, and I went forth alone to deliver it. If I had found myself unable to produce a consecutive and adequately long discourse, there was nobody to be there to help me out. But I had deeply at heart the new doctrine I wanted to maintain; I knew now that I could speak; and I was not at all what is called "nervous" about it.

The following advance notice kindly given by the leading local paper, "The Thanet Advertiser," is significant of how very unusual it was, how odd it was then considered, for a woman to address a public audience:-

"A Meeting of a novel kind will take place in St. James's
Hall on Wednesday evening. The question to be spoken on is
Woman's Suffrage, and the address will be given by a lady. We
have no doubt that the fair lecturer will have a large audience...
Even those who are opposed to the movement must be pleased that
there are women amongst us of sufficient courage and ability to
combat the question at a public meeting."

"Reble's Gazette" is equally amusing when it records in the subsequent report, with evident surprise, that "the audience was quite a numerous one, many very respectable townspeople and visitors being amongst the number."

So having "the courage and ability" to speak from a public

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platform, and actually finding "many very respectable townspeople and visitors" to come to hear, what did the girl say? I make bold to answer (after re-reading the long report/given by three different Isle of Thanet newspapers, as I find them in my scrapbook) - "An excellent speech!"

The title I had given my lecture was: "The Political Disabilities of Women: their Social and Legal Consequences."

After an exordium, asking for an unprejudiced consideration and asserting a belief that our position was not the fault of the men of the present day, so much as an inheritance from past times when autocratic and class government for men also was in vogue, I divided my subject under four heads (I quote the report in the Thanet Advertiser):

lst. That the laws governing women are not impartial and just.

2nd. That giving the Parliamentary Vote to women is the proper means by which eventually to amend the laws.

3rd. That questions of national interest should be considered by every class in the nation, and would thereby be better decided.

4th. That there existed no valid objection to giving the suffrage to women otherwise qualified to vote.

Under my first heading, I could make out a powerful case.

The laws governing the relations of women and men had been made so tyrannous and unfair, especially to wives, that Lord Brougham, the greatest of Law reformers, had declared that he feared to touch

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one of them, so huge would be the task of amending all that ought to be changed.

If I should be asked how I knew the bad state of the law with regard to women, I must reply that the great lawyers of that day had instructed me. Several of the leaders of the Bar had set forth that body of law, and denounced it in no measured terms. I had already been interested in the "Woman question", that I had studied it so long in every way, and was ready to expound it to whose would listen.

I daresay it sounds incredible that I was so ready, but it was the case. I have just looked over the earliest of the series of volumes that I possess in which I have had bound up from time to time the pamphlets and the periodicals bearing on woman's rights that I acquired. The earliest periodical in my bound volumes is No. 6 of "The Woman's Suffrage Journal," edited by Lydia Becker; the date is August, 1870. I have inserted a note at the front of the volume as follows:-

"These numbers, August and September 1870, have a great interest for me; I was then but fifteen years old, and was spending a summer holiday at Weymouth, when I saw displayed at the door of a newspaper shop the August issue of the then new 'Journal and bought it for myself; a purchase which shows that I was already thinking about and interested in the cause of women."

Amongst the earliest pamphlets that I have preserved till now there is the report of the House of Commons debates on the Married Women's Property Bill, in 1869, which passed into an Act

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in 1870. The recital in this debate of the laws about wives as they then stood, by three distinguished lawyers, Mr. Russell Gurney, Recorder of London, Mr. Jessel, afterwards Master of the Rolls, and Sir John Coleridge, afterwards Lord Chief Justice, might well make any woman's blood boil with indignation, and bring a blush of shame to the cheek of any fair-minded man. In that House of Commons debate, though the immediate subject was the property rights (strictly no rights) of wives, the whole position was more or less brought under review. The following is an extract from the speech delivered by Mr. Jessel (April 14th.1869):

"The existing law is a relic of slavery, and the House is now asked to abolish the last remains of slavery in England. The slavery laws of Antiquity are the origin of the Common Law on the subject of the wife's position .... The Ancient Germans from whom our law is derived - put the woman into the power of her husband in the same sense as the ancient Roman law did. She became his slave. The law of slavery gave to the master of a slave the two important rights of flogging and imprisoning him. A slave could not possess property of his own, and could not make contracts except for his master's benefit. The master alone could sue for an injury to the slave; while the only liability of the master was that he must not let his slave starve. This is exactly the position of the wife under the English law at present. The husband has the right of flogging and imprisoning her, as may be seen in Blackstone. She cannot possess property; she cannot contract; and he alone can sue if she is libelled or suffers a

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personal injury; while all the husband is compelled to do for her is to pay for her necessaries."

