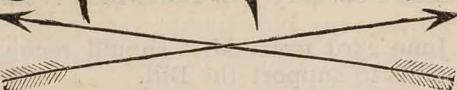


# "SHAFTS"



A MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF PROGRESSIVE THOUGHT.

EDITED BY MARGARET SHURMER SIBTHORP.

"Shoot thine own arrow right through the earthly tissue  
Bravely; and leave the Gods to find the issue."—GOETHE.

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No. 3.

## What the Editor Means.

I bear a message . . . . .  
Faithful and true,  
And it should drop on earth like tender rain.

But yet this only comfort is there in my fate  
My message I did ne'er prevaricate

. . . . . I kept a true heart in my breast  
Nor turned in all my trouble and unrest  
From the high law  
Of present duty; and my peace is great  
Even in this hard estate.

I give my all to you; perchance it may  
Beacon another soul to live,  
More wisely through its changeful day.

W. C. SMITH.

FIRST, work for the Women's Suffrage Bill, work without ceasing, and work with a will; cease to be apathetic, throw away indifference; work as for something you know you will get, because you are resolved it shall be. Say to yourselves this has got to be, must be, and *I* mean to do it. Such a spirit animating every soul in all work for progress cannot fail to win its cause. No opposition can stand before such a force. Do not be misled by the foolish assertion of those, who, desiring to keep all power in their own hands, say, "Women do not want it, only a few women ask for this change." Was there ever a reform for which the movers were not in the minority? When we have *all* with us, the need for further effort will cease. Away with such arguments. Women want to change the laws, to be owners of their own children, to be owners of their *own selves*, to alter the laws of divorce, the laws of marriage, the ready licence given to cruelty, the injustice, the tyranny of the strong against the weak everywhere. They *must* have the vote before they can *begin* to do this, and this *must* be done, or woe unto those by whom the offences come, because they will not arouse to a sense of their duty; to hear the clarion call which bids them come forth from comfort or discomfort, joy or sorrow, to the help of the weak against the mighty, to the shaming of wickedness in high places and in low, to the destruction of all that destroys. This cannot be done in a day, but it can be done more quickly through woman's clear seeing, learnt through centuries of endurance; and it can only be properly begun

when women possess the vote. For this, therefore, all must strive, and that without delay. Carefully study what follows:—

COPIED FROM PRINTED BILL.

“Friends of Women’s Suffrage are earnestly exhorted to work for the Bill for extending the Parliamentary Franchise to Women, which passed second reading by a majority of seventy-one, on February 3rd, and which is set down to go into Committee on June 23rd.

“Between this and June 25rd every M.P. should receive letters, requests and Petitions from his constituents to support the Bill.

“FORM:—

“To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

“The HUMBLE PETITION of the Undersigned,

“SHEWETH,

“That in the Judgment of your Petitioners, Women, who pay rates and taxes, should have the right to vote in the election of Members of Parliament.

“Wherefore your petitioners humbly pray that your Honourable House will pass the Bill, entitled ‘The Parliamentary Franchise, Extension to Women, Bill.’

“And your petitioners will ever pray, etc.,

“It is to be desired that petitions be sent up from every parish and village in the land. Friends ready to help can obtain forms direct from any of the Women’s Suffrage Offices, whose addresses are given below; but it is much better that they prepare their own Petitions.

“Let woman go on not asking favours, but claiming as right, the removal of all hindrances to her elevation in the scale of being.”—LUCRETIA MOTT.

“Sign with your Christian and Surname in full, and your Address in full, and ask as many friends as you can to do the same. If the address is not given the signature will not be counted. The Petition may be signed by all persons over eighteen, whether men or women, whether householders or not. Each must sign for him or herself, and no one may sign twice. There must be no signatures on the back of the paper, but another sheet can be gummed on, at the foot; or another form could be begun.

“When you have obtained all the signatures you are able, make up the Petition in a book-post packet, write on the cover the words ‘Parliamentary Petition,’ and post it addressed to the Member for your constituency, at the House of Commons, London, S.W. No stamp is required. Write and send along with the Petition a note (post paid), asking the Member to present it and to support its prayer.

“Addresses of Women’s Suffrage Offices, from which Petitions, Leaflets, etc., may be obtained—

“Central Committee of the National Society—10, Great College Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

“Central National Society—39, Victoria Street, London, S.W.

“Manchester National Society—Queen’s Chambers, 5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.

“Bristol and West of England Society—69, Park Street, Bristol.”

An earnest worker writes:—

DEAR FRIEND,—The debate on the C. D. Acts in the Lords is said to be postponed till after Easter. This may or may not be so. Our foes unhappily are unscrupulous and wily, as well as strong. They are strong in position, influence, control of the press and money; in everything, in short, except the love of justice and the zeal for Humanity.

I do hope some women will respond, and vigorously, to the demand for prompt opposition; for the cause is great and urgent.—Yours, E. C. E.

Will the mass of women respond to this stirring appeal, or will they in supine, shameful sloth or carelessness allow these wretched Acts again to become law. The sins of the fathers are visited upon the children, says *The Queen*, a woman’s paper so-called. Not a woman’s paper truly, for it is edited by a man, and has, I believe, other men on its staff. But women’s papers must express the thoughts of high-souled women, or

they are not justly to be called women’s papers, but simply either men’s translation of women’s supposed ideas—translated with strong sex bias—or papers printed and published to please those soulless things called by the sacred name of Woman, merely because they wear flowing garments. They differ from WOMEN, in that they are covered from the cold by the furs and skins of gentle creatures, cruelly tortured that they may be clad and warm, in that they are decorated on empty heads and shameless forms by the clothing (feathers) of happy innocent creatures to whom the feathers belong by right, whose property these robbers in the beautiful forests and on the high seas have stolen ruthlessly, through the men who are their agents; to whose sufferings they are cruelly indifferent, caring not to know of such. For there can be no excuse for ignorance in this land of newspapers and Humane Societies. These creatures, women? Faugh! one’s soul sickens at the thought. Such women (?) encourage lust and cruelty, tyranny and all unrighteousness, even while in their churches they bend the knee to God and man together, and in debasing their own womanhood, sickly as the germ may be, debase all mankind.

But such can become women. Will they make the attempt; look well into the ways of their household, the WORLD? Will they see that their children (the whole human race) are clothed in scarlet and fine linen—the righteousness of saints? A great glory of truth underlies that so often quoted, so grossly misunderstood idea of a helpmeet. Helpmeet for all humanity is she, though as yet she readeth not aright. Not a handmaid or servant to hand to her self-constituted master a glass of wine, an operating knife; not one to fill his pipe or light his cigar, or bring to him his dressing-gown or slippers; (services such as these may be done by any of us for one perchance weaker, or more tired than we), not one ready, willing or unwilling, to administer to headstrong, brutal passions, to appetite that grows from what it feeds upon, that craves more the more it is satisfied. Not one to raise eyes as to a superior, but one strong of purpose, pure of heart, wise of judgment, calm, resolute, knowing evil only to rebuke it and to save from its influence those she loves; one who, having mastered herself, is able to HELP others to conquer their own spirits, to hold unbridled passions in check, to outreach ever to something higher. One who, having climbed high on the hills of difficulty looks down, and seeing men, many men, struggling to ascend, is able to hold out a strong HELPING hand, is wise in words of counsel and encouragement, and so HELP MEET indeed. “Disease most frightful and to be deplored is being spread broadcast, says *The Queen*, by the interference of women in legislative affairs, the sins of the fathers being visited on the children.” Is there no way to stop this but by the still further degradation and sacrifice of womanhood? Suppose the fathers should cease from sin, would not that be more efficacious? If we had such women as this true HELP MEET, for the wives and mothers of our men, how many of them would ever dream of re-imposing such Acts? How many would dare to do so? What a mighty change would be wrought over this earth, if each woman would begin at once so to act. Instead of so doing, very few indeed are the women who know how their husbands and sons spend their time, or where they go, or with whom they consort. Strive with all strength to make women what they should be. Let each and all women strive; join rapidly the ranks of workers, for remember that no household, no nation, no universe, will, or can be, strong and mighty, be what it ought to be, or will be able to develop its full powers, until woman takes her place as one who helps, not one who leans; as one who leads, not one who follows; as in short the Help Meet of the whole world.

With regard to the meeting at the Queen's Hall, in the interests of Greece and Crete, called on the bills a Liberal Forward Movement; might one ask, does forward moving on behalf of the Liberals, mean simply abuse of their opponents, the Conservatives? Does it not seem puerile that one great party should belabour the other with epithets? Could not courtesy and good breeding, to say nothing of a sense of justice, combine to render such disgraceful ebullitions of jealousy and temper, disagreeable to the good taste of all who hear, and so banish them from our halls of debate.

Is it not a trifle strange also, that men who in their thousands shout themselves hoarse over the threatened liberties of Greece, should be quite unable to see the need of liberty when the demand for it is made by women for women?

In other respects the meeting was promising, and it argues well for this country and for Greece to find so many ardent souls in sympathy with the great Cause of Liberty.

#### RESOLUTIONS.

*First.*—"That this Meeting records its indignant protest against the employment of the British Fleet by Lord Salisbury to coerce the Greeks and Cretans in the interest of the 'Great Assassin.'"

*Second.*—"That this meeting denounces Lord Salisbury's proposal to enforce the withdrawal of the Greek troops from Crete, thus leaving the Islanders at the mercy of the Turkish soldiery, and demands for the Cretans the right to settle their political destinies for themselves."

*Third.*—"That this Meeting declares its unalterable adherence to the principle laid down by Mr. Gladstone, that the only solution of the Eastern Question is the total abolition of Ottoman rule over other races."

The following resolution has been passed by the Committee of the Humanitarian League:—

"That this Committee is of opinion that the institution of the 'Prince of Wales's Hospital Fund for London' is likely to be a cause of more harm than good to the general community, if it is used as a means of postponing the much-needed public or municipal control of London Hospitals, and unless adequate guarantees are given that the sums subscribed to the Fund shall be administered wholly for humane purposes, and not for what is called 'the advancement of medical science' by experimentation on men or animals."

#### National League Resolution.

"That the Council of the National Anti-Vaccination League has heard with indignation of proposals to settle the question of parental objections to vaccination by empowering a magistrate, at the parents' expense, to postpone 'until further notice,' the vaccination of their child if the magistrate shall be satisfied that the parents conscientiously object to such vaccination.

"That the Council regards any such proposal as an insulting mockery of a righteous demand, and declares its solemn protest against any proposal which would leave the validity of the parents' conscientious objection to be determined by any justice, guardian, or other official.

"That if the penal clauses are not formally abolished, parents ought, within a fixed period of their child's birth, to be permitted to declare, by writing or otherwise, their conscientious objections to having their child vaccinated, and be thenceforth exempt from proceedings, whether by magistrate's order or otherwise, in respect of the vaccination of the said child."

## Pioneer Club Records.

### THE PRESIDENT,

SHE WHO LOVED AND WORKED, COUNTING THE WORLD WELL LOST.

They read life's story best who read  
Ever to find some germinating seed  
Sprouting up to a nobler end.

There's something in high purpose of the soul  
To do the highest service to its kind.

Is it the work that makes life just and true,  
Or the brave soul that, working as it can,  
Does faithfully the task it has to do  
And keepeth faith alike with God and Man?

For they who truly live and clearly see  
The truth wrapt in their lives, and can set forth  
Amid the trivial and the commonplace  
The soul of truth for which they dared to live,  
Leave to the world a nobler legacy  
Than wealth of hoarded gold, in that they kindle  
Lights on the dim uncertain way we go.

WALTER C. SMITH.

THE beautiful flowers, tokens of a love that dieth not, were conveyed from St. John's, Westminster, to the churchyard at Gunby; and were placed upon the quiet, solitary grave, where, underneath the sod, was deposited the urn containing the ashes of what had been the instrument by means of which that immortal spirit, known on earth as the President of the Pioneer Club, and as a worker for all good, had done its arduous, unceasing work. The Pioneer floral tribute was carried by the Gunby Band of Hope. It covered the grave, the other wreaths being placed round it. Mrs. Chester's heart of white lilies lay alone at the foot.

