

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

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NOTES AND NEWS.

Women in the Civil Service.

We understand that the women's organisations which have formed a Committee to watch the position of women in the Civil Service are far from satisfied with the Report of the Organisation Sub-Committee of the Civil Service Whitley Council. A meeting of the Committee was held at 58, Victoria Street, on March 1st, and an interesting discussion took place, after which it was unanimously resolved that: "This Joint Committee looks with grave dissatisfaction upon the differential treatment of men and women in this report, and trust that the National Whitley Council will amend it so as to establish equal treatment for men and women throughout."

This resolution has been sent to the Civil Service Whitley Council, and should have some effect. Among the organisations represented at the meeting were: London Society for Women's Service, Federation of University Women, National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, National Council of Women, Association of Headmistresses, Association of Women Clerks and Secretaries, Federation of Women Civil Servants, Association of Temporary Clerks in Government Offices, National Union of Clerks, Civil Servants Typists' Association, Women Sanitary Inspectors' and Health Visitors' Association, Organising Officers' Association, Ministry of Labour.

Equal Pay for Equal Work Wanted.

There are three main points in the Report about which dissatisfaction is felt by the women concerned. The first is the inequality of salaries in the higher grades of each class. In the Civil Service, as in the Professions and in Industry, equal pay for equal work is the only principle which women can, or ought to, accept. It is also, we believe, the only system which in the end can work out satisfactorily for men as well as for women. Without it, men are constantly in danger of being undercut, and have no security that they will not find themselves ousted from posts for the sole reason that women are less expensive. Without it, women are not only underpaid, but are constantly in danger of being used as black-legs. The importance of the Civil Service setting an example in this respect, is strongly felt among women in other professions. They will be weakened in their own struggle if this battle is not first fought and won.

Examination and Selection Boards.

The second point about which many women feel strongly, is the method of recruitment for the Executive Class. In spite of the suggestion that has been made that in the present circumstances at any rate, it is an advantage to women to be appointed by Selection Boards rather than by the simple method of examination, and that the higher age limit is an advantage to them, they do not like the method suggested. They do not indeed wish to have any advantage, but to take their chance with the rest, and even if equality places them for the moment under special disadvantages, