

THE  
WOMAN'S LEADER

IN POLITICS  
IN THE HOME  
IN INDUSTRY

IN LITERATURE AND ART  
IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT  
IN THE PROFESSIONS

AND  
THE COMMON CAUSE

VOL. XII. No. 14.

FRIDAY, MAY 7, 1920.

PRICE 2D.  
Registered as a Newspaper.

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THE COMMON CAUSE PUBLISHING CO. LTD., 62, OXFORD STREET, LONDON, W.1.,  
and all Bookstalls and Newsagents.

# THE WOMAN'S LEADER

AND  
COMMON CAUSE.

**POLICY**—The sole policy of "The Woman's Leader" is to advocate a real equality of liberties, status and opportunities between men and women. So far as space permits, however, it will offer an impartial platform for topics not directly included in the objects of the women's movement, but of special interest to women. Articles on these subjects will always be signed, at least by initials or a pseudonym, and for the opinions expressed in them the Editor accepts no responsibility.

**SUBSCRIPTION.**—British Isles, 10s. 10d. per annum, post free; Abroad, 13s. Subscriptions should be sent direct to the Manager, THE WOMAN'S LEADER, 62, Oxford Street. Unexpired subscriptions to "The Common Cause" have been transferred to THE WOMAN'S LEADER. CONTRIBUTIONS should be addressed to the Editor, who, however, accepts no responsibility for unsolicited matter. MSS. not used will be returned if accompanied by a stamped envelope. CORRESPONDENCE should reach the Editor not later than the first post on Monday. The Editor's decision as to insertion is final. PROSPECTUS.—The Common Cause Publishing Co. is issuing new £1 shares to the value of £10,000. Prospectus and all information to be obtained from the Manager, Common Cause Publishing Co., 62, Oxford Street, W. 1. Telephone: Museum 2702.

## NOTES AND NEWS.

### Representation of the People Bill Resuscitated.

Owing to the agitation of the Labour Members, who are the promoters of the Representation of the People Bill, the Standing Committee D of the House of Commons which is dealing with the measure was summoned yesterday. This Committee had previously adjourned *sine die*, but yesterday it decided to proceed with the consideration of the Bill, which is designed to confer the franchise on women on the same terms as it is now granted to men. Colonel W. G. Nicholson was in the chair. Sir F. Banbury (Co. U., City of London) moved at the outset that "This Committee cannot with advantage proceed with further consideration of the Bill." He said that it was perfectly clear from what had occurred at previous sittings and the state of public business that there was nothing to be gained by proceeding further with the Bill. The motion was, after discussion, defeated by 25 votes to 10. Sir F. Banbury then moved an amendment to the effect that both men and women should receive the vote at the age of twenty-four. It was desirable, he said, that a person exercising the vote should have some experience of life. He regretted that many people did not take an interest in political affairs, and thought some of them unfortunately took more interest in the case of Mrs. Bamberger. Sir P. Magnus (Co. U., London University) and Lieut-Colonel Archer-Shee (C. U., Finsbury) supported the amendment, but it was defeated by 25 votes to 6. The determined efforts of Sir F. Banbury and Colonel Archer-Shee to kill the Bill seem doomed to failure.

### The Talking Out of the Plumage Bill.

We think that many readers of "The Woman's Leader" will have heard not only with deep disappointment but with real indignation that the Importation of Plumage (Prohibition) Bill was talked out on April 30th. Their indignation will not be lessened by the assumption so freely made by supporters of the hideous trade that it is carried on for the pleasure of women. Nothing could be plainer in the debate on April 30th than the fact that it is trade interests and trade interests only which hinder legislation to prohibit the importation of plumage. It is quite true, of course, that some women play into the hands of those who are interested in maintaining the trade, as some women will play into the hands of the supporters of any foolish fashion. These women act in ignorance, but the same plea cannot be maintained for those who talked out the Bill on Friday. They knew very well what they were doing; and it is for their women constituents to show them that it does not really pay, even from the most self-interested point of view, to condone cruelty, and support horrors, and then pretend that it is done for "the adornment of the female sex." Colonel Archer-Shee, who has lately been making such gallant attempts to frustrate the Representation of the People Bill, was more successful on this occasion, and in spite of the announcement

from Mr. Montagu that the Government was extremely anxious to see the Bill passed, and believed that it would not destroy any legitimate trade, and that the only thing it would stop would be the destruction of beautiful birds, he and Mr. Gilbert and others of their point of view, succeeded in preventing the question from being put, by keeping the House talking till five o'clock. This will not, however, be the end of the efforts of the Plumage Bill Group, and we urge our readers to do everything in their power to influence public opinion in support of this most necessary legislation.

### Memorial Service to Mrs. Haverfield

There was a large attendance at the Memorial Service to Mrs. Haverfield in Southwark Cathedral on May 1st, held under the auspices of the Minister of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The Minister with other leading representatives of Serbia was present, together with representatives of the various organisations in this country with which Mrs. Haverfield has worked, as well as a large number of those bound to her by personal ties. Canon Haldane in his sermon gave a fine appreciation of the character and work of Evelina Haverfield. He spoke of her self-devotion to a great cause, her sympathy, her chivalry and courage, her gaiety, and he told how her dying words were a commendation of the Serbian orphans to those who survive, a call to them to "carry on" in the work so dear to her heart. Canon Haldane also spoke of the other great British women, some known, some unknown, who gave their lives for Serbia, among them Dr. Elsie Inglis, Mrs. Harley, and Mrs. Percy Dearmer.

### Women Old Age Pension Officers.

Our readers will rejoice to learn that under "Reconstruction" Women Old Age Pension Officers are made a permanent institution in London and in all large towns, and that a few women will be appointed as surveyors over the women officers. The agitation for the reform has a five years' history. The first Old Age Pensions Act, 1908, provided that persons appointed to be members of a local pension committee need not be members of the appointing council. The London County Council placed Miss Leigh Browne and three other women on its O.A.P. Committee, and Miss Leigh Browne used her influence to secure the appointment of suitable women to the district sub-committees. As a result of her experience of cases, and that of Miss Keeling, Mrs. Dewar Robertson, and others, the question of the need for women as officers came before the Women's Local Government Society early in 1915. That Society convened a conference and memorialised the Government, urging the employment of women, especially for intimate inquiries into family circumstances, for estimates of domestic costs, and for visiting the infirm and bedridden: the memorial urged payment to women officers on the same scale as men.

### The History of the Strike.

The strike of the shop assistants at Messrs. Lewis of Oxford Street is being continued with unabated vigour by the employees after fourteen days. From the outset Mr. Hoffman, Organiser of the Shop Assistants' Union, realised that it would be a bitter struggle, and warned the girls before they came out on strike that the possibilities were that they might never go back again. A shop assistants' strike is still a comparative novelty, for it is only until quite recently that they were sufficiently well organised to permit themselves the luxury of a strike. No matter how hard and unjust the treatment meted out to them by their employers, they were absolutely powerless to defend themselves in any way whatsoever. Now the real issue at stake in the present deadlock at Messrs. Lewis is whether the workers are entitled to the recently gained right to defend themselves by means of their union. The Shop Assistants' Union exists in order to obtain fair and equitable treatment for its members at the hands of their employers. Owing to the intervention of the Union, Mr. Hoffman tells us, many of the large drapery establishments have signed certain agreements regarding the conditions of employment; since January of this year Mr. Lewis has been approached first by the Union and afterwards by the Conciliation Board of the Ministry of Labour. On March 10th he agreed to sign the same agreement that Messrs. Bourne and Hollingsworth had signed. The agreement provided for an elective committee of employees to help control the living-in arrangements, and that during meal-times (provision for which is obligatory under the Shops Act, 1912) assistants be allowed to leave the premises. Not only shortly after signing the agreement did he fail to carry out its provisions, but he also systematically discharged employees who were Union members in order to engage non-union members. The following then are the questions to be settled: (1) Are employees entitled to belong to a trade union safeguarding their interests? (2) are signed agreements binding or are they to be flung aside as mere scraps of paper?

### Struggle between Old and New Ideas.

Mr. John Lewis belongs to an age when trade unionism was only in its infancy, but he appears to have forgotten that he is employing the younger generation of the twentieth century, which demands that even workers are entitled to certain rights. The girls in Mr. Lewis's hostels have £1 a week stopped out of their wages, and they consider they have a right to superintend the spending of this money in their own interests. They also consider that they have an indefeasible right to join a trade union. Trade unionism owes its origin to the exploitation of the workers by employers, and since it has become a power in the land employers can no longer amass wealth while disregarding the interests of their employees. This Mr. Lewis appears to think is still possible. All we can say is he has outlived his generation.

### Loyalty of the Unmarried Mother.

Discussion of the provisions of the Bastardy Bill continues to be rather academic, and some hostility is shown to the provision that disclosure of the paternity of an illegitimate child should be compulsory on the mother. It is, we must believe, a mistaken sense of loyalty on the part of a mother, who insists on sacrificing her child's future to its father's desire for anonymity. The object of the Bill is not merely to provide sustenance for the children of unmarried mothers, but to obtain for them, where this is possible, the care and support of both parents. Public attention is too much concentrated on cases where the man is a heartless pleasure seeker, whose recognition would be no advantage either to the child or its mother. But much commoner is the case of the young man, selfish and self-indulgent, who will shirk responsibility if he is allowed to do so, who is urged to disavow the child by his own relatives, but who has the natural human feelings which have tempted him to misdoing, and will recognise and fulfil his responsibility if all chance of secrecy is gone. His is not an exalted character, but it is very much the same character as that of many fathers of legal families who will do their duty if encouraged, though not if discouraged. The Bill allows for human nature, and the humanising influence of acknowledged natural ties.

### Civil Service Equality Procession.

The Civil Service Equality procession of women employees of national and municipal authorities to demand equality of work, pay, and opportunities, took place on Wednesday, April

28th. The rain came down in torrents during the hour of forming up in the Park, and again as the marchers turned into the Strand, but only served to show that now, as in the earlier stages of the fight for equality, the women's spirit of cheerful determination only rises higher at every obstacle. Practically all the service organisations of women, national and municipal, were represented, and among the non-service associations were the London Society for Women's Service, the Catholic Women's Suffrage Society, the Women's Industrial League, and the Women's Freedom League. Sympathetic crowds lined the way, and Kingsway Hall was full. Lady Rhondda was in the chair, and the speakers represented various aspects of the fight for equality. Miss Agnes Dawson, who has led the women teachers of London in their struggle, was received with great enthusiasm, as was Miss Hicks, whose recent resignation from the Soldiers' Awards Department of the Ministry of Pensions as a protest against the treatment of women under her was recognised. In fact, the meeting had but one voice with all—a firm resolve to gain a fair field without favour for women in the public services and, indeed, for all women workers. But it was, perhaps, the procession, rather than the meeting, which really told a story to the public. Its gallant show in the wet streets evidently touched the imagination of the onlookers, and, after all, it is imagination which is at fault in the matter. The public do not think unless things are made very clear.

### A Woman for the Indian Bar.

The admission of Miss Tata as a law student at Lincoln's Inn with the intention of eventual practicing at the Indian Bar, is the small beginning of what may well be a great instrument of social reform in India. In a country where most women of position are purdah, the protection of the law is to a great extent a dead letter for them, and women occupied in manual work are by their lack of education also unable to avail themselves of it in any great measure. Miss Tata is a Parsi, a member of a race distinguished for its mental endowments and able to combine a respect for tradition with a breadth of outlook rare among native Indian peoples. Long settlement in India has, however, given them an insight into the habits of thought of more backward or more conservative races, and Parsi women are peculiarly fitted to speak for the inarticulate millions of women in India, and mediate between them and a western system of legal administration which they do not always understand and never make use of to the full. By the time Miss Tata is called to the Bar any barriers which may hinder her from practicing in India should have been levelled.

### The Unemployment Insurance Bill.

The Unemployment Insurance Bill has had its scope so much enlarged during its Committee stage, that the money allotted to finance its provisions is quite insufficient for the purpose. This will entail either its recommitment or the dropping of the amendments, and the Government is as yet undecided which course to take. The cost of paying benefit during the initial week of unemployment instead of allowing a week to elapse during which no benefit is payable, would be five and a-half millions, and the raising of men's benefit from fifteen shillings to one pound and women's from twelve to sixteen shillings, would be even more costly. A good many members agreed with Mr. Trevelyan Thomson that no difference should be made between men and women, but the actual result of the discussion and voting was to increase the "differential." Originally men were to get three shillings more than women; the amendments give them four shillings more. This widening of the gulf is quite illogical; it really pleases no party, it satisfies no principle. But there are people who prefer a compromise which displeases both parties to a dispute, and this class seems to have been over-represented on the Committee which, like many Committees under the new rules, was but ill attended.

### Women Engineers.

The Institution of Automobile Engineers has decided to admit women possessing the same qualifications for the various grades of membership as are necessary in the case of men. Women's success during the war in several branches of engineering has hitherto failed to gain them anything like a warm welcome in most societies connected with engineering trades and professions; the Automobile Engineers are to be commended as setting a good example.

**Coal Smoke.**

The Spring-cleaning season brings home to every woman the need for a thousand Air Pollution Advisory Boards on the pattern of that recently set up by Manchester. We know, but for months together we refuse to face the fact, that our domestic arrangements for warming the house and cooking food are as barbarously inefficient as the factory furnaces which spout forth their volumes of coal-blackened steam, poisoning the air for miles round. We have been told that the grimy arsenic laden fumes from our own and our neighbours' hearths and kitchens are almost as destructive to infant life as though they were tainted with plague, but we are so accustomed to breathe coal dust that we look upon the dirty air inside and outside our houses as an evil that cannot be remedied. Spring-cleaning, when economy prevents us from indulging in renovations of paint and paper, largely resolves itself into cleaning paint that won't come clean, and washing blinds and curtains more or less indelibly dyed with smoke. And as we scour conscientiously, but without much hope, we remember that those who know say that our very lungs are black with coal; coal so expensive, so precious in its right place that the whole world is crying out for it, and nations defend their treaty rights to coal more ardently than reparations in minted gold.

**Houses Kept Clean.**

Every expert domestic worker knows that the secret of home comfort is not so much to clean the house as to refrain from getting it dirty. What we want of our "Victory" houses is first and foremost the capacity for remaining clean. No new home should be built by any local authority which produces coal smoke for the defilement of its own interior, or pours out blackness to the injury of its cleaner neighbours. This is a matter in which one righteous man can do little, but a whole garden suburb of righteous landlords and tenants, cooking by gas and other concentrated and clean fuel, could make its own climate and its own infant death-rate and grow green vegetables and sun-ripened fruit in its gardens instead of sooty evergreens reminiscent of sweeps' brushes. To build houses with ordinary grates in clean air on a clean soil is hardly worth the trouble. To build really civilised houses now that there is a merciful shortage of these antedeluvian fittings, should be the demand of every woman who has a municipal vote, or who can spend a pound on a Housing Bond. Our readers have had the advantage of seeing the case for smoke abatement tellingly put by Dr. Saleeby.

**Mrs. Ayrton and the War Office.**

Mrs. Ayrton's statement on the subject of her Anti-gas Fans in the *Times* of May 3rd, might be read with slightly amused interest, if one were not too bitterly conscious of the terrible results in loss of life, and unnecessary pain which have on this occasion, as on several others, followed War Office methods of dealing with those who suggest new ideas of saving life. In reading of Mrs. Ayrton's difficulties, one cannot help remembering Florence Nightingale or the more recent example of the refusal of Dr. Elsie Inglis' help in Mesopotamia. It is true that to the disadvantage of being a woman, Mrs. Ayrton adds that of being a great discoverer—one of those who, by applying the imagination of genius to apparently simple matters throw a new light on them. It is perhaps wrong to attribute any special blame to the War Office, which in this matter merely showed the same lack of imagination and fear of simplicity which has been characteristic of Government offices and similar strongholds of tradition since the days of Christopher Columbus. The trouble about Mrs. Ayrton's gas-fan was that it was too simple. She discovered it, she tells us, by beating with a postcard on a table across which heavy clouds of smoke were rolling. The result was so astonishing that she laughed aloud. It was so simple that no one could be expected to believe in it who had not seen it, and the War Office would not trouble to see it. They were "perfectly satisfied that the fans were not required, as masks, helmets, and sprayers were enough."

