

FRANK RUSSELL'S DIVERSE WRITING AND SPEAKING CAREER: A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL GUIDE

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Frank Russell, 2nd Earl Russell (1865–1931), was a man of rational thought and social conscience who, released from his early imbroglios, embarked on a controversial career, throwing his name and political weight behind a range of desperate but often successful causes. This bibliographical guide acknowledges his labours, illustrates his diversity and demonstrates why Frank Russell deserves to be taken seriously.

In August 1891, Frank Russell, then aged twenty-six and bracing himself for his first battle in the divorce court, wrote to George Santayana that he was by nature “a lotus eater”.¹ Thankfully, for those like myself who have revelled in his diverse career, Frank put aside this natural instinct to such an extent that one reviewer of his memoirs published some 32 years later observed that Frank, “Yachtsman, traveller, motor and aeroplane pioneer, barrister, City man, electrical engineer, and withal three times married”, had “no need to draw on his memory of others to fill 348 pages of reminiscences.”²

The bibliography which follows reflects his diversity. It goes beyond even the occupations listed above to include the work Frank did for the numerous causes he put his name to by dint of his inherited position. The list was compiled initially to inform my writing of his biography.³ Subsequently, it became clear that it had additional value as a means of exhibiting to others the unusual (if not unique) range of subjects Frank tackled. It is difficult to think of any other figure from

¹ Frank Russell to George Santayana, 10 Aug. 1891, Santayana Collection, Harry Ransom Centre, U. of Texas, Austin.

² “Peer’s Many Sides”, *Evening Telegraph*, 2 Mar. 1923.

³ *Bertrand’s Brother: the Marriages, Morals and Misdemeanours of Frank, 2nd Earl Russell* (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2021). The biography’s references include a lengthy secondary bibliography (pp. 337–46). [See the review, this issue, pp. 86–94.—Ed.]

the time who could have written or spoken with authority on such diverse subjects as women's suffrage, religious dogma, the domestic uses of electricity, divorce reform, automobilism, wireless equipment, prison reform, and birth control, all with equal conviction. Further, it is hoped that it will provide a tool to assist Bertrand Russell scholars; particularly in relation to moral and political matters where it is clear that many of the issues that concerned Bertrand also concerned his brother. In certain cases—conscription, for example—Frank's interventions would have been of direct practical use to him.⁴

The bibliography is organised into four sections. Section **A** details Frank's books with some major reviews. **B** comprises articles, a couple of interviews, details of the weekly motoring column he wrote for *The Graphic* during 1908 and his numerous letters to the editor. **C** lists Frank's speeches; and **D**, the major archives where Frank Russell material can be found.

There are a number of observations about the bibliography that I would like to make. The first is that for practical purposes section **C1** does not contain everything Frank ever said in the House of Lords, but only his major speeches and those considered significant to scholars of either Frank or Bertrand. It will also be noted that there is very little from the period before Frank's incarceration for "technical bigamy" in July 1901: only thirteen entries. This reflects the extent of his early output. In his young adult life, Frank's focus was elsewhere.⁵ Though he had taken up his seat in the Lords in 1887 and had used his vote in favour of the Irish Home Rule Bill in 1893, he really only entered the political arena in earnest in 1894; first as a local councillor and then as a member of the London County Council. Most of his speeches from this time deal with political issues connected with this work. One stands out as a taste of things to come. In a speech at the Newington Reform Club on 5 June 1895 entitled "What Is Morality?", Frank demonstrated his capacity for independent thought by stating that morality was nothing more than "the course of conduct which tends to the ultimate happiness of the individual and of the society",

⁴ See in **C1**, "Military Service Bill", House of Lords debate, 17 Apr. 1918: Bertrand was then 45 years old, bringing him within the age bracket for conscription.

⁵ In business, with his adventures in the world of electrical engineering; but arguably, much of his energy between 1890 and 1901 was taken up with his disastrous marriage to Mabel Edith Scott and his attempts to extricate himself from it, the influence of which is explored in depth in *Bertrand's Brother*.

that Christianity was outdated, and that divorce by consent and nudity in art were both perfectly moral. Further, he showed “a healthy contempt” for the monastic life which he dismissed as “an attempt to escape moral damage by shirking the battle of life”. “All this,” commented the *South London Press*, “was very unorthodox.”⁶ It was also not what one might have expected from one’s representative on the LCC but, as the bibliography shows, it was certainly what we could come to expect from Frank.

The Frank that emerged from prison was “ready to support lost causes, to back the underdog, and to challenge the established order”⁷: to throw his name and political weight behind a range of desperate causes. Injustice is found everywhere, and Frank’s prison experience appears to have sharpened his already acute sense of it to spur him into action. Though the subject matter of his subsequent writings and speeches was diverse, in essence the vast majority can be viewed as protests against inequality and restrictions to personal freedom. In a letter to *The New Statesman* in 1916, found in Section **B2**, entitled “A National Dishonour”, Frank stated: “The object of political action in a free State should be to restrain as little as possible the freedom of the individual to live his own life, think his own thoughts, and spend his own energies in the way that seems most desirable to him.”⁸ It was written just as the first conscription legislation was working its way through parliament. Like Bertrand, Frank opposed the Bill. His letter continued:

This principle is often lost sight of nowadays, and those who are in power frequently seem to welcome coercion for its own sake because it saves them the trouble of thought. Thought is slow, painful and laborious; coercion is easy, and appears to superficial observers to give the results desired. But the spirit which argues in this way is a spirit of brute force, of violence, and of unreason: it is not the spirit of a free people going rejoicingly and proudly on its way.

