

Mrs. Pankhurst's Address

NOTE.—In Great Britain today the question of Woman's Suffrage is quite to the front. The newspapers are full of the story of the struggle. The leader of the Woman's movement, Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, delivered an address in Winnipeg on December 16, before a large audience of the most intelligent people of the city. With the importance of this movement continually growing, the readers of The Guide will wish to know all about it whether or not they favor woman suffrage. For that reason we are publishing a report of Mrs. Pankhurst's address.—Ed.

"Votes for women" that slogan of many a forceful battle and wordy argument in England, was ushered into Winnipeg on Saturday evening as peacefully as any of the messages of Christmastide.

As the veteran champion of the cause, Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, marshalled her arguments for woman suffrage in solid array, the growing enthusiasm of the 2,000 in Central Congregational church—who listened, showed that in Winnipeg was a wealth of untapped resources for the rights of women, till now lying dormant and awaiting only the call to awake.

Seldom, if ever, has a political gathering in the city passed off with such unanimity. Not a solitary voice interrupted the course of the speaker; there was constant and continued applause, and at the close of her two hours' oration, not a question was asked, such was the conviction which her arguments and impassioned appeals wrought in the vast assembly. Though, he it said, at the close Mrs. Pankhurst after the manner of her arch-enemy, the king's first minister, had to beat a hurried retreat to catch a train. Yet unlike him she went in the view of all and undisguised.

A pale, slight woman, with a somewhat tired expression on her countenance, Mrs. Pankhurst on first appearance seems to give the lie to the expectation that she is a born leader or champion of any cause. But on rising to speak she becomes all on a sudden the most animated of platform speakers. Her eyes sparkle with a lively glow as she warms to the subject and as at times she speaks of the sadder things, her voice has a mellow, tender note, impressive beyond the power of any written word. She has none of the quips, and tricks of oratory but in simple and direct language she speaks her message forth. Here and there is a sally of naive wit, here and there a defiant challenge, but none of the rough and ready boisterous eloquence which is so often connected with the political platform.

The address of Mrs. Pankhurst to the Women's University club, on Saturday, giving as it did a resume of the struggle for the suffrage for women in England, went to show that there is more in the present agitation than the mere desire to get the vote. Far deeper goes the matter involving, as it does, the whole program of social legislation and the further emancipation of the sex for which many women have striven these last twenty years.

Defence of Methods

Tracing the history of the movement for woman suffrage from its start, under the guidance of John Stuart Mill in 1867 up to the present time, Mrs. Pankhurst put in a strong defence of the methods which might have been employed by the suffragists for the past five years, showing that no militant step had been taken except under strong provocation. She then discussed the value the enfranchisement of women would be for the community at large, saying that their better understanding of such problems as infantile mortality, the white slave trade and conditions of women's labor, would have them better solved. In matters of home life and marriage and divorce, she claimed that as one of the partners woman should of a certainty have a say in the legislation which was made on these matters.

Introduced to her audience by Dr. Mary Crawford, Mrs. Pankhurst said that she was glad to meet such a large audience in one of the British dominions which was regarded as of supreme importance in the homeland, and said that the question of woman suffrage, of which she was to speak, was one of prime importance all over the world, and particularly in Canada. "The woman's movement," she continued, "is world wide. There is nothing so remarkable in the world today as the fact that half of humanity is stirred with an unrest as are the women of the

present. This unrest finds expression in different ways, but it is the same all over the world. It is a call for fuller opportunity, for greater self-development and for wider self-expression. In those countries where there is no representative government the movement takes the form of a demand for fuller educational facilities as in Turkey. Lately the women there waited on the Sultan to state their demands and he received them with a grace which was unlike that of those who call themselves more liberal than he.

Claim Same Power

"Where there are representative institutions," continued Mrs. Pankhurst, "the unrest takes the form of a demand for citizenship. Women claim that they perform all the duties of citizens like men. They are called on to undertake all the functions of citizens, but are deprived of the one power of the citizen which lies in the vote. Women are asking that this last disability of the sex be removed. If they have won all the qualifications for enfranchisement, they should not be refused the privilege owing merely to the accident of birth.

"In England women are now at the stage where men were seventy years ago. They were constitutionally refused the franchise, and they had recourse to un-

accepted fact of history. They resorted to ways that no woman can defend. Like us they claimed their constitutional rights and in doing so they broke the laws in the making of which they had not been consulted. Our methods are but mild and moderate compared with theirs and were only resorted to after all conciliatory and patient methods had been quite exhausted."

Mrs. Pankhurst then proceeded to trace the growth of the movement in England. Women began to organize in the early sixties. They recognized that they had lost a right that was once theirs, the right of the vote. This was no new and revolutionary demand for the franchise which was then taken up, as up till the first reform bill of 1832 women had had the privilege of voting. It was only in that year when the franchise had been opened up to the mass of men that women were excluded, and the word "male" appeared for the first time. The first suffrage society was started in Manchester by John Stuart Mill, and in 1867 he introduced an amendment to the second reform bill to include women, but he was told that it was unnecessary, as the word "person" used in the bill included women. Then followed the famous case in which a lady in Lancashire claimed the vote, but in the Court of Queen's Bench the

such as school boards and boards of guardians. They insisted on their rights of higher education, and forced open the doors of several of the professions. In the early Victorian era it was thought unladylike to do anything useful. The lady then in favor fainted without the slightest provocation, was of a pallid appearance, and of the clinging ivy type. That was the time when women listened to masculine sentimentalists describe their ideals of women. If only the type had been transmitted on, it would have been disastrous for man, but nature had taken care to repair some of the mistakes of man. A law which man had no hand in making made the qualities of the father in many instances pass on to the daughter, and those of the mother to the son. In this way were to be gained the real standards of life and it was better for man, and at the same time better for woman. The highest kind of men were invariably the sons of exceptionally and highly developed women.