A large number of people attended in spite of the inclement weather. Among these were Mr. Langton, of Langton Hall; Mr. Rawnsley; the Rev. W. Massingberd, of Ormsby; also representatives of all the temperance societies in Lincolnshire.

All the servants were present, and were afterwards entertained at tea by Mrs. Stephen Massingberd, in the "Iron Room" at the Massingberd Arms. The service was read by the Rev. Matthew Collins, Rector of Gunby and Welton.

Three weeks after the funeral, the grave was visited by Mrs. Chester, who found the flowers still alive. The grave, in the words of this lady, loyal friend of the departed worker:

"Is situated in a lovely spot, over which in certain blowing of the winds, the sea breezes sweep."

The ashes rest in a spot chosen by Mrs. Massingberd herself ere she died. She objected to having the family vault opened for the interment, preferring the simple, unpretending grave, where, with the urn and within it, is buried the silver axe she used to wear in the Club, also a piece of the Pioneer ribbon, with its three colours, white, black, and grey.

With those among whom, and for whom she worked, her presence like an influence remains, shedding concord, strength, and resolve. May

it long be so, for great souls should ever leave such influence, such power of inspiration behind, as the prophet's cloak to descend upon other shoulders, others who will arise to follow where she led, to take up the golden thread where she laid it down, and to spin it into the woof of the future.

Many cry, "We ne'er shall look upon her like again," but though this heart cry may be, nay *is*, the cry, the moan of the sad heart of appreciative love, yet is there in it a note out of harmony with the grand chord high souls should strike as a parting salute to those who go, a welcome to those who come. She would not have it so, could her voice be heard. The best and truest ovation we can give to those we love is to follow in their footsteps, to be as true to our convictions as they were to theirs, to "Hold up *our* flag also, till the day is done," happy indeed if we can take the flag from the hands that let it drop, and cheer their last looks by the sight of its gallant folds fluttering in the breezes, under the blue dome sun-filled. As the folds stream and flap beneath the sun of unconquered hope, held by hands pledged to carry on the crusade in the service of which she lived, will they not rejoice to know that their places will not be vacant, that the links will never be broken.

I picture that brave soul who has left us, in Professor Aytoun's strengthening words—

"The Douglas turned unto us then,  
Oh, but his glance was high,  
There is not one of all my men  
But is as frank as I."

"Take up my flag," she would have said to her Pioneers, "and carry it into the heart of the battle. Pay the tribute of sorrow and love to me by learning more clearly than ever to see the truth and nobility of the great souls yet with you. Among you let there be 'no thought of dastard flight' or shirking, but as the knights of old, loyal to their cause, let each true heart grow stronger, the greater the need; each strong soul step into the gap made by comrade called away. So shall my valour, so shall all valour be yours, and so the crown of work well done shall rest upon your heads."

With this spirit, loving her still, we shall cease to mourn her, realising what we have to do, and clasping in trust and faith each comrade's hand, remembering that—

"The new life may begin  
Where this one stopt, with finer powers  
Perhaps, the subtle thread to spin  
And years to work, instead of hours."

For the immortal spirit never dies, some day, near or far, we shall all meet again comrades who marched beside us and then, with steadfast yearning look into our eyes, fell out of step as we passed on. With what feeling shall we look into those eyes in the great To Be, and answer the eager question, "How was it with ye after I fell? Marched ye ever on?"

"I have come from a mystical land of Light  
To a strange country;  
This morn I came, I must go to-night,  
Ay me! Ay me.

But others are coming, women and men,  
Eternally."

"But all through life I see a Cross,  
Where children of God yield up their breath;  
There is no gain except by loss,  
There is no life except by Death,  
There is no vision but by Faith,  
Nor glory but by bearing shame,  
Nor justice but by taking blame;  
And that Eternal Passion saith  
'Be emptied of glory and right and name.'"

So, dust to dust we have committed, and we call it Death. That mystery of passing, by which the spirit goes free, we call DEATH: while this endless toil and struggle, this clasping of hands through the darkness, this long looking into other eyes, searching for some token, while our very hearts are blanched with fear of what the answer may be, for which our souls yearn in passionate sorrow, in pain and unrest; these desires never satisfied, these aspirations never attained, ever rising, these conflicts with wrong and woe unutterable, we call Life. LIFE? is not that with those who leave us? who, having borne their Cross, *seem* to wear no Crown, but to sink away into nothingness. While rejoicing in our power to see beyond the veil, let us be merciful in our thoughts of those who can see nothing but their buried dead, *dust to dust*; for great is the mystery of Life and Death; and hard it often is to pierce to the Beyond, so present, so near, yet so dimly seen, through eyes blinded by their tears for the loss of the loved familiar presence, which dwelt within the circle of our own lives, near to our touch, gladdening to our hearts. Even while we so write and think of *her* who was so much to so many, we are conscious that with our present suffering mingles other anguish past, grief for many dead, heart-aching for loved ones passed away in other years. So all along our lives the stream of sorrow flows, and through its very pain we learn to pierce the dimness around, and to see the coming glory which is flashing and gleaming through the clouds which seem so near, until we know them for the phantoms they are.

In one of Olive Schreiner's wonderful *Dreams*, these words occur—  
(the italics are mine):

"Always the work got redder and redder and the *worker* whiter and whiter. At last one day they found the *worker* dead and they took the *worker* up and they buried the *worker* and it came to pass that after a while the *worker* was forgotten—but the work lived!"

So with the life that has gone forth in search of greater strength, the *worker may* in time be forgotten, though many hearts will protest against this, but when we also have gone forth into the Infinite Silences, when others will have arisen "who knew not Joseph," the work which has been done will remain, will have advanced further on towards its culmination. So blessed for ever are they who work with true motives, and no thought of self, leaving unstained the implements of their warfare or industry for other hands to take up, nor break the ever-lengthening chain.

"Oh wondrous faces that upstart  
In this strange country;  
Oh identities that become a part  
Of myself and me,"

Wherever walks the soul that loves its fellows, there will be the imprint of luminous feet for all the world to see and follow; all who will seek to see. In the eyes and on the faces of such, gleam lights divine from the inner filled depths that reflect the radiance of a purpose that no suffering, no misunderstanding can kill. Such purpose was plainly visible

to my gaze of glad surprise, when my eyes rested upon the face of Mrs. Massingberd on my first introduction to her some nine years ago.

It was in connection with the Temperance movement in which she took so deep and unfeigned an interest; an interest which held its full power over her even to the end. The club she founded rested on this as one of its deep underlying principles, and I know it was her great desire, her resolved determination that it should continue to be so.

Indeed I know of no movement which lay nearer to her heart than that of temperance. For it she worked unwearied, sparing herself not at all. In Burgh, Lincolnshire, at Eastbourne, and I believe in some parts of Wales, there are now in existence temperance hotels, "The Massingberd Arms," which were part of her property, and at one or two of these she had introduced Slate Clubs, as a means of usefulness and of instruction in habits of economy. Bands of Hope and societies of many kinds in connection with temperance she formed, or helped in places where her influence was felt. I was often struck by the respect and reverence she evinced for the leader of the cause, Lady Henry Somerset, *her* leader, *her* chief, as she called her, half in fun and all in earnest. It was a touching and instructive lesson to many of us to see one who herself received so much homage, rendering it so freely in her turn to another.

It was owing to some temperance business that I had my first talk with Mrs. Massingberd, and I can well recall all the curious stories I had heard of her, referring specially to her style of dress and appearance, also to her manner. These had made me curious to behold her, and somewhat doubtful as to the wisdom of my visit, especially as I was then quite a stranger to London and to its people. My surprise may be imagined, my glad and pleased astonishment, when there walked into the room where I waited, a lady of a gracious, cordial presence, a face beautiful in its earnest interest in myself and my message, a figure neatly clad in walking costume, a short, well made skirt of black serge, with a jacket and vest that fitted her slender figure to perfection, a neat tie and collar, white cuffs (no jewellery), short hair slightly curling, and eyes I have never forgotten, and never shall forget, they were *full* of the work and purpose of her life in all its strength and sweetness. I wished then, and have wished ever since, that all women would adopt a costume so sensible, so becoming, so free from temptations to excess of finery or display of any kind.

And the memory of that bright morning in spring, when, nearly ten years ago, I first saw the woman, "a spirit, yet a woman too," who was to wield an influence over my own life and the life of many others will dwell in my thoughts so long as life shall last. The vision knocked all the stories uttered by silly men and women into smithereens, and filled my whole being with joy. She was a woman after my own heart, such an one as I had long hoped to see. I think we became friends on the spot, for from that time till she lost all power to communicate her thoughts, messages, words and little notes of rare import, passed often between us. My next visit was paid on the occasion of the formation of the Women's Progressive Society, of which she was chairman for some time, and its mightiest influencing power.

She possessed great histrionic ability, and nothing was to her such a rest and tonic, as every now and then in the midst of her labours to pause for a time and join in some dramatic performance, most frequently got up by herself. The first time I enjoyed the great pleasure of witnessing her play was once when she took the part of Aladdin, in amateur theatricals acted for the benefit of some philanthropic object in the parish of St. George's.

The piece was admirably played, and the absolutely boyish spirit thrown into the character by this versatile, clever woman was something wonderful to see, surprising those who only knew her as an earnest and serious worker, in the most important movements which have ever moved the world, Women's Suffrage, Anti-vivisection, and Temperance.

Wherever a great soul moves in this mad, stupid world, there the arrows of envy and hate are winged forth, there is the accusing finger. This courageous woman, this brave fighter against many wrongs, defied the darts, and laughed at the pointing thing, the harmful power of which is shattered to pieces before the smile of a strong soul. Steadfastly, and knowing no fear, she held on her way, regardful only of the great need of humanity and the strong resolve within her.

In connection with the Pioneer Club, Mrs. Massingberd has founded the Pioneer Anti-Vivisection Society, which has done some excellent work, and is likely to do more in the strength of the spirit with which she endowed it, and the spirit of the earnest souls, her comrades in this work. She looked upon all forms of cruelty with undisguised horror; no sophistry could tempt her for one moment to stoop to that obscurity of vision, the abject shamelessness of falsehood, evinced in that system of LIES, which pretends to look upon the inexcusable tortures of vivisection as a benefit to sick and suffering humanity.

She has, by her enthusiasm and her unconquered, resolute stand against this most horrible of all cruelties, affected a great change in the opinions of her many friends and of the public. She brought those who would not think under the magic of her earnest words, and made them think; those who opposed paused to consider, and those who slept, awoke. Everywhere she worked and taught in the spirit of the God-like love, and so everywhere opened up the highways. Great is the loss of those who once knew her as a friend, and now mourn the dividing asunder, but greater is their gain. Though she is seen no more by mortal eyes where once her footsteps trod, yet well is it for the battle that her flag has floated over the struggling hosts. Well for all of us, when such a soul departs, if we can feel that we have been just in our comprehension of its work, its purposes, generous in our admiration of its greatness and its aspirations, merciful and tender to its failings; for a day will shine when we shall look once again into the eyes of comrades who have fallen in the fight, and see as we shall be seen. Writing these few words in a loving memory of one never to be forgotten, I writing and you reading, I feel that you will all join with me and say "It is well that the brave and true have lived and died," that we will each "call from the battle to ask anew" of that spirit in advance:

"Can ever thy valour be mine?"

and hear with gladness and renewed strength the swift reply ringing clear:

"Who loveth all things, hath fear of none."

"'Tis love that maketh us brave."

(To be continued.)

THE Club Debates for January 28th and February 4th, were necessarily postponed. Mr. G. W. Foote's address on "The Ethics of Imprisonment," dealt very fairly with the subject, and the discussion was interesting.