Across the spectrum of his causes Frank applied this precept, never taking the easy path over that which he deemed morally correct. By way of example, the right to freedom from ill health resulting from

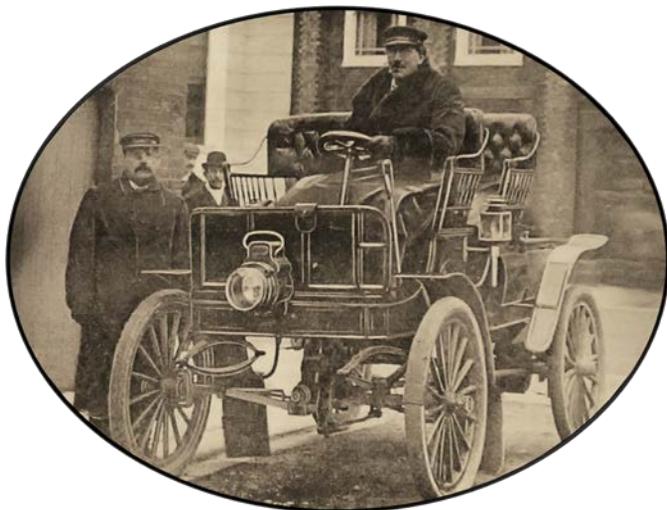
⁶ “What Is Morality?”, *South London Press*, 8 June 1895.

⁷ *My Life and Adventures* (London: Cassell, 1923), p. 345.

⁸ “A National Dishonour”, *The New Statesman* 6, no. 146 (22 Jan. 1916): 373.

multiple unwanted pregnancies was an argument he used in favour of disseminating birth control literature to working-class mothers. In the 1927 article “Why Not Birth Control?”, published in *John Bull*, he effectively combined a mother’s right to contraception with rational argument against the church’s objection to it, writing, “I find it difficult to listen with patience to the suggestion that this result”—the ruining of a mother’s health so that she cannot adequately feed her child and the child’s lifelong suffering from the conditions of its birth—“is in accordance with the Christian religion. It is against humanity, it is against medical science and common-sense, it is against the happiness and well-being of the race; and if indeed it be Christian then Christianity itself is against these things.”⁹

Even in the privileged world of automobilism he found what he considered unjust restrictions. His first protest was against vehicle registration: “There is no reason why a gentleman’s private carriage should be disfigured by a label suitable for an omnibus or a hackney carriage”, he wrote, “or why a private individual should be subjected to the



Frank at the wheel of his Haynes-Apperson, 1900. (*Motoring Illustrated*)

annoyance of being ticketed and labelled wherever he goes. The reason alleged for this request is to enable offending cars to be identified with less trouble to the police.... It has not yet been proved that the police

⁹ Section **B1**: “Why Not Birth Control?”, *John Bull*, 29 Jan. 1927, p. 15.

are in fact unable to trace motor car offenders.”¹⁰ Today, we accept registration as a given. With so many cars on the road Frank’s further argument that all motorists were “well known by sight” is unimaginable, but Frank considered that numberplates branded all automobilists “potential lawbreakers”. His point was this: The erosion of freedom becomes normal: care must be taken in selecting which freedoms are impinged upon.¹¹

Frank was as persuasive in speech as in writing. In debate he held his own among the various specialists he interacted with. He introduced into the House of Lords four Bills to reform the divorce laws between 1902 and 1908. Collectively, they demonstrate his growing strength as an orator, whether or not the “bellicose little Lord Chancellor” did pronounce them an “outrage” on the House and an “insult” to their lordships personally.¹² In an impassioned plea, Frank challenged: “Is there no one in this House who feels that this state of things needs a remedy? Are your Lordships satisfied, because in your individual cases the law may not bear hardly upon you, to leave such a blot upon the social legislation of this country?”¹³ This method of appealing to their lordships’ better natures he would reemploy against the inhuman treatment of C.O’s in 1916, when he asked:

Is it desirable to treat a class of the community in this way, no matter how strongly you disagree with their opinions? I agree that all persons of strong opinions are a nuisance. It is very tiresome when people will not think the same as you do, and still more tiresome when they will not do what you tell them to do. But if they will not ... do not treat them in a way in which any noble Lord individually would be ashamed to treat a fellow creature.¹⁴

There are many more examples that could be given to illustrate Frank’s position as a man of rational thought and social conscience, or as an engineer or proponent of science. He has not received due

¹⁰ Memoranda to Legislative Committee, etc., *Automobile Club Journal*, 14 May 1903, p. 518.

¹¹ Ironically, it was Frank’s subsequent very easily identified numberplate—A1—that saw him repeatedly brought up on charges of speeding and singled him out as a “hooligan driver”.

¹² *Leeds Mercury*, 2 May 1902.

¹³ *Hansard* 124 (23 June 1903): cols. 202–13.

¹⁴ *Hansard* 21 (4 May 1916): cols. 919–22.

credit for his labours. Of his own achievements, he tended to be somewhat modest, only crediting himself with “a certain capacity for speech and writing” as against the greater erudition of Lionel Johnson or the “rare quality” of Bertrand’s thought.¹⁵ Perhaps the time is right for a judicious selection of Frank’s writing and speeches that would give him the exposure he deserves. I hope this short guide and the bibliography it precedes stimulate sufficient interest to warrant it.

Digitized reprints are noted in the linked book titles.

A. BOOKS

Lay Sermons. London: Thomas Burleigh, 1901. Pp. vii, 244. Repr. Ulan P., 2012.

REVIEWS

“Lay Sermons. By Earl Russell”. *The Times Literary Supplement*, no. 43 (7 Nov. 1902): 336.

“Minor Books”. *The Scotsman*, 7 Nov. 1902, p. 7.

“Earl Russell’s Sermons”. *The Daily News*, London, 28 Nov. 1902, p. 10.

Divorce. London: William Heinemann, 1912. Pp. iv, 218.

REVIEWS

“Divorce. By Earl Russell”. *The Manchester Guardian*, 13 June 1912, p. 7.

“Some Books about Divorce”. *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 11 July 1912, p. 3.

“Divorce. By Earl Russell”. *The Academy and Literature* 83 (13 July 1912): 45–6.

“Earl Russell on Divorce”. *Dublin Daily Express*, 25 July 1912, p. 7.

Some Winchester Letters of Lionel Johnson. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1919. Pp. 211. Published anonymously.

REVIEWS

[Harold Hannyngton Child.] “The Spiritual Progress of a Schoolboy”. *The Times Literary Supplement*, no. 925 (9 Oct. 1919): 544.

“Lionel Johnson”. *The Yorkshire Post*, 26 Nov. 1919, p. 4. (The review ignores the editing and suggests Lionel would have been a happier boy had he been more like the others.)

“Some Winchester Letters”. *The Spectator*, 10 Jan. 1920, pp. 19–20. (The review flatters Lionel, but Frank not at all.)