Even this indictment of the laws by a lawyer leaves unmentioned various other evils and injustices. Amongst them was a matter on which I felt most deeply, in my sympathy with my fellow women: namely, the denial of a married mother's right to the custody and company of her own children. A married woman's children were not recognized by the law as hers at all, but might be torn from her arms, even though she were faultless, and even by a father living in blatant sin; and might be given by him, from her tender and anxious care, to the charge of a woman as bad as himself. An agreement made before marriage as to the education and custody of the children was torn up by the law, declared null and void. From the grave a dead father could stretch forth his cold hand, and, secure from remonstrance, take a woman's little ones from her, without being required to have assigned in the Will he had made the shred of a reason for doing so. Even if a father died intestate, the mother of the children did not become by law, as she forever must be by nature and the law of love, their guardian and custodian, but they could be taken from her by the dead man's nearest male relative! As one judge summed it up: "The English law does not see the mother! It sees only the father and the child."

Although then, in my early maidenhood, I had no real idea of what my passionate love and devotion towards my own children would actually be, I was gifted with the sympathy to enable me to realise

the enormity of this outrage on motherhood - aye, and on childhood and this point of evil legislation aroused my most powerful oratory; and I always moved a large proportion of my audience with me, as I depicted the agonies of soul of a mother whose babes were not legally hers, but might be, without even a pretence of cause, torn from her embrace, deprived of her devoted care in health and in sickness, educated to forget the mother who bore them and desired with all her soul to nurture them and train them for time, maybe for eternity, but deprived at the mere caprice or by the deliberate designed cruelty of one man of what must be for ever a woman's most natural, most cherished right. Nor was this mere theory. could and did quote most cruel and heart-rending cases where a faultless mother had been deprived of her children, sometimes to extort money from her or her relatives, sometimes in the name of religion, sometimes from sheer tyranny and deliberate intention to torture a woman's heart in its most tender spot. The most rhetorical and most eloquent passage of my speech was here. Rachael mourning for her children, Eliga the slave mother in her terrible escape with her babe over the floating ice, nay, the example of the very beasts themselves, the mothers so brave, so reckless of self, in defending their young, moved my audience's hearts and consciences, and when I would contrast the sorrow of the mother whose little ones God had taken to peace and safety, perhaps to eternal joy, with that of the mother whose babes still lived in this world of pain and peril while she was deprived of the power to guard and guide them, by no fault of her own, and depicted such

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mothers as crying with David - "Let me fall into the hand of God and not into the hand of man" - it was no unusual thing for many women to shed tears of sympathy, realising in their souls the heart-break of losing their children in any way whatsoever.

Passing from this point, I claimed that women might bring valuable help to the work of government; and then replied to various stock objections. Amongst these, as present-day women may be amused to know, was always one that wives would be likely to vote against their husbands: to which the reply then was that, as it was only proposed to gives votes to women with the ratepaying qualification that enabled men to vote, most wives would not be the registered ratepayers and therefore would not be qualified. Also (this was one of Gladstone's objections) that if the vote was allowed, seats in Parliament must follow: to which I used to reply that, as the women ratepayers for whom we then asked the vote, would be only one in seven, it must be men who would vote a woman into Parliament, and if they desired to choose a specially able woman as their re-

E Feeling so keenly as I did upon this point, it is a great and abiding joy to me that I was able, by a curious combination of circumstances, as I will explain if I ever come to that date in this memoir, to virtually secure by my personal action and influence, the passing into law of "The Custody of Infants Act, 1886", under which for the first time "the well-being of the child and the wishes of the mother" were to be taken into account by the Court. For over forty years this amended law held good. Then women at last got the vote and improved the law yet further.

presentative, why should they not?

Then I ended the address by what my kind reporter of the

Dover Chronicle describes as "A thrilling peroration which drew

from the audience enthusiastic applause."