**A Machine too Heavy to Move.**

It was not till some months of effort on the part of Mrs. Ayrton with a few supporters, that by the intervention of Dr. Addison some trials were made. The spirit in which they were

made can be guessed by the opening of the Report; which says: "One naturally approaches this subject with the idea that there can be nothing in it of practical value." But in spite of this "natural" idea, the Report was wholly favourable, and after further experiments in France, 5,000 fans were ordered in January, 1916. But it was not till March that Mrs. Ayrton was asked for a pattern of them, and there was a further long delay before her reminder that the fans would be no use unless the men were told how to use them, received any attention. More than a year passed between the time of Mrs. Ayrton's first offer and the time when the men were fit to use the fans; and it was a year in which the gas casualties were mounting by thousands every month. Three thousand were recorded in the *Times* of November, 1915. But this was not the worst of the matter, for even when the usefulness of the fans had been proved again and again, they were issued in utterly insufficient quantities, one fan being provided for an area nine yards wide and as long as from Park Lane to Chancery Lane. As Mrs. Ayrton had instructed her assistant to show in France how, if no fans were available, the men could beat off gas with their tunics, the War Office proceeded to act as if fans improvised from sandbags or ground-sheets would do for any occasion. In the year 1918 they spoke of "anti-gas fans, or fans improvised from sandbags or ground-sheets," without any warning that the latter should be used only in an emergency. As Mrs. Ayrton says, it was exactly as if they had said: "attack the enemy with rifle fire, or with showers of stones or old tins." Thus, the invention was in fact neglected down to the end. In August, 1918, Colonel Wedgwood, who had taken up the matter with the War Office, wrote: "Mr. Macpherson is willing enough, but the machine seems to heavy to move." This might have been taken straight out of the *Nightingale* correspondence.

**A Woman Petty Sessions Clerk.**

An interesting appeal that concerned the eligibility of a woman to serve as a Petty Sessions Clerk, came before the House of Lords last week. The heroine of the case was one Georgina Frost, whose father had served as the Petty Sessions Clerk of the district of Six-Mile Bridge and Newmarket-on-Fergus in County Clare, Ireland, for more than forty years. Miss Frost had acted for some years as her father's assistant, and when he retired in June, 1915, she was unanimously elected to the vacant post by the magistrates of the district. The Lord Lieutenant was, however, advised that a woman was not a proper person for the office and ordered a fresh election. In October, 1915, Miss Frost was again unanimously elected, though the appointment was this time qualified by the statement that it was for one year, or until a Court of Law had decided whether Miss Frost was or was not disqualified by her sex. In spite of this proviso the Lord Lieutenant again refused to sanction the appointment. Undismayed, Miss Frost instituted proceedings by Petition of Right. Mr. Justice Barton, however, dismissed the petition, and his decision was affirmed by the Court of Appeal in Ireland. In December, 1919, the Sex-Disqualification (Removal) Act was passed, and this, as was admitted by the Lord Chancellor the other day, has changed the position. He suggested, when Miss Frost's petition came before the House of Lords, that the Lord Lieutenant might after all be disposed to give a retrospective approval to Miss Frost's appointment, and added that he would himself make a representation to His Excellency. The case was accordingly adjourned with a promise that it would be restored to the paper if the Lord Lieutenant persisted in his disapproval; an event which, the Lord Chancellor said, he considered extremely improbable. We hope, then, that Miss Frost has won; and we congratulate her on her gallant and persistent fight.

**Women's Suffrage in South Africa.**

Reuter reports that on May 3rd the Union House of Assembly of South Africa adopted by sixty-four votes to thirty-nine the motion in favour of the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women.

**To Scottish Readers.**

We hope to publish in our next issue (that is on May 14th) articles which will be of special interest to our Scottish readers.

**WOMEN AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.**

By ROSAMOND SMITH.

It is difficult to say which of the two sexes is most interested in the preservation of peace. Men and women are equally open to the infection of the war spirit, which sweeps a nation off its mental balance, lending itself to the ambition of governments. Women are not, by general custom, required to risk their own lives on the battlefield and men certainly, as a sex, suffer more of the immediate dangers and discomforts of war. In short, it is their part to go out into the world and "work" while the women stay at home to "weep," though in a modern war it is found necessary to enlist at least some of the women into the ranks of the workers. Without desiring in any way to make light of the sacrifices of the soldier on active service, there is no doubt that the strain of constant anxiety, the loneliness, as well as the minor worries of scarcity and rising prices, combine, in time of war, to make the lives of women not much less unendurable than those of men. The strain of inaction is well-known to women and has its own peculiar terrors, as vivid, though differing greatly from, the strain of uncongenial or excessive activity. But if we grant that women no less than men may be responsible for war, and take their own share in the sufferings of war, there is one essential difference between the sexes which should make women the chief guardians of peace, and the great motive force behind the League of Nations. Women give life and safeguard it in its earliest and most perilous years. This is their natural function. Again, women are at present less concerned than men with business affairs and with the management and ownership of property. This it may be that causes them to think, as they undoubtedly do, that human beings are of infinitely more value than mere possessions; or perhaps this may be another natural characteristic. Weighing the arguments in the balance we may safely decide, even if we go no further, that the emancipation of women, and their increased share in the affairs of State will do much to help the cause of peace. The freedom of women in every country thus becomes a leading international question.

In Article 23 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, it has already been recognised that certain questions not directly connected with peace and war come within the scope of the League. These include such matters as labour conditions, the white slave traffic and public health, and they will be dealt with by the appointment of various international bodies. Public health work will be promoted through a central organisation co-ordinating the National Red Cross Societies. "Fair and humane labour conditions throughout the world" will be promoted by means of a General Conference and an International Labour Office. The General Conference will consist of two Government delegates, one employers' and one workers' delegate for each member State. It must meet at least once a year, and its findings, if they receive a two-thirds majority, will become the subject of recommendations to the members of the League with a view to national legislation, or may be incorporated in a draft International Convention for ratification by the member States. An important provision makes it obligatory for members of the League to bring the recommendations of the Conference before the legislature of their own country, so that these important decisions cannot be shelved. The International Labour Office will be established in Geneva, the seat of the League, as part of the League organisation. It will collect and distribute information among other functions. It is obvious that the successful application of the system must cause a gradual levelling up in conditions between one country and another; a potent means of preventing war. It was discovered as long ago as the time of Adam Smith that nations are interdependent in trade and prosperity. How much more are they interdependent in health, in conditions and hours of work and in many other ways.

If a general levelling up of laws and customs between nations is a means of preventing war, there can be no department of life in which it is desirable to hasten a higher level of civilisation than in regard to the status of women, for where women enjoy a real share in the Government of any country, there their

natural aptitude for safeguarding life and helping to preserve peace will have its fullest scope, with the most hopeful prospect for securing permanent peace. The Labour Conference and Office provide a model on which a similar scheme for a Women's Conference and Office may be devised. We suggest that the object of this Bureau should be to raise the political, social, and economic status of women throughout the world.

Some opposition to this proposal has developed on the grounds that such an organisation will prevent women from securing their proper place along-side with men on the various bodies created within the League . . . such as the Council, Assembly, and the Commissions on special subjects. Where women are strong enough to insist on admission to these bodies we have no doubt that they will do so, in addition to and not in substitution for the more specialised Conference and Office. The fact that in quite a number of countries Trade Union and Parliamentary organisation is sufficiently developed to give considerable powers into the hands of the workers to effect their own salvation, has not blinded our eyes to the fact that a strong international body is needed to secure "fair and humane labour conditions throughout the world." Similarly, the fact that in quite a number of countries women have secured with their enfranchisement a means to the end of a real equality with men, should not blind us to the need for an international body to make the world at large free for women. It is certain that the League needs the co-operation of every citizen so that entire nations may understand and share in its work, and the women must not be overlooked as citizens or the progress of the nations in preparing for peace will be limited. But how many countries will send a woman to represent them in any responsible position within the League? Women have hardly penetrated within the Parliaments for which they are eligible, and into few, if any, governments. How then, we shall be asked, can they aspire to the greater responsibility of International Government? That a few highly trained expert women will be appointed to certain Commissions as experts may be expected, for men are beginning to realise women as experts, but that the ordinary woman of good education, alert intelligence, and wide experience in social work is fully the equal of the ordinary man (and in some directions, by her different experience, his superior) has not yet dawned on our legislators in this or any other country. The co-operation of women in the League is going to depend for the women of many countries, in the West as well as in the East, on the formation of a Women's Conference and Office.

There is arising a new kind of opposition to the claims of women which declares that everything is won, that women have now got their opportunity, and that any effort to secure further advances is in the nature of an attempt to get some unfair advantage. It was this kind of opposition which defeated the project of a special Women's Council under the Ministry of Health, under the assumption, which has proved itself to be mistaken, that women could and would secure adequate representation on the mixed Councils. Fortunately there was enough support for a modified scheme of a Council with a majority of women members. This is the new form of opposition to the progress of women, and, unfortunately, it deceives many excellent feminists. One round of the battle is won, and women no longer fight weaponless, but to lay down our arms altogether is not practicable. It we are satisfied with our own position, with the under-payment of women because they are women, with their exclusion from profitable and suitable employment, with the double moral standard, and with many other grievances, let us at least spare a thought to the women in some of the more backward countries, and for their sake, if not for our own, let us concentrate our energies on obtaining a place for women in the League. Such a demand must be made simultaneously from many countries to be effective, and it is hoped that united action may be taken by means of a resolution which will be considered at the Congress of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance, to be held at Geneva in June next. But these are times when such is the press of work and the impatience of Parliaments that contentious questions must obtain a substantial measure of agreement before they can hope to receive attention. It is a convenient way of disposing of problems which are likely to give trouble. Those who oppose the appointment of a Women's Conference and Office to raise the status of women and to provide a means by which the women of every country can co-operate in the work of the League have a heavy responsibility on their shoulders.

## MINES NATIONALISATION.

By J. L. REES (South Wales Miners' Federation).

Resolutions in favour of nationalisation of the mines have been passed at the conferences of the Miners' Federation during the last ten or twenty years; but it cannot be said that the rank and file of the miners gave any enthusiastic support to that policy. However, the situation created by the war gave a great stimulus to the proposals for nationalisation. The unprecedentedly high profits of the coalowners, the problem of absorbing the demobilised miners, the aspiration for a higher standard of living, of introducing greater safety into the mines, and the necessity the miners felt for a voice in determining the conditions of their work made nationalisation a vital and living issue among the great mass of the miners.

In February, 1918, a ballot of the members of the Federation was taken upon four demands, one of which included nationalisation. The rejection of those demands by the Government would mean a strike. The result of the ballot was that 615,104 members voted in favour of a strike in case of rejection of the miners' demands, and 105,082 voted against a strike. A grave industrial crisis developed, but it was averted by the setting up of the Coal Commission. That historic Commission was given very wide scope. Its work was divided into two stages. (1) To enquire whether any change was necessary in the organisation of the mining industry; (2) if any change was necessary what form it should take. The main feature about the report upon the first question was the conclusion arrived at by Mr. Justice Sankey, the Chairman, and three business men not directly interested in the mining industry that: "Even upon the evidence already given the present system of ownership and working of the coal industry stands condemned, and some other system must be substituted for it, either nationalisation or a method of unification by national purchase or by joint control."

The defects of the present system are so glaring that it has to be thrown overboard. The Government is committed to the Duckham scheme, which unifies the coal industry, and would therefore abolish much of the wastefulness and inefficiency that characterises the present system. However, we have to consider whether this proposal gives the necessary protection to the consumer, adequate means of realising his aims to the worker, and whether it ensures the efficient control of the industry.

Sir A. Duckham in his report suggests that the mining industry should be organised into a number of trusts. Each of these would probably employ about 80,000 persons. He also suggested that their profits should be limited to a certain figure. However, the Government has not accepted this latter suggestion. These great trusts will thus be allowed to sell coal at the price which will yield them the highest return. That price may be low or high, most probably the latter. The operations of trusts in America and in this country, as the head of every household knows from experience, mean that the consumer's interests are the last to be considered. We have tasted the fruits of the cotton trust, before long we shall profit from the experience of the coal trusts.

How does this proposal affect the workers? They are to be given a small degree of representation upon the management boards of these trusts—a degree that would mean that they would have no effective voice in the control of the industry. In this connection it is necessary to emphasise the importance of the human aspect of the labour problem. It is essential that this fact should be thoroughly grasped: that the success of an industry depends upon the willing co-operation of the various factors engaged in that industry. It is a notorious fact that there is at the present time no co-operation between capital and labour in the mining industry; on the contrary a strong spirit of antagonism has developed between them. That spirit is reflected in constant strikes and falling output. This aspect of the situation has been well described by Mr. Frank Hodges in his recent book in the following words: "It is not so much the effect that these strikes have upon output that is important, but that a gradual formation of a permanent psychology of antagonism which is created as a result. There is no co-operation between workmen and employers. There is no common motive in industry, no conscious attempt to attain the highest efficiency, no elimination of waste, no internal economies. Both

sides pursue different aims." Is the creation of huge trusts likely to lessen this spirit of antagonism and to promote a greater degree of co-operation in the mining industry? Certainly not. The contrary will be the case. The power of capital will be unified and consolidated; it will be firmer and stronger; it will be bolder and more defiant. The establishment of mining trusts must inevitably increase rather than lessen labour unrest.

Another point we have to consider is the efficient control and management of the industry. It is frequently urged by opponents of nationalisation that it involves officialism and bureaucracy. It may, but does this system avoid that defect? Is it possible to conceive of these huge trusts being run without a host of officials working upon ordinary bureaucratic lines? Of course not. It is also important to observe that this officialism would work exclusively in the interest of the trusts. It would not be spurred to attain the highest possible degree of efficiency by having to deal with a strong representation of the consumers and of the workers.

The alternative to nationalisation has thus been proved to be utterly unsatisfactory from the standpoint of the worker and the consumer, and should therefore be rejected by the whole nation.

What, then, are the advantages of nationalisation? In the first place it would mean that the entire community would reap the advantages accruing from the reorganisation of the mining industry rather than that those advantages should be obtained by some 37,000 shareholders, as is the case to-day. The evidence given before the Commission shows that great improvements could be introduced into the mining industry both as regards to the production and distribution of coal. On the productive side pits would be sunk in the best places for the purpose of haulage and drainage; they would be equipped with the best machinery and most up-to-date methods; the tremendous waste of small coal could be avoided; millions of tons of coal left underground as barriers between separate private properties could be worked away. Millions of money could be saved every year by pooling railway waggons, and thus avoiding unnecessary shunting on the railways.

The same applies to the distribution of coal. Here the waste is simply colossal. It would be a good thing if those people who are so fond of blaming the miner for the high cost of coal could be made aware of the facts concerning the distribution of coal. Do they know that coal goes through the hands of four sets of middlemen before it reaches the consumer? Do they know that the "Majority Report of the Commission declared that the mere establishment charges of the firms engaged in distributing coal in London alone amount in the aggregate to over £800,000, and their total net profits to over £500,000 per annum"? Do they know that after the coal is brought to London it costs the community 12s. 6d. a ton to get that coal distributed through the 680 merchants and 1,600 coal dealers in the London area?

Under nationalisation all middlemen could be dispensed with and coal distributed through the municipalities. Even to-day co-operators are able to buy their coal from 2s. 6d. to 5s. a ton cheaper than the person who deals with the ordinary coal merchant.

The reorganisation of the mining industry in the direction outlined would mean that the miners would be ensured a high standard of living, more safety underground, better housing conditions, whilst at the same time guaranteeing an adequate supply of coal to the consumers at a reasonable price.

A word may be said about the method of administering the mines under nationalisation. They are not to be run by a few officials from Whitehall. No, they are to be controlled by mining councils representing the workers, manual and technical, representing the consumers, and representing the State. The central council may delegate a certain amount of power to district mining councils and to pit committees. Nationalisation in the past has not been a great success, because power has been centralised in few hands, and because the various parties interested in the successful working of a practical concern run by the State have had no voice in its control. Nationalisation of the Sankey type and Miners' Federation type to some extent avoid that defect. The people of this country have to choose between private ownership, with its inefficiency, disregard of the consumers' interests and of labour's needs, and the reorganisation of industry on the principle of common ownership and democratic control.

## THE DANGERS OF NATIONALISATION.

By G. E. RAINE.

(Author of "The Nationalisation Peril.")

The case of those who oppose nationalisation of industry rests, broadly speaking, on the following grounds:—

Private enterprise, while admittedly susceptible of improvement in various directions, has many and considerable achievements to its credit. In our own country, for instance, during that comparatively short period which is commonly known as the "industrial age," there has been a great increase of population, an enormous development of applied science, and a creation of national wealth which has rendered possible a higher standard of life for all classes, in respect not only of material things, but also in regard to education, recreation, and other amenities of existence. The community has, in fact, made unparalleled "all-round" advances. Moreover, this has been effected without serious curtailment of personal freedom for private enterprise, recognising the presence of the fundamental human instincts and of variations of application and skill, encourages individual development—and, while providing for minima standards offers, above such minima, rewards and incentives which ensure that the intelligent, hardworking, and efficient shall not be reduced to the level of the brainless, idle, and incompetent.