My Life and Adventures. London: Cassell & Co. Ltd, 1923. Pp. xii, 360; 12 plates.¹⁶

REVIEWS

[E. E. Mavrogordato.] “A Conscientious Rebel”. *The Times Literary Supplement*, no. 1,102 (1 Mar. 1923): 134.

“Piquant Memoirs: Autobiography of Earl Russell”. *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 1 Mar. 1923, p. 5.

“Earl Russell’s Term in Prison: Revelations in Book Issued Today. Racy Stories”. *Western Morning News*, 1 Mar. 1923, p. 4.

“Peer’s Many Sides. Earl Russell’s Story of

¹⁵ Frank describes his Russell inheritance in *Life*, pp. 8–9, and his admiration of Lionel Johnson on p. 89 and in the introduction to *Some Winchester Letters of Lionel Johnson*. Numerous of Frank’s letters to Bertrand demonstrate his admiration for his brother’s talents; this particular reference can be found in *Auto*. 2: 68–9.

¹⁶ The index omits many references to Bertrand. Altogether they are on pp. 5, 9, 11, 17, 18, 19–20, 25, 28, 30, 31, 34, 38, 43, 44, 46 (Granny’s poem), 48, 51, 82, 83, 85, 101, 129, 330, 338, 343.

- Grandmother's Ears. Humour and Satire". *Evening Telegraph*, 2 Mar. 1923, p. 10.
- Affable Hawk (pseud.). "Books in General". *The New Statesman* 20, no. 516 (3 Mar. 1923): 632.
- "Earl Russell (By Himself)". *Hull Daily Mail*, 20 Mar. 1923, p. 6.
- Keble Howard. "The Adventures of Earl Russell". *The Sketch* 121, no. 1,573 (21 Mar. 1923): 576, 578.
- "The Story of a Stormy Life". *The Manchester Guardian*, 22 Mar. 1923, p. 7.
- "An Earl's Adventures". *The Cologne Post: Daily Newspaper Published by the Army of the Rhine*, 24 Mar. 1923, p. 2.
- Upton Sinclair. "My Friends Write Books". *Haldeman-Julius Weekly*, Girard, KS, no. 1,431 (5 May 1923): 2.

B. ARTICLES, COLUMNS, LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

B1. Articles

- "Electricity in Country Houses" (with B. H. Thwaite). *The National Review* 20, no. 120 (Feb. 1893): 764-6.
- "The Legislative Problem: Memorandum Prepared by Lord Russell, Captain H. H. Deasy, and Mr. Robert Todd". *Automobile Club Journal* 5, no. 55 (14 May 1903): 517-18.
- "Preparing for the New Act: the Campaign". *Automobile Club Journal* 6, no. 72 (10 Sept. 1903): 275-6.
- "An Analysis of the New Act". *The Autocar* 11, no. 412 (12 Sept. 1903): 338-40.
- "Motor Volunteers at the Manoeuvres: with the Motor Volunteer Corps". *Automobile Club Journal* 6, no. 74 (24 Sept. 1903): 314-16.
- "Local Authorities and the Motor Car Act" [extract from a letter to a Rural District Council]. *Automobile Club Journal* 6, no. 79 (29 Oct. 1903): 427.
- "Radiating Thoroughfares". *Automobile Club Journal* 6, no. 88 (31 Dec. 1903): 728-30.
- "Legal Aspects of the Motor Car Act". *Automobile Club Journal* 7, no. 92 (28 Jan. 1904): 84-7.
- "A Collision with a Military Car" (uncredited). *Automobile Club Journal* 7, no. 101 (31 Mar. 1904): 369.
- "Royal Commission on London Traffic", summary of evidence given by Earl Russell. *Automobile Club Journal* 7, no. 102 (7 Apr. 1904): 384.
- "The Monaco Meeting". *Automobile Club Journal* 7, no. 105 (28 Apr. 1904): 459.
- "Inconsiderate Driving: the Courtesies of the Road". *Automobile Club Journal* 7, no. 112 (16 June 1904): 636.
- "A Tour of Cornwall". *Automobile Club Journal* 8, no. 123 (1 Sept. 1904): 174.
- "Motor Notes". *The Graphic*, 13 June 1908. Weekly column, continued until 26 Dec. 1908.
- "Lord Russell Protests". *The Syndicalist* 1, no. 3 (Mar.-Apr. 1912): 3.
- "When Should Marriage Be Dissolved?". *The English Review* 12 (Aug.-Nov. 1912): 133-41.¹⁷
- "The Bible on the Film". *The Nation & The Athenaeum*, no. 4,746 (16 Apr. 1921): 106.
- "The Difficulties of Bishops". *The R.P.A. Annual* (1922): 25-31.¹⁸
- "The Torments of Gaol". *John Bull*, 27 May 1922. Advertised in *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 24 May 1922, p. 6.
- "Why Not Birth Control?". *John Bull*, 29 Jan. 1927, p. 15.
- "The Charabanc Peril". *Daily Sketch*, 20 Sept. 1927, p. 7.
- "Wireless Notes". *The New Statesman* 31,

¹⁷ Mistakenly ascribed to Bertrand in LESTER E. DENONN's bibliography of him in P. A. SCHILPP, ed., *The Philosophy of Bertrand Russell*, revised ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), p. 81.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 755.