February 18th, "Democracy, to what does it lead?" aroused a good deal of controversy and might well be discussed again.

February 25th, "That private property in land is incompatible with justice and the well-being of the community," was so well thought out, and so admirably given, that Mrs. Holah has been asked to contribute it to these pages later on, and will not, we hope, disappoint us.

A large and enthusiastic meeting at the Pioneer Club, which had met to hear Mr. William Watson, the poet, address them, was really addressed by Mr. Torr, the Secretary of the Cretan and Grecian Society. The address was very powerful and brought Pioneers to the front. From the beginning it was evident that the majority were in favour of the Grecian rising and against the Turks. At the close of the lecture a message containing the resolution and the result of the voting was forwarded to the *Daily Chronicle*, in the pages of which it appeared in due course.

Mrs. Russell Cooke also was unfortunately absent on March 11th. The lecture given instead will be reported on, we expect, in the next issue.

Reports of debates have been merely surface reports in the last two issues owing to the space taken up by the notice of our President, but they will be resumed and given as formerly in the issue for May, possibly April. Pioneers are resolved to carry on the Club, which will be all the stronger, it is hoped and expected, because of the trial which has spurred on each individual force, so anxious as all are to continue a work so well begun.

#### DEBATES.

*March 18th.*—"What constitutes sanity?" Paper by Miss Holden. Followed by discussion. Miss Carr in the chair.

*March 25th.*—"Force as a disease and a remedy." Debate opened by Herbert Burrows, Esq. J. C. Kenworthy, Esq., to oppose. Miss March Phillipps in the chair.

*April 1st.*—"Municipal and Co-operative Kitchens." Discussion opened by Mrs. Martindale. Mrs. Holroyd Chaplin in the chair.

*April 8th.*—"Shakespeare at Home." Lecture with Lantern by Mrs. Weed Ward.

#### Calendars.

MRS. WEED WARD sends me one of the best, if not the best of these useful articles I have ever seen. I recommend the idea upon which it is got up to future calendar makers. It is American. Over each month is placed a portrait of some prominent American worker for freedom, especially for the freedom of women; with underneath a quotation from the many wise words uttered during their busy, well-spent years.

The quotations may be helpful to loiterers by the way at this time of need for resolute action.

"The denial of my citizen's right to vote, is the denial of my sacred rights to Life, Liberty and Property."—SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

"Men are not wise enough, nor generous enough, nor pure enough, to legislate fairly for women."—GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS.

"The moment you give women power (the ballot) that moment men will see to it that she has the way cleared for her."—WENDELL PHILLIPS.

"Whatever is done to lift woman to her true position will help to usher in a new day of peace and perfection for the race."—ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

"The greater the freedom of thought among men and women, the greater will be their agreement in the doctrines and traditions whose maintenance vitally concerns the interests of society."—JULIA WARD HOWE.

### Political Protestantism.

AFTER long mental and moral training, and severe spiritual struggles in the seclusion of his monastery, Luther began, about 1520, to attack the dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church, as well as its action. The story of the exciting conflict which resulted in the Reformation is known to all, but there are one or two significant parallels, which we may notice in relation to contemporary history.

It is significant that his first step was to condemn the selling of indulgences for sin; repentance, not payment, he said, must make men's peace with God. The Pope sent Bulls against him, which he burnt at Wittenberg, and on December 17th he drew up a solemn *Protest*, in which he appealed from the Pope to a general council. He considered that the doctrine of two separate *estates*, the one secular and the other spiritual, was only a wall raised round the Church to prevent reform. In April, 1521, he set out for the Diet of Worms, at which he fearlessly supported his tenets at the risk of his life. During his enforced seclusion thereafter among his friends, he translated the scriptures into the vulgar tongue—no easy task, for he acknowledged that it was hard indeed to make these old Hebrews speak German.

Meanwhile Henry VIII. wrote a book against him, which earned him, from a grateful Pope, the title of "Defender of the Faith." This book Luther thought at least worthy of a reply.

Thereafter in other writings Luther attacked the doctrine of Papal infallibility, and supported the freedom of the individual, and the right of private study and individual interpretation of the scriptures.

Luther's influence spread over the world. We in England not only follow his principles, but continue his titles. To us, his was the Reformation, though Henry VIII. was Luther's opponent until the day of his death. All modern creeds of Christendom, however much they may differ in dogma and discipline, call themselves "Protestant," through Luther's *Private Protest*, and all accept his general principles, however much they differ from him in private detail.

In a similar position we women stand. Through long periods of seclusion and special training certain qualities have been educed in us that give us power to see things differently from men; and certain spiritual struggles have been passed through that lead us towards a very definite course of action. We also have signed our appeal. We, too, have presented our protest to the general council, which on the whole has supported our general principles. We have protested against the doctrine of the infallibility of our Pope, against the view that he should come between us and our duty to ourselves and others; our privilege, our intellect, our inheritance of the world's goods, and our hopes of a moral salvation. Ethical responsibility was practically taken from us by our Pope. We protest against the sale of indulgences for sin, which still continues from Luther's day to ours, more or less canonised. We protest against the doctrine of the two estates, one central and masculine, the other external and feminine, separated by a wall which prevents reform on either side.

We ask, like Luther, freedom of conscience; we ask, like him, independence of action, as responsible moral agents, for our deeds, individual and collective.

And our Pope of to-day, who has assumed the virtue of papal infallibility in the domain of intellect, and papal power in the domain of temporal and spiritual action, is the collective manhood of the country as opposed to the collective womanhood. This it is that writes glosses against the book of law, as written by God, forbidding private interpretation. This it is that has constructed a book of earthly law, full of unjust inequalities between those of the outer and the inner "estate."

Against the doctrines of this masculine pope in our Appeal and in our Protest we hasten the coming of the latter-day Reformation.

The sphere of this papal supremacy is rapidly shrinking. For in the hearts of the people everywhere we are finding a response; in our own hearts we have found union, union with our sisters, at one with us through difference, the sole hope of permanent success. For, whatever be our political creed, we are all Protestants, and we all seek a Reformation.

And from the very central conclave itself come forth allies, men who see the justice of our claim, and recognise its world-wide necessity. And thus it was that on the division of February 3rd, the majority was on our side. Nothing so important as that division has happened on this earth since the Protest of Luther, and the Reformation initiated by him, that drew his opponent, Henry VIII., into his train.

But in the remainder, in the hearts of that section of men who still collectively arrogate to themselves the province of a pope, we find various feelings. There are mean jealousies of our growing influence, there are startled terrors at our "private interpretations," there are fearless fallacies in logic, and open falsifications

of fact; but there are not wanting signs that even among them are waiting some who only require to understand the question, to respond to our enthusiasms. Then all combined may, in the restitution of women's rights, see the only possible path to a permanent and satisfactory social, political, and moral Reformation.

C. C. STOPES.

### Women and the Factory Acts.

ON Monday, March 1st, Mrs. C. W. Greenwood held a meeting of the Women's Liberal Association for South Kensington, at which Miss Ada Heather-Bigg gave an address on "How the Factory Acts affect Women in the Industrial World." The chair was taken by Mrs. Hepburn, who remarked that it was not her intention to detain the meeting with many observations, as to-night they had assembled to hear Miss Heather-Bigg's address, and she observed that there could not have been found a better authority on the subject than the latter, as she had the advantage of personally knowing the conditions of the factories in which women are employed. Speaking of dangerous trades she suggested that the methods of manufacture should be altered, as it is in the hands of the employers to make such a trade as the white lead manufacture (one of the most deadly), quite a safe one, if only a more expensive process were adopted. It is thus at the root of the matter that an alteration should be made.

With regard to the health of the mothers—an often-brought-forward objection to women's work in factories—she observed that the health of the men was also important, with reference to the future generation. Mrs. Hepburn touched on the importance, in her opinion, of the franchise for women, as giving them the chance of expressing their own opinion.

Miss Ada Heather-Bigg's address was very interesting. She could not go into every branch of so wide a subject, in fact, she said that it was difficult to know what points to bring forward in an address. She proved herself, however, a distinct advocate for individual liberty; but gave it as her opinion that in two respects, legislation had advantageously affected the industrial position of the female sex: the first being that children and young persons' health is better guarded, which everyone must agree is a laudable step, and the second, that there have been sanitary improvements made.

Miss Heather-Bigg represented to her listeners the difference between the girl of the factory class, to the child of the same age of another. Courtship, sometimes marriage, takes place at an extremely youthful age in the former; and the girl would be annoyed to find herself considered an irresponsible person.

In the front row, at the meeting, some members of the Cadogan Club, who had come all the way from Bethnal Green to hear the address, were seated, and showed evident appreciation of the speeches. They themselves help to keep in funds their club; and on this occasion they all made short speeches. Others to address the meeting were Mrs. Carter, an intelligent and direct spokeswoman (and, it is interesting to know, a daughter of the famous author of *Tom Brown's Schooldays*), who asked some questions from the opposite point of view to Miss Ada Heather-Bigg, and who observed that in her opinion, granting that, as is of course the case, the physical strength of a woman is less than that of a man, women should be protected until they are better able to protect themselves, and Mrs. C. W. Greenwood, who gave some details of a confectionery factory, and who replied to a member of the audience anent the married woman worker, said that, although some drunken husbands would be likely to be kept by a working wife, this must not deter the community of women at large from helping to support their families, or themselves. Many would drift into the workhouse, and surely, if a wife is able to see that her children go tidy and clean and well fed to school, before she starts for her work, she must be praised, not blamed, for giving her energies to helping her husband. A woman who has the energy and head to work for her family, will surely, Mrs. Greenwood said, know how to ensure a comfortable household.

Miss Grieve touched for some time on the subject of infant mortality (respecting the death of infants from causes connected with the health of the mother), and in her opinion, said that work was not an evil for the married woman; she observed, however, that a friend of hers in the medical profession held opposite opinions to her own on the subject of factory work for women.

Mr. Pemberton, a strong Trades' Unionist, made some most interesting and well-thought out remarks on the subject of the employer and employed; he gave generous

praise to his own employer—he is himself a stoker—and, on every occasion that he stood up, sustained the interest of his audience with his temperate and sensible views. It was this speaker who touched on the question of a wife keeping a dissipated husband, the opposite point of view to which has been stated. Mrs. Pemberton also said a few words.

—MARY GREENWOOD.

### Union of Practical Suffragists.

NON-PARTY.

THE above is a Union formed by well known workers within the Women's Liberal Federation, having for its object the speedy recognition of women as political factors. The following are extracts quoted from the leaflets published. The movement will recommend itself to every unprejudiced mind as a long needed one.

"Loyalty is the best policy.

"Such women as are willing to work for candidates who do not disguise their intention, should they be elected, of voting against this question, are working against obtaining an acknowledgment of their own existence as political entities."

"Further, members of the Women's Liberal Federation who do so, are working against one of the avowed objects of the Federation to which they belong, and are practically admitting that they are willing to continue to exert their influence from without

"The saying, 'We are Liberals first and Suffragists afterwards,' has been pronounced and cheered by women as if it were a fine sentiment! But it is an unworthy sentiment, for the essence of Liberalism consists of Justice, Liberty, and Equality. Unenfranchised subjects do not enjoy true liberty, they have not equality of opportunity, and therefore they are not justly treated. There are women doubtless for whom the enactment of Liberal measures possesses greater interest than the enfranchisement of some of their own sex. Let these ladies ask working women if that is of the greatest interest to them. Let them ask especially those women whose means of obtaining a livelihood was in danger of being taken from them, through the wisdom, philanthropy, and chivalry of a Liberal government—as instanced by some of the clauses in the recent Factory Act, and the proposed interference with the labour of prospective and actual mothers suggested by so unquestioned a Liberal as Mr. John Burns. It is the wage-earning women other workers should consider first, as being those whom the Suffrage will most effect. Are women to wait patiently until men, in a sufficient number, choose to adopt Women's Suffrage as part of their political programme? It is now time to rouse women to make a vigorous and united demand for the Franchise, for which purpose this Union has been formed. Women have sufficiently shown their capacity for self-effacement and patience. The result of patience so far, has been that a less and less serious view is being taken of our cause. The question of Women's Suffrage is treated as a jest by members of Parliament. It is plain that neither Conservatives nor Liberals are influenced by the fact of women belonging to either party. Their hostility in the matter proceeds solely from a natural prejudice against the innovation of Women's Suffrage. It is therefore necessary to show that we can no longer be 'safely neglected.' Our own supporters in the House of Commons have told us very plainly, that unless we take up a more decided attitude, we leave them with no ground to stand on, nothing definite to work for.

[Extracts from leaflets will be given in next issue and notices from time to time of the movements of this body with whose work all intelligent and unprejudiced minds must sympathise. Miss A. M. Priestman is President of the Practical Suffragists, which fact speaks volumes in its favour.—ED.]

Do the leaders of the labour movement ever stop to think that the working men would be infinitely worse off, in the condition of ignorance and hatred that now possesses them, with all power in their hands, than they are now, even at the worst? If they have not it would be well for them to stop and think of their own experience with these people; that will show what they may expect if they were to succeed by the methods of strife they are urging the workmen to adopt.—*World's Advance Thought*

### Women's Suffrage.

I NEED scarcely remind the readers of SHAFTS that our success on the 23rd of June will largely, if not mainly, depend upon our own energetic efforts. We have an unparalleled opportunity; let us show that we know how to use it. If every believer in Women's Suffrage will work as though success on that day depended upon his or her personal exertions we shall certainly win.

It is time that women should be enfranchised. The arguments of the enemy against our enfranchisement have brought very clearly into prominence the *real points at issue*. The question before us is that of the *upward and onward progress of humanity or of its indefinite degradation*.

As a type of numerous other articles, I propose to submit to the readers of SHAFTS some of the arguments put forward by the *Queen* of the 13th ultimo.

The editor tells us that "the whole of the proceedings were treated by the Members of the House of Commons as partaking of the character of a humorous farce, rather than that of a question involving the most momentous issues that could affect the destinies of a great nation." If this were true, it would be one of the strongest arguments possible for the substitution of women for men as representatives as well as electors; for if indeed our male representatives, representing only male electors, could thus trifle with questions of such gravity, it is manifest that they would be absolutely unfit to be representatives of anybody at all.

We are further told that, "on a Wednesday afternoon, practically the weekly half holiday of the House, a new member was allowed to move the second reading of a Bill, for the drafting of which it has been publicly stated that a schoolboy should have blushed." Perhaps a new member, unperverted by the merely male traditions of the House, is the fittest to comprehend and strive for justice. It is no part of women's business to defend the drafting of a Bill for which they are in no sense responsible; but it is an utter absurdity to allege against it some random writer's statement that "a schoolboy should have blushed" for such drafting, which is sheer and simple nonsense.

The editor proceeds to say that the Bill "would have doubled at one stroke the constituency of the kingdom." Has he really any knowledge whatever of that of which he writes? Mr. Faithfull Begg's Bill could, at its utmost limits, at present enfranchise something less than a million women; there are 6,400,000 male electors.

The editor further says, "that the advocates of Woman Suffrage point to Wyoming in the United States and to the colony of New Zealand as examples to be followed by Great Britain; they ignore the facts that Wyoming is one of the least important states in the Union, that the female franchise was obtained by a *fluke*, and that, though it has been now some time in action, it has not extended, nor is likely to extend, to any other state in the Union." It is *not* true that women's franchise in Wyoming was obtained by a fluke. It is true that, after it had been many years in operation in Wyoming as a territory, the people of Wyoming were so fully satisfied with it that they made it a plank of their constitutional platform when asking admission as a state into the Union. The matter was fully debated in Congress, and the people of Wyoming being fully determined that they would rather remain without State privileges than abandon their principle of Women's Suffrage, the question was finally settled in their favour, and Women's Suffrage is now a part of the very constitution of the State of Wyoming. The State has adopted the prin-

ciple, not simply of equal *electoral* rights of men and women, but of equality of right in every department of social life. Every official post is open to women, and many have been admirably filled by women, with the result stated in the following resolution passed by the Legislature of the State of Wyoming two years ago.

"*Be it resolved by the Second Legislature of the State of Wyoming:* That the possession and exercise of suffrage by the women in Wyoming for the past quarter of a century has wrought no harm, and has done great good in many ways; that it has largely aided in banishing crime, pauperism and vice from this State, and that without any violence or oppressive legislation; that it has secured peaceful and orderly elections, good government, and a remarkable degree of civilisation and public order; and we point with pride to the facts that after nearly twenty-five years of woman suffrage, not one county in Wyoming has a poor-house, that our gaols are almost empty, and crime, except that committed by strangers in the State, almost unknown; and as the result of experience we urge every civilised community on earth to enfranchise its women without delay. *Resolved:* That an authenticated copy of these resolutions be forwarded by the Governor of the State to the Legislature of every State and Territory in this country, and to every legislative body in the world; and that we request the press throughout the civilised world to call the attention of their readers to these resolutions."

It is *not* true, as the editor further states, that Women's Suffrage "has not extended, nor is likely to extend to any other state in the Union." The States of Colorado, Idaho and Utah have fully adopted the principle of Women's Suffrage. In Colorado women have for some years been sitting in the Legislature, with very great advantage to the legislation effected by that assembly. In five or six other States Women's Suffrage is knocking at a door which will shortly be opened.

The editor scoffs at the results of the adoption of female suffrage in New Zealand. I prefer to accept, as testimony on the point of the effects of Women's Suffrage in that colony, the statement of the Hon. W. R. Reeves, Agent-General for New Zealand. In a lecture on "Some Social Experiments in New Zealand," delivered a fortnight ago in Glasgow, under the auspices of the Glasgow University Branch of the Fabian Society, Mr. Reeves

"dealt with the granting of Woman Suffrage, which he described as a daring experiment. It had been unexpected, and as regards its immediate results, he thought it was one of the least important of their changes; but as to its ultimate effect, no doubt it would be the most important. When the suffrage was extended to women three and a half years ago they were almost as ignorant of politics as children. They took it, and had made active use of it. They were now learning politics of their own accord, and were being vigorously instructed by political parties for their own ends, with the result that everything was in a state of flux and change. Nearly all that was said before the suffrage was granted had been falsified. First of all, the women speedily showed that they wanted the suffrage, and were determined to use it. They had not been subjected to insult from the men as had been suggested, nor had he heard of a single case of a household being broken up. Neither were they unsexed. They were not separated in mind, in ideas, in sympathies and in interests from their men; on the contrary, they were very closely united, and they usually voted together. He showed that to some extent the statements made before the suffrage was granted to women had been falsified. In the first place, it was doing the women a great deal of good; and in the second place, it was premature to expect that they would exercise any very remarkable originality and separate influence on politics. They were only learning their politics, and it was, on the whole, the best thing that could happen that they should agree with rather than diverge from their masculine surroundings. That they had exercised some influence he knew, and that they would exercise more in time to come he was convinced."

Our editor further informs us that women "are not the bread-winners, nor do they do the great part of the work of the community." We affirm, on the contrary, that women do a *very large part* of the work of the community. They are unfortunately, thanks to masculine legislation and



custom, very ill paid for that work; so that, practically, the female half of the nation is kept in a condition of *chronic poverty*.

But the prime reasons alleged by our editor for denying justice to women remain yet to be stated. It is because women object to cruelty and vice; do not believe in the moral or material advantage of vivisection; and denounce the double code of sexual morality, so flagrantly embodied in our laws and social customs, and which found its most outrageous development in the infamous Contagious Diseases Acts of 1866 and 1869; that they are held unfit to exercise any choice as to who shall make laws for them. Our editor says, "The most marked result of female interference and senseless sentimental agitation is now in action. No one should know better than the prominent female medical advocate of the movement that the worst hereditary disease that can afflict humanity is now being spread broadcast over the whole of our Empire *mainly by the influence of women* acting from the purest and noblest of sentiments, but without the slightest knowledge of the effect of their proceedings. A bitter cry, worse even than that produced by the plague or the famine, has recently come from India. The great majority of our army is invalided, and worse even than the present evil is the fact that, in the truthful language of Scripture, 'the sins of the fathers will descend upon their children even unto the third and fourth generation,' as the result of the legislative interference of women." No one should know better than our editor that what he calls "the worst hereditary disease that can afflict humanity" *can only be* "spread broadcast over the whole of our Empire" by means of the selfish vices of the basest of men. And in order to protect, not women and children, as is impudently alleged, but vicious men themselves against the consequences of their own wilful wrongdoing, women are actually asked at the present time to accept the deliberate degradation of the poorest and most helpless of their sex. The building up of a false social system on the basis of *class* (for be it remembered, it is practically only *poor women* whom this wicked system assails) and sex injustice is the endeavour, here openly avowed, of the men who deny to women the right to help to govern themselves. Women are asked to accept the outlawry of the women victims of men's vices as the price of the health and safety of the vicious men themselves, or, if they decline to do this, they shall remain as now, political pariahs and outcasts.

Thousands of the women of to-day have no knowledge of the bitter agitation which arose in the years 1869 and 1870, when women first learned how basely the House of Commons had betrayed their trust. For the character of the legislation referred to, and which it is now sought to re-impose upon the country, I would refer your readers to the article "The Moral Crusade of the Nineteenth Century" on another page of this issue. Those of us who took part in the earliest years of that struggle know painfully well how hard and bitter it was; but we have to ask the women of to-day to a struggle still more severe, still more sustained, but which shall nevertheless be triumphant in its issue—the struggle for the destruction *absolutely and for ever*, of the base double code of sexual morality in whatsoever form it expresses itself, and the substitution for it of a morality based on justice, truth and love. *This is the true meaning of Women's Suffrage*, and in this glorious conflict women fight not alone. Every man who respects *himself*, who loves justice and truth, who disdains a pleasure bought by the enforced sacrifice of another, is on the women's side. It is Humanity, the free, noble, just Humanity that is to be—against the lowest appetites of the *mere male animal*, and who can doubt the issue?

ELIZABETH C. WOLSTENHOLME ELMY.

## The Moral Crusade of the Nineteenth Century.

A PARAGRAPH similar to the following has, within the past week, gone the round of the daily papers:—

"The question of the C.D. Acts in reference to the condition of the army in India is to be discussed in the House of Lords on the 12th inst. Lord Roberts is, I hear, coming over from Ireland in order to take part in the proceedings. His Lordship holds very strong views on the subject."

In the article on Women's Suffrage in this number of SHAFTS I have called attention to the demand now being made by a certain section of the press for the re-imposition of the Contagious Diseases Acts. A further typical instance of the manner in which their re-imposition is advocated, may be given by a quotation from the *Humanitarian* of the present month, page 229:—

"In order to get an idea of the magnitude of the evil, it must be remembered that this disease is not confined to India alone. It is also rampant in England, not only amongst soldiers, but almost equally amongst civilians, who, of course, have more opportunity of concealing the fact. Its terrible ravages are well known, not only among the guilty but among the innocent, and do not need any comment here. We would only re-echo Mr. Shillitoe in saying that, 'if not in some way or other arrested, it will seriously deteriorate a large proportion of the nation.' As one step towards the prevention of the spread of this terrible scourge, we advocate, with all earnestness, the re-imposition of the Contagious Diseases Acts, not only in India, but in every garrison town."

The vast body of the women of to-day have either forgotten or are in utter ignorance of the painful agitation for the repeal of these Acts, which it was found necessary to carry on from the autumn of the year 1869 to the summer of the year 1886. What were the Contagious Diseases Acts? The question is best answered by the republication of the Protest of the Ladies' National Association for the Repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts, first published on New Year's Day, 1870, and which we now submit for the consideration of the readers of SHAFTS:—

### THE LADIES NATIONAL ASSOCIATION

FOR THE

### REPEAL OF THE CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS.

"There are two Acts of Parliament—one passed in 1866, the other in 1869—called The Contagious Diseases Acts. These Acts are in force in some of our garrison towns, and in large districts around them. Unlike all other laws for the repression of contagious diseases, to which both men and women are liable, these two apply to women only, men being wholly exempt from their penalties. The law is ostensibly framed for a certain class of women, but in order to reach these, all the women residing within the districts where it is in force are brought under the provisions of the Acts. Any woman can be dragged into court, and required to prove that she is not a common prostitute. The magistrate can condemn her, if a policeman swears only that he 'has good cause to believe' her to be one. The accused has to rebut, not positive evidence, but the state of mind of her accuser. When condemned, the sentence is as follows:—To have her person outraged by the periodical inspection of a surgeon, through a period of twelve months; or, resisting that, to be imprisoned, with or without hard labour—first for a month, next for three months—such imprisonment to be continuously renewed through her whole life unless she submit periodically to the brutal requirements of this law. Women arrested under false accusations, have been so terrified at the idea of encountering the public trial necessary to prove their innocence, that they have, under the intimidation of the police, signed away their good name and their liberty by making, what is called, a 'voluntary submission' to appear periodically for twelve months, for surgical examination.\* Women

\* The following is an extract from the Evidence given before the Parliamentary Committee:—

Mr. E. K. Parsons, Visiting Surgeon of the Portsmouth Lock Hospital, was examined by the Committee; and was asked (398) whether, if the police *by error* bring up a really modest

woman to the surgeon, mistaking her for a harlot, the woman signs a voluntary paper before the surgeon examines her. He replies: "Yes, they all sign a voluntary submission, *unless sent by order of a magistrate.*" The questioner continues (399), "But a modest woman would decline to sign that paper, would she not?" Reply: "No: for this reason. The police, believing in the correctness of their own *impression* (!) say: Very well: if you do not sign that, you go to the Bench.—And then the woman says, in order to avoid that: Well, I do not mind going into a private room, and *speaking* to Mr. Parsons.—And she will sign the voluntary submission." (400.) Question: "Therefore they [really modest women] sign a voluntary submission, under a *fear* of being taken before the magistrate?" Reply: "Unquestionably."

Mr. Parsons also says (370) that the police are very apt to jump to the conclusion that a woman is a prostitute if they see her out at night.

who, through dread of imprisonment, have been induced to sign the 'voluntary submission,' which enrolls them in the ranks of common prostitutes, now pursue their traffic under the sanction of Parliament; and the houses where they congregate, so long as the Government surgeons are satisfied with the health of their inmates, enjoy, practically, as complete a protection as a church or a school.

"We, the undersigned, enter our solemn Protest against these Acts—

- 1st.—Because, involving as they do, such a momentous change in the legal safeguards hitherto enjoyed by women in common with men, they have been passed, not only without the knowledge of the country, but unknown to Parliament itself; and we hold that neither the Representatives of the People, nor the Press, fulfil the duties which are expected of them, when they allow such legislation to take place without the fullest discussion.
- 2nd.—Because, so far as women are concerned, they remove every guarantee of personal security which the law has established and held sacred, and put their reputation, their freedom, and their persons absolutely in the power of the police.
- 3rd.—Because the law is bound, in any country professing to give civil liberty to its subjects, to define clearly an offence which it punishes.
- 4th.—Because it is unjust to punish the sex who are the victims of a vice, and leave unpunished the sex who are the main cause, both of the vice and its dreaded consequences; and we consider that liability to arrest, forced surgical examination, and (where this is resisted) imprisonment with hard labour, to which these Acts subject women, are punishments of the most degrading kind.
- 5th.—Because, by such a system, the path of evil is made more easy to our sons, and to the whole of the youth of England; inasmuch as a moral restraint is withdrawn the moment the State recognises, and provides convenience for, the practice of a vice which it thereby declares to be necessary and venial.
- 6th.—Because these measures are cruel to the women who come under their action—violating the feelings of those whose sense of shame is not wholly lost, and further brutalising even the most abandoned.
- 7th.—Because the disease which these Acts seek to remove has never been removed by any such legislation. The advocates of the system have utterly failed to show, by statistics or otherwise, that these regulations have in any case, after several years' trial, and when applied to one sex only, diminished disease, reclaimed the fallen, or improved the general morality of the country. We have, on the contrary, the strongest evidence to show that in Paris and other continental cities where women have long been outraged by this forced inspection, the public health and morals are worse than at home.
- 8th.—Because the conditions of this disease, in the first instance, are moral, not physical. The moral evil through which the disease makes its way separates the case entirely from that of the plague, or other scourges, which have been placed under police control or sanitary care. We hold that we are bound, before rushing into the experiment of legalising a revolting vice, to try to deal with the *causes* of the evil, and we dare to believe that with wiser teaching and more capable legislation, those causes would not be beyond control.

"A Ladies' Association has been formed for the purpose of obtaining the Repeal of these obnoxious Acts. The necessity for such an Association becomes more urgent from the fact that a Society is already in existence for procuring their extension to the women of the whole kingdom.

"We earnestly entreat our countrywomen, of every class and party, to help us in the difficult and painful task which only a deep sense of duty could have forced us to undertake. We have not entered lightly upon it, nor shall we lightly abandon it,

because we believe that in its attainment are involved, not only the personal rights of our sex, but the morality of the nation."

*General Central Committee.*

MRS. REID.	MRS. JACOB BRIGHT.
MRS. NICHOL.	MRS. JOSEPHINE E. BUTLER.
MISS E. WOLSTENHOLME.	
<i>Honorary Secretary</i> —MRS. JOSEPHINE E. BUTLER. <i>Treasurer</i> —MRS. JACOB BRIGHT.	

Upwards of five hundred signatures of women, headed by those of Harriet Martineau and Florence Nightingale, were appended to the Protest. Among these were the names of many who have passed from us, but others still live and work, and never more resolutely than now.

At the time of the issue of this protest an association was in existence, and possibly it is existent and active still, for the extension of these Acts to what their supporters pleased to call the "civil population of the whole country." Clear observers will note that they applied, even in the garrison towns, only to the "civil" population, for their pains and penalties were directed only against women and never against men. And to carry out the desires of their present advocates, as, for example, the *Humanitarian*, it would be absolutely necessary to extend them to the women of the whole country; seeing that only in this manner could the "civilians," or to speak more accurately, the vicious male population other than military, of the whole country, be "protected" in the practice of vice.

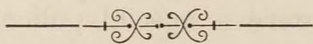
It may be well to note, what is not specified in the ladies' protest, that under the Contagious Diseases Acts the police who were the accusers of poor and helpless women were a special police, detailed for the purpose from Scotland Yard, and not owing allegiance to the local jurisdiction. Recent events have shown that *no* police, even where locally controlled, can be fitly trusted where questions affecting the reputation and happiness of women and the morality of the community are concerned. The disgraceful police scandals at Manchester, which have necessitated an application on the part of the City Council, no longer ago than the 4th instant, for a Home Office inquiry, and the many other scandals revealed by the Licensing Commission, prove very clearly the outrageous absurdity of supposing that a police of any kind can be a safeguard of sexual morality.

Let it be further noted that this legislation is not merely, like so much of English legislation, sex-legislation of the basest kind, intended expressly to preserve a *privilegium* of vice for the male half of the community, but is also class legislation of the cruellest character; since practically it touches most keenly and closely the poor working woman. Every woman, be her position what it may, is morally outraged and degraded by the very existence of such enactments, seeing that they tend to intensify in the minds of men the horrible notion that woman is merely an appanage to man for the purpose of the gratification of his basest sensuality. But poor women suffer directly and individually, and for their sake I appeal to the sisterhood at large to prevent the very possibility of the re-enactment of such infamous measures. I venture to believe that for one woman who was prepared at the time Mrs. Butler and her friends began that sorrowful crusade to say, "Inasmuch as ye did it to the least of these my sisters ye did it also unto me," there are now hundreds prepared to stand by their side.

But the time has now come for women not merely to seek to prevent such legislation, but also to deal with the causes of this evil of masculine vice, which the women of thirty years ago dared "to believe with wiser teaching and more capable legislation would not be beyond control."

One of the most influential of these causes is beyond question the double code of sexual morality recognized by English law and English social custom. Against this women must set themselves steadfastly and earnestly. They must absolutely refuse to condone in a man profligacy which they condemn in a woman. The immoral law of marriage which makes the wife, as clearly shown by the case of *Regina v. Clarence*, heard by thirteen judges a few years back, the absolute slave of her husband in sexual matters so long as she remains under his roof, must be abolished. The unequal law of divorce which frees the husband of an adulterous wife from the marriage bond, whilst not permitting the like freedom to the wife of an adulterous husband, must be made equal.

Every law and custom which degrades womanhood and exalts mere masculinity at her expense must be swept away. Freedom to regulate the conditions of their own lives must be secured to women by the winning for them of the Parliamentary Franchise and of direct representation. The interests of women must no longer be subordinated to those of men in any department of life whatsoever. It is in the interests of men themselves, no less than in those of women, that these changes should be made, especially the changes in the marriage relation itself; for men must share equally with women in that "moral regeneration of mankind, which will only really commence when the most fundamental of the social relations is placed under the rule of equal justice, and when human beings learn to cultivate their strongest sympathy with an equal in rights and cultivation."



### Whither?

LET us ask, whither are we drifting? We have amongst us great wealth, numerous industries, wonderful appliances in the arts and sciences, side by side with great poverty, much ignorance, and a mere makeshift sort of life, but little removed from the brutes. If some means are not devised by which this ignorance can be removed, the pressure of severe poverty mitigated, and a clean, pure domestic life retained, we may call ourselves a "Christian" nation, but it will be with Christ gone out from our midst. The aspects of the times are exceptional. Nations which have a rapid growth may have as rapid a disintegration and decay. Let, therefore, all who have the welfare of the nation in charge seriously ponder these things.

We talk about hard times, and ask ourselves the question, why it is that no matter how constantly and severely we struggle, we do not gain very much? As a nation we find ample money for tobacco, liquor, opium, coffee and tea, which the race would be better without physically, morally and financially. Think of the millions upon millions spent upon these debilitating luxuries, and again ask ourselves the question, what could we not accomplish if this money, which is now worse than thrown away, were expended in the arts of peace. The average man who smokes cigars consumes, at least a dollar a week, which in five years amounts to over three hundred dollars, in thirty years to over five thousand dollars, and in forty years to nearly eleven thousand dollars. What could these tobacco users do, either in beautifying their homes, keeping their families comfortable, or doing good in helping society, if they would spend this money judiciously. Think of the money used for intoxicants, for opium, tea and coffee? What a sum it makes in the aggregate! If the race would rid itself of its bad habits of eating, drinking and smoking, a change from bad to better would be perceptible to every community in our country.—*The Progressive Age*.

HAPPINESS cannot be produced by the selfish efforts of the individual any more than a melody can be composed of a single note. In harmonious unison there is happiness and strength. The more divided humanity is the greater the discord and misery. Individual happiness can only come through the happiness of all.

### Stray Thoughts on Hospitals.

By W. W.

EDMUND BURKE once said hospitals were lightning conductors which warded off the wrath of heaven from sinful man. Without endorsing this beautiful expression of the debt we all owe to our hospitals, it is undeniable that society could not get on without them for one single day—if they did not already exist we should have to invent them. Yet, at this moment, in this year of grace 1897, in this dear England of ours, whose hospitals stand unrivalled by those of any other country in the world, there seems to be a growing dissatisfaction with them, a seething feeling that, in some way or other, great changes are required and must come, and I fear a considerable risk that, with the best intentions in the world, unless those responsible for our hospitals take individual action and put their houses in order, the public may proceed from words to deeds, and thereby perchance make matters more unsatisfactory than they already are. The *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle* of February 13th, 1897, sums up the situation very fairly. It says:

"While the Prince of Wales is appealing for much-needed assistance for the London hospitals, these institutions themselves are passing through a kind of crisis. A cry has gone up for reform and a removal of hospital abuses, and, though the monetary difficulty is at the bottom of much that is complained of, it cannot be denied that the management of medical charities leaves much to be desired. The present divided control is by no means the most perfect that can be imagined, but with all its deficiencies it is preferable to the central Board of Control which many are clamouring for at the moment. It is argued that the control of accounts by a central authority would assist charitable persons in the proper disposal of their alms. This might be so in a few instances; but benevolent people with money to spend as a rule prefer to give spontaneously and without any direction or dictation from others, however well-intentioned they may be. But, although the advantages of a controlling board are doubtful, there is no question that the payment of a body of officials would divert from the relief of the suffering poor some portion of the charity specially contributed for that purpose; and it does not seem very logical for people who are decrying the existing heavy cost of management to urge the establishment of a body which would unquestionably increase the cost.

"In addition to those who wish to 'organise' the London medical charities there is a Hospital Reform Association, with Lord Tredegar at its head, which seeks to impose a rigorous medical examination upon every sufferer who applies for relief. Hospital managers are requested to 'receive as out-patients only those who have been recommended by competent medical authorities,' and to prevent overcrowding, not to admit to the hospitals in any instance more than twenty fresh cases each day. The adoption of these drastic suggestions would destroy to a large extent the usefulness of the hospitals. No doubt many unworthy people receive the benefits intended for more necessitous sufferers, but too close a discrimination in such cases would be harmful rather than beneficial to the hospitals. 'Evil is wrought by want of thought, as much as want of heart,' and although our hospital managers do occasionally commit errors, their blunders are due to benevolent instincts, and may be more readily condoned than mistakes arising from a too rigid application of tests and restrictions."

Now it seems to me it might be well if those who have thought a little on this matter of hospitals, were to put their thoughts somewhat together and exchange them with others. The world after all is not composed of shining lights, but, at best, of only moderately intelligent persons; thus, if we hang back because we are not shining lights, we shall end by leaving the management of things to a very small circle, and however clever and superior to ourselves such a circle may be, this is a very dangerous proceeding, for it infallibly leads to a renunciation on the part of the many of individual responsibilities; and this, indeed, seems to me the very cause of much which is to be deprecated in the present condition of hospitals. In thinking over hospitals we have two facts confronting

us from which we cannot get away, namely, that no hospital can exist without a medical staff, and secondly, that there must be some body of persons immediately responsible for the management of the hospital. From these two facts we cannot escape; we may set up as many central boards, inspectors, guardians of the rights of the public, the doctors and the patients as we like, we still come back to the fact that we must have a medical staff, and a committee, a Board—call it what you choose—which bodies must be responsible, respectively, for the treatment of the patients and the management of the hospital. It is thus imperative that these two divisions of the hospital world should do their work well, or we cannot expect satisfaction with the hospital which will be the result of their efforts. Of these two factors again, the medical staff is the more important. We can imagine a hospital run by a medical staff with no one else responsible; but we cannot imagine a hospital run without a medical staff; the first and paramount business of these establishments is to cure the sick and injured, and this can only be done by medical men. The medical staff is therefore the most important portion of the hospital world; on the virtues or otherwise of the medical staff the hospital chiefly depends. I therefore shall first direct my thoughts to the medical staff, and ask myself how the medical profession is constituted? What constitutes a medical man? Who is responsible for his training, and introduction to practice? and is the condition of the profession such as to justify us in expecting thoroughly satisfactory results in our hospitals, so far as the medical staff is concerned?

A medical man is a man who holds a licence to practise medicine or surgery, or both, from certain authorities constituted by law. By a series of Medical Acts beginning with the Act of 1511, the State has delegated to certain corporations the right and duty of determining the course of education, of examining, passing, and registering those persons who desire to carry on the practice of medicine and surgery in Great Britain and Ireland. These corporations include the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons of England, the Universities, Colleges of Physicians in Edinburgh and Ireland and certain other Medical Corporations.

Finally, there is a body, called the General Medical Council, whose special duties are to lay down the general curriculum of education and to place any one who holds a diploma from any of the above corporations (and who is willing to pay the sum of five guineas) on its register, and this register is a matter of the greatest importance to the medical profession. The corporations above mentioned each have a register, on which are entered the names of all the men holding a diploma of such corporation. Should any of these men be considered unworthy of continuing to hold their diploma, their names may be struck off the register; the corporation so acting must, however, give full information to the General Medical Council of the reasons of its action. The General Medical Council, however, has far larger powers than these, for if it considers a man on its register guilty of what it terms "infamous conduct," which does not in the least mean that he has necessarily been guilty either of immorality or of mismanagement of his patients, it has the power (subject to an appeal to the courts, which would almost certainly fail) to strike him off its own register, and any such man would be precisely in the same position, with regard to the practice of medicine and surgery, as a lawyer who has been disbarred is with regard to the practice of law. It is, therefore, evident that the Government, by means of these Medical Acts, has set up a powerful monopoly which has immense capacities for good or evil. Now let us see how this works and how these corporations are discharging and

using the onerous and important duties and rights placed in their hands by the State. In the *Lancet* of February 6th, 1897, I find the following remarkable statement:

"Every anatomical teacher who is familiar with the daily work of our profession deploras the decadence in practical anatomy which is now so marked. We do not, hesitate to say, that the number of medical students who now thoroughly dissect the human body, so as to show and to see the structures clearly, is much less than it was fifteen or twenty years ago, and is gradually dwindling to a minimum. Yet it is from these students that the future surgeon must come. The student is no longer to study anatomy in its application to the practice of medicine, surgery and midwifery, but he is to be taught this eminently practical science 'from a morphological standpoint, and as a member of the great animal series.' His science is everything; his practical investigation for his after career is relegated to quite a subsidiary place. So in physiology, the time that was formerly allotted to the elucidation of the functions of the human body, to the proper methods of preparing histological sections of the organs, and to the broad facts in the chemistry of the secretions, is now mainly occupied with minute details of physical and chemical experimental physiology, so that the student cannot see the forest because of the immense number of the trees." "The later subjects which will require all his time and attention are the clinical ones—medicine, surgery and midwifery—and here too the text-book knowledge has been permitted to predominate over a real acquaintance with the practical recognition and treatment of disease. Then, again, the examination system, at present adopted by most qualifying boards, is at fault. . . . the methods of the examination room are often quite different from those employed in actual practice. We are glad to see that practical teachers like Mr. Mitchell Banks, Mr. Pridgin Teale, Dr. Struthers and others are with us in this protest."

Nor is this the first time such a complaint has been made. About four years ago Dr. George Foy, of Dublin, asserted that the time of students, by encouraging them to devote themselves to matters of secondary importance, was being wasted.

"The student," he said, "is called on to study the most difficult and most frequent of operations on the body—operations that not one in a thousand practitioners ever see, much less perform. He spends month after month studying how to stain bacilli and diagnosticate unusual diseases, and is never required to know anything of chloroform, ether, methylene, bromide of ethyl, or any other anæsthetic. . . . To know how to give chloroform is vastly more valuable than to be able to stain bacilli."

To return to anatomy, of which it may safely be said that a man may just as soon try to write poetry without having first learnt the words he requires to use, as try to be a successful physician or surgeon without first thoroughly learning anatomy. "A Teacher of Anatomy" writing in the *Lancet* in 1893, complained "that the new methods may be more interesting, but they do not train men to observe for themselves like dissecting," while the *Lancet* in 1894, in reviewing a remarkable book by Professor McEwen, praised it as one which would have delighted the heart of an old-fashioned anatomist, and declared that "many of our most intelligent students do not know the position of the tendons round wrist or ankle joint, or the relations of the aortic curve. Dissections of the deeper regions are seldom made now."

More recently we find the same complaint, the *Lancet* again writing that although the new pathology may be more interesting, it doubts whether it is as good a training as the older methods were. Only last year Dr. Mitchell Banks, in addressing the Yorkshire College Medical Society, bore testimony to the same fact; he said that often, when he began teaching in Liverpool, he used to be surprised at the extent and accuracy of the students' anatomical knowledge; but for many years they have been steadily deteriorating in their knowledge.

"It is the same as regards physiology. One department alone—that relating to the nervous system and to electric experiments—is now more extensive than the entire subject was in my student days; but what is the result? Endless time is spent in

galvanising frogs and making tracings on drums, whilst only the other day a physician complained that his clerks seemed to be ignorant of the simplest functions of the liver and kidneys."

Dr. S. West again, at a meeting of the Royal College of Physicians only a few months ago, stated that it was the general complaint, now-a-days that the newly-qualified medical man is inferior to what he was formerly. It is not very surprising after all this to find so well-known a surgeon as Mr. Thomas Cook declaring that, so little faith has he in the present methods of education, that were he suffering from a strangulated hernia, he would rather try to operate on himself than trust himself in the hands of a "learned surgeon of the modern school." It can hardly be said after this that the state-monopoly has worked well with regard to purely professional attainments; but professional attainments, though they undoubtedly take the first place, are not all which go to make a good physician. To be this, as Dr. Wadham well said the other day, he must have "tact and temper, and beyond every other quality—sympathy." In fact, he must have self-control, cool judgment, and that courtesy which is not of a highly-trained manner, but of the mind; he must have, in short, a cool head and a warm heart. How do the present methods of medical training work in this respect? Let us turn again to the medical profession for a reply. Let us ask it to tell us whether the present methods tend to make men humane, whether that graciousness and courtesy of manner, to which we are so well accustomed in the West End consulting-room, is the rule of daily life? and let us see how these very men treat each other in the privacy of medical meetings and the medical press. With regard to the effect on the humanity of medical men likely to be exercised by the present methods of medical training by the present efforts to copy foreign schools, I will but quote the words of Dr. Brindley James at the meeting of the British Medical Association held at Carlisle in 1896. He observed that we did not want any more servile imitations of foreign academies; that they would do more harm than good to the medical profession, for, said he, "we want our doctors to be humane to their kind." With regard to the judgment, self-control and courtesy of medical men, the less that is said about these qualities the better, if the large assembly collected at the above-mentioned Annual Meeting of the British Medical Association is any criterion. According to the accounts given in various medical papers, wrangling "rowdyism," "chaos" prevailed in that section (of all others) termed of "Ethics"; there were "many foolish, sordid, spiteful utterances," "the ethical section was a ridiculous failure, and in some ways a disgrace."

So hopeless does it seem, however, in some quarters to reform the manners which rendered this section so lively, that one medical paper suggests that henceforth no reporters for the lay press should be present, so that if these scenes are repeated, at least the profane public shall not hear of them. What must be admitted, as, to a certain extent, amusing, was the fierce attack made by members of the British Medical Association on the Association itself, one candid member going so far as to express the opinion that it is "the most hopeless, helpless and futile organisation ever seen in the world, a huge whale stranded on the sands of time, incapable of doing anything but flap its tail." Considering the authoritative manner in which the organ of the Association, the *British Medical Journal*, dogmatizes on matters scientific and moral, it is somewhat diverting to find with how little respect the Association is regarded by some of its members, in whose names the *Journal* professes to speak. It was, however, not the only medical body whose shortcomings produced excitement

both at the Carlisle meeting and subsequently. The highest authority of all on medical matters, the General Medical Council, came in for many hard knocks, and the indignation excited by its failings, real or supposed, led to a fiery correspondence between Mr. Horsley and Mr. Brudenel-Carter, which was terminated in a letter which appeared in the *Lancet* of October 3rd, 1896, and in which I find these words:

"LETTER FROM MR. BRUDENEL CARTER TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'LANCET.'"