Before, therefore, abandoning an order of things, which, whatever its defects, has, at any rate, produced great and positive results, it is reasonable to require stringent proof that the scheme which it is proposed to substitute is

- (1) Psychologically defensible;
- (2) Administratively practical;
- (3) Economically sound;
- (4) Likely to promote the well-being of the community and the individual to a greater extent than the present system.

Reverting to the points enumerated above, it is impossible to believe that the theory of nationalisation is psychologically sound. It is based on the assumption that a man's maximum exertion is inspired by altruistic rather than by egoistic motives, and that he will, therefore, work better in co-operation with his fellows than in competition with them. Although, from the standpoint of ethics, "social service" may be a higher ideal than "personal advancement," yet, inasmuch as we are concerned with actualities and not with potentialities, the experience of everyday life furnishes sufficient evidence of the supremacy of self-interest as an incitement to effort and of the all-powerfulness of the stimulus which competition provides. Again, the individual's love of freedom is a deep-seated human characteristic, but it is difficult to see where this would have any play under the bureaucratic regulation which nationalisation involves. As Mr. Hartley Withers points out ("The Case for Capitalism"), the individual would be much in the position of the fowl on the intensive poultry farm! Or, to put the matter on a somewhat higher plane, we have it on the authority of M. Trotsky, that "Free Labour can exist only in a Capitalistic State." A theory that ignores the self-regarding impulses, including the desire for personal liberty, is psychologically untenable.

Coming to the consideration of nationalisation as an administratively practical policy, the more general objections are summed up in the memorandum recently issued by the Federation of British Industries, which may fitly be quoted here. It is pointed out that:—

- (a) "the proper safeguard against private monopoly is not the creation of State monopolies, which are much more dangerous. . . ."
- (b) there is a very grave objection to the Government being the employer of a large proportion of the voters upon whose support it depends.
- (c) the principal aim of the State must always be political; governments are organised . . . not for commercial purposes and must always be overloaded with political work which will be their chief concern.
- (d) the existence of such monopolies makes it impossible for the Government to be impartial in industrial matters and makes for political corruption.
- (e) it has hitherto been found impossible for the State to give sufficiently free play to local knowledge and experience in connection with the services which it administers, and over-centralisation is hostile to progress.
- (f) State administration is always found to involve serious delay in the taking of decisions, even on matters of detail, and to be deficient in that elasticity which is essential to commercial success.
- (g) the fact that any deficiencies . . . can be met out of revenue is often an irresistible temptation to uneconomical working. . . ."

The protagonists of nationalisation urge that the drawbacks of bureaucratic control of industry are not innate, but are chiefly a question of the type of official employed—a criticism levelled

at recruitment from Public Schools. But (b), (c), and (d) above suggest that there are inherent defects—dependent of personnel. And with regard to (e) and (f)—objections to State control which are more universally held—it does not appear that any improvement has been effected in departments where Labour influence is in the ascendant.

Is there any proof then that nationalisation would be economically sound?

Its advocates tell us that, in considering this, the idea of profits must be banished from our minds—the suggestion, apparently, being that some industries would be run at a loss, such bad debts being counterbalanced by the success of others which more than paid their way. But, even if this plan of robbing Peter to pay Paul did make ends meet, it is a little difficult to see how, in the absence of that accumulated capital which profit alone can give, further technical progress would be possible. Putting this aside, however, is there any cause to suppose that spolvency would be maintained? The classic example of the telephone at once occurs to us. While the taxpayer is pleased to know that the telephonists have far better wages, hours, and holidays than they enjoyed under the National Telephone Company, he would reasonably expect that, working under ameliorated conditions and assisted by extra staff, increased outlay would be repaid by increased efficiency. It is common knowledge that the contrary is the case. The Post Office is a specially interesting example at the moment, seeing that the poor consumer is again to be asked to make up the deficit on its working by paying more for his stamps and his parcels.

The financial stability of the nation must ultimately depend on (a) adequate output, and (b) its economical management. The attitude of Municipal employees does not lead us to suppose that national employees will be more zealous and disinterested than those who work for private enterprise. And a review of State control impresses us with the prodigious cost of administration. The Secretary of the Lancashire Cardroom Workers' Approved Society has recently stated that out of every £1 spent in Poor Law work, 14s. goes in expenses of administration, for every £1 paid for unemployment, £2 goes in working expenses, and every 10s. given under National Health Insurance costs 5s. to give! The utilisation of profits (the basis of future advance) to meet such vastly increased charges seems to have little to commend it.

There does not appear to be any ground for supposing that the community or the individual would benefit substantially under nationalisation. Any conceivable gain as producer would be more than offset by losses as consumer. For under bureaucratic domination—and the absence of competition which it implies—the consumer must needs take what he can get, and pay the price officialdom exacts. The compensation offered for these and other disadvantages is not adequately secured. For instance, the hopes held out of joint control by workers, officials, and consumers do not seem to eventuate in practise. "We have not any joint committees of that sort," said the Premier of Queensland, describing the working of the State mines there, "the Government keeps the whole control." Again, the promise of "industrial peace" is illusory. The railway strike last autumn was a rude reminder that nationalisation does not mean cessation of strife between employer and employed. Indeed, Mr. Duncan Graham, M.P. (Lanarkshire Miners' County Union), assures us that "if the mines became the property of the nation, the miners would need to be more determined than ever in their policy . . . because, instead of fighting local employers, they would be fighting the Government."

The effects of nationalisation of industry can already be surveyed, to some extent. In Russia it has meant economic chaos and the introduction of industrial conscription. In our own case, the extravagance and incompetence of State control during the war is proverbial. Everywhere it has been accompanied by growing industrial unrest—which even the bribery of wage advances has failed to pacify. It is urged that such exceptional times provided no fair test, but it may be argued equally, that those days provided Government Departments with extraordinary advantages. The conditions existing on the railways, in the coal industry, and in the building industry, are ever present witnesses of the deadness of the hand of State control. It is in the amendment—and not the annihilation—of the present system that hope for the future lies.

## NEWS FROM WESTMINSTER.

BY OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT.

A considerable part of the Parliamentary interest this last week has centred not at Westminster but in the party gatherings outside. The position of the Liberal Party, with its Asquithian and Lloyd Georgian wings, has been arousing considerable interest in political circles. It is perhaps truer to say that the Liberal Party has an Asquithian body and one flapping Coalition wing. But, in any case, its action with regard to fusion will certainly have far-reaching results in the constituencies.

One aspect of Liberal tactics which continually recurs is the expression of the pious wish that there should not be three-cornered contests, in which the Progressive vote is divided between Liberal and Labour. The Labour Party persistently and consistently ignores this pious wish, and it is quite obvious that no solution of this particular difficulty will ever be reached until some form of Proportional Representation has been adopted.

The ins and outs of party politics and party machinery are not very inspiring nor very edifying subjects. They are, however, of very real importance, for upon the clearness of party divisions and the definiteness of party programmes depends the whole chance of the ordinary voter for expressing his own opinion at the polls. We have fared badly of late years in this respect, and cross-voting and confused issues have been all too numerous. We could wish that we saw in these party conferences symptoms of an improvement in the position; unfortunately we see nothing but further muddle ahead.

In Parliament itself the return of the Prime Minister from San Remo, the further stages of the Budget, and the beginning of the Irish discussion have been the outstanding events.

As regards special women's questions, an amendment to provide for the separate taxation of married women's incomes was moved by Mr. Locker-Lampson in the House of Commons on April 27th in the following words:—

"If either a husband or a wife who are living together claims to be separately assessed for purposes of Income Tax, neither of them shall be liable to pay a larger sum in respect of Income Tax than they would be liable to pay if they were each unmarried."

This amendment was opposed by Mr. Chamberlain, and on the division it was lost by two hundred and three votes to ninety. The continuance of the marriage tax was thus once more affirmed by the House of Commons. We are sorry for it. Mr. Locker-Lampson was, we think, right in saying that so far as married women are concerned the tax "is unfair, unjust, and absolutely indefensible."

In the House of Lords the Matrimonial Causes Bill has progressed a stage further, in spite of the set-back which it received in the Commons.

The amendments to rule out incurable insanity and incurable drunkenness as grounds for divorce were defeated, and the amendment to abolish the sub-clause, which gave power to a person to seek divorce on the ground that the other party was undergoing imprisonment under a commuted death sentence, was agreed to as a matter affecting only very few people. The proviso that "if the defendant claims a decree of permanent judicial separation instead of divorce the Court may refuse and insist on divorce" stood, and a further clause dealing with proceedings of decrees of nullity, proceedings of decrees on the presumption of death, and proceedings for the restitution of conjugal rights were agreed to with drafted amendments.

The Plumage Bill, which we refer to in "Notes and News," was talked out on Friday, April 30th. We see in the fashion papers that feathers on shoes is the latest device. It looks as if the interests concerned in this trade were making a last desperate rally, but we are confident that the good sense of women voters will soon put an end to this cruel foolishness.

## THE CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

By EDITH PICTON-TURBERVILLE, O.B.E.

The expert, the even semi-expert, on criminal law must skip this article! It is elementary, and for that no apology is made. The ignorance of a vast number of people on this subject is almost abysmal. Prudishness has to a great extent vanished, but there are still numbers of social workers and greater numbers still of philanthropic workers in whom false traditional thinking on this subject still has weight. I am acquainted with women who whilst working amongst girls of all sorts almost pride themselves on having no knowledge at all of the subject of this article. Their work is, of course, almost bound to be superficial—but of this they are blissfully ignorant—for the Criminal Law Amendment Act and its defects is a vital factor in the physical and moral welfare of the youth of our country.

The Bishop of London deeply conscious of this has brought forward a Bill, and the strength of his Bill is that in the main it is non-controversial. There are, of course, some people who will controvert any subject under the sun. It is quite possible, for instance, that Sir Frederick Banbury will look upon the Bill as highly controversial. Others will doubtless draw attention to the fact that a Bill very like it failed to pass into law some seven years ago. Things that were said several years ago by opposers of the Bill will, however, not be said to-day. Much water has flowed under the bridges since then, and there is the woman's vote to reckon with. The Bishop of London's Bill is practically non-controversial for this reason, it stands for the protection of the ignorant and the immature. Under the present law a man may commit an indecent assault on a child of thirteen and escape all punishment if her consent is given. It may be said, and possibly with some truth, that a child of thirteen may not only consent but invite. If that be true, however, it in no way weakens the case that the age of consent should be raised to sixteen, for even if the child of thirteen is "naughty" she is immature and entirely ignorant of the nature of the act and its consequences. A girl of thirteen is still a child, and can be bribed by sweets and gifts to consent to an act of the nature of which she is entirely ignorant, and which often has appalling results. I write from experience when I say young lives have been absolutely ruined, girls eventually having to be sent to houses of restraint because of such assaults at a tender age. If the age of consent is raised to sixteen there is bound to be a diminution of this terrible evil.

The "reasonable cause to believe" clause in the present Criminal Law Amendment Act is infamous, and makes the Act almost of none effect. As the law now stands to have intercourse with a girl under sixteen is rightly a punishable offence, but a proviso which follows the section making this an offence gives the man an opportunity of avoiding all punishment, for he can plead that he had "reasonable cause to suppose" she was above the age of sixteen. The great majority of offenders escape all punishment under this clause. Those who have studied the subject and experienced social workers look upon this clause as the most serious blot, more mischievous than any other defect, in the present Act for the protection of young girls. The man as a rule knowing the law instructs the girl to say she is sixteen, and then claims, and nearly always successfully, that he had reason to suppose she was sixteen. There have been cases where girls of merely thirteen have been defiled and the offender escaped all punishment by successfully pleading he had cause to believe she was above the age of protection.

If the Bishop of London's Bill becomes law the proviso will be abolished.

There are other clauses—they are not here taken in the order in which they come in the Bill—one to extend the time limit in which a man can be charged for outraging a girl under sixteen. As the law now stands the charge must be made within six months of the offence, but the girl will seldom say anything, and the offence is not discovered till shortly before the birth of the child—too late as the law now stands to prosecute. The Bill extends the time limit to twelve months. Another clause inflicts severer penalties on brothel keepers than the present Act, and yet another clause which will be welcomed by all, though there will be difference of opinion as to the ages of the parties concerned, protects boys under seventeen from corruption by maturer women. Last, but not least, the age of consent to intercourse is raised from sixteen to eighteen years of age.

Briefly this Bill protects the immature of both sexes, and

should gain the support of the whole nation. If passed and effectively worked it will have enormous effect in protecting the young of both sexes from the frightful evils that now exist.

Those who remember the agitation in 1911 for the passing of the Act of 1912 will recall the sensational stories that were told and retold of the white slave traffic. The sudden disappearance of innocent young girls who happened to be shopping at Harrods or elsewhere. The country was in a ferment about it, doubtless rightly so, though some of the stories were the sort of stories that always find credence—like the Russian troops passing through England in 1914—in times of excitement. The law is still inadequate, horrors continue that could be diminished,

though they are not so much in the public eye, perhaps the last six years have hardened us. The Bishop's Bill is the only Bill that receives the whole-hearted support of practically all women's societies, certain men's societies, such as the Alliance of Honour, and many societies of both men and women, such as the National Union of Teachers. I have not space to speak of the Government Bill, which is most dangerous, and is simply the re-introduction of the 1918 C.L.A. Bill, which the country would not have, and which raised a storm of controversy. It will do so again; the only chance of getting anything done in the matter is to support the Bishop of London's Bill, which is sane, workable and fair.

## KITCHEN POLITICS.

Parliament is bound to give a great deal of its attention to the kitchen, but the kitchen is not giving nearly enough of its attention to Parliament.

While kitchen politics are to the fore the opinion of the kitchen expert, the woman in the home, has a special value.

But this opinion must be based on knowledge and consideration, not on rumour and popular catch-words.

For the next few weeks therefore "The Woman's Leader" will contain introductory articles on different aspects of kitchen politics. These are intended to call the attention of the woman in the home to problems particularly demanding her careful scrutiny, and to touch on points of difficulty she must study.

## PITY THE RETAIL DEALER.

Last week we considered one form of Food Control, the policy of subsidies. This week we have to consider a second form, and one which is very often confused with the simple regulation of prices by law. I am speaking of the indirect method of fixing prices which the Government adopts when it becomes itself a wholesale dealer.

When the Government becomes a wholesale dealer it becomes a wholesale dealer on a very large scale. Its power lies behind that of the ordinary wholesale dealers. It has far more capital and far greater credit than they, and it can buy up the whole national stock of a particular food and sell at whatever price it will. This, of course, may prove a great advantage to the nation as a whole, for the Government represents the nation, and the Government's money is the nation's money, pooled so as to enable it to buy food co-operatively, and so avoid the profits of the middleman.

But before we decide for or against this policy we must look at it in two ways. First of all we must consider whether in the nature of things the Government can ever be a successful wholesale dealer, and, secondly, we must consider whether, if it can, it is desirable that it should.

We have seen that, as far as buying up its stocks is concerned, the Government is in a very strong position, since it has behind it much capital and almost unlimited credit. As far as selling is concerned also the Government is in a strong position, so long as the conditions of the market remain uniform. For so huge is the scale of its transactions that no other wholesale dealer is in competition against it. It can fix the price of its bacon, its frozen meat, its eggs, as the case may be, so as to cover cost and to make a profit, and it can command a sure sale for its bacon, meat, and eggs, since this is the only bacon, the only meat, these the only eggs that the nation can buy. But when the conditions of the market are changing the situation too is changed. Just because its transactions are so huge, and because it is dealing in public funds, the Government is at a disadvantage. An error made in a Government deal becomes a very big error; and when an error has been made and too much meat has been imported, or our own producing power miscalculated, the fact that payment must be made with public funds prevents the Government from cutting its losses as any ordinary wholesale dealer would do. The public funds must be safeguarded, but they are sometimes safeguarded to the cost of the public. For there is delay while the Treasury is deciding whether the nation can afford to sell its stores at a small loss, and when the Government is a wholesale dealer

in food delay is the one thing that it cannot afford. The food will suffer, and either it will suffer so much that it must be thrown away, in which case the nation has lost heavily instead of slightly, or if it can still be put on the market it will be none the better for its keeping, and through making wholesale dealing a national affair the nation will be obliged to accept inferior food supplies.

At such times we are apt to decry our shopkeepers who are supplying us with bad food, whereas really we should look further afield and realise that here is one of the disadvantages of wholesale dealing by the Government. We should pity instead of reproving our retail dealer, for he may be as hardly used as we are ourselves. Last Christmas we have vivid memories of our egg supply. Nowhere could we obtain fresh eggs unless we lived ourselves in the country, where strangely enough there were eggs and to spare. The reason was that—apparently overlooking our own egg supply—the Government had bought in large stores of eggs from Egypt, and these eggs had to be sold before anything else. The purchaser did not like these eggs—they were too Egyptian! He or she blamed the retail dealer, but the retail dealer was just as unhappy. He did not wish to displease his customers. He did not wish to be accused of profiteering. Why the Government was making a profit of £7 on every case of eggs for which it paid £8, while he cleared a miserable 40s. Pity the retail dealer!

And this brings us to the second point in our considerations. Supposing that the Government in its wholesale deals makes no mistake or miscalculation, meets with no unexpected fluctuation of the market, is it desirable that the Government on behalf of the nation should make considerable profits on food transactions? On this point there are many differences of opinion. Some hold that it is to the nation's advantage that the Government should enter into commerce, and if fortunes are to be made make them on behalf of the nation. Others believe that it is better to leave fortune-making and losing to private enterprise, and if the State funds are in need of support to impose taxes where they can best be borne, thus saving the £500,000 or so which we are at present spending each week on cold storage, and causing less irritation to the country generally. Others again think that the Government might be safely left to buy and sell food on behalf of the nation, but must on no account be allowed to profit by the transaction.

Here I must leave the kitchen expert to make up her mind.

INEZ M. FERGUSON.

## WHAT THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS HAS DONE FOR WOMEN.

By LADY GLADSTONE.

Of all the clauses in the Peace Treaty probably those attached to the League of Nations Convention dealing with Labour have received the least public attention. Yet as far as these clauses are concerned the League of Nations has passed out of the region of hopes and dreams, and has achieved results which are unique in the history of the world. The preamble of the Labour Clauses begins: "Whereas the League of Nations has for its object the establishment of universal peace, and such peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice," and declares "the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labour is an obstacle in the way of nations which desire to improve the conditions of their own countries."

In order that no time should be lost in realising these aspirations, and even before the League was officially born, there were gathered together at Washington under the auspices of the League in October, 1919, the representatives of forty-one nations. Each of these nations had four delegates, of which two were Government representatives, one represented the employers, and one the work-people. They composed the first World Labour Conference. Unfortunately America sent no delegates to the Conference, but Mr. W. B. Wilson, Secretary of Labour in President Wilson's Cabinet, presided at all its meetings though he did not vote. His presence was a happy augury for the future. This Conference of representatives from the uttermost parts of the world lasted for a month, and came to agreements of the most far-reaching importance. They mark the birth of a new age for Labour, for the recommendations and conventions adopted by the Conference have to be laid within a year before the Parliaments of all the nations belonging to the League. It is to be expected that the public opinion of the world will be strong enough to make it impossible for any Parliament to reject these reforms. Thus for the first time there is a reasonable probability that a standard of just and humane conditions for Labour will be established for the whole world, and that the unfair advantage gained in some countries by cheap production at the expense of its workers, men, women, and children, will be abolished for ever.

The first question dealt with was that of the hours of work in industrial undertakings, and a convention was adopted limiting the working hours to eight in the day and forty-eight in the week. It was also agreed that there should be a weekly rest of twenty-four consecutive hours for all workers, with certain exceptions, but there were to be no exceptions for persons under fifteen. The next problem considered was unemployment. It was decided that free public employment agencies should be set up under a central authority, and that a system of insurance against unemployment should be established. The benefits are to be international, so that a British workman residing in France would share the benefits with Frenchmen, and *vice versa*. It was also recommended that all employment agencies charging a fee should be abolished as soon as possible, and that the insurance scheme should be worked through a Government system.

### WOMEN REPRESENTATIVES.

No woman was actually selected by any of the nations as a delegate to the Conference. But under the Covenant it is laid down that when questions especially affecting women are to be considered, of the two advisers to whose assistance every delegate is entitled for each question on the agenda one at least should be a woman. Moreover, it is open to any delegate to appoint one of his advisers to act as his deputy, and this actually happened. Great Britain led the way with Miss Mary MacArthur, Miss Margaret Bondfield, and Miss Constance Smith, and others followed, with the result that women from Great Britain, France, Sweden, Denmark, and the Netherlands represented their

countries at the Conference, and both spoke and voted. Thus it came about that women had a real share in framing the convention dealing with maternity benefits. This convention marks such a huge stride in humane consideration for the mothers and babies of the world that it is impossible to believe that women will allow it to be shelved or watered down by Parliament. If we are to have healthy, happy children mothers must be given a reasonable time in which to recover their health and strength after childbirth, and they must be freed from financial anxiety, and have nourishing food, both for their own sakes and for the sake of their babies. In this convention it is recognised that in bearing children women are performing a great service to the State, and that it is not only wise but just that they should be considered and cared for during their ordeal. So the convention lays it down that a woman shall have the right to leave her work if she produces a medical certificate stating that her confinement will probably take place within the next six weeks. She shall not work in the six weeks following her confinement. Further, during these twelve weeks she shall be paid benefits sufficient for the full healthy maintenance of herself and child, either out of public funds or by a system of insurance. In addition she is to receive free attendance by a doctor or certified midwife. She shall not be dismissed from her employment during her twelve weeks absence, or for a longer period if the state of her health prevents her from working. If she is nursing her child she is to be allowed half an hour twice a day in working hours for that purpose.

### FOR THE WELL-BEING OF WORKERS.

The Conference adopted various other conventions designed to safeguard the health of women and children. It decided that no woman or young person under eighteen is to be employed at night in any industrial undertaking, excepting in certain seasonal trades and exceptional cases, but in no case shall a young person under sixteen be employed at night. Night is to be counted as eleven hours, and always to include the interval between 10 p.m. and 5 a.m. Children under the age of fourteen are not to be allowed to work in any industrial undertaking. It is pleasant to reflect that children may thank the League of Nations for the right to play, and that they are no longer to be burdened with labour in addition to their lessons. Recommendations for safeguarding women and young persons against the dangers of anthrax and lead poisoning were also passed, and the nations of the world are recommended to establish a Government service for promoting the health of workers, as well as an efficient system of factory inspection.

All these conventions and recommendations together form a very remarkable achievement, not so remarkable perhaps from the English point of view as for some of the more backward nations. But for the world in general they constitute an immense advance towards the establishment of a standard of fair and humane conditions of labour, and will always stand as the first glorious achievement of the League of Nations. It will be the duty of the permanent International Labour Office of the League of Nations to watch the Governments of the world, and to see to it that they faithfully carry out the obligations they have undertaken under the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Women have great cause to bless the League for what it has already done, but they must face the fact that there is a real danger that bright hopes may be disappointed if the League is not supported by a movement so strong and general that it cannot be disregarded. The League of Nations Union is a Society which has been formed to organise that support, and all women who wish to help forward the establishment of peace, justice and humanity in the world will join the Union without delay.

## A LETTER FROM BUDAPEST.

By CAROL RING.

All the red, white and green flags (Hungary, Italy, and the N.U.W.S.S. all shared the same colours) are at half-mast over the public buildings and on the river craft in the Danube because Count Apponyi has returned to Budapest without having signed the Peace Treaty.

"It is the death of Hungary," the people say. However that may be, the signs of acute distress are not so evident in Budapest as in Vienna and Austria generally; and the people have more energy and more interest in life and in their own future. But this is not to say that the need is not very great; as elsewhere, food—especially milk, bread, and meat—is very short, and the people desperately need new clothes. Holland and Denmark have sent generously, and America is sending about 120,000 children daily; but their work is drawing to a close in a few months, though no doubt the many admirable local organisations will endeavour to continue it as far as possible. One of these is a lay sisterhood in Buda, which controls, besides an orphanage and a reformatory for girls, seventy-two depôts or distribution centres for food, milk, and clothing to the poor of the city; and also does admirable work among the prisoners, University women students, and the struggling middle class people, who are suffering more than any section of the community, except the unemployed and the refugees.

This Catholic Social Mission has its headquarters in a quiet street, albeit in the centre of the town, where the seventy Sisters live very simply and humbly, and where all the work—carried on by the assistance of 120 lay workers—is organised. I visited it on Good Friday, a day of universal silence and fasting in the Convent, when most of the nuns were in the beautiful little chapel. But courtesy and kindness to a visitor came before all else, and the Reverend Mother took me over the building and told me of the work done. All educated Hungarians, of course, speak German, and many of them some English also, while not a few know French and Serbian and probably T.Czech besides. Presently a sweet-looking young Sister came into the room, and was introduced to me as Sister Schlachta Margit (they always put the Christian name last), Hungary's first M.P. It seemed extraordinary that so frail and gentle a girl should have won a hotly contested election against four strong men opponents, but Sister Margit has a spirit that burns like a flame, combined with an ardent patriotism, and possesses, moreover, a fine gift of oratory.

She fought the election on two mottoes, which were printed on her posters:—

"The greatest enemy of a country is not the foe that is storming the boundaries, but the sin and misery within."

"There shall be a new Hungary, over which the Cross shall reign, and in which all people will be brothers and sisters."

One of her great aims is to introduce a higher standard of social purity, and she is studying with keen interest everything that Lady Astor says and does. In the Refectory she showed me written simply on a slate the motto given to the community by the Reverend Mother, who firmly eliminates all "rush" and strain, even in times of emergency, among the Sisters under her care. The words as translated were:

"God is not in restlessness, but in simple, quiet, organised work."

I also had the pleasure of visiting the Feministák Egyesület, the old Suffrage Society, which now calls itself the Feministe Federation, and which is non-party like our own N.U.S.E.C. It has reorganised itself on such a democratic basis that the former President, Miss Glücklich Vilma, told me it has now no head, but is directed by a governing body (executive committee) of fifteen members. The present work of the Society

is to act as an information bureau on women's interests; the political unrest and suspicion making educative work, however impartial, too dangerous.

Women in Hungary vote on the same terms as men, except that the age is different, twenty-four for women, twenty-one for men; and only those women are qualified who can read and write; men need not possess these accomplishments! Although the Suffrage Society consisted of a majority of members of the Reform Party, to which also the officers belong, and although before her election Schlachta Margit had not been an adherent of Women's Suffrage, and is of the other party, the Society threw themselves into work for her wholeheartedly and are delighted at her success.

"And this much of the peoples understand not," said one lady to me in English; and was immediately assured that in England also we had experienced the difficulty of making people understand our non-party attitude.

The Hungarians admired the English, and in spite of the bitterness of their hearts at the loss of so much of their territory, and that the richest and most fertile parts of it, much of the old kind feeling and friendship prevails, and hospitality has been showered on us equally from people of both parties and all faiths. Perhaps some of the dishes have been strange to our insular taste, especially the fancy bread heavily encrusted with salt crystals, served with sweet tea; but strips of rich pastry covered with caraway seeds and cold boiled chestnuts served at teatime are delicious, and would be a novelty at afternoon teas at home. The linen is all exquisitely hand-embroidered by Transylvanian peasants, but we were unable to procure any now that Transylvania has become part of Roumania. One of the greatest menaces to the economic recovery of these countries is the prohibition of intertrading between States which were formerly all one nation, and which are intimately dependent on each other.

In Budapest I had the pleasure of visiting the family of Frau Rosika Schwimmer, who is herself at present a political refugee in Vienna, where she has given us the greatest possible assistance in our work. It has been delightful to meet this able and liberal-minded suffragist and internationalist, and her sympathy and help have been invaluable.

## SONNET.

By GERALD GOULD.

### III.

A pretty picture of the innocent May,  
When night and day reciprocate the hour—  
The Milky Way a hawthorn hedge in flower,  
And every hawthorn hedge a Milky Way!  
Such has love seemed to some: they have their day;  
They take their pleasant impotence for power;  
They are good and happy—who decries their dower?  
Who that has loved would not be ev'n as they?

For love is born in pain and bred to loss;  
Others it saves, itself it cannot save;  
Its dreams are thick with fears past dreaming of:  
The lover is naked; all he had he gave:  
Only he bears, as Christ bore His own Cross,  
The burden of intolerable love.

## REACTIONS.

By ROSE MACAULAY.

V.

Jayne hadn't known it either. In fact, it wasn't in him; it was an emanation from Dorothy's soul to his. He could not have written a single sentence of that stuff alone. But Dorothy sat there, the visible representative of the great public behind her, and when he fixed his eyes on her intent, pretty profile, with its softly flushed cheek and slightly parted lips, through which her tongue occasionally showed an eager pink tip, Dorothy's knowledge of the way he ought to write seemed to pour mysteriously into him. They came into his mind, those noble sentiments expressed in the vile, deformed, horrible sentences which seemed their natural and inevitable envelope, smoothly and easily, as it were a gift from heaven. And if what he had described as "the serpent" lifted its head in Eden and hissed, Dorothy's puzzled upward glance promptly scotched it. And there was no danger of his overdoing it, carrying the thing into a farce, with Dorothy there to say, "Thus far and no farther." How sure she had been about that "as" and "like." Thinking of it again, he knew she had been right. Books of that kind just, as a rule, didn't say "like," except as a very occasional lapse.

Jayne was exultant as he dressed and went out to dinner. He was going, he fully believed, to do the trick, he and Dorothy together. He would bring the book out, if Dorothy liked, under her name. He would have to choose some pen-name anyhow; his own name, which figured on his other books, would be no use for the purpose; it would only arouse disgust in the minds of his own public and distrust in those of the new public he hoped to capture. It would be a pretty tribute of gratitude to Dorothy Leslie to let it bear hers.

He told Nancy Thorpe about it at dinner. Nancy Thorpe was the young woman to whom he was engaged to be married, and whom he could not marry without more money. So she was really responsible for "Love in the Poison Swamps," as the new book was, so far, called. He told her about Dorothy.

"There we sit, and I suck it all up out of her little mind, and repeat it to her, and she takes it down as if she hadn't thought of it first, and holds her breath when it gets lovelier than usual. When I run dry all I have to do is to connect my mind with hers, and through hers with the great heart of the public, and in it all rushes, just like someone dictating to me through a telephone. It's uncanny, a little."

Nancy said, "I shall come and listen one evening," but he said, "Oh, lord, no, you'd spoil it. You'd cut the connection altogether. It's a question of atmosphere for delicate psychic natures like Miss Leslie's and mine. Your vulgar, cynical hardness would break what's called the chain of faith at once. But I'll show you the results of the sittings as we go along. . . . Miss Leslie says I've got to introduce the heroine to-morrow. That ought to be a scene worth reading. I must be very careful to leave it all to her, or I shall spoil it with some crude witticism. When I feel inclined to try to be funny one look at her anxious little side-face pulls me together. In short, Nancy, I've learnt the way it's done, and we need no longer starve. Why don't you adopt the same method with your painting?"

"I'm not as conceited as you, old thing. I don't flatter myself I've only to paint a bad enough picture to make a fortune."

"It's not a question of badness. It's the *kind* of badness. Most bad books are merely unreadable. Miss Leslie knows which is the readable badness, and that's what she's teaching me. I'm a budding Garvice, darling, a manly Ethel Dell."

VI.

The heroine was introduced next day. Stanley found her a prisoner in the hut of the Hun trader, who was, at the moment, out trading. In the middle of the conversation between them Jayne was rung up by a friend, who wanted him to come and dine in half an hour.

"That's a nuisance," he said to Dorothy. "I must go and dress now. We'll have to cut the last twenty minutes this evening. Pity, just as it was running so beautifully."

Dorothy looked disappointed. "Well, it does seem a pity, doesn't it? It's getting so lovely now they've met."

Then Jayne had an idea. "I say, Miss Leslie, here's a notion. I wish you'd carry on and finish the scene for me while I dress. You'll do it much better than I should. Will you?"

"Oh, Mr. Jayne, I couldn't, could I? I shouldn't know what to say. I could never put things the lovely way you do."

"I bet you could. Indeed, I know you could. Please try; yes, really, do."

He disappeared into his bedroom. As he dressed he heard the Oliver clacking busily away, with brief pauses for reflection, and chuckled. She was probably doing it much better than he could.

When he came back into the room, twenty minutes later, the Oliver was still fluent. Dorothy, flushed and absorbed, started and stopped, and drew a long breath.

Jayne said, "I say, thanks most awfully. It's been going splendidly, I could hear. I must be off now, but I'll look through it when I come back."