- no. 803 (15 Sept. 1928): 708, 710.
- "Wireless Notes: the Radio Exhibition". *The New Statesman* 32, no. 808 (20 Oct. 1928): 62, 64.
- "Thermionic Valves". *The New Statesman* 32, no. 817 (22 Dec. 1928): 366, 368.
- "Spiritualism on Trial". *Daily News*, 12 Dec. 1928. Advertised in *Nottingham Evening Post*, 10 Dec. 1928, p. 3.
- B2. Letters to the Editor**
- "East London". *The Leaflet*, n.s. no. 10 (Mar. 1885): 121.
- "Earl Russell and 'Varsity Socialism'". *St. Stephen's Review* 11, no. 475 (16 Apr. 1892): 6.
- Letter to the Hon. Secretaries of the Royal Dublin Society. *Dublin Daily Express*, 12 June 1893, p. 4.
- Letter to the Executive Committee of the Automobile Club concerning the Motorcars Bill. *Automobile Club Journal* 4, no. 34 (18 Dec. 1902): 400.
- "Motor Cars in Hyde Park". *Automobile Club Journal* 5, no. 38 (15 Jan. 1903): 58.
- "Identification". *Automobile Club Journal* 5, no. 47 (19 Mar. 1903): 293-4.
- Memoranda to Legislative Committee of the Automobile Club concerning registration of motorcars prepared by Earl Russell, H. H. Deasy and Mr. Robert Todd, *Automobile Club Journal* 5, no. 56 (14 May 1903): 517-18.
- "Identification". *Automobile Club Journal* 5, no. 56 (21 May 1903): 545.
- "The 'Daily Express', Mr. Pearson, and The Club". *Automobile Club Journal* 5, no. 59 (11 June 1903): 628.
- "Attacks on Automobilists". *Automobile Club Journal* 6, no. 81 (12 Nov. 1903): 491.
- "The Road-Repairing Season". *Automobile Club Journal* 6, no. 84 (3 Dec. 1903): 562. Follow-up letter on 24 Dec. 1903, p. 713.
- "Heating of Long-Distance Trains". *Evening Standard*, London, 16 Dec. 1903, p. 4.
- "Hotels—and a Grumble". *Automobile Club Journal* 7, no. 91 (21 Jan. 1904): 60.
- "The Club and the Exhibition Question". *Automobile Club Journal* 7, no. 93 (4 Feb. 1904): 118.
- "The Inland Revenue to Earl Russell" and Earl Russell's reply, *Automobile Club Journal* 7, no. 94 (11 Feb. 1904): 146.
- "The Exhibition Question". *Automobile Club Journal* 7, no. 95 (18 Feb. 1904): 177.
- "Newhaven to Dieppe". *Evening Standard*, London, 20 May 1904, p. 7.
- "A Point of Police Procedure in Offences under the Motor Car Act", Earl Russell to the Commissioner of Police, Scotland Yard. *Automobile Club Journal* 8, no. 115 (7 July 1904): 10.
- "Lord Russell and the Pharos Club: Reply to Mr. Bart Kennedy". *Daily News*, London, 10 Aug. 1904, p. 9.
- "The Case for the Motorist", to the Editor of *The Times*. *Automobile Club Journal* 8, no. 127 (29 Sept. 1904): 246.
- "The Size of Maps". *Automobile Club Journal* 8, no. 131 (6 Oct. 1904): 265. Follow-up on 27 Oct. 1904, p. 319.
- "Attacks on the Automobile Club", letter to the editor of *Morning Post* (refused). *Automobile Club Journal* 8, no. 131 (27 Oct. 1904): 309-10.
- "Mutual Insurance Associations v. Propriety Insurance Companies", response by Earl Russell. *Automobile Club Journal* 9, no. 153 (30 Mar. 1905): 283.
- [On Motors and Motoring]. *Truth*, 13 Nov. 1907, "Special Motor Supplement", p. 8.
- "The Suffragettes: Earl Russell's Support of By-Election Policy". *Daily News*, London, 3 Apr. 1908, p. 4.
- [On Bertrand Russell's "Mr. Asquith's Pronouncement"]. *Women's Franchise* 1 (28 May 1908): 587 (Bertrand being on p. 579).
- "What the Militants have done: Earl Russell's Defence of a Principle". *Daily News*, London, 8 Mar. 1912, p. 6.
- "Lord Russell & 'Fastidious Taxi Drivers'". *Daily News*, 8 Jan. 1916, p. 3.
- "A National Dishonour". *The New Statesman* 6, no. 146 (22 Jan. 1916): 373.
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- Extract reprinted in E. S. P. Haynes, *The Decline of Liberty* (London: Grant Richards, 1916), p. 25.
- “Norman v. Brooke”. *The Times*, 10 Aug. 1917, p. 16.
- “Excess Profits Duty”. *The Times*, 14 Dec. 1918, p. 14.
- “The Tube—a Complaint”. *The Times*, 10 Nov. 1919, p. 38.
- “Dr. Stopes’ Idea: the Battle of the First Clinic”. *Daily Herald*, 7 May 1923, p. 5.
- “Séance Room Phenomena. Conan Doyle and Earl Russell. Inscribed Watch Mystery”. *Daily News*, 23 Jan. 1926, p. 4.

B3. Interviews

- “Earl Russell’s Book on Divorce: a Plea for Common Sense”. *The Observer*, 25 Feb. 1912, p. 11. Interview after completing “the correcting of the last proof sheets”.
- “Lord Russell’s Release. Prison Experiences. The Life of a ‘First-Classer’. Interview at His Chambers”. *Daily News*, London, 18 Oct. 1901, p. 5.

C. SPEECHES

C1. Major Speeches and Other Contributions in the House of Lords

- “Lunacy Bill”. Proposed removal of clauses affecting regulation of asylums and adjustment of liabilities between local authorities and guardians. *Hansard* 51 (15 July 1897): cols. 135–43.
- “Metropolitan Railway Bill”. Proposed amendments at third reading. *Hansard* 62 (19 July 1898): cols. 238–46.
- “Trial of Earl Russell”. Brief summary and order that proceedings be printed. *Hansard* 97 (18 July 1901): col. 773. For the proceedings, see under D. Parliamentary Archives.
- “Divorce Bill”. Second reading of Divorce Bill introduced by Earl Russell. *Hansard* 107 (1 May 1902): cols. 389–409.
- “Divorce Bill”. Second reading of Divorce Bill introduced by Earl Russell. *Hansard* 124 (23 June 1903): cols. 202–13.
- “Motor-Cars Bill”. Earl Russell proposed minor amendments. *Hansard* 126 (24 July 1903): cols. 212–22.
- “Matrimonial Causes Bill”. Second reading of Divorce Bill introduced by Earl Russell. *Hansard* 150 (1 Aug. 1905): cols. 1,064–71.
- “Metropolitan Police Commission Bill”. Move to resolve “That in the opinion of this House the proposed inquiry is of too limited a character to serve any useful purpose”. *Hansard* 159 (19 June 1906): cols. 7–16.
- “Education (England and Wales) Bill”. Response to right rev. Prelate that the proposed removal of clause 7 from this bill was intended to surreptitiously make religious instruction compulsory. *Hansard* 164 (8 Nov. 1906): cols. 655–719.
- “Trade Disputes Bill”. Earl Russell proposed an amendment to clause 2. *Hansard* 167 (12 Dec. 1906): cols. 276–93. Earl Russell proposed an amendment to clause 2 to limit the number of strikers engaged in a picket to twenty.
- “Divorce in Ireland”. Earl Russell rose to call attention to Private Bills for divorce in Ireland: and to move that a Return be made to this House of all Private Bills presented during the last five years for effecting divorces. *Hansard* 178 (16 July 1907): cols. 490–4.
- “Matrimonial Causes Bill”. Second reading of Divorce Bill introduced by Earl Russell. *Hansard* 193 (22 July 1908): cols. 4–13.
- “Prevention of Crimes Bill”. Move to insert a new subsection to clause 11, providing that persons undergoing preventive detention should “enjoy the ameliorating and humanising influences of conversation with fellow-prisoners, reading and writing, visits from approved friends, and windows permitting a view of the sky.” *Hansard* 198 (15 Dec. 1908): cols. 1,529–40.