I tried to

picture a future of more equal friendship and help between men

and women in every department of life: women better educated

and more actively interested in the affairs of the nation, made

more reasonable and logical, schooled in wider public aspiration

in human welface

and interest—men more just, more kind, more willing to be equals

and partners, less masterful and privileged. This peroration I

generally wound up by quoting Tennyson's perfect passage (perfect

alike in meaning and in music) in "The Princess," that begins:-

"The woman's cause is man's;
] They rise or sink together: dwarfed or godlike,

bond or free."

and ends: -

"Then comes the statlier. Eden back to man;
Then reign the world's great bridals, chaste and calm;
Then comes the crowning race of humankind.

JMay these things be!"

This was in effect and in the main the speech which I always made upon the woman's Suffrage platform: not fearing to expose and denounce the wrongs of my sex, but endeavouring to persuade my hearers that these evils were mostly a legacy from the past, and the time had now come for a change, so that in unison men and women could work harmoniously and for the common good.

After my lecture at Margate, a little incident occurred

which I shall always remember with pleasure. The Chairman was the Vicar of Margate; and so many of the clergy in those early days were opponents of any change in the position of women; that this was remarkable. But he was a man of exceptional distinction. He was the Rev. Canon William Benham, B.D. one of the six preachers of Canterbury Cathedral. His grandfather and his father were successively for many years the post-masters of a little Hampshire village, where the boy was educated at the National School. His unusual ability attracted the attention of the Rector, Archdeacon Bailey, who was a

from age, the took the boy in his early teens to be his little secretary, and

found pleasure in teaching him Latin and Greek. Later, young

(\*\* Then \*\*Be occupied the Chair of Siglish Literature at
Benham took a first class degree at King's College, London,

Queen's College, the first Tall the Women's Colleges of University nank. D' Benham
became presently the Editorial Secretary to the Society for Pro
moting Christian Knowledge. He was so fine a preacher that two
successive Archbishops of Canterbury, Longley and Tait, gave him
personal preferment, and Archbishop Tait chose him to write the

\*\*Yonly son.\*\*

"Memoirs of Catherine and Crawfurd Tait," the Archbishop's wife

\*\*Later D' Benham prepared the Memoir of Archbishop Taix himself, at

with the help his son-inreligious books, so he was quite a notable chairman for me. In his opening address, he remarked that "it did not law + successon in the Premacy, archbrohop Davidson # Canon Benham (follow because he was there that he was an advocate of Woman's also wrote a number of his popular works (Suffrage, and his wife did not like it a bit." (Alas! how often on secular in those early days we heard something like that!) "But his opinsubjects under the gen-name ion now, as far as he had gone into it, was in favour of the " peter "+ Lombard , also many Movement, and at all events it was a subject that ought to be

well considered."

But after the lecture, Mr. Benham gave a much more definite approval. The report says:-

"The Chairman remarked that he thought some who came not very well disposed to the lady lecturer, as she proceeded were converted to her views. At any rate, the warmth she received when she sat down was more fervent than when she got up. He thought some of the arguments must go home to their hearts and minds; and he hoped they would use their influence in the coming election to enable our women who pay rates and taxes to exercise the franchise. They had spent a very pleasant hour, and were extremely delighted and very well instructed."

He courageously added (says the "Reble's Gazette" report);

"He thought he heard just a faint hiss when the lady expressed her opinion against the Contagious Diseases Act. He however entirely agreed with her, and thought it was a most iniquitous Act."

I had in fact briefly referred to this degrading legislaas well as to the unequal Divorce laws; to the laws that left
any man free from prosecution when he used his years and knowledge and money to lead astray a little girl as soon as she had
reached the age of eleven; and to the laws that freed an illegitimate father from any responsibility beyond half-a-crown a week
for the feeding, housing, and clothing of the child he had called
into the world. The plea I made for an equal moral standard for
men and women under these heads was brief, but perhaps touched
some hearts as well as consciences, because it was based on the