They went downstairs together. Dorothy said: "I do hope it'll do, Mr. Jayne. I'm afraid you'll think it terrible rubbish. It seemed to come into my mind wonderfully somehow—pouring in ever so smoothly, if you know what I mean. But of course I've never learnt to write like you have, and I'm sure it's full of mistakes."

"Mistakes are all to the good," Jayne said, "if they're the right sort of mistakes, and I'm sure yours are."

They were. Jayne, when he got home that night, settled himself down to read the four pages of Dorothy's unaided work with a feeling of confidence that proved justified beyond his dreams. It was splendid stuff; the real goods. Each diseased, imbecile sentence drivelled to its idiotic end with the unabashed courage of the maniac. Each sentiment had a sopiness, a pure nobility, that was beyond his own creative powers; nearly every word was the wrong word. Occasionally it was so ostensibly wrong as to be definitely ludicrous or misleading. These words he altered into something rather more nearly right. And occasionally he had to delete a phrase that was too precise a reproduction of something he remembered in one of the novels he had so lately studied. There was, for instance, something straight out of "The Upas Tree." This he cut out. But for the most part Dorothy's production required no touching up; it was very nearly perfect.

That girl, he reflected, had a fortune within her brain. She could grow rich on six months' work. She could write serials for the *Daily Mirror*. He must tell her. It wasn't fair to leave her drudging as an underpaid library assistant.

The temptation came to him to leave all the rest of "Love in the Poison Swamps" to Dorothy. Why should he bother, when she could do it so much better and more easily, and positively enjoyed it? It seemed absurd that he should go to the trouble of gathering the stuff out of her mind and dictating it back to her filtered through his own brain, which certainly

did not improve it. However, he put this temptation behind him, since, if Dorothy did all the work, he obviously could not reap the reward. It must continue to be a co-operative effort. Dorothy's was the brain that conceived, and Dorothy's the hand that executed, but he must be the middleman.

VII.

Dorothy flushed with pleasure at his appreciation.

"It isn't what you say, Mr. Jayne, but I'm ever so glad you think it will do. I simply loved writing it. I felt, you know how one does, as if I could have gone on for hours."

"You ought to be a novelist," he told her. "It's absurd your wasting your time in that library. Take my advice and chuck it at once, and write a story and send it to the *Daily Mirror* for a serial."

"The *Daily Mirror*! Why, they'd never take a thing of mine! They get simply lovely stories, by Ruby Ayres and all kinds of famous people."

"Well, you try. You'll be as famous as any of them soon if you do. But you mustn't throw me over till this book is through; I simply couldn't spare you. . . . Now let's get to work. Where've we got to? Oh, I see—'Never had he realised, till he looked into that pure face, how deeply he had sinned.' By the way, I meant to ask you about that. How had he sinned? I thought it was his cousin who had forged that cheque?"

"Oh yes, it was. But after he got out to Africa he felt desperate, and went to the bad, you know. It was the hot climate, and being lonely, and being falsely accused, and all that. So he took to drink and gambling and so on, with rough companions."

"Drink and gambling—oh, I see. Well, I suppose the 'deep sin' is covered by the 'so on.' All right. I agree with you that remorse and the new leaf are more intriguing than dull virtue. We'll go on from there, then."

They went on. The touching scene was rudely interrupted by the return of the Hun trader, who proved to be the Camp Commandant under whom Stanley had suffered as a prisoner in Germany. Stanley remarked, "At last we meet as man to man, Fritz Bauerschwein," and the conversation proceeded on those lines. Dorothy grew tense with excitement. She could barely endure to stop at the end of the hour, particularly as Stanley was in the hands, at the moment, of three stalwart black minions of Bauerschwein's, and was being dragged from Lillian's presence. When Jayne said, "Any criticisms to-night? How do you think it's going?" she replied, "It's wonderful, Mr. Jayne. Only I think it sometimes gets almost too much of an *adventure* story, if you know what I mean. I like simply lots and lots of love, don't you?"

"Well no, I don't. But then I like none of the right things. What we've got to consider is not my taste, which is perverted, but the taste of the public. And if the public like lots of love they shall certainly have it. Thank you; I'll make a note of that."

Something in that speech of Jayne's made Dorothy reflect afterwards. It was the first time he had referred to his own tastes and preferences in literature. Usually he didn't put it like that; he would only say that he couldn't achieve popularity, implying that he wasn't a good enough writer. But now he seemed to make a definite discrimination between what he liked and what she and the public liked. *His* taste, which was perverted, wasn't to be considered. Didn't he then like, really like as she did, "Love in the Poison Swamps"?

Dorothy forgot her doubts in the interest of the thrilling tale as it developed each evening. She was very happy, though curiously tired, in these days. So tired, often, that she couldn't sleep, but lay till morning with the scenes of the book, past and to come, turning about in her brain. From time to time Jayne would be interrupted and would leave her again to unaided composition. These were the most exciting evenings, though not the most amusing. Always next day he would compliment her on her achievement.

"That's got it," he would say. "That's the stuff to give them. . . Splendid."

VIII.

Dorothy sometimes found Miss Nancy Thorpe with Jayne when she arrived—a merry, dark, delicately featured girl, a year or two older than herself, with a deep, absurd laugh. The first evening they met Dorothy saw Miss Thorpe through a film of blue cigarette smoke, sitting intimately over the remains of tea, with the typed sheets of "Love in the Poison Swamps" upon her knees. She laid it aside as she got up and shook hands with Dorothy.

She said, "How do you do, Miss Leslie. I've been reading the book. I want to stay while he dictates it, but he says I should spoil his inspiration, so I'm going."

Dorothy knew she was engaged to Jayne, by her manner and her ring.

When she had gone Jayne pointed to two of his pictures—queer ones, but not the very queerest, for you could see what they were meant for.

"Miss Thorpe is an artist," he said, and you could tell by *his* manner too that they were engaged. "Like them? She's come on a lot lately. But she lost three good years by going up to Oxford when she ought to have been studying art. She didn't take up painting seriously till she was twenty-one. I did the same, and I soon found it was no use and chucked it. . . . Ready?" The missionary's wife stroked the girl's bright hair. "You are bitter against him now, dear," she said, "and indeed you have cause. But give him another chance. Forgive, as you hope to be forgiven—and don't believe all you hear against him. That doesn't do, in this strange land where one hears so much and nearly all of it so improbable. I don't say he has not sinned, and deeply sinned, but I know also how deeply he has repented, and how desperately he has since striven to be worthy of you. *Amor vincit omnia!* That must be the watchword of all of us in this extraordinary country, must it not, Hugh?" she added, turning to her husband, who had entered the room with his usual calm and serene smile that played like sunshine over his emaciated face.

"Yes, indeed," replied Hugh Greaves, ardently. "Though they are difficult words to remember in dealing with these hardened black heathens and harder white traders. Often enough one is tempted to doubt, to deny one's faith and turn one's back on the work set before one. But, thank God, one does not do it."

His wife furtively wiped a tear from her eye. Every day found her husband a little frailer, a little more worn out. She did not believe that the Master they both served would keep him much longer at his task. He would all too soon rank among the many Englishmen who have laid down their lives on the Empire's dark bounds for duty's sake. She did not grudge him. Nor did she quail in terror from the prospect of her own terrible position, a weak woman left alone in this awful land. *Amor vincit omnia!*

## "THE WOMAN'S LEADER" IN LITERATURE.

### FEMINISM AND SEX EXTINCTION.

**Feminism and Sex Extinction.** By Arabella Kenealy, L.R.C.P. (Dublin). (T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., 1, Adelphi Terrace, W.C. 8s. 6d. net.)

Miss Arabella Kenealy's "Feminism and Sex Extinction" is a fearfully clever book. At least it seems so. Its fearsomeness is indisputable. Read this:—

"Some momentous morals of the Feminist trend are pointed by the Insect world. . . . As Feminists demand for human babes, the Bee-mother hands over her offspring to be brought up by the State. While some other insect-mothers, having reposed their eggs (to serve as bombs that explode and devastate their living hosts) straightway abandon them, and return to the more strenuous and repulsive female-pursuits of this Phantasmagoria world—a clock-work kingdom fabricated of Life's debris, and drably mimicking the throb and motion of its mechanism in ghoulish mockeries and vacuous reiterations; the while it runs down slowly, ticking back to the molecular vibration of mineral inertia."

Even a strong man could not read such a passage without each particular hair standing on end. If it really is like this the feminists should pause and think things over a little. Muddle-headed they may try to wriggle out of their responsibility by saying that they are only insects who are carrying on in this unseemly way. But Miss Kenealy shows that not only insects but also human babes, and schoolgirls, and honeymoons, and young men are all in a parlous state, and all because of the feminists. *Of Twentieth Century Babes*: "See them sunk, limp and dejected in their prams, or go-carts, eyes staring forward on the dreary waste their lives are; limbs dangling . . . ." *Of Honeymoons*: "The wane of nine out of ten honeymoons impresses the value of an inflexible decree that declines to reckon with disillusion, but sternly bids the disillusioned take up their burden and make the best of it." *Of Schoolgirls*: "Our school-girls . . . are all more or less in states of disease; are chlorotic, anæmic, neurotic, dyspeptic, hysterical." *Of Young Men*: "We complain that our young men are limp and unintelligent, lacking in initiative and enterprise." The book is a fearsome book. And it seems prodigiously clever. But it cannot be clever, at least not prodigiously so, because its whole burden is that "prodigiously clever women" are—well, for quite all that they are you must read the whole book, suffice it for the moment that, on page 106, they are "mischievous," and on page 108 they are "cold-blooded, emotionless, adventuresses, spies, poisoners, adulteresses, monsters." So obviously the lady authoress of this volume is not a clever woman.

And if you are clever, too clever, you become abnormal, and you should avoid abnormality. That is, if possible. Unfortunately, not only too much cleverness, but also plainness is abnormality, and it is even harder not to be plain than not to be clever. But here is the curse, written for all who run to read:

"Plainness is a mark of abnormality. The victim may be normal in other respects. But in this, he or she is abnormal. And more particularly she. . . ."

Hardly worth while that last clause, because the whole book is more particularly she. (On page 192, this is established:—"There are faults and failings on the bridegroom's part. That belongs to another story, however. Sufficient for these pages is the unpleasant task of holding a mirror to the faults of a single sex.")

As neither we, nor the authoress, are so clever as to be abnormal, we have to call in feminine instinct to get at the moral of the treatise. And the moral is the thing. For, as Charles Kingsley has aptly put it, "Be good, sweet maid, and let who will be clever." Now the moral has, we are almost certain,

something to do with a White Rabbit. The literature of the white rabbit is not a rich literature, but there is that popular beast, the white rabbit, in "Alice in Wonderland"—alas, he (or she or it?) wore a coat and waistcoat—though, on the other hand, he (or she or it?) talked fearful rubbish, and so, as the King remarked, "saved a lot of trouble." Perhaps a literary white rabbit is not the thing. The white rabbit of Miss Kenealy, though to the superficial observer less interesting, is vastly more scientific than Alice's rabbit. Perhaps not the latest scream in scientificness for he (or she or it?) is the rabbit of Mendel, and the Monk Mendel was no Georgian. But if your idea is merely to please Miss Kenealy, catch a small ("dwarfness is a female trait") white ("whiteness is a female trait") rabbit and set it up in front of you. "White creatures are so feminine in general effect that it seems an anomaly when they are males." There, our familiar instinct tells us, is the clue to the moral of this book. There are, of course, Polar bears, and hungry swans who do not always behave as well bred gentlemen should—but it is better not to think about them, for they only confuse the mind. Keep on thinking of the white rabbit, and abnormality, with the disfavour of Miss Kenealy, will not be your fate.

And having got at the kernel of the nut, we must reluctantly turn away, and go back to a world where the feminist works her wicked will. Just a plum or two more, and we have done. "No greater fallacy exists than that of supposing progress to lie in freeing persons from all disabilities—poverty and other restrictive disabilities." . . . "Ignorance is but innocence, 'tis true, but it serves the same purpose in safeguarding innocence that clothes do in safeguarding modesty." . . . "The evil bent of left-handed persons has a special significance." . . . "The so-called 'tennis-grin,' which on many women's faces does duty for a smile, shows how the muscular tension of forceful effort permanently mars higher attributes." . . . But across the work, at the last, floods in the sunshine of hope, for "when once the novelty . . . shall have worn away, the poor feminists' chances of marriage will be few." Cheerio! Are we down-hearted?

A. HELEN WARD.

**Hannah More.** By Annette Meakin. (Murray. 8s. 6d.)

This new edition of Miss Meakin's biographical study of Hannah More is very welcome, for Hannah, whose works fill columns of the British Museum Catalogue, is one of those authors whom at this date it is impossible to read. Her contemporaries credited her, in verse and prose eulogy, with "genius, wit, and beauty." She was undoubtedly a woman of good sense and considerable learning, the friend of Johnson, Garrick, and Horace Walpole, the admired of Edward Burke, and the defender of Shakespeare against Voltaire. But she had the talent (a fatal one in the eyes of posterity) of divesting her written word of every rag of individuality. We read many less respectable authors because with all their faults they are human. Hannah, in book form, is genteel and pious to the verge of inhumanity and beyond, but Miss Meakin makes her live again. From the time when her financial independence was assured by an annuity from a Mr. Turner, who had once contemplated marriage with her, to her publication of a book of advice to Princess Charlotte and her famous rebuke to Boswell, we see her always something of a "character," and as humane and generous though a severe moralist. She was an eminent Englishwoman, yet those who leave her books unopened will miss nothing. She gave much to persons of her own time, but she has nothing for us.

## ESSAYS AND APPRECIATIONS.

**Essays Old and New.** By Elizabeth Wordsworth. (Oxford University Press. 7s. 6d.)

Miss Wordsworth's volume of essays carries us back a little in time. Scholarly, dignified, orthodox, and charming withal, it is the work of a Victorian gentlewoman, with all the culture and much of the narrowness which went to the "make-up" of the best women of that period. It is a book which would have won the cordial approval of Ethel May or any other of Miss Yonge's intelligent heroines as being eminently sound in doctrine, "on the right lines," animated by a beautiful if not very securely founded belief in the supreme value of the Church of England above all other churches, and the supreme greatness of Queen Victoria above all other queens, including Queen Elizabeth. A mind reared in the school of the Oxford movement, of Ruskin, Tennyson, and Browning, seems to-day perhaps a little priggish, and too apt to preach little sermons and draw morals from nature in appropriate subjects, taking the stage, for instance, or the feelings aroused by the Jubilee celebrations, as evidences for a future life. There is a little too much of the attitude of the school-mistress or of the clergyman towards life (attitudes which do not differ from each other very materially).

Miss Wordsworth covers much ground and touches on many subjects, but her limitations are most obvious when she deals with such a subject as that which comes first in the book, "Dante and Goethe." The broad humanitarianism, the wide philosophical outlook of the disciple of Spinoza, do not appeal to her as does the fiery, narrow outlook of the Florentine poet. To the disciple of the Oxford movement the sense of reality seems more nearly attained by the man to whom hell was a supreme reality, than by the man who, reaching out in the endeavour "to compass all domains of human activity and knowledge," sees everlasting hope even for those who have deliberately signed a pact with the devil. It is an attitude which is accounted for by the Victorian return to mediævalism, but though the essay was written forty years ago, Miss Wordsworth, in a postscript written in 1918, has not, apparently, shifted her point of view at all. Rather, she pats herself on the back, and even falls a victim to the awful temptation of putting part of the blame for the war on to Goethe's shoulders:—

"The General says that,  
As far as he can make out,  
All musicians  
Have been German—  
But he can only remember  
The name of one—  
Nietzsche.  
As the war  
Was German  
In origin  
It is obvious  
That it was made  
By German composers," &c.\*

For heaven's sake let us get away from this attitude of mind. Miss Wordsworth is at her best in the lighter essays: "At Stratford-on-Avon," "Fetish Worship," "Old Finery," are charming little studies, lightly and gracefully written, though even here the moralising tendency breaks through now and again. In a delightful passage in "Stratford-on-Avon" the writer points out "how much more Roman (after all) we are in a certain sense, at least, than the Romans, if we realise that Caesar had never read a single line of Horace or Virgil, that, so far as we know, he never even observed, say to Labienus or Quintus Cicero, 'Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori'—that of all the 'tags' which have for the last two centuries abounded in the British Press, on British platforms, and in the British House of Commons, there was hardly one which would not have come to him with the delicious shock of absolute novelty"—and goes on to the realisation that to Shakespeare, too, the greatest and most typical of English poets, the England we know would have been a strange and almost unknown country. Yet, because he was so typical an Englishman, Miss Wordsworth still finds his characters living to-day, so that "there is no reason why we should not meet Hamlet on an Oxford reading party, find Cordelia walking by a bath-chair on the King's Road at Brighton, or Goneril and Regan in a fashionable hotel, as two smart women who have married for money, and as hard as their diamonds." And it is as a typical English-

\* Osbert Sitwell.

woman of a certain class and period that Miss Wordsworth herself must be judged, typical as an inheritor of what are after all, and with all our limitations, great possessions; a passionate lover of England and of what is best and greatest in her own country, a teacher whose pupils may find room to develop and, with fewer prejudices, yet realise that they are heirs not only to the Elizabethan and the Georgian, but to the Victorian tradition, to an era which, with all its shortcomings, was yet paving the way, especially where women were concerned, to a freer life and a more intellectual outlook. V. E.