- "Development and Road Improvement Funds Bill". Speech in defence of motorists. *Hansard* 3 (14 Oct. 1909): cols. 1,225-83.
- "The Income Tax". Earl Russell questioned the rate of income tax for persons on low income and their opportunity for relief. *Hansard* 5 (14 July 1910): cols. 1,073-8.
- "The House of Lords Reconstitution Bill". Earl Russell questioned whether this was not an attempt to distract attention from the Parliament Bill. *Hansard* 8 (17 May 1911): cols. 489-574.
- "Shooting Escaping Convicts". Move to resolve "That in the opinion of this House the infliction of the penalty of death or wounding upon convicts who are seeking to escape should no longer be authorised by law." *Hansard* 12 (25 June 1912): cols. 190-4.
- "Income Tax on Married Women's Property". Earl Russell rose to call attention to the imprisonment of Mr. Mark Wilks at the instance of the Treasury for non-payment of his wife's Income Tax, and to move to resolve "That in the opinion of this House the present state of the law which renders a man liable to indefinite terms of imprisonment for matters over which he is by Statute deprived of any control is undesirable, and should be amended." *Hansard* 12 (14 Oct. 1912): cols. 823-34.
- "Criminal Law Amendment Bill". Debate concerning corporal punishment of convicted traffickers. *Hansard* 12 (28 Nov. 1912): cols. 1,181-222.
- "Criminal Law Amendment Bill". Move to leave out clause 2. *Hansard* 13 (9 Dec. 1912): cols. 106-36.
- "Immunity of Trade Unions". HL debate on whether the concessions of the 1906 Act were going to continue to be supported by the House. *Hansard* 13 (22 Jan. 1913): cols. 410-12.
- "Poor Law Amendment Bill". A Bill to amend the Administration of the Poor Law as to married women was presented by the Earl Russell; read 1^a, and to be printed (No. 108). *Hansard* 14 (9 July 1913): col. 802.
- "Voluntary Mental Treatment Bill". Earl Russell rose to call attention to difficulties in early treatment of mental cases, and to present a Bill. Bill read 1^a, and to be printed (No. 187). *Hansard* 17 (22 July 1914): cols. 89-92.
- "Streatley and Goring Bridge Bill". Move to resolve "That in the opinion of this House new means of communication should be in the hands of local authorities and available for the free use of the public, and that it is undesirable to proceed with a Bill giving fresh powers for the levying of tolls by a private corporation." *Hansard* 18 (4 May 1915): cols. 887-92.
- "Military Prosecutions of Journalists". Earl Russell rose to ask His Majesty's Government in what circumstances a reporter was prosecuted for sending a report to a newspaper editor, by whom the report was published, what damage was done to the interests of this country thereby, and what steps it is suggested that a reporter ought to take before communicating with his newspaper. *Hansard* 18 (4 May 1915): cols. 906-10.
- "Military Service (No. 2) Bill". Earl Russell spoke in opposition to conscription. *Hansard* 20 (25 Jan. 1916): cols. 1,014-16.
- "Treatment of Conscientious Objectors". Earl Russell spoke on the "cavalier attitude" of tribunals. *Hansard* 21 (4 May 1916): cols. 919-24. In this second reading of the Military Service (No. 2).
- "Military Service Bill". Second reading. *Hansard* 21 (18 May 1916): cols. 1,114-16. Earl Russell questioned the methods of dealing with conscientious objectors.
- "Military Service—Conscientious Objectors". Earl Russell moved to resolve "That in the opinion of this House it is undesirable to subject military prisoners to punishments not authorised by law." *Hansard* 22 (4 July 1916): cols. 521-46.
- "Conscientious Objectors". Russell had the question on the paper as to whether
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- military conscientious objectors sentenced prior to Army Order X of 25 May 1916 will go into civil custody; and what had been the result of the second court-martial on C. H. Norman. *Hansard* 22 (18 July 1916): cols. 763–5.
- “Internment of British Subjects”. Earl Russell rose to call attention to the Defence of the Realm Regulations under which British subjects are imprisoned without accusation or trial. *Hansard* 26 (24 July 1917): cols. 23–32.
- “Maintenance of Public Order”. Notice on the Paper—Earl Russell called attention to the rioting in Hackney, and to ask what steps His Majesty’s Government propose to take to maintain order in London. *Hansard* 26 (23 Oct. 1917): cols. 736–9.
- “The Taxi-Cab Dispute”. Earl Russell rose to ask whether His Majesty’s Government would make a statement on the questions at issue in the present taxi-cab dispute, and indicate their policy with regard to the admission of women to the ranks of licensed cab drivers. *Hansard* 26 (23 Oct. 1917): cols. 739–42.
- “Conscientious Objectors.” Earl Russell continued to assert that absolutists should be treated in a manner that does not make them martyrs. *Hansard* 26 (11 Nov. 1917): cols. 965–1,014.
- “Coal Mines Control Agreement (Confirmation) Bill”. Earl Russell opined that the Bill missed an opportunity for “a dramatic experiment in State Socialism”. *Hansard* 27 (13 Dec. 1917): cols. 131–49.
- “Representation of the People Bill”. Earl Russell spoke in favour of women’s suffrage. *Hansard* 27 (17 Dec. 1917): cols. 214–21.
- “Military Service Bill”. Earl Russell questioned the need to extend military service to those under the age of 51, calling it “a piece of panic legislation”. *Hansard* 29 (17 Apr. 1918): cols. 705–62.
- “Industrial Unrest”. Earl Russell opened the second day of debate with a long, eloquent speech in favour of a socialist policy. *Hansard* 33 (25 Feb. 1919): cols. 283–97.
- “New Capital Issues”. Earl Russell rose to call attention to the new Regulation on Capital Issues, and to ask His Majesty’s Government—1. Whether the present Regulation has been withdrawn. 2. Whether, in the promised modification of this Regulation, care will be taken to limit it to the purpose for which it is really required, and to avoid unnecessary and harassing interference with business. *Hansard* 33 (13 Mar. 1919): cols. 692–702.
- “Martial Law in India”. Earl Russell rose to call attention to the sentences under Martial Law in India with special reference to the case of Harkissen Lal. *Hansard* 36 (6 Aug. 1919): cols. 490–504.
- “Deportations to Ireland”. Earl Russell moved to resolve “That in the opinion of this House there is no justification for the retention by the Executive of any powers of arrest without trial.” *Hansard* 54 (16 May 1923): cols. 199–227.
- “Blasphemy Laws (Amendment) Bill”. Earl Russell moved for a second reading of this Bill. *Hansard* 54 (29 May 1923): cols. 253–66.
- “Strength of Socialism”. Earl Russell responds to the question of modification of legislation concerning Trade Union political levies amid growing concerns over the rise of socialism. *Hansard* 54 (13 June 1923): cols. 475–525.
- “The Government’s Policy”. Earl Russell questioned the composition of the Parliamentary Labour Party. *Hansard* 56 (13 Feb. 1924): cols. 121–54.
- “Motor Vehicles Compulsory Insurance Bill”. Earl Russell introduced a Bill making third-party insurance compulsory. *Hansard* 62 (15 July 1925): 76–88.
- “Motor Vehicles Compulsory Insurance Bill”. Earl Russell moved for second reading of his Bill to introduce compulsory third-party insurance. *Hansard* 64 (30 June 1926): cols. 686–711.
- “Procedure of the House”. Earl Russell