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actual misery I had seen in hospital work and knew to result from the opposite unequal man-made opinions and policy. Suffrage movement, however, was conducted on somewhat narrow, timid, time-serving lines from the first, and I was soon more or less officially requested not to allude to any of these sex-morality questions on the Suffrage platform. I thought it was right for me to accede to this contribution demand; for it was quite the legitimate function of the Committee to decide what points should or should not be touched upon by speakers representing the Society. But when this "muzzling order" was later on attempted to be carried a step further, and I was advised that I should never speak out, or associate my name with work upon such subjects, at any time or place, under a possible penalty of being excluded from the Suffrage Society's platform, I would not agree to be so silenced. It seemed to me that it was clear that some persons must and would be prejudiced against Women's Suffrage by their dislike to social and legal alterations that they feared might thereby be brought about. Mr. Lecky, for instance, the author of the "History of European Morals." openly avowed that he would if he could prevent women from voting because they might interfere with untramelled vivisection of animals! I often in fact felt that the opposition to the woman's vote largely rested on a secret and unavowable hatred and terror of a possible claim resulting for greater purity of life from men, or at any rate for an equal moral standard for both sexes. But on the other hand, if women were not to be expected to hold, and sometimes to try to enforce, a special womanly view of right and wrong, or ever to place themselves in opposition to some special manly views, particularly on questions of morals, why bother about getting them votes? Therefore I did not admit that policy demanded that every woman who came before the public as an advocate of political equal rights must be

debarred from working at the same time for any cause that she believed deserved and demanded her immediate support. In a word, I was not an Opportunist and some of the most influential members of the committee were so.

differences about

But here I am anticipating events; all this was in the future. At my first meetings I spoke as the spirit moved me to do, with simplicity and seriousness. For I would explain once for all that I took all my work for women in a deeply serious spirit, even a religious one (religion is quite a distinct matter from theology), and that I always felt the responsibility of all public speaking. Even when, later on, I was lecturing on literary and general subjects, I was always conscious of gathering up all my forces, immediately before going on the platforms. It is truly a serious responsibility, when a number of people condescend to come and lend their ears to the speaker, expecting to receive some ideas or information, or at least amusement and interest, to be the speaker to satisfy that expectation, and use that opportunity properly.

After the meeting at Margate, Mrs Benham, whether converted or not, kindly invited me to the Vicarage to supper. When this was finished, the Vicar asked me into his Study and we talked for a little while upon the subject of the Meeting. I have always remembered one little item of that conversation, because it "took my fancy". I told my kind Chairman that these two lectures in the Cading towns of the Isle of Thanet were actually my first addresses to large open Public Martings, and he smilingly replied that there was a certain suitability in the

under the special of a female Saint, Mildred was
the Patron Saint of the ancient Guild — or Mediaeval Trade's

(and so
Union — of the Bakers of London Lobviously, of the Miller family to:);
and as they obtained a large proportion of the flour that they
used from corn grown in the Kentish Isle, that region was
considered to be under the special patronage of their Saint.

Saint Mildred is one of the very few female saints to whom many
old Churches are dedicated, because of this domestic association.

on the influence and character of women. Finally, Canon Benham rose from his chair, got a book down from his shelves, and said he would like to give it to me as a memento. I have the volume still. He inscribed the following words on the front page:

"To Miss Fenwick Miller, " September 16th. 1873.

(With the kind regards of the Vicar of Margate, and with thanks for the admirable words she has spoken this evening."

Then closing his eyes and folding his hands upon the table between us, he repeated the Collect in which the Church asks for individual help and guidance - the one beginning "Pre-vent us, O Lord, in all our doings -" and then he pronounced the Bendiction and bade me farewell.

My next lecture for the Central accommittee was at Dover (where Miss, afterwards Dr., Alice Vickery spoke as well as myself), on November 5th, 1873, which happened to be my own nineteenth birthday. I read with amusement in the <u>Dover News</u> report that "Mr councillor

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Fuller seconded the resolution, but remarked that the could add nothing to what Miss Miller had said, because the would be as useless as to gild refined gold, or paint the lily white.