**The Confessions of Jacob Boehme.** By W. Scott Palmer. (Methuen. 3s.)

Miss Evelyn Underhill contributes an illuminating introduction to Mrs. Scott Palmer's book, which is called very appropriately "The Confessions of Jacob Boehme," and which is made up of the autobiographical passages that were scattered through the many volumes of the mystical writer's theological and philosophical works. The "autobiography" is quite unconcerned with the outward life of the Saxon cobbler and metaphysician; what he relates is the conflict of his soul, the interior drama which he sees reflected on the cosmic screen.

**John Bright.** By Bertram Pickard. (British Periodicals. 2s. 6d.)

This is one of the Young Citizen series, and it overcomes with great success the difficulty of presenting an outwardly uneventful life like that of John Bright in a manner attractive to children and young persons. The part he played in opposing the Factory Acts, in condemning the Crimean War, and in paving the way for the Reform Bill of 1867 is clearly set out, and the causes which made him so distinguished a champion of individual liberty are touched upon with adequate detail.

**Our Hero of the Golden Heart.** By Annie Matheson. (British Periodicals. 2s. 6d.)

Miss Matheson tells, very simply and tenderly, of some of the deeds of self-sacrifice and heroism of our young soldiers in the Great War. Lieutenant Smith, who shielded his companions from a bomb he had dropped with his own body; the young Guardsman whose fisher-folk neighbours called him "Our Hero of the Golden Heart"; Dobbin Barnett, who wrote from the trenches, "If there is any soul happy in the world it is me"; Edward Courtenay Boyle, and others, who are only a few whose names are known among a glorious company of unrecorded heroes.

**The Englishwoman** for May boasts many well-known names—Mrs. H. A. C. Fisher, Lord Henry Bentinck, M.P., Stephen Gwynn, and Mrs. de Crespigny are amongst the contributors of the current number. Mrs. Fisher's comprehensive article, "Illegitimacy," is well timed, and will be welcomed by all those interested in Mr. Neville Chamberlain's Bill that is to be introduced early this month; the provisions of the Bill, its merits and limitations are fully dealt with. We are all weary of reading about the Government Housing Scheme, but Lord Henry Bentinck's article, "A Town for the New England: Welwyn Garden City," is intensely refreshing, as well as interesting—something is being done somewhere, apart and distinct from the National scheme; a second Garden City, after the manner of Letchworth, is being erected at Welwyn, twenty miles from King's Cross, and on a site of 2,300 acres. The new Garden City is being planned with a view to raising the standard of life for the great mass of the people and to alleviating the drudgery of the housewife. There is a delightful short story entitled, "Was it a Dream?" by Miss Lowndes. Mrs. de Crespigny relates many of her own personal experiences in the seance-room in her article, "Extra-Mundane Communications." Mrs. de Crespigny is a believer in the direct voice as the most convincing form of mediumship, for she says, "Through the direct voice I have had proofs without number of the genuineness of the communicators, and shall never cease to regard it as an inestimable privilege that so great a marvel in physical law should come within the radius of my own personal experience." Mrs. Fawcett's book, "The Women's Victory and After," is to be found amongst the book reviews, and "Echoes" deal with such momentous measures as the Matrimonial Causes Bill and the Representation of the People Bill.



## "THE WOMAN'S LEADER" IN DRAMA.

### "The Skin Game" at St. Martin's.

"A plague on both your houses," Hilchrist and Hornblower, there is little to choose between them. The Hilchrists are aristocratic, poor, snobbish, and unscrupulous. The Hornblowers are plebian, rich, snobbish, and unscrupulous. War is declared to the knife. It is to be "A Skin Game," as Hornblower puts it. Hornblower's weapon is a threat to surround the Hilchrists' country house by factory chimneys. The Hilchrists employ detectives from London to rake up the very muddy past of young Mrs. Hornblower. Of course, the Hilchrists win. The happiness of a young pregnant married woman is of more value than the view from one's windows. But it is a victory which brings more shame to the victors than the vanquished. Though both parties are shameful enough. There are no Romeo and Juliet to redeem the futile family quarrels. The boy Hornblower and the girl Hilchrist are drawn vaguely together by their common youth, their different sex. But neither youth nor sex are strong enough to lift them out of the family mud, and they stick fast in opposite camps to the end.

This is all so unpleasant that one feels that it must be true. It is such a contrast to the usual sentimental happy ending—the ending of "Uncle Ned," "Birds of a Feather," and "The Young Person in Pink"—and any contrast to that seems not only probable but positively original. Really, however, for all its bold dreariness, the play is singularly barren of ideas. It represents a state of society and a view of society perfectly familiar to Dickens and Thackeray. The Hornblowers and Hilchrists are merely Deadlocks and Bounderbys in tight skirts and motor-cars instead of crinolines and tandems. Neither is its pessimism the result of any particular insight, and in a Chekhov play many of the characters appear unpleasant and all unheroic, because we see them at such close quarters. They are all drawn with such extraordinary intimacy and minuteness. We half despise them as we half despise ourselves, because we know so much about them. This is not the case with the Galsworthy characters. They are drawn with no particular intimacy or insight. But where most modern playwrights paint their characters in rose colour and black, Mr. Galsworthy gives all his a wash of grey.

Yet "The Skin Game" has been almost universally described as a "strong play," and so, in a sense, it is. If a cultivated foreigner with a knowledge of English but ignorant of the English stage were taken the round of the West End theatres at present, he would almost certainly pick out this play as practically the only one on the stage at the moment written by a modern playwright of established reputation. This is not a good play, certainly not one of Galsworthy's best. But there is a certain power about it which shows that one does not get a reputation for nothing.

Its distinction lies not so much in the ideas as in a certain firmness and sparseness of construction inaccessible to the amateur or the beginner. Its construction is obviously the work of an old and steady hand. The action moves forward at a swift and even pace. The main lines are laid down with an almost cynical clearness and emphasis, like the "first, second, and thirdly" of the "good preacher" who has kept a large and fashionable congregation awake every Sunday morning for the last twenty years. There are no loose ends, no tawdry ornaments, no comic butlers, no meals on the stage, no telephoning, no characters who come on in the beginning and are lost sight of before the end, nothing which looks as if the writer had changed his mind or gone off his head between writing the second and third acts. In fact, there are none of those signs of incompetence which experience has taught us to expect in a new play.

There are, moreover, two scenes of dramatic force which show that this play is the poor work of a really good master—the auction, and the scene in young Mrs. Hornblower's "boudoir." Both scenes depend much on good acting and a kind of literary sleight of hand, but they hold us in a stronger spell of illusion than we are used to in the theatre.

The auction scene is interesting, too, as an experiment in production. The action is extended from the stage to the whole theatre. The stage becomes merely the platform of the hall in which the auction is held—the rest of the theatre being the body of the hall. The auctioneer catches the eye of imaginary bidders in the body of the theatre. The final bid is made from the orchestra. From the dress circle the illusion was perfect. I am not sure whether it would be so from the stalls and pit.

### "A Grain of Mustard Seed" at the Ambassadors.

The Corbetts have no faith. Politics are to them a game partly of chance, partly of skill. Consistency is folly, love an illusion. For some reason Jerry Weston, the self-made millionaire, is taken up for the moment into their family coach. Jerry has faith, as a grain of mustard seed perhaps, but still faith. He has faith in Pongo, the baby food, which has made him a millionaire, faith in political honesty, and the supreme importance of the housing question, faith in the woman he is going to marry.

His faith does a great deal. It has already made him a millionaire. It now wins him an election in spite of the desertion of his chief supporters at the last moment. It wins him the respect and support of Marjory Corbett. Finally it wins him her love. Whether it wins him a wife is not certain, for at the last moment Marjory reveals the fact that for the last two years she has been the mistress of a man in her own set. The upright Jerry is very much staggered at this, and the curtain falls before it is clear whether his faith will be able to surmount this last obstacle.

It is difficult for us to have much faith in Jerry's beliefs. How can a decent man have made himself a millionaire out of a baby food called Pongo? How can a man of progressive political views ally with the Corbetts? How can he think that he will put the county to rights by tackling the housing question in the absurd manner which he proposes. But the real interest of the play lies not with the believing Jerry, but with the unbelieving Corbetts. The drawing of this family, their political views, their methods, their manners, their wit and cynicism, is a really interesting and important achievement. This is a play which should be destined to have a long run in the present, and revivals in the future. When "Labour governs" it will have a historical interest, and always it will be a good play.

Its weakness is, of course, the whole "Jerry side," and also, it seems to me, its ending. It is not necessary, of course, that every play should be played out to the very end, till the chief characters are dead or married as the case may be. But one should surely have enough data from which to form a reasonably certain conclusion as to what will happen. Here this is not the case. It merely appears as if the curtain has been rung down too soon by mistake.

The chief actors were, however, Mr. Kinnel as Weston, and Cathleen Nesbitt as Marjory Corbett. Both, of course, were good, but in Miss Nesbitt's acting there was a grace and distinction rarely seen, difficult to praise or to overrate.

### "Mary Rose" at the Haymarket.

The saying of Ruskin that there is no need to eat a whole cake in order to see what it is like, is particularly applicable to Sir James Barrie. To his admirers "Mary Rose" is another slice of a delightful cake, of which they can never tire. To those who are not his admirers it is another slice of a very different cake.

What is new and interesting about this play is the acting. The cast, as a whole, reaches an unusually high level. The parts seem to fit the actor's like a glove. Mr. Robert Lorraine's resonant voice and breezy personality seemed far better suited to the Australian soldier and jolly English sailor than to the poetical Gascon Cyrano de Bergerac. Mr. Thesiger was excellent as the young Highland student who pays his University fees by letting out a boat in the vacation. The part is a little heavily written, but Mr. Thesiger makes it an amusing little character study. The three women were all equally good in their own way. Miss Fay Compton's part was that of a purely "sweet" heroine. She played it to perfection. It is difficult to imagine anything more sweet, fresh and virginal than her Mary Rose. Miss Mary Jerrold was one of Barrie's sweet old ladies. She played the part exactly as one feels Barrie must have seen it in his mind's eye when writing the play. Miss Jean Cadell has emerged from a series of comic old maids into a serious part—the housekeeper living alone in the haunted house. Her subdued terror is infectious, and sets the keynote if anything a little too high for the very gentle ghost which follows.

D. H.

## NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

President: MISS ELEANOR F. RATHBONE.

Hon. Secretaries: Miss Macadam. Miss Rosamond Smith. Parliamentary and Information Bureau Secretary: Mrs. Hubback.

Hon. Treasurer: Miss H. C. Deneke.

General Secretary: Miss Stack. Offices: Evelyn House, 62, Oxford Street, London, W. 1. Telegraphic Address: Voiceless, Westcent, London. Telephone: Museum 2668.

## NEWS FROM HEADQUARTERS AND FROM OUR SOCIETIES.

### PARLIAMENTARY.

The following memorandum, sent by Headquarters to members of the Standing Committee on the Representation of the People Bill, may be of interest to our Societies:—

November, 1918.—Government manifesto guaranteeing "To remove all existing inequalities in the Law as between men and women."

April, 1919.—Attempt by Labour Party to get this pledge redeemed. "Women's Emancipation Bill" introduced, including among its clauses Equal Franchise.

July, 1919.—"Women's Emancipation Bill" passed Third Reading in Commons, involving defeat of Government.

August, 1919.—"Sex Disqualification (Removal) Bill" introduced in Lords by Government. Did not include Equal Franchise clause. (Women's Emancipation Bill had been defeated on Second Reading in Lords.)

November, 1919.—"Sex Disqualification (Removal) Bill" passed.

1919.—Government pledge of 1918 in regard to Equal Franchise still unredeemed.

February 13th, 1920.—Mr. Grundy's "Representation of the People Bill," including clauses extending the franchise to women on equal terms with men, presented.

February 27th, 1920.—"Representation of the People Bill" passed Second Reading in Commons by majority of 84. Government representative on that occasion said: "I am entirely in favour of this principle. It is a right principle. The application of it was inevitable, and I believe the benefits in the long run will be wholly to the public good." Bill submitted to Standing Committee D.

April 21st, 1920.—Committee D adjourned *sine die*, because "the Bill had no chance of passing into law." Mr. Bonar Law only said, however, that he could "give no pledge."

April 26th, 1920.—Letter of Protest to Chairman from Labour Members of Committee.

April 27th, 1920.—Committee D summoned to meet the following day, but postponed till Tuesday, May 4th, at 11 a.m.

### REASONS FOR GRANTING IMMEDIATE FACILITIES FOR THE BILL.

1. There is a widespread sense of injury among women in the country that equality has been so long delayed.
2. Younger women need the protection of the vote in industrial and professional life and have vigorously urged this view—e.g., the National Federation of Women Teachers, the various branches of the Civil Service, and notably the unanimous vote of the Women's Labour Conference in April. Furthermore, the present franchise excludes many women of thirty who do not possess the necessary occupational qualification.
3. The Government left the House free, and the Bill must therefore be dealt with in accordance with Standing Orders, and should be thoroughly considered in Committee. It can then again come up before the House and enable Members to fulfil their pledges to their women constituents.

May 1st, 1920.—PLEDGE OF 1918 STILL UNFULFILLED.

### LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Now that the League of Nations has been placed upon the Immediate Programme of the N.U.S.E.C. we hope that Societies will arrange as many meetings and debates as possible on this very important subject. The League of Nations Union, 22, Buckingham Gate, London, S.W.1, is quite willing to supply speakers if expenses are paid.

Particulars of membership of the League are as follows:—  
Minimum subscription (membership only), 1s. per annum.  
Membership to include copy of *The League*, the monthly organ of the Union, post free, 10s. per annum.

Membership and copy of *The League* monthly and *The Covenant* (issued quarterly), £1 per annum.

Life membership, including all periodicals and pamphlets, £25.

A selection of pamphlets is now available at the N.U.S.E.C. Headquarters, price 2s. 6d., and will be forwarded on application. Single pamphlets from 1d. to 6d.

### MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Affiliated Societies are reminded that copies of minutes of the monthly Executive Committee meetings will be sent to them immediately after they have been confirmed, for a yearly payment of 8s. Secretaries who wish to interest their Societies should make a point of digesting these minutes and bringing them before their Committees in order that they may keep in touch with the work of the Executive. Individual members of affiliated Committees may also receive copies of the minutes on the same terms.

### MONTHLY LETTER TO SOCIETIES.

The Committee of one of our Women Citizens' Associations has applied for twelve copies of the monthly circular letter for the use of their ward secretaries. It has been decided to supply these at a charge of 2s. per annum for each additional copy. Possibly other Societies may wish to take advantage of this arrangement.

### ILKLEY SOCIETY FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

The Annual Meeting of the Ilkley S.E.C. was held in the Town Hall Annexe on Monday, April 26th. There was a good attendance of members and others, eight new members being enrolled. The retiring officers and Committee were re-elected with the addition of Mrs. Bawa, Mrs. Morris, and Mrs. Kramrisch (wife of the Serbian Consul for Yorkshire). At the conclusion of the business Lady Mabel Smith, C.C., gave a delightful address on "Some Stages of Our Development."

### FOLKESTONE W.C.A.

The Folkestone W.C.A. held two meetings in March. At the first meeting, Miss Coggin, of the Caldecott Community, gave an entertaining account of this educational experiment.

At the second meeting, Mr. Holmes, the Police Court missioner for the Folkestone district, gave an interesting account of his work at the court, and his method of obtaining assistance for those brought under his care. At the end of the meeting a collection was made on behalf of the fund for this work.

A resolution was brought forward at this meeting proposing that a letter should be sent to the Borough Member to urge him to use his power to enforce Government economy. The motion was carried, and the letter was sent accordingly.

## UP THE BUSINESS LADDER.

(An Interview with Miss G. S. Macrae, the Youngest Woman Director in England.)