- moved that interruptions were contrary to the Rules of Order of the House and a precedent of closure was being set in a heated response to accusations of obstruction by Labour peers during the debate on the Coal Mines Bill on 8 July 1926. *Hansard* 64 (14 July 1926): cols. 1,090–141.
- “Lunacy and Mental Disorder”. Earl Russell rose to call attention to the Report of the Royal Commission on Lunacy and Mental Disorder, and to ask whether it is proposed to introduce legislation on the subject. *Hansard* 66 (24 Feb. 1927): cols. 232–57.
- “House of Lords Reform”. Earl Russell expressed Labour’s concerns that the proposed reform would put them in a permanent minority and that the Government trod a dangerous path that will lead to revolution. *Hansard* 67 (23 June 1927): cols. 954–1,010.
- “House of Lords Reform”. Earl Russell set out Labour’s position on proposed Government reforms to the Parliament Act. *Hansard* 72 (13 Dec. 1928): cols. 613–57.
- “Select Vestries: Address in Reply to His Majesty’s Most Gracious Speech”. Earl Russell was chosen against convention to reply to the King’s Speech. *Hansard* 75 (2 July 1929): cols. 9–50.
- “Road Traffic Bill”. Earl Russell introduced the Bill and moved for second reading. *Hansard* 75 (5 July 1929): cols. 931–94.
- “Mental Treatment Bill”. Earl Russell led the second reading of the Bill, which was committed to a committee of the whole House. *Hansard* 75 (28 Nov. 1929): cols. 724–67.
- “Workmen’s Compensation (Silicosis) Bill”. Earl Russell introduced the Bill and moved for second reading. *Hansard* 76 (3 Apr. 1930): cols. 1,187–95.
- “Unemployment Insurance (No. 3) Bill”. Earl Russell introduced the Bill and moved for second reading. *Hansard* 77 (15 Apr. 1930): cols. 115–24.
- “Coal Mines Bill”. Earl Russell led the second day of debate. *Hansard* 77 (30 Apr. 1930): cols. 222–84.
- C2.** Reports of Speeches other than in the House of Lords and London County Council Meetings
- Address to Brixton Liberals, 24 Apr. 1895. *South London Press*, 27 Apr. 1895, p. 1.
- “What Is Morality?”. Newington Reform Club, 5 June 1895. *South London Press*, 8 June 1895, p. 7.
- Address to Newington Liberals, 9 Oct. 1895. *South London Press*, 12 Oct. 1895, p. 5.
- “Politics in Portugal”. Newington Reform Club, 24 Nov. 1895. *South London Press*, 23 Nov. 1895, p. 3.
- “The Government’s Water Bill”. Newington Liberal and Radical Association, 26 Mar. 1896. *South London Press*, 28 Mar. 1896.
- “The Work of Darwin”. Newington Reform Club, 17 May 1896. *South London Press*, 17 May 1896.
- Address to Newington Liberals, Trinity Ward, 31 Mar. 1897. *South London Press*, 3 Apr. 1897.
- Address to West Newington Liberal and Radical Association, Annual Meeting, 24 May 1897. *South London Press*, 29 May 1897.
- “Lord Russell on Prison Life”. Pharos Club, 26 Nov. 1901. *Morning Post*, 27 Nov. 1901, p. 2.
- “Marriage and Divorce: Earl Russell as a Reformer”. Inaugural speech for Society for Promoting Reforms in the Marriage & Divorce Laws of England. Clifford’s Inn, 15 Dec. 1902. *Daily News*, London, 16 Dec. 1902, p. 11.
- “London Government”. Pharos Club, 10 Feb. 1903. *Daily News*, London, 10 Feb. 1903.
- “Legal Aspects of the Motor Car Act”. Automobile Club, 21 Jan. 1904. *Automobile Club Journal* 6, no. 80 (5 Nov. 1903): 453.
- “The Weight to be Attached to Medical Evidence”, 1904. *Transactions of the Medico-Legal Society* 1 (1902–04): 94–103.
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- "The Scientific Regulation of Traffic". Automobile Club, 21 Mar. 1907. *The Observer*, 24 Mar. 1907, p. 6.
- Speaker at "Great Demonstration in support of Women's Suffrage". Men's League for Women's Suffrage, Queen's Hall, Langham Place, 17 Dec. 1907. *Women's Franchise* 1 (12 Dec. 1907): 280. Follow-up report, 26 Dec. 1907, pp. 302-3.
- Address to Women's Freedom League, Memorial Hall, 1 Feb. 1908. *Women's Franchise* 1 (23 Jan. 1908): 346. Follow-up report, 6 Feb. 1908, p. 369.
- Address to Women's Freedom League, Town Hall, Haverstock Hill, 19 Feb. 1908. *Women's Franchise* 1 (13 Feb. 1908): 378. Follow-up report, 27 Feb. 1908, p. 404.
- Address to Women's Freedom League, Town Hall, High Wycombe, Bucks., 19 Mar. 1908. *Women's Franchise* 1 (12 Mar. 1908): 430. Follow-up report, 2 Apr. 1908, p. 465.
- Debate: "That the grant of the suffrage to women has been indefinitely postponed by the violent methods of some of its supporters" (opposer), Hardwicke Society, 20 Mar. 1908. *Women's Franchise* 1 (19 Mar. 1908): 437. Follow-up report, 26 Mar. 1908, p. 452.
- Address to Women's Freedom League, Synod Hall, Edinburgh, 22 May 1908. *Women's Franchise* 1 (7 May 1908): 532. Follow-up report, 4 June 1908, p. 584.
- Address to Women's Freedom League, Glasgow, 22 May 1908. *Women's Franchise* 1 (7 May 1908): 532. Follow-up report, 11 June 1908, p. 596.
- Address to Women's Freedom League, Town Hall, Wandsworth, 19 Nov. 1908. *Women's Franchise* 2 (29 Oct. 1908): 198.
- Address to Women's Freedom League and Men's League for Women's Suffrage, Cory Hall, Cardiff, 18 Jan. 1909. *Women's Franchise* 2 (18 Jan. 1909): 374. Follow-up report, 28 Jan. 1909, p. 374.
- Address to Women's Freedom League, Caxton Hall, Westminster, 4 Mar. 1909. *Women's Franchise* 2 (18 Feb. 1909): 413.
- Address to Women's Freedom League, Sydenham, 8 Mar. 1909. *Women's Franchise* 2 (18 Mar. 1909): 467. Follow-up report, 18 Mar. 1909, p. 467.
- Address at King's Speech Meeting, Women's Freedom League, 13 Mar. 1909. *Women's Franchise* 2 (18 Feb. 1909): 414.
- Address to Women's Freedom League, Earlsmead Council School, Tottenham, 23 Mar. 1909. *Women's Franchise* 2 (1 Mar. 1909): 452.
- Address to Sussex Men's League, Town Hall, Hove, Sussex, 1 May 1909. *Women's Franchise* 2 (13 May 1909): 582-3.
- Address to Women's Freedom League, Caxton Hall, Westminster, 10 June 1909. *Women's Franchise* 2 (10 June 1909): 628. Follow-up report, 17 June 1909, p. 639.
- Address to Women Writers' Suffrage League, Richelieu Palace Hotel, Oxford St., 28 Mar. 1911. *The Vote* (25 Mar. 1911): 265.
- Address to Men's League for Women's Suffrage in support of the Conciliation Bill, Town Hall, Chelsea, 2 Nov. 1911. *The Vote* (21 Oct. 1911): 315. Follow-up report, 16 Mar. 1911, p. 244.
- "Toast [to John Hampden]". John Hampden Dinner, Committee of the Women's Tax Resistance League, Hotel Cecil, 12 Dec. 1911. Programme.
- Debate: "That women are favoured by the law" (opposer). International Women's Franchise Club, 13 Dec. 1911. *Common Cause* 3 (19 Oct. 1911): 20.
- "The Relationship between Medicine and Law", 1912. *Transactions of the Medico-Legal Society* 10 (1912-13): 1-6.
- Evidence given by Earl Russell, 19 Dec. 1910. Royal Commission on Divorce and Matrimonial Causes. In *Minutes of Evidence Taken before the Royal Commission on Divorce and Matrimonial Causes*, Vol. 3. London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1912. Pp. 450-5.
- Address to Men's League for Women's Suffrage, St. Peter's Hall, Bournemouth, Sussex, 14 Feb. 1913. *Common Cause* 4