After this, I spoke for Women's Suffrage as often as my other engagements would allow. and included the speaking of the subject in my own neighbourhood, so that time was not spent in travelling, also I could be easily sought for if one of my cases came on. I addressed many "Young Men's Debating Societies", Chapel "Literary Societies", and "Workmen's Clubs", even when I knew there could be but a small audience, because "a little leaven leaveneth a great lump".

meetings, as often no Press representative would be there, and I used not to trouble to send in my own reports to the "women's Suffrage Journal". However, in that official monthly publication for April 1874, the Editor, Miss Lydia Becker, inserted an account which I had written as a private letter to herself of one of my local personally arranged discussions. It is informal and a little frivolous, not being written for publication, but I may quote a portion of it, as it shows rather amusingly the kind of objection that was raised to women's voting, as much in the House of commons as in humble quarters. So here is a sample of the arguments we had to meet — and incidentally, it is one of the very few instances now extant

Jof my "epislotary style" in my teens:—

(horse)

"There were between eighty and one hundred persons present, by far the majority men. My address was listened to very attentively; then the chairman called for speakers. After a

now-a-days like their grandmothers, and he might even say their great-grandmothers, aye, and he might even say their great-greatgrandmothers! They made too much noise; they (sawing the air with his right arm) want to leave their sphere, and they shan't do it. ('hear, hear', from admiring brethren, ), Why, what would become of MEN (word discharged as from a hand grenade, to signify its overwhelming importance) if women neglected their homes for politics? If women will be quiet, he promised that all the grievances they talked about would be done away with. Why, they would be now if women had kept in their sphere. \* That was the skeleton, it was very largely padded with eloquence and oratorical adipose tissue. Then arose Mr W., who made a quite admirable speech. He said he thought they ought all to have brought theur. ladies there tonight, and ought always to take them where they went. Men really said, however: Now I will be so kind to you; I will make you such a nice palace, and call it home, and shut you

up in it like a prison; and I'll be kinder still, for I'll leave

it all to yourself, and I'll never stay in it. Then if the poor

woman cried the other side the locked door, she was told she was

ungrateful and wanted to come out of that nice sphere where she

was put quite for her own good.

good pause, there arose # Mr.A., a man of the round-head and

short-neck type, with tre-men-dous lungs. He announced at the

loudest possible pitch of his vocal powers that women were not

"Mr B., who is a man of education, not a bonâ fide working man like every one of the others, said he was entirely in favour of the suffrage, but he thought the married women's property should remain as it is now, because everything should be discouraged that tended to destroy the feeling of community

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(modo)

between husband and wife. I cordially granted this, but claimed that to take away all from one by force and give it to the other was not community of interest; but if Mr B. thought so perhaps he would have no objection to having the application of the principle turned the other way, and making with all my worldly goods I thee endows a legal fact, instead of a sentimental untruth, from a bridegroom to a bride. I memarked also, on the inadequacy of the punishment given to wife-beaters, and read a case from that morning's Times, where a man was sentenced to four months imprisonment for having trampled on, till she was insensible, the wife to whom he had been twenty years married and who had borne him eight children, because the fire was not good enough when he woke up. An audience of intelligent and respectable working men is always very alive to such things as these.

"After Mr. B. came the speech of the evening. A lad of about twenty years, guiltless alike of blushes and whiskers, elevated himself on his feet in a far corner of the room. By his side sat his bosom friend and warmest admirer, a youth of his own age. They might be matchmakers or vulcanite polishers, but they had not the sturdy embrowned faces of out-door workers, though their dress and speech showed them to be London working men. Our candidate for oratorical honours spoke loudly and clearly for the first three or four lines — about a minute. I thought we had a local Joseph Arch — an ignominiously placed genius of speech. I must premise that the soliloquy of the speaker was always as distinct as the rest of his oration, and that his backer's remarks were more audible still. I report as nearly verbatim as my memory serves:— It is always very

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unpleasant to oppose a woman, particularly when she is like Miss Miller; but when she — pouf — she — hum — there, now, I did know what I was going to say — (Friend beneath: keep up, keep up; you'll remember it directly!)—I'm sure she didn't ought to have the suffrage, because it isn't her place — pouf. I never made a speech before. (Friend: 'Go on, you did know it'.') Well, I was a going to say that I left an Institution with which I was connected — pouf — I did not like the Institution because they — they said — they did — they wished — pouf — (clasping his side locks in agony, while his backer's voice rose sweetly encouraging: 'Keep up, keep up!') — Ha — a — I had some ideas before I stood up! I think it would be a stigma on marriage — matrimony would be — pouf — . Herewith he subsided amid peals of merriment.