By AGNES M. MIALL.

In business women secured a footing earlier and with less difficulty than in the more strictly guarded professions—that is as regards the minor jobs. But they have not yet outlived the accusation of being unequal to positions of responsibility in the commercial world, and women in such capacities as secretaries to limited companies or as directors in big concerns are still so few that they may justly be regarded as pioneers.

I think this is particularly the case with Miss G. S. Macrae, who, if not the first woman director, must assuredly be the youngest. She was invited to join the board of Messrs. C. Arthur Pearson, Ltd., the well-known publishers, at an age when girls who enter the professions are just starting seriously as beginners in their work.

Age records, however, seem to be a speciality of Miss Macrae's, as for several years she held the proud position of being the youngest editor in London, attaining to this position when she was only twenty-one, and fresh from a brief sub-editorial experience with another firm.

Miss Macrae told me a curious little story about her capture of this post, a story worth repeating because it demonstrates several of the qualities which have led to her success.

"When I was still only a sub-editor on nothing much a week," she said, "a publisher rang up my mother, who was with the same firm, asking her for a handbook on millinery in a great hurry. She was away, so I boldly undertook its production myself, although it meant writing 24,000 words in a week in my spare time, and I knew nothing whatever about millinery. But ignorance never daunts a journalist, so I set to work.

"The pay was very small—out of all proportion to the work involved. I sat up till half-past four at night after my job at the office was over, working furiously, for I had not only to write the allotted number of words, but to 'get up' my subject first, and I took an immense amount of trouble to make my directions accurate and clear. However, I succeeded in finishing the book within the week.

"The sequel has always made me ponder. Some time later, when there was a question of my securing a much more important post with Messrs. C. Arthur Pearson, I was asked to show specimens of what I had written. It happened that the only domestic stuff I had (and it was a domestic paper that was in question) was this little millinery book which had given me such trouble. I've always felt since that it was probably the means of getting me the post, which was the foundation-stone of my career."

In the next few years there grew from this editorship first the general editorship of all the firm's publications for women (within three or four years Miss Macrae was controlling a staff of twenty-two), and finally, as her organising and administrative powers became more and more apparent, a seat on the board of directors.

On the subject of Do's and Don't's for women who aim at rising high in trade Miss Macrae is stimulating and gives much food for reflection.

"I've found by personal experience," she told me, "that a woman can't hope to be both a business success and a social star. I think, too, that women must learn to delegate better than they do at present. I do believe in noticing and commending good work. I consider, too, that women need to cultivate a keener sense of commercial values."

Another point Miss Macrae emphasises is that in the publication of magazines, as in every other branch of trade, one must give the public what it wants. What is called "penny journalism," and sneered at by some highly educated people, is a success in so far as it realises the drabness of the lives led by its readers, and gives them the brightness they crave to relieve its monotony, rather than education which is above their heads.

Much sociology and psychology, in fact, enter into the equipment of the successful business woman, and are as invaluable to her in dealing with her staff as with her customers.

## WOMEN'S NATIONAL COMMITTEE

TO SECURE

## STATE PURCHASE &amp; CONTROL OF THE LIQUOR TRADE.

MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE:—

Lady HENRY SOMERSET, *Chairman.*

Miss LENA ASHWELL, O.B.E.	Miss KINDERSLEY.
Viscountess ASTOR, M.P.	Mrs. HUDSON LYALL, L.C.C.
Miss CAZAIET.	Lady ISABEL MARGESSON.
Lady CYNTHIA CURZON.	Miss A. M. MERCER.
The Lady EMMOTT.	Miss B. PICTON-TURBERRILL.
Dame KATHERINE FURSE, G.B.E.	Mrs. OLIVER STRACHEY.
Mrs. EDWIN GRAY.	Miss ELIZ. H. STURGE.
Lady HOWARD.	Dr. JANE WALKER.
Mrs. H. B. IRVING.	

Resolutions in favour of State Purchase as an essential first step in obtaining Temperance Reform were passed at the Wimbledon and Marylebone Meetings, and copies were being sent by the Chairman to the local Members of Parliament. The Debate at Preston was also decided in favour of this policy. State Purchase of the Liquor Trade is quite a new presentment of the Temperance problem to so many women, and they seem to hail it gladly as a solution that bids fair to be a practicable way out.

The British character is slow moving. John Bull does not like to take more than one step at a time and even over the one step he does not like to be pushed or hurried. It is plain to most people that the only thing we cannot do with the Liquor Trade is to leave it alone. But to abolish it right out of the land is another matter altogether. To take it out of interested management and administer it with a view to the social good is, however, a first step that should and does appeal to all moderate people. In fact, State Purchase is so logical and so obvious a course to pursue that it has been said it is rather the duty of its opponents to make good their case against it, than for its upholders to point out its merits.

Then we must remember that the great bulk of the population are the working classes, and the women of the working classes know first hand what their husbands want and what they do not want. What they certainly will not tolerate is suddenly to be deprived of their right of a glass and a chat and a smoke in their accustomed resort—such as it is—in their short leisure hours at the end of a day's work. A working man's home does not provide a room for receiving his friends; he must go out for all his social intercourse. What room there is will be wanted by the wife. What with cleaning up—cooking—washing—children, there is no place for the man. So though some men will go to the public reading rooms, some to a club room, some to a picture house, the vast majority will go to the warmth, and the lights, and the welcome, and the society they know at their favourite public house. We must face facts as they are, and this is a picture of present conditions, whatever education and better housing will bring about in the future.

The Public House, for a time, at any rate, must be reckoned with. It will be to our lasting shame if we lose this opportunity of robbing it of its evil power over our weaker brothers and sisters who cannot withstand the temptation thrust upon them. Given State-owned, reconstructed premises, with a salaried manager in charge, whose livelihood does not depend on the amount of intoxicants he can sell, and with a supply of food and non-intoxicants, and rooms, with the comfort of seats and tables, nine-tenths of the convictions for drunkenness would disappear. Women deciding for State Purchase and demanding it have it in their power to bring in this great reform.

Literature and all particulars can be had from the Organising Secretary, Miss Cotterell, Parliament Mansions, Victoria Street, S.W. 1.

This Prospectus has been filed with the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies.

PROSPECTUS OF

## THE WOMAN'S LEADER

"THE COMMON CAUSE" PUBLISHING COMPANY, LIMITED, was incorporated in London in 1909 with a capital of £5,000 for the purpose of establishing and publishing "The Common Cause" newspaper. The capital was increased in December, 1919, to £15,000 by the creation of 10,000 additional Ordinary Shares ranking for dividend and in other respects *pari passu* with the existing Ordinary Shares.

"The Common Cause" in its original form was almost wholly a propagandist newspaper, the object of which was to further by every constitutional means the cause of Women's Suffrage. It may fairly be claimed that "The Common Cause" played a most valuable and important part in the battle, and that the final victory of the Franchise Act, 1918, owes much to its unceasing efforts during the preceding years of discouragement and hope deferred. The victory has been gained, and the Franchise Act has placed in the hands of women vast opportunities for which they have long been waiting for most valuable work in every sphere of action, socially, politically, economically and otherwise. Henceforward, the energies and activities of thinking women must be concentrated, not, as hitherto, on obtaining the franchise, but on making the best possible use of it.

It is obvious that if women are to make the fullest use of their new powers they must be supplied with up-to-date information upon those political and social questions which particularly interest them. It is, however, unfortunately common knowledge, that this information when sought for in the general Press is not always of a very reliable or comprehensive nature. Moreover, much political and economic information of importance to large classes of women does not find its way into the ordinary Press at all.

In these circumstances the Directors of "The Common Cause" believe that the time has arrived when the demand for a newspaper to meet the needs of women in these directions justifies a more ambitious programme than they have yet attempted. They have therefore prepared plans and begun the issue of "The Woman's Leader" on a scale more nearly approaching the importance of the task than that of its predecessor, "The Common Cause."

"The Woman's Leader" like "The Common Cause" will stand for equal opportunities for women in every sphere of life. It will, it is hoped, be a real help to all women who are determined to obtain these opportunities and to use them. "The Woman's Leader" is under the same management as "The Common Cause," but the Board of Directors and the staff have been strengthened with a view to the new situation.

Until the end of 1919 "The Common Cause" was the official organ of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (now the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship). With the advent of "The Woman's Leader" this official connection has been discontinued by mutual agreement, in order that the paper may reach a wider public. "The Woman's Leader" nevertheless will continue to promote the objects and programme of the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, and will follow its general lines and policy on those questions which affect the status and opportunities of women.

In launching this new venture of an enlarged and greatly improved paper for women the Directors of "The Common Cause" Publishing Company, Limited, feel that they are meeting a real need of the women's movement and of the general public.

It is obvious that the new paper cannot be promoted and get firmly on its feet without new capital.

In issuing this request for more capital with which to promote and carry on "The Woman's Leader" the Directors feel that they can speak with considerable confidence as to the future. The position of "The Common Cause" immediately before enlargement gave promising indications of improvement. Its circulation which, not unnaturally, was diminished during the war, was on the increase, and its advertisements, which have always maintained a high level, now show signs of considerable expansion. The sales at bookstalls are improving, and the Directors hope and believe that the change in the title and the scope of the paper will be a prelude to a real and satisfactory advance.

It may be submitted that if "The Woman's Leader" should never prove a profitable financial investment its value to the Woman's Move-

ment as propaganda justifies an appeal for support from all who care for the movement. There seems, however, reason to hope that if the scope of the paper is sufficiently widened to secure not only a large circle of subscribers, but a satisfactory sale through the usual channels of distribution such as bookstalls, &c., it will become self-supporting within a reasonable period, and may, at length, be in a position to yield a dividend. Its prospects of success will, however, inevitably depend to some extent upon the obtaining of sufficient capital to enable the Directors to spend more on advertisement and publicity than has hitherto been possible.

Among those who have sent contributions to "The Woman's Leader" or "The Common Cause" in the past or have promised contributions to "The Woman's Leader" in the future are:—The Marchioness of Aberdeen and Temair, The Rt. Hon. F. D. Acland, M.P., Mrs. Rhoda Adamson, M.D., B.S. (Lond.), Mrs. Alderton, C.C., Lady Baden-Powell, Mrs. Charles Beatty, C.B.E., Miss Stella Benson, Miss Clementina Black, The Rt. Hon. Lord Robert Cecil, M.P., R. F. Cholmeley, Esq., Robert Graves, Esq., H. M. Clutton-Brock, Esq., Miss Clemence Dane, Lady Denman, Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D., Miss E. M. Goodman, Gerald Gould, Esq., Miss Cicely Hamilton, J. L. Hammond, Esq., The Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P., Mrs. Heitland, Major Hills, M.P., Mrs. How-Martyn, C.C., Miss B. L. Hutchins, Sir Harry Johnston, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., Miss M. Lowndes, Miss Rose Macaulay, Mrs. Susan Miles, Miss Flora Murray, C.B.E., M.D., Miss Christine Murrell, M.D., Miss Alison Neilans, Miss Helena Normanton, Mrs. Osler, Mrs. C. S. Peck, O.B.E., Miss Edith Picton-Turbervill, O.B.E., Miss Rhoda Power, Mrs. Rachman, C.C., Miss Eleanor Rathbone, C.C., Miss Elizabeth Robins, Miss Maude Royden, Mrs. Alys Russell, C. W. Saleeby, Esq., M.D., F.R.S. (Edin.), The Countess of Selborne, Miss Evelyn Sharp, Miss Rosamond Smith, S. S. Sprigge, Esq., M.D., Mrs. Atholl Stewart, Mrs. Stocks, Lady Strachey, Mrs. Oliver Strachey, Miss A. Helen Ward, Mrs. Chalmers Watson, C.B.E., M.D., Miss Rebecca West, Miss V. Sackville-West, Leonard Woolf, Esq., Miss Ruth Young.

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In asking your support for the new venture the Directors of "The Common Cause" Publishing Company, Limited, look with confidence to all those men and women who care for the cause of Equal Citizenship. They believe that the rapid entry of women into all spheres of activity should be associated by corresponding developments in the Press, and they trust that their newspaper will receive your support.

MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT ( <i>Chairman</i> ).	} Directors.
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M. STOCKS.	
RAY STRACHEY.	

Dated 12th day of March, 1920.

NO PART OF THIS ISSUE HAS BEEN UNDERWRITTEN.

The Subscription List will be opened on the 12th day of March, 1920.

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

## THE CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT BILLS.

MADAM.—In reply to your correspondent the objections to Clause V. are to be found in the difficulties, in many cases, of knowing how patients have been infected. It is not a simple matter, and provides many chances for women to wrongly incriminate men and *vice versa*.

It is to be regretted that so few women have a clear understanding of what is meant by "in a communicable form." Your correspondent assumes that it must imply danger to the children in a family.

Many women suffering from one or other venereal disease "in a communicable form," so far as marriage or the next generation is concerned, are quite fit for many forms of work, even for domestic service—provided they are allowed bedrooms to themselves and every facility for keeping themselves to themselves.

Instead of seeking penalising powers we need more facilities for women to work when they can, and to rest when they are unfit to work.

In connection with a few treatment centres for venereal disease there are Hostels for women to lodge in until they are sufficiently free from infection to return to work. In the acute stages of syphilis and gonorrhoea it is to the advantage of the patient to be able to rest, though she may not be so ill as to qualify for admission to hospital. Facilities for rest in the acute stages would hasten recovery and diminish the risk of infection to the general population.

Such patients attending treatment centres often ask where they can lodge, and where there is no Hostel provided they can only be told (a) to go home or to remain at home. Parents of patients often plead overcrowding and the difficulty of isolation at home, or (b) to obtain private lodgings. If they do this they sometimes share a bed with another member of the general public who, of course, is ignorant of the trouble her fellow lodger is in—and it is amazing how careless many women are when they share a bedroom with another, or (c) to enter the Lock Ward of the workhouse. The objection they raise to this is that it obliges them to state their case to the Relieving Officer.

It has to be borne in mind that the majority of men and women are anxious not to infect their neighbours if they can be shown how to avoid doing so without injuring themselves in their own eyes, and without giving themselves too much trouble. A few will take a great deal of trouble and will risk their own future prospects.

ERIE EVANS.

## NATIONALISATION.

MADAM.—Lady Selborne gives the usual collection of generalisations without facts or figures. Does she really wish us to believe that those services which the present Government and its predecessor (neither, in the least, favourable to the principle of nationalisation) have found it necessary to nationalise or control would have cost the community less or reduced the cost of living if they had been left to the play of private enterprise? Or does she agree with *The Financial Times* (November 17th, 1919) that "had there been no control, prices (of coal) might readily be 30s. per ton more than they are to-day"? Does she refute the truth of the following extract from *The Economist*, of June 21st, 1919, regarding vegetable oils and fats? "Control of distribution and official maximum prices were abolished on April 30th, at which time linseed oil was quoted £8 per ton. In less than seven weeks, the price in London had reached £120." Was Mr. McCurdy, Parliamentary Secretary of the Ministry of Food, guilty of a misstatement when he told the Conference of Food Committees at Grosvenor House on December 13th last "In May last we de-controlled veal. The maximum retail price then varied between 5d. and 1s. 8d. per lb. Within a day or two veal was selling at from 2s. to 5s. per lb. In three weeks control had to be reimposed, and prices went back to the old level."

It is only consideration for your space that prevents me from giving scores of similar instances, which, however, can be found in my recently issued book "The Case for Nationalisation."

Lady Selborne criticises the Ministry of Health for trying to cheapen the cost of housing by forbidding competition for the labour supply, and she writes "If the Government can trade better than the private citizen, why should it fear competition?" She thinks it would be better for the community if there were no restrictions of this sort, in which event our landed aristocracy (who were largely responsible for the shortage in housing before the war) and our newly-created war millionaires, as well as speculators in picture houses, would be able to utilise for luxury purposes materials and labour, supplies of which are already inadequate to provide our population with housing accommodation. If dividends for a favoured few, regardless of the condition of the mass of the population, is to be the test of success, nationalised undertakings cannot compete with private enterprises; but that a large number of thinking people, including women leaders, realise that this is not the proper standard, and that nationalisation is the remedy for many of the evils of the present system, is shown by the pamphlet just issued, containing articles by a number of prominent women, advocating the nationalisation of the liquor trade. Lady Selborne may dread the substitution of an "army of bureaucrats" for the numerous armies of workers in this industry, but few readers of *THE WOMAN'S LEADER*, I imagine, will agree that private enterprise has shone in this trade, as compared with the State in the Carlisle experiment.