- (7 Mar. 1913): 826.
- "Women's Suffrage". Cambridge University Men's League for Women's Suffrage, Guildhall, Cambridge, 20 Feb. 1913. *Cambridge Independent Press* (21 Feb. 1913): 7.
- Address to The Liberal Club, Petersfield, 28 Feb. 1913. *Portsmouth Evening News*, 1 Mar. 1913, p. 5.
- "The attitude taken up in regard to the taxation of married women in the forthcoming Finance Bill". Women's Tax Resistance League, Caxton Hall, Westminster, 28 Apr. 1913. *The Vote* (18 Apr. 1913): 423.
- "The Business Aspect of Socialism". C.E.Y.M.S. [Church of England Young Men's Society] Rooms, Cambridge University, 1 May 1913. *Cambridge Independent Press*, 2 May 1913, p. 11.
- "Control of Industry". Sheffield Fabian Society, Cutler's Hall, 3 Oct. 1913. "Earl Russell in Sheffield". *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 4 Oct. 1913, p. 6.
- "The Minority Report of the Divorce Commission". Fabian Society, Memorial Hall, 4 Nov. 1913. "Divorce by Consent", *Yorkshire Telegraph and Star*, 15 Nov. 1913, p. 4.
- "The Socialist Position". Fabian Society, 23 Jan. 1914. "Socialist Ideals: Earl Russell at Portsmouth". *Portsmouth Evening News*, 24 Jan. 1914, p. 7.
- "Some Morals of the War". Fitzwilliam Street Social Union, Town Hall, Huddersfield, 22 Nov. 1916. "Earl Russell on the War", *Leeds Mercury*, 23 Nov. 1916, p. 4; also as "Earl Russell on the War: a Man's Right to Say What He Likes", *Manchester Guardian*, 23 Nov. 1916, p. 6.
- "Medicine and Law". Annual dinner of the Medico-Legal Society, Holborn Restaur, 10 Dec. 1920. *Transactions of the Medico-Legal Society* 15 (1921-22): 15-17.
- "The Ethics of Suicide", 1922. *Transactions of the Medico-Legal Society* 17 (1922-23): 24-33.
- "Crime and Character". The Ethological Society, 90 Buckingham Palace Road, London, 8 May 1922. Reported as "The Prison Taint. A Perfected Dehumanising System. Lord Russell's Suggestions for Reforms". *Manchester Guardian*, 9 May 1922, p. 8.
- Speech to Society of Constructive Birth Control in defence of Marie Stopes' publications, Essex Hall, Strand, London, 16 May 1923. *Daily Herald*, 17 May 1923, p. 2.
- Speech to Labour Party in defence of Ramsay MacDonald's first government, Haywards Heath Council Schools, 23 Oct. 1924. *Mid Sussex Times*, 28 Oct. 1924, p. 3.
- "National Finance". The Sunday Lecture Society, Assembly Room, Fratton Hotel, Portsmouth, 18 Apr. 1926. *Portsmouth Evening News*, 19 Apr. 1926, p. 2.
- Speech to Cambridge Labour Party on Indian Independence, 4 Jan. 1930. *The Observer*, 5 Jan. 1930, p. 19. See also "Earl Russell on India: Misleading Summary What He Said at Cambridge; Dangers of Impatience". *Manchester Guardian*, 9 Jan. 1930, p. 4.
- Cambridge Union Debate: "That this House sees no reason for the continued existence of the Liberal Party". Cambridge University, 21 Jan. 1930. *Yorkshire Post*, 22 Jan. 1930, p. 4.
- Speech referring to India, Gandhi and civil disobedience at Annual Banquet of Southampton Chamber of Commerce, 2 May 1930. *Western Morning News*, 3 May 1930, p. 9; "The Government and Mr. Gandhi: End Must Be Put to Passive Resistance; Speech by Earl Russell". *Manchester Guardian*, 3 May 1930, p. 19; *The Hindu Illustrated Weekly*, 11 May 1930, p. 19.