then an old man, in front seat, who had been most industriously taking notes all the evening, said he thought women were too superstitious to be allowed the vote. She has the orgin of veneration in her head — a very big orgin. Besides, man is more mental than woman, and woman is more moral than man. There never was a female 'Omer, or a female what wrote Paradise Lost, or anything else like that. There were some of them Italian women sprang up — I forget their names — if I'd thought of it I'd have looked some of them up, and fetched them along with me. I consider women shouldn't vote, and my old woman never should. What's more, she don't want to, neither doesn't any women.

to the borough members ( Mr Ritchie and Mr Samuda), asking them

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leads.

only members of the Institute should vote, which they did by standing. A large number, including, I was glad to see, four women, stood up for it; and the negative being put obtained the adhesion of Mr.A. and one other man. Mr W. proposed a vote of thanks to me, and Mr.A. took the words of seconding out of the mouth of another man, and clinched them with two inimitable nods, which expressed his own sense of his magnanimity in being willing to thank me for doing what my great-grandmother would not have done.

Meetings arranged by the Suffrage Society, involving always considerable expense for hiring of Halls, advertising, speakers' travelling expenses, and so on, were generally addresse) by gentlemen of local importance — we always tried to get the Mayer of the town to take the chair, & often succeeded — and such meetings were more or less lengthily reported by the local newspapers, whence notices were extracted for the woman's Suffrage Journal. It would perhaps surprise many of the women of the present day to learn how steadily such Meetings, involving much expense & labour, were carried on by the early Suffragists. Not a month passes without the Suffrage Journal recording several Meetings, in all parts of the country.

Meetings arranged by the Society at Birmingham, Stockwell, Ipswich Bow, Harrow, Norwich and Yarmouth. Each of these occupied but one day, but at the end of October (just before my twentieth birthday) I managed to arrange a clear week to go on a tour to six towns in South Wales. These were organized for the Bristol and West of England Committee by one of its members, Mr Alan Greenwell, M.A., brother of Dora Greenwell, the poetess. My

companion on the platform was an American, Miss Mary Beedy, M.A.

\*\*Tetters pushed to surprise the public, as Englishwome 22

in those days had no University degrees open to them. There

are reports of our meetings at Newport, Mon.; Swansea; Llanelly;

Haverfordwest; Tenby; and Cardiff. Each Meeting was held in the

largest Hall in the Town, and was well attended, with influential

local speakers to move our resolutions, several of whom made

their speeches in Welsh, knowing that this was most acceptable

to the people who have clung so tenaciously to their own strange

but musical tongue throughout five hundred years of forced

union with England.

a. debating speech, for the local M.P., a Mr Scourfield, had actually been the seconder of the rejection of our bill. I had a verbatim report of his speech, and replied to it seriation, to the huge delight of the audience. The local paper says:-

"Miss Fenwick Miller addressed herself to combat Mr Scourfield's objections, her criticisms on his speech being of a most sarcastic and unanswerable nature, and bringing down the house most effectively".

The other local paper, The Telegraph, Nov: 4th, ends an almost verbatim report by saying:-

"The audience showed the arguments were appreciated by the enthusiastic applause given several times during the delivery of the address."

In the same month other ladies addressed meetings at Chester, Warrington, Southport, Blackpool and four Scotch towns, and there was also a great Public meeting in the huge Town Hall, Manchester, with Mr Jacob Bright in the chair.

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wals.)

Besides public speaking, I carried out two pieces of work for the Suffrage in 1874. One was on the invitation of the Bristol and West of England Suffrage Society. The M.P. for Taunton was a lawyer named Sir Henry James, Attorney-General mountailing and most powerful enemy, flustone in the Government Sir H James declared, in a speech to his constituents, that He maintained that there were no greater traitors in the world against the domestic happiness of men and women alike, than those ladies who, generally being Social Failures, endeavoured to become folitical Successes, and tried to make their wives discontented with their lot .... He could only say that when one half of the ladies of Taunton appealed to him to support female suffrage, he would then do so .... Jill then he should not support female suffrage, though he should lose ten elections, and this he said with full knowledge that its advocates would dog his steps wherever he went".