"SIRS,—The discussion concerning the alleged shortcomings of the General Medical Council, which you were good enough to allow me to commence some weeks ago, has now reached a stage, and has been continued in a manner, which alike suggest to me that it had better be brought to a conclusion. I should allow Mr. Victor Horsley's last letter (I am given to understand that he is no longer 'Professor') to pass unnoticed, but for the consideration that, if I did so, he might succeed in persuading himself, and might perhaps try to persuade others, that no effective answer was possible. I therefore apply myself to the task of exhibiting his statements in their true light; and, for the sake of clearness, I will number them as I proceed.

"Mr. Horsley says (1) that I 'grossly insulted' the whole body of general practitioners; (2) that, by my own admission, I 'deliberately misrepresented' the Medical Acts; (3) that I 'encouraged quackery'; (4) that I so far misrepresented my opponent's statements at Carlisle, as practically (whatever that may mean) to have committed literary forgery; and (5) that I 'opposed constitutional reform.'

"With regard to (1) when Mr. Horsley in a former letter falsely charged me with having 'insulted' my professional brethren, I temperately pointed out that the charge was groundless, and called upon him either to substantiate or to withdraw it. I did not, as he says, 'violently demand' that he should do one or the other, for, in my ignorance of his peculiarities, I lapsed into the futility of appealing to him as 'a man of honour.' The appeal was of course as fruitless as it would be to draw a cheque upon a bank which has closed its doors, and what Mr. Horsley did was to write a shambling half column, in which, while utterly unable to meet my challenge that he should cite a single word or phrase which, read in connexion with its context, was insulting to anybody, he tried to escape from his dilemma by converting his charge into a general one, and by saying that my 'whole paragraph' 'appeared to him' to be insulting, and that he 'failed to see' how it could be shown to be 'other than discourteous.' I can understand that Mr. Horsley may 'fail to see' what is obvious to ordinary intelligences, but surely I have no responsibility for his 'failures,' and it is morally wrong of him to say that my paragraph 'was' insulting when the truth was only that he 'thought' it so. He now writes that in reply to my challenge he 'gave me chapter and verse,' which is precisely what he did not do, and what he could not do without showing the absurdity of his own allegation. Furthermore, in continuation of the same subject he says that in the opening of my first letter I 'compared' practitioners to 'suspected criminals.' He knows perfectly well that I neither instituted nor suggested such comparison. I pointed out the unquestionable fact, that the only practitioners who come 'under the jurisdiction' of the Council are either accused or convicted persons, and hence I argued that this jurisdiction does not constitute a claim for the 'direct representation' of those, who are neither accused nor convicted. The argument may be sound or not, but it does not contain any comparison of anything or anybody to any other thing or any other body, and it cannot, by any amount either of stupidity or of misconstruction, be made to bear the meaning which Mr. Horsley has endeavoured to attach to it.

"Charge No. 2 is somewhat puzzling. It is absolutely untrue to say that I have 'admitted the offence of having misrepresented' the Medical Acts; for I have no idea how such an offence could be committed, and certainly have not pleaded guilty to it. I wonder whether 'Acts' would feel 'misrepresentation' acutely, and whether they would have any remedy, perhaps in suing by Mr. Horsley as their next friend, if they were to take the case into a court of law? I can imagine the possibility of misrepresenting the language of the Acts, or their intention, or their effect; and, indeed, I have seen many examples of such misrepresentation lately. Possibly something of this kind is what Mr. Horsley means, and his obscurity may only be due to his not knowing how to express himself. If this be so, I deny the truth of the accusation. To the best of my knowledge and belief I have never misrepresented the language or the effects of the Acts in any way, and I have nowhere made any admission of having done so. I am not 'my own lawyer,' and hence it is quite probable that I may understand the Acts better than Mr. Horsley himself.

"Charge No. 3, that of having 'supported quackery,' does not seem to require

refutation. I have not mentioned quackery, except to refer to the attitude of the Legislature with regard to it.

"Charge No. 4, that by misrepresenting the statements made at Carlisle I have 'practically committed literary forgery,' might perhaps be rendered clearer than it is. I do not understand the force either of the adverb or of the adjective. 'Practical,' implies, I suppose, a distinction from 'theoretical' forgery; and I presume that, if so, the former must be actual and accomplished, while the latter is only in contemplation. Then 'literary!' What would a 'non-literary' forgery resemble? Would it be a forgery not yet written down, but resembling the 'theoretical' one in being nascent, inchoate, fully existent only in the mind of the intending forger? These questions are important, because forgery is a serious offence either to commit or to be charged with, a far more serious offence, in my judgment, even than 'misrepresenting' an Act of Parliament, and I have a not unnatural curiosity to know whether I am a 'forger' or not. I think not, if 'misrepresentation' of the Carlisle papers be taken as a test. When I only knew of these papers through the imperfect medium of a condensed report I described them collectively as 'balderdash.' I have since read them singly, and I do not think it possible for any description to be more entirely accurate. I cannot imagine more utter balderdash, unless it be supplied by the charge which Mr. Horsley has based upon my treatment of them.

"Charge No. 5, deals with matters of opinion. A proposed change which Mr. Horsley would regard as a 'reform,' might appear to me to be a retrogression, and if so, it would be both my right and my duty to oppose it. 'Reform' and 'constitutional' are, in fact, words without meaning; but Mr. Horsley's use of them shows, that his mind has never soared beyond the old definitions of 'orthodoxy' and 'heterodoxy,' as 'my-dox' and 'your-dox.' He falls into the very juvenile error of advancing his extremely questionable opinions as if they were statements of facts, forgetting that, with regard to each and all of them, he will find hundreds of people with powers of judgment far better than his own, with wider experience of affairs, and of higher and more finished culture, who will differ from him by the whole sky on the many subjects concerning which he endeavours to fancy himself infallible.

"Life is not long enough to follow Mr. Horsley through all the windings of his letter, but I observe a reference to my mention of Allinson's case, in which my critic falls into the absurd mistake of confounding Allinson's original appeal against the sentence of the Council, of which alone I was speaking, with the proceedings which were taken against him on a subsequent occasion. The mistake by itself is of small importance (for what is one among so many?) but it may serve as an additional illustration of Mr. Horsley's general inaccuracy. His attempt to conceal another blunder by representing that to utter a caution is to 'censure severely, merely establishes conclusively what his earlier letters led me to suspect—namely, that he does not understand the meanings of the many common words which he systematically misapplies. I should greatly like to know whether some of his misapplications do not amount to the 'practical commission of a literary forgery.'

"And now only one word more. The farrago of rubbish and falsehood, the meanness and malignancy which I have, I think, sufficiently exposed, is connected together by coarse personalities and vulgar abuse, such as are no longer tolerated in any decent society. I do not think it would be consistent either with my own dignity or with my professional position to continue a controversy which my opponent conducts in such a manner."

It is not surprising that this was followed by the editorial note:

"This correspondence must now cease. We cannot but regret that many of the letters have contained expressions of such a bitterly personal nature. Neither the cause of medical reform, nor the elucidation of the medical Acts, is furthered by accusations of mendacity and other crimes. Certain gentlemen whose letters have not been published, are requested to understand that they have entirely transgressed the bounds of what we consider to be decent criticism."

I do not think I am an inquisitive person, but I must confess I should like to know what those gentlemen did write. But this violence and these scenes are not new. Some time ago at the Church Congress of 1892, the public was amazed at the unmeasured language used in the vivisection discussion by Mr. Horsley, and attributed it to the peculiar temperament of an individual, but this was an error, for the following year, in reporting the proceedings of the British Medical Association, held on that occasion at Newcastle, the *Lancet* remarked, with pleasure, on the absence of the "bitter personalities" usual on these occasions, and complimented

the President of the year, for his instant checking of all "violence and waywardness of tongue." The same propensity is constantly appearing in the discussions in the medical papers between various representatives of what the *Lancet* has termed the "New Pathology," when any difference of opinion or view arises among them. In considering the question of hospitals, the condition of the medical profession is to my mind the most important factor which we have to deal with. Do what we will, the medical man is, and ever must be, the most important person in the hospital *after the patient*. He is master of the position. If, therefore, his training has been unsatisfactory, it will be difficult to make the hospital thoroughly satisfactory. Thinking over these matters I ask myself whether the presentment of the medical man as given by members of the profession is satisfactory, whether the training given is fitting men, scientifically and mentally, for the immense trust placed in the hands of the physician or surgeon, especially the physician or surgeon holding an appointment to a hospital, whether in fact the enormous power placed by the State in the hands of certain corporations is working for good or for evil?

—+X+—

### Life's Mirror.

There are loyal hearts, there are spirits brave,  
There are souls that are pure and true!  
Then give to the world the best you have  
And the best will come back to you.

Give truth, and your gifts will be paid in kind,  
And honour will honour meet,  
And a smile that is sweet will surely find  
A smile that is just as sweet!

Give pity and sorrow to those who mourn;  
You will gather in flowers again,  
The scattered seeds from your thought outborne,  
Though the sowing seemed but vain.

For life is a mirror of king and slave,  
'Tis just what we are and do.  
Then give to the world the best you have  
And the best will come back to you.

MADELINE S. BRIDGES.

*From the "Daily Mail."*

**CONCERT BY STUDENTS.**—Steinway Hall, on the evening of Monday the 1st of March, was the scene of the triumph of the successful students of Miss Gertrude Azulay, of the Kilburn Conservatoire; and a very pleasant evening concert was enjoyed by the friends of the students and others who had assembled to witness the distribution of certificates and listen to the pieces played over by the students for their delectation. Miss Azulay had indeed good reason to be well pleased with the results of her own and her co-teacher's work, which drew forth a well-deserved tribute of praise from her appreciative audience. Miss Florence Oliver and Mr. Douglas Powell assisted, and a recitation was cleverly given by Mr. Leon B. Azulay.

## HAPPINESS.

THERE is an error into which the best people often fall, it is therefore perhaps one of the most difficult to combat.

It is like so many errors, an exaggerated virtue arising first in unselfishness (for unselfishness if it is not guided by wisdom may—and often does—degenerate into weakness thus defeating its own purpose.) This error is the belief that happiness is *not* a supreme good, to be striven for as ardently and as religiously as any other; or, being a supreme good it is impossible for ordinary mortals to attain it.

It has been said, "Life is made up of marble and mud." This may or may not be true. It is certain that many of us make our own mud and stick in it most persistently. Certain too, that some of us find life's marble only to bruise ourselves against it, sometimes to break our hearts upon it, it is so pure and white, but oh, so pitilessly hard and cold.

And this very denial of the divinity of happiness, or the belief in the impossibility of its attainment, is the mud in which we stick, and the marble we break our hearts against.

For hide it away as we will, deep in the heart of each one of us, bound up with our very being—ay, and if we would but believe it, a sign of that being's source, a promise, and a fulfilment, of our birthright, our eternal *oneness* with God, who is not only the God of Holiness, but also the God of Joy—is the hungering, thirsting, desire for happiness.

And this being so, to deny the possibility of the desire's fulfilment, would seem an atheistical denial of God's omnipotence, or an acquiescence in a belief in a great Power, creating in the hearts of each of us a desire only to deride it, by offering to our hunger stones for bread.

Therefore it comes about that the unselfishness that gives up its own happiness for others is unwise and illogical.

"Just as I cannot, till myself convinced  
Impart conviction, so to deal forth joy  
Adroitly, needs must I know joy myself."

Only out of our own abundance may we wisely or justly give.

This theory must not be mistaken for one that discountenances the fullest and freest giving of ourselves for others. "Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friend."

But it shall be no *sad* sacrifice. In love and joy shall he lay down his life. And thus to lay down one's life, is to take up the life of the Highest to enter into "Joy beyond Joy."

Yet surely the need of happiness is crying within us every day!

Vainly we deem we shall find it in something external. In wealth or pleasure or some phantasm that seems ever within our reach, and like a mocking demon fades into nothingness just as our hands seem to grasp it.