New Conditions

With the start of the twentieth century the avenues of education were thrown open to women, and the sex started under totally new conditions. Women felt that they had duties outside the home in order to make life in the home more secure. There were duties along these lines which could be better done by women than by men. A new meaning seemed to be involved in the term politics. It was a larger meaning than that given by some politicians who were concerned with the political machinery for personal or party aggrandisement. They were not doing the real work of nature till all people came into politics and took their share in the working of the machine. Good work might be done outside of politics, as for instance, in New York and Chicago by such women as Jane Adams and Lillian Waugh.

"There are women of leisure," said Mrs. Pankhurst, "who are performing the duties of real citizens for the welfare of the community, and there are countless women who have the time and opportunity, who are calling for some public sphere of work. They feel that there are questions of public interest which women understand better than men, however willing and public spirited. Young women who are now finishing their course in the higher branches of education feel that the question of getting the franchise should be taken up with determination and a desperate effort made to have it finally brought to a conclusion. There is a vast amount of social legislation from the woman's point of view which needs taking up at once, and only women can do it."

Concluded Next Week

DELUDED PARENTS

Have you done what you ought in order to safeguard your children from the evils to which all children are exposed. Like every other parent, you are positive that your children have never raised the question of the origin of life and that no evil has ever been suggested to them, either by others or by themselves. Thousands of parents are beguiling themselves with this delusion. That this is the fact, let me give you a single illustration.

A test was recently made on 200 boys, who were between 12 and 16 years of age, by methods which would secure the facts. They were the ordinary school boys. Less than five per cent. had had adequate instruction at home; eighty-seven per cent. had formed the habit of secret vice; nineteen per cent. were confirmed and established in the habit.

By a test made in some colleges, in a manner calculated to secure the facts, it was found that ninety-seven per cent. of the young men had at some time of their lives learned, at least experimentally, of secret vice.

If these facts are so, what is your duty as a parent to your children? Are you meeting this responsibility?—Selected.

HIS PRAYER IN TROUBLE

Dear God, I need you awful bad;
I don't know what to do.
My Papa's cross, my Mama's sick,
I hain't no fren' but You.
Them keenerless angels went and brung
'Stid of the boy I ast,
A weenchy, teenchy, baby girl;
I don't see how they dast.

And, God, I wish't You'd take her back,
She's just as good as new;
Won't no one know she's second-hand,
But ceptin' me and You.
An' pick a boy, dear God, Yourself,
The nicest in Your fold;
But please don't choose him quite so young,
I'd like him five years old.

—S. M. Talbot.

constitutional methods to secure it. Women are now in a state of civil war with the government. They are withholding their consent from a government which has been imposed on them without their consent. Government rests on the consent of the governed. Voters can withhold their consent by voting against the established form of government. But those who are without the vote are forced to other ways much more clumsy and objectionable to themselves. It is said that women are the weaker sex and that even if they had the vote they would have to obey and withhold their private decisions; but even the weakest cannot be governed except by consent. History tells that story again and again in the case of tyrants. At present in England women are increasingly withholding their consent from the government. They wished to have their consent obtained in the same way as men have. They have to pay taxes like men. Men have the representation that the tax calls for. It is said that taxation without representation is tyranny. We wish to have that principle of politics applied to women. Just government again is said to be by the people for the people and of the people. Now, women have to submit to laws in the making of which they were not consulted, and which are many of them specially made for women by men.

Matter of History

"The impatience of the men who, like us of today," the speaker went on, "were claiming the franchise years ago, is an

claim was dismissed. It was said that the word "person" did not include the female. Women were as persons to have all the pains and penalties without the rights and privileges. Since then women have been trying to become "persons" in every sense of the word. The first bill for woman suffrage was introduced in the House of Commons in 1870 by Jacob Bright, a brother of the famous John, and it was read a second time. Since that time many bills have been introduced, read, and carried a certain length by large and substantial majorities, but never been finally adopted.

Municipal Vote a Sop

After 1870 the movement grew and prospered. In the early eighties the largest petition ever presented to Parliament was sent in, in favor of the vote for women. It was so large and so heavy that it took six men to wheel it in a cart into St. Stephen's. It was then removed to the waste paper basket, like so many other petitions. As a sop, the municipal vote was then given to women, and about the same date the House of Keys in the Isle of Man gave most unexpectedly and unasked the vote to the women in the island.

It was after the third reform bill of 1884, when the amendment proposing the suffrage for women was thrown out, that women, despairing of ever getting the vote, as a last hope turned their attention to using the municipal vote which had been given them. Many of them also began to serve on public bodies,

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