Would that this supposition had been correct! It was, alas! so far from true that, later on, large numbers of women who professed to desire their own enfranchisment would speak and canvass for Candidates for Parliament who had voted, or openally said that meant to vote if returned to the House, against woman's Sufrrage. But in 1874, in Sir Henry James's own case, his footsteeps were so far "dogged" that the Bristol Committee asked me to go to Taunton and visit the women ratepayers and householders, the persons who would have the vote if our Bill were passed, explain the subject to them, and see if one—half of them would sign a memorial in favour, as suggested by the M.P. himself as a test.

I handed over such medical cases as I had and might

expect to Miss R —, and spent a very interesting fortnight in Taunton on this mission, in Hery 874.

It is true that Sir H James had asked for the signatures of "half the ladies of Taunton". But I explained in a public address who were the women to whom we meant to appeal, and why. I local newspaper quote the report:

"It appeared to the friends of the Suffrage movement that the fair acceptance of Sir Henry James's challenge would be to invite the signatures of half the women householders, ratepayers in their own persons, those who were given votes for the Town Council and other Municipal bodies in I869, and would vote for M.Ps when our Bill should pass. Wives and daughters had had no experience in voting for any bodies of Mepresentatives, and were not entirely free to utter their own opinions, being under the protection of men and subordinate to men; and they would not be immediately affected by the passing of the Women's Suffrage Bill, as the single women and widows living in their own houses and paying their own taxes would be. The fairest of answers, therefore, to Sir H. James's assertion that women did not want to be enfranchised must be the signatures of those ladies who would be directly concerned."

The roll of local voters showed that Taunton contained 562 women burgesses, ratepayers in their own names, and so entitled to vote for Town Councillers, but not for Members of Parliament. Half of this number is 28I. In a very short time I obtained the signatures of 300, several more than the required half, to a Memorial asking Sir H. James to vote for the Woman's Suffrage Bill.

leads)

I found a little band of helpers ready to assist me, in Taunton. The took the Memorial for signatures to such women householders as were believed to be favourable; and if any one refused to sign I was notified and interviewed her myself. My chief ally amidst the residents was Mrs Notley, author of a then famous novel entitled "Olive Varcoe".

their own cause were of all ranks. It was the season of liliesof-the-valley, and I went into several cottages where poor
widow women and their elder children were squatting on low
stools the floor absolutely carpeted with the delicate
blossoms, which they were deftly forming into bunches for covent
Garden Market. The scent and the aspect were delightful, but the
woman struggling against poverty and bravely earning her daily
bread was, after all, the more admirable sight.

The strangest character I met with on this expedition was Rosina, Lady Lytton, widow of the famous novelist, Edward Bulwer Lytton, and mother of "Owen Meredith". Her house was all shut up, blinds closely drawn, and no sign of life; after I had rung and knocked there for some time, I was giving it up, when a neighbour came out of his house, and kindly told me that Lady Lytton lived alone and never answered her bell. He said that, as often as not, she was in bed all day, and took exercise and food in the middle of the night, and that my only chance of seeing her was to write first asking for an appointment. I did so, and got a reply, & I then saw her and she signed the Memorial,

She had been for years separated from her famous

husband, whom she hated with more than even the usual virulence of an unhappy marriage. She had the remains of great beauty, but her now aged face was singularly ravaged by time and emotion.

Her room was closely shuttered, and lit by a dim lamp, and was suffocating with the odour of musk. She either gave me then, or later on sent me, an extraordinary book about her married experiences, called "A Blighted Life", in which she charged Bulwer Lytton with all sorts of matrimonial crime, and declared that he frequently terrified her by violence threw forks at her at table, and so on, and once jumped at her and bit her cheek deeply. Here son, the second Lord Lytton (known as a poet as "Owen Meredita) she admitted had taken his father's side in this sadly infelicitation

But it was not till after her death that the son revealed his full adhesion to his father's side, and at the same time emphasized the then legal disabilities of a wife. When Rosina Lady Lytton died, she left instructions for the publication of her husband's love-letters to herself. Bulwer Lytton was, anyhow, a great writer, and the letters were of much interest; but certainly they were absurdly and vehemently amorous. The son suppressed the publication. He claimed that the copyright residuary of the letters vested in him as his father's, heir, and he further claimed that his mother had no property rights even in the letters themselves, as when she was married everything that she possessed, under the law of that time, immediately became her husband's property, and therefore her love-letters themselves were no longer hers, but must be handed over to him as his father's heir -- and he got the judgement of the court on both

counts. The book was suppressed, and the poor dead lady's loveletters confiscated! I thought of her bitter, furious tirade against her husband when I saw her years before, and hoped that she would not hear in another world of this last outrage on her just rights! She took rather a liking to me at our one interview, and wrote to me several times afterwards. Her letter paper and envelopes were so saturated with the perfume of musk that I knew when one had arrived by the odour that greeted me as I entered the breakfast-room. Those letters were all about her present green against her personal green against her letters were all about her present green against her letters were all about her present green against her sense of wrong, so incapable of letting "the dead past bury its dead". R.I.P., poor soul!