D. UNPUBLISHED LETTERS, DIARIES, ARTICLES, ETC.

Dr. Libraries
The British Library. Stopes Papers, Cor

respondence between Marie Stopes and
Frank Russell, Add MS 58556

- (includes correspondence with Bertrand).
- Columbia University, New York, Rare Book & Manuscript Library. George Santayana Collection: Autobiography (Notebook IV) contains Santayana's notes for his chapter on Frank Russell in *Persons and Places*.
- Huntington Library, California. Elizabeth Mary Russell, Countess Russell Papers: Journal [typescript] ER98-103 (1912-18); Correspondence: 8 letters from Frank to Elizabeth Russell, ER1735-1742.
- McMaster University, Ontario. Bertrand Russell Archives, extensive correspondence prefix RA1-3;¹⁹ Frank Russell diaries, RA1 731.080042-4.
- D2. The National Archives**
- National Archives. Central Criminal Court: Depositions: Defendants: William Aylott, John Cockerton, Frederick Kast, Dame Maria Selina Elizabeth Scott (Lady Scott). Charge: Libel. Session: Nov. 1896, CRIM 1/46/4.
- Central Criminal Court: Depositions: Defendant: Russell, JFS, Earl. Charge: Bigamy, Session: June 1901, CRIM 1/67/4.
- Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Files: Russell v. Russell: J77/461/4047 [1891]; J77/534/16305 [1895];²⁰ J77/695/1144 [1901].
- Home Office files: Criminal: Maria Selina Elizabeth Scott convicted at Central Criminal Court for Libel, 16 Nov. 1896, HO 144/270/A58558.
- Home Office files: Criminal: Earl Russell. Offence: Bigamy. Sentence: 3 Months—Granted Free Pardon in 1911, HO 144/951/A62795.
- Lord Chancellor's Office: Registered files: House of Lords: Trial of Earl Russell for Bigamy, LCO 2/173.
- Office of Works & Successors: Registered files: House of Lords: Royal Gallery: Preparation for Trial of Earl Russell, WORK 11/96.
- D3. Parliamentary Archives**
- House of Lords Appeal Cases and Writs of Error [1897], HL/PO/JU/4/3/467.
- House of Lords Journals [1895], HL/PO/JO2/127.
- Record of the Trial of Earl Russell, HL/PO/DC/CP/33/6.
- Correspondence and Departmental orders regarding the Trial of Earl Russell, HL/PO/1/183; HC/SA/SJ/11/31; HL/PO/1/79/13.
- Ticket to the Trial of Earl Russell, HL/PO/RO/1/95.
- Photographs of Royal Gallery set out as Court for the Trial of Earl Russell, FAR/4/16-17, HC/LB/1/111/4/18-21.
- Address to the Sovereign on the Trial of Earl Russell, HL/PO/CP/2/1/69.
- D4. University and College Archives**
- Oxford University. Balliol College Archives: Jowett Papers, letters to and concerning Earl Russell, IF6/61, IIC/C1/158, IV/A8/24.
- University of Texas, Harry Ransom Center. George Santayana Collection: Correspondence: Frank Russell to George Santayana, MS-3699, Box 3.8.
- Winchester College Archives. George and Sarah Richardson Collection, E17/3-12. Includes letters from Frank Russell to Sarah Richardson, 1885-86; Evidence of Mrs. Sarah Richardson in R. v. Scott & others, 27 Nov. 1896.

¹⁹ For Bertrand's letters to Frank in 1918, see K. BLACKWELL, A. G. BONE, N. GRIFFIN, S. TURCON, eds., *The Brixton Letters*.

²⁰ Depositions of 16 January 1895 from Frank's grandmother and aunt are transcribed in MICHAEL D. STEVENSON, "Frank Russell, Mabel Russell, and the January 1895 Depositions of the Dowager Countess Russell and Lady Agatha Russell", *Bertrand Russell Society Bulletin*, no. 162 (autumn 2020): 41-57.