A. EMIL DAVIES.

## THE MENACE OF STATE CONTROL.

MADAM.—I read with much pleasure and satisfaction Mrs. Cecil Chesterton's forcible article in this week's issue of *THE WOMAN'S LEADER*; also "A Reply to Mr. Emil Davies." Both these utterances seem to me to be of the utmost importance in the crisis through which we are passing.

Surely, in these disturbed and confused times—the unavoidable aftermath of our tremendous war—we are in danger of losing a most precious heritage of our race. We have always been a free people. Our earliest history records free institutions, and down through the centuries, when other nations were enduring for generations the tyranny of absolute rulers, our history is one long account of resistance to those—be they

kings, nobles, or clergy—who would encroach on our liberties. The great war which has just ended, was undertaken in the cause of liberty—not chiefly our own, but that of other nations; and surely it would be the very irony of fate, if, in the confusion and upheaval, which is the inevitable result of such a gigantic effort, we should of our own accord place our necks under the yoke of a tyrant—not a human tyrant—but a bureaucracy, an insensate monster called Officialism, which would as surely deprive us of our precious heritage of liberty as any autocratic tyrant of the Middle Ages. I do not believe that either the women or the men of England want their homes endowed or nationalised. The parental instinct is one of the strongest and best of our human nature and the nationalisation of the home would work towards the destroying of that instinct. I do not believe that here, in England, it will succeed; we have freedom "in our bones" and individualism is an integral part of freedom. State control of the home might be "bondage with ease," but let us hope that we are not yet "a nation grown corrupt" which would prefer it to "strenuous liberty."

V. E. WARDLE.

## TEMPERANCE REFORM.

MADAM.—The answer to Miss Scott's seventh question is very simple. The idea can be truly and logically "repugnant" only to those who (1) misconceive the object of State ownership, or (2) are prepared to abolish all liquor taxes and pay an equivalent sum in other taxes to the Treasury. Wherein does State management differ in intent and purpose from the existing licensing system? The object of both is regulation and control. The present system gives partial and inadequate control. State ownership would give complete control. At present trade interests oppose every step towards reform. Under State ownership those interests would cease to exist. Is the removal of so formidable a barrier to progress a "repugnant" idea?

And why does your correspondent draw so sharp a distinction between revenue from taxes and revenue from profits? The distinction is unreal. Where do the present liquor taxes come from? Obviously, from gross profits. There is no other source from which they can conceivably come. Why should it be permissible (and even a duty of good citizenship) to take part of the profits of the trade by taxes and "repugnant" (when equitably purchased) to take the whole, is a matter of perplexity to a plain mind.

8. "If local option would be difficult to carry under present conditions, would it not be still more difficult when the Government had to find yearly interest on the bonds given to the trade; and people began to realise that this interest—if not made out of the profits on drink—would have to come out of their pockets by taxation?"

By "local option" Miss Scott presumably means local veto? If so, the answer is clear. The prospects of veto (not as an enactment, but as an operative force) in this country depend (and depend solely) upon a predominant force of convinced public opinion. Support of veto presupposes convictions so strong and definite as to be unusable to financial considerations. It is not easy to see how any rational person who had convinced himself or herself that the continuance of the trade under any system of management and control was against the public interest (and support of prohibition, whether local or national, is based upon that conviction) could be beguiled or suborned by revenue considerations, especially when it is admitted that the damage wrought by drink upon the community greatly outmeasures in cost the revenue received from the trade.

Miss Scott's suggested difficulty ignores British traditions and experience. It also miscalculates the direct financial effect which the utmost probable resort to local veto would have upon revenue and profits, and fails in appreciation of the extraordinary profitability of the trade under direct management and control. All experience shows that normal habits of drinking, measured by national consumption, yield but slowly to ordinary restrictions or even to a large reduction of facilities. Even by local veto—the adoption of which on a large scale in this country is, by common consent, entirely improbable in the near future—has not had elsewhere the direct effect upon the national consumption of alcohol that was quite reasonably expected. For a number of years prior to the recent adoption of national prohibition in the United States, the area of territory in that country under local or State prohibition laws substantially increased; but the national consumption of alcohol during the same period did not diminish but, right up to the war, it actually increased. During the war American consumption of alcohol per head of the population actually exceeded British consumption. This does not mean that local prohibition had no restraining effect upon the national drink bill. What it does suggest is that prohibitory experiments on the very limited scale that public opinion in this country is reasonably likely to sanction for some years to come will not so far affect the volume of trade and profits as to have the effect which your correspondent fears. It may be said with great confidence that whatever effect local veto might have in diminishing receipts would be far more than met by the vast economies (and consequent increase of profits) possible under unified control. Local veto in this country will never be held up by revenue considerations. Nor—and this is important—has it been obstructed elsewhere by any system of disinterested management.

Miss Scott's final question, which is anticipated by the last sentence, is as follows:—

9. "Has any community ever carried local option while it had a State monopoly—or ownership—of the drink traffic?"

Certainly. In every State mentioned by your correspondent (and in others that could be named) local option powers co-existed with the monopoly and were exercised. It is a complete delusion to suppose that State ownership is a hindrance to local option. Experience has proved that it facilitates it.

ARTHUR SHERWELL.

[Further correspondence is unavoidably held over owing to lack of space.—ED. W.L.]



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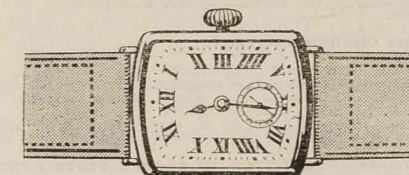
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COMING EVENTS.

WOMEN'S INDUSTRIAL LEAGUE.

MAY 10. In the Conference Hall, Central Buildings, Westminster. Speaker: Miss E. Pictou-Turbervill, O.B.E. Subject: "Women in the Church." Chair: Miss Pridden, O.B.E. (Organising Sec. W.I.L.). Admission Free. 8 p.m.

LEAGUE OF THE CHURCH MILITANT.

MAY 11. At Church House, Dean's Yard, Westminster. Meeting in Support of the League of Nations. Speakers: The Rev. E. Lyttelton, D.D., Miss A. Maude Royden. Chair: Dr. L. D. Fairfield, C.B.F. Admission Free. Reserved Seats, 2s. 6d. each. Apply L. C. M. Office, 6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.2. 8 p.m.

WOMEN'S NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO SECURE STATE PURCHASE AND CONTROL OF THE LIQUOR TRADE.

MAY 11. At the Women Citizens' Association, Carnforth. Speaker: Mr. R. B. Batty (Manchester). Subject: "State Purchase and Control of the Liquor Trade." 7.30 p.m.

MAY 12.

At the Lyceum Club, 138, Piccadilly, W.1. Debate: "That England was well as America Should Go Dry." Proposer: Mr. G. B. Wilson (U.S.A.). Opposer: Mrs. Oliver Strachey. 8 p.m.

MAY 12.

At the Women Citizens' Association, Stevenage. Speaker: Miss A. M. Mercer. Subject: "State Purchase: Pros. and Cons." 6 p.m.

MAY 11.

At the Women's Community Club, Birmingham. Debate: "The Future of the Public House." For State Purchase: Mrs. Renton. Opponents: Representatives of the Trade, and of Prohibition. 8 p.m.

GUILD OF EDUCATION AS NATIONAL SERVICE.

MAY 11. At 11, Tavistock Square, W.C.1. Speaker: Dr. Ralph H. Crowley. Subject: "The School Medical Service and Prevention of Disease." Admission Free. Collection to defray expenses. 5.15 p.m.

THE EFFICIENCY CLUB.

MAY 11. At the Central Hall, Westminster. Speaker: Mr. S. B. K. Cantfield, F.R.I.B.A. Subject: "An Inefficient on Efficiency."

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THE MALTHUSIAN LEAGUE.

MAY 12. In the Caxton Hall, Westminster. Speaker: Mrs. Sanger (Editor of American "Birth Control Review"). Subject: "The Birth Control Campaign." Admission Free. Collection. 8 p.m.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S FRANCHISE CLUB.

MAY 12. At 9, Grafton Street, Piccadilly, W.1. Speaker: Miss Maude Royden. Subject: "The Peace Terms." Chair: Mr. J. Y. Kennedy. 8.15 p.m.

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.

MAY 12. In the Minerva Café, 144, High Holborn, W.C.1. Speaker: Mrs. Mayne. Subject: "A Mensahib's Views on India." 3 p.m.

PARENTS' NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL UNION.

MAY 11. In Big School, Westminster School, S.W.1 (by kind permission of the Headmaster). Speaker: Sir Jagadiz Chunder Bose, F.R.S., LL.D., &c. (Director of the Bose Institute, Calcutta). Subject: "Control of Nervous Impulse." Chair: Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, M.P. Invitation cards, particulars, &c., can be had from the Office, 28, Victoria Street, S.W.1. 5.15 p.m.

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THE DOMESTIC SERVICE PROBLEM. There are readers who for years past have obtained domestic help through our small advertisement columns. Why? Because we can supply them with the kind of service which is so difficult to find at an ordinary Registry Office. See page 236.

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BY  
*Cadbury***PUBLIC SPEAKING.**

**C**ATHERINE SICHEL, Coaches for public speaking. Dramatic classes. Public performances. Professional Judges.—Appointments (letters only), 33, Glazbury-road, Baron's Court.

**ANNOUNCEMENTS.**

**M**AY 15th, 17th, 18th, & 19th.—THE NATIONAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S INSTITUTES EXHIBITION AND SALE OF COUNTRY PRODUCE, at the ROYAL HORTICULTURAL HALL, VINCENT SQUARE. Open from 12 noon to 9 p.m. Morris Dancing, Girl Guide Displays, Fencing Displays, &c. (No extra charge). Admission, 1s. 3d.. Conducted parties of Women's Clubs, Guilds, Schools, and persons wearing uniform, 8d.

**F**ELLOWSHIP SERVICES, Kensington Town Hall, Sunday, May 2nd, 3.15 p.m., Dr. Percy Deamer, "Five-Quarters." 6.30 p.m., Miss Maude Royden, "Christianity and the Bible—New Testament." Master of Music: Mr. Martin Shaw.

**P**UBLIC MEETING at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Wednesday, May 12th, at 8 p.m., Mrs. Margaret Sanger (U.S.A.), on "The Birth Control Campaign." Admission free; collection towards expenses.

**I**NTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S FRANCHISE CLUB, 9, Grafton-street, Piccadilly, W.1.—Subscription: London Members, £2 2s., Country Members, £1 5s. (Irish, Scottish, and Foreign Members, 10s. 6d.) per annum. Entrance fee, one guinea. Excellent catering; Luncheons and Dinners à la Carte.—All particulars, Secretary. Tel.: Mayfair 3632.

**T**HE PIONEER CLUB, 9, Park-place, St. James's, S.W.1. Subscriptions: Town, £4 4s.; Country, £3 3s.; Professional, £3 3s. The entrance fee is suspended for the time being.

**PROFESSIONAL.**

**"M**ORE MONEY TO SPEND" (Income Tax Recovery and Adjustment).—Send postcard for this booklet to Mrs. Ayres Purdie, Women Taxpayers' Agency, Hampden House, 3, Kingsway. Phone, Central 6049.

**TYPEWRITING AND PRINTING.**

**M.** McLACHLAN and N. WHITTHAM—TYPEWRITERS.—4, Chapel Walks, Manchester. Tel.: 3402 (City).

**T**YPEWRITING: accurate copying and careful punctuation. Stencilling for circular letters, &c. Also Secretarial Training School.—Miss Neal, Walter House, 52, Bedford-street, Strand, W.C.2. (Gerrard 1472.)

**TEMPLAR PRINTING WORKS, BIRMINGHAM.**  
Enquiries solicited. R. CROMBIEHOLM, General Manager.

**DRESS.**

**H**ATS REMODELLED. Own materials used if required; small price. The Hat Doctor, 5a, Little Sussex Place, Hyde Park Square, W.2.

DRESS IDEALISM.

**EDU-CRAFT** Deco-Art  
StitcherySend for particulars and Catalogue,  
307 Evelyn St., Deptford, S.E.

**A**THEENIC SCOTCH WOVEN UNDERWEAR. Made in all sizes in finest wool, silk and wool, and Merino. Guaranteed unshrinkable. Write makers for patterns and prices. Dept. 10, Atheenic Mills, Hawick, Scotland.

**Real HARRIS, LEWIS, and  
SHETLAND HOMESPUNS**

Direct from the Makers. Special light weights for Ladies wear—all shades. Patterns and Prices on Application  
**S. A. NEWALL & SONS, Stornoway, Scotland.**  
State shade desired and whether for Gents' or Ladies' wear

**FOR SALE AND WANTED.**

**C**OSTUMES, coats, furs, underwear, gentlemen's and children's clothing, house furnishings, WANTED. Specially good prices given.—Hélène, 5, Hanover-road, Scarborough.

**WHY KEEP USELESS JEWELLERY?**

The large London Market enables  
**ROBINSON Bros.** of  
5 & 7, Hampstead Rd., W., & 123 & 127, Fenchurch St., E.C.  
To give best prices for OLD GOLD and SILVER JEWELLERY, GOLD, SILVER, PLATINUM, DIAMONDS, PEARLS, EMERALDS, SILVER PLATE, ANTIQUES, &c., in any form, condition, or quantity. Licensed valuers and appraisers. Telephone, Museum 2036.  
**ALL PARCELS receive offer or cash, by return post.**

**S**ECOND-HAND CLOTHING wanted to buy for cash; costumes, skirts, boots, underclothes, curtains, lounge suits, trousers, and children's clothing of every description; parcels sent will be valued, and cash sent by return.—Mrs. Russell, 100, Raby-street, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

**FOR SALE AND WANTED.**

**I**RISH ROLLER TOWELS.—Extra strong and durable quality, 24 yds. by 16 ins., 3s. 5d. each, or 3 for 10s. 2d.; postage 6d. Send for Bargain List, free.—HUTTON'S, 159, Larne, Ireland.

**PHENODA TOOTH PASTE**

A fragrant antiseptic Dentifrice, for cleansing and preserving the teeth and gums.  
In tubes 1/3, through all chemists.  
**JAMES WOOLLEY Sons & Co. Ltd.**  
MANCHESTER

**MEDICAL, Etc.**

**E**LECTROLYSIS for removal of superfluous hair, freckles, &c. Face Massage and Electrical Hair Treatment. Lessons given and Certificates granted. Address, Miss Theakston, 54, Devonshire-street, W.1.

**ISLINGTON DENTAL SURGERY, 69, Upper Street, N.**

**MR. CHODWICK BROWN, Surgeon Dentist.**  
**FREDK. G. BOUCHER, Asst. Dental Surgeon. Estd. 35 Yrs.**  
Gas Administered Daily by Qualified Medical Man.  
Nurse in Attendance. Mechanical Work in all its Branches  
Send Post Card for Pamphlet. N.B.—No show case at door  
CONSULTATION FREE. Telephone: North 3795.

**GARDENING, etc.**

**G**ARDENING FOR WOMEN at Hleden College, (removed from Udimore to a more extensive property). Healthy outdoor life, with practical comprehensive training. Non-residents also received. Two vacancies for next term. Prospectus of Ridley Peake, Kingstone, near Canterbury.

**MISCELLANEOUS**

**L**ACE, all kinds, mended and cleaned. Many testimonials. Embroidery undertaken. Lace purchased.—"Beatrice," WOMAN'S LEADER Office.

**G**RAPHOLOGY.—Your character read from Hand-writing and date of birth, also favourable colours and jewels. P.O. 1s., and stamped addressed envelope.—Miss Adams, Box 2, 92, Victoria-street, London, S.W.1.

**ADOPTION.**

**A**TTRACTIVE, LOVABLE and INTELLIGENT BOY of five wants adoption. No premium; references required.—Mrs. Corbett, Woodgate, Daneshill, Sussex.

**"THE COMMON CAUSE" PUBLISHING COMPANY LIMITED.****FORM OF APPLICATION FOR ORDINARY SHARES.**  
(TO BE RETAINED BY THE COMPANY).

To the Directors of

"THE COMMON CAUSE" PUBLISHING COMPANY LIMITED, 62, OXFORD STREET, LONDON, W. 1.

MESDAMES,

Having paid to you the sum of.....being.....per share on.....

Ordinary Shares of one pound each in the above Company, I request that you will allot me <sup>that</sup> Share, and I hereby agree to accept the same upon the terms of the Memorandum and Articles of Association of the Company, and I authorise you to place my name on the Register of Members in respect of the Share allotted to me.

Name in full.....

Address in full.....

Profession or Business.....

Date..... Usual Signature.....