Well, Mrs Notley sent in the Memorial from over onehalf the lady householders of Taunton. 300 had signed it out of the total of 562, and many were not called on, as I stopped the work when 300 names had been obtained. The fulfilment of his pledge was demanded of Sir H. James when the next division came on in the House of Commons, and he not only took refuge in declaring that he meant that the signatures of half the entire female population of Taunton must be obtained, but he had the colossal impudence to add that he "did not recognize that the Memorial had the signatures even of 300 women, for when you pay so much for every signature it is easy to get up petitions!" Brrrr! - I did wish I could have been there to make mincemeat of his entire foolish speech and especially of this lawyer-like bit of sauciness. But of course the insult was not so much towards me and the ladies who helped me canvas, whom he libellous & accused of buying the signatures, as it was to the 300 Taunton women of all ranks whom he slandered by insinuating that they

signed their names for payment, — and I sincerely hope they "dogged his footsteps" for it!

Election of 1874, to Whitby, where the candidate was Mr Gladstone's eldest son. My business was to get leading men of his own party to go to interview the candidate, and ask him to promise to vote for Women's Suffrage. I got a very influential deputation.

Amongst other arguments, one of the gentleman pointed out that the three leading Hotels of Whitby were all at that time managed by women, who were refused the right to cast their votes which was allowed to their male dependents, their ostlers and waiters and "boots". Young Mr Gladstone said that he could not refute the arguments adduced, but all his feelings were against women coming into politics. "But", he added, "you must go for my father—get him, and you'll have me." A nice side—light on the independent Mip!!

berson Another little effort of this year was accompanying Miss Becker and Miss Lilias/ to "sow dissension" in a conference called, on November 17th, by the "Electoral Reform Association, whose object was to obtain the Suffrage for yet large We desired to have the Conference request the further classes of men. association to include Women's Suffrage in its objects. We were all three accredited delegates from local masculine associations, or we should not have been admitted as speakers. This function turned out to be rather a test of endurance, as we first had to sit through about a couple of hours of male oratory urging the assimilation of the county and borough franchise, so as to admit farm labourers and other country cottagers, jof the masculine whilst leaving outside still all women (sex, to the franchise) and then Miss Becker asked leave to move farmers, all ladies owning an amendment to the resolution, pledging the associations there great estate represented to seek also "the representation of women on the as well as cottagers who were same terms as men". A long and stormy discussion raged then women . for three hours as to whether any amendments to cuteand-dried resolution should be allowed. We three ladies sat tight through an absurdly disorderly and tangled-up discussion; sometimes half a dozen male delegates were on their feet at the same) time

During the Session of IS74, petitions in favour of removing the sex disability to vote were presented signed by

Finally, our amendment was settled to be in order; we all three

spoke, and the conference carried our amendment. The committee

of the "Electoral Reform Association", however, did nothing to

towards evening

carry this instruction into effect!

signatures of II,000 women.

saying that he held it to be an anomaly that women should be excluded from exercising franchise attached to a household or property qualification, while in all matters of local government should be exercises the right, and like the start is I hold this anomaly to be injurious to the best interests of the Nation, I hope to see it removed by the wisdom of Parliament. Mr Gladstone's reply was evasive and unintelligible, according to his bent of mind. He said merely: "I reserve any particular declaration with respect to any proposed mode of procedure for whatever I may deem a suitable occasion, and for my place in Parliament".

petitions, the various committees issued many leaflets and some pamphlets, and published the monthly Journal. To carry on all these activities about three thousand pounds was subscribed by the supporters of the movement.

With such energy, such expense of time, effort and money, did the earliest Suffragists set about converting their fellow countrymen and women to the new idea of Equal Citizenship.

(N.P.)