Shall we not cease from this maddening pursuit, and once for all turn our eyes *inward*, away from all illusion of time and change and evil, of separation from our true self, which is divine and infinite?

When shall we recognise the supreme wisdom of the precept "Know thyself?" When shall we begin to take possession of our birthright, claiming our eternal unity with the God of love and peace and joy?

Ceasing, for ever to whine of the miseries around us, with doubting eyes fixed on a radiant Heaven away beyond the world, beyond ourselves, but with glad and proud conviction of our right, take up our inheritance, the Heaven that is here and now, within and around us everywhere; in token of our acceptance, offering daily the grace we owe to ourselves and to God—the grace of happiness.

## What Limits?

IF the spiritual possibilities in us are ever to be made manifest in this body, something must be done to rouse the people to the knowledge that within our body lies the power to counteract all climatic changes and to reconstruct that body upon an entirely new foundation—a foundation of perfect supremacy over everything exterior to itself. To do that the first step is to draw our attention to the fact that, powerful as wind, water, fire, food and hygiene are upon the body, there is a power *in* that body yet more powerful than all things outside of it, also to force our attention to what an extraordinary extent thought influences the bodily condition; anything which would succeed in doing that would be desirable but not entirely satisfactory, unless by means of realising thought's power we were forced to realise the greatest power, that of the spirit, which lies within thought or precedes thought, and gives it its life.

However, if immense numbers of people could be roused to realise that thought has all to do with moulding climate, atmosphere and food into conditions of body, it would be a great step in advance of to-day's conceptions of man's powers and possibilities.

Few (comparatively of course) know that by thought the law of heredity can be overcome, that pre-natal influences can be eliminated, and that ordinary illnesses could be entirely driven away, that by the line of thinking we pursue we draw to ourselves success or failure, poverty or riches, friends or enemies—yet it is the truth.

Parents in training their children, in consonance with their ideal of careful, loving thoughtfulness towards them, are always impressing upon them the importance of caring for the body both as to what goes into the body and what the outside conditions are in this way: "Be careful, dear, you are in a draught," "Be sure and wrap up thoroughly, or you will take cold," "Do not walk too far, you will tire yourself," "Do not sit in the sun reading, it will weaken your eyes," "Do not sit with your back to the fire, it will make you ill," "Do not get wet, or it will give you rheumatism," "Do not eat so many tomatoes, they make cancer," "Sweets will make you ill," etc.

It is rarely "My dear, do not give way to temper in that frightful manner, or you will bring on a severe headache," "Do not worry like that, or you will sow the seeds of cancer," "Do not be so jealous, or you will bring on a bilious attack," "Do not be so very heartless and unkind, or you will have congestion," "Do not depreciate yourself, or you will weaken your brain," "Do not be so proud, or you will cramp all your muscles," "Do not be so nervous, or you will pave the way for paralysis," etc.

If this course were persisted in with the same faithfulness that is now maintained on the other line, children would soon learn that thought was a very important factor in their lives, and that what *they* thought would have a result now.

Another effect would be to familiarise them with what is unseen; if thought were held up as being so powerful and yet unseen it would result in wiping out of their poor little fear-distracted brains the dreadful horrors which haunt nearly every child about that which in any way trends upon the unseen or unknown.

And the parents who realise how very impressive thought is, will carefully refrain from reiterating to children that such and such a disease, weakness, fault or vice has been in the family for years, but will try and wipe out of their own minds any such remembrance, feeling that each hour, aye, each moment, presents to every person an absolutely new page

upon which is no written word, and upon which can be only written what they impress.

Parents who have, as the foundation principle in their souls, the belief that "all things are possible," who seek daily to realise it more and more fully, will do for their children more than millions of pounds could do, for they will impress that idea so firmly upon the fresh impressionable souls of their children, that nothing can ever take it away, and will open to the children the wonderful unseen world where thought is the creative force ceaselessly at work. From a belief in, and careful attention to thought, soon would be revealed to each one the something which lies *within thought*. The spirit of all forces, of all knowledge, of all progress, the Infinite and life would then become what our ancestors never pictured possible this side of the grave.

And when all has been proved possible which is now hoped for, we shall find more beauties. All this would tend towards bringing the unseen nearer to the view, and of making the impossible possible; the hiatus between the spiritual life and the physical life would grow less, hopeful dreams and glorious visions would become realities, the (present) ideal life would be in our midst, and as we lived it daily, before our souls and into thought would come some ideas which to-day cannot find resting-place because of the exceedingly limited conceptions we have of ourselves and our powers.

A. G.

### You Never Can Tell.

FROM THE "DAILY MAIL."

You never can tell when you send a word—  
Like an arrow shot from a bow  
By an archer blind—be it cruel or kind,  
Just where it will chance to go.  
You may pierce the breast of your dearest friend,  
Tipped with its poison or balm;  
To a stranger's heart in life's great mart  
It may carry its pain or its calm.

You never can tell when you do an act  
Just what the result will be;  
But with every deed you are sowing a seed,  
Though its harvest you may not see.  
Each kindly act is an acorn dropped  
In God's productive soil;  
Though you may not know, yet the tree shall grow  
And shelter the brows that toil.

You never can tell what your thoughts will do  
In bringing you hate or love;  
For thoughts are things, and their airy wings  
Are swifter than carrier dove.  
They follow the law of the universe—  
Each thing must create its kind,  
And they speed o'er the track to bring you back  
Whatever went out from your mind.

"It is very cheap wit that finds it so droll that a woman should vote."—RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

"Justice, simple justice is what the world needs."—LUCY STONE.

"Every woman has rights, as a human being first, which belong to no sex."—HARRIET BEECHER STOWE.

"Justice and fair dealing, and the democratic principles of our government demand equal rights and privileges, irrespective of sex."—JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER.

### Correspondence.

"SURVIVES TO-DAY."

DEAR MRS. SIBTHORP,—What a touching letter was that you printed from our dear President who is no more! "Try somehow to keep the Club together." It makes me wish to be rich, but you will tell us more no doubt in your next issue.

The Pioneers have lost their best friend! Dear soul! she has travelled on, and will still work for her beloved cause, though not in the earthly form.—Always sincerely yours, S. E. GAY.

### AN EARNEST PURPOSE.

MY DEAR MRS. SIBTHORP,—I do not want to inflict a long letter upon so busy a woman, and yet there are *so many things* I should like to tell you, and inquire about. How you must miss the Pioneer President! what a charming and splendid influence she was (and *is* I hope, and likely to remain). The picture does her no justice! Your dedication is beautiful, and has done us good to read. I dare not presume to say more upon so tender and sacred a subject as this must be to you, but I may ask you to believe in my sympathy for you and all the brave pioneers, who must feel very lonely unless, and even though they do, possess a strong spiritual faith.

For some weeks I have been waiting for copies of *The Reign of Terror*, I ordered it through a local bookseller, and he says his London agent cannot find it; I gave the publisher, etc., correctly, and wanted to distribute some copies.

Last night I took the affirmative in a debate at a Men's Mutual Improvement Society on "Is it desirable that Women should participate in Political Life?" I did my best and was glad to see many young women of from twenty to thirty years old amongst the audience (who came afterwards and thanked me). How I wished you, Miss Balfour, or some strong earnest speaker had been there to move the men from their old threadbare arguments, but they were so weak that even poor I could go a long way in demolishing them. I was very much exhausted, as I give off so much; but it struck me that I might do more good yet, if I asked you to send me some back numbers of *SHAFTS*, containing articles specially bearing upon the subject of women, the natural relationship they show for the higher and purer side of life. One man said, "Do you want to upset the laws of creation! In every department the male rules; the lion rules the lioness," etc., etc., etc. I flatly contradicted all this stuff! I believe that if those women could *now* have new thoughts put before them, it might be a fresh starting-point for some at least to date from. I give my *SHAFTS* away, and therefore cannot ask for the months I want, so I must give you more trouble than I have any right to do. You will understand when I say I believe in Inspiration; and this thought came to me the moment I awoke after a sound sleep from midnight. I feel bound to try and do something.

I am president of a Women's Liberal Association here and looked upon as "dangerous" and an "agitator." In four years we have gathered 200 women members; had five local elections. I have stood twice as P.L.G. and been beaten, by Brewers, Church and Tories combined. Then our Woman P.L.G. went in uncontested; and next we got in a Liberal to the Town Council, and he was chairman last night. The women are slowly, but I hope surely, awakening, and I would fain help them to help themselves, and I know you will joy to aid me in this work!

Then I see you have Edith Ward's address, "The Vital Question," advertised; do you supply it? One man (a working man) spoke up like a *true* man, and very plainly too, referring to the women's untiring work to try to *undo* the bad and wicked work of *men alone* in Parliament in passing the C. D. Acts; he said, if women had been there in right proportion, even the most sensual of men would not have dared to sully our statute books in such an abominable way. I went and thanked him specially for his help, and I feel sure altogether good was done.

I hope I may see you when I am in London in May.—Believe me, yours sincerely,

A HOPEFUL WORKER.

"The united votes of men and women will give the fullest, fairest, and most accurate expression of public opinion."—HENRY R. BLACKWELL.



### The Suffrage—Ah He!

AN enraged and shrieking brother is mad on the subject of Woman's Suffrage; so mad at the bare idea of woman daring to strike for freedom, that he has rushed into print in the *Referee*. In his frenzy he is even more illogical than men usually are, especially on the subject of women. He pictures to himself women legislating in the House to put down tobacco or alcohol or clubs (the use of these articles surely he must mean, for tobacco and alcohol, when used as they are by men, have surely been put down as low as they can possibly sink]. As for clubs!—ye gods! why women are just beginning to raise clubs to their proper level. In his picture he sees women desiring "an ignominious peace" (must peace desired by women be necessarily *ignominious*), while men desire war, and he says that the result of all this conflicting opinion would be that women would be "bundled out neck and crop out of the House of Commons and sent back to the boudoir and the kitchen." He ends this tirade of hysterical silliness by saying that "even if women proved their case twenty times over, still he, as one of the *brutal* sex [his own name for it] would say, Let them assert their rights if they can, *we* [men] mean the world to be governed in our own way. [Logical mind!] They may regulate the kitchen and the nursery if they choose." Ha! ha! ha! Peace brother. Seek solitude, and gain *calm* judgment, an' thou hast *any*, for futile is all thy drivelling, futile all thy scheming, and all thou canst do—an' thou darrest anything! There exists a MIGHTY FORCE under which, and against which, thou mayest wriggle, and stamp and scream thyself hoarse, but from the dominion of which thou canst not escape, neither thou nor the race; it is the LAW of LIFE; PROGRESS; it is the inevitable, irresistible Law of EVOLUTION. Go study it earnestly, humbly, then take up thy pen once more and write what it dictates; meanwhile vex not thy soul with what thou canst not hinder.

—o—

A SPEAKER recently said:—Some people cannot see, or say they cannot see, anything "disgusting and demoralising" in fat cattle shows. I cannot understand this. To my mind it is one of the *most* disgusting acts of this terrible tragedy called *The Traffic in Flesh*. An animal too fat to move with ease, with its respiration twice as fast as it ought to be, surrounded by stroking, patting and pinching men, who are contemplating this live beast and discussing with interest how much it will weigh when dead. This is not a disgusting sight, we are told, except to our distended vision. Well and good. All I can say is, however much pain it may give me, however much I may regret in one sense that pain, I still say "Thank God for that distended vision!"—MAUDE HADDEN, *Herald of Health*.

### OFFICIAL NOTICES AND RULES.

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*All articles, letters, etc., should be accompanied by the full name and address of the writers, not necessarily for publication.*

*All contributions must be clearly and legibly written on one side of the paper only. Where payment may be desired the MSS. should be so marked. The Editor will in all cases endeavour to return rejected MSS. if accompanied by sufficiently stamped and addressed envelope, but cannot accept any responsibility for the loss or miscarriage of any unsolicited contributions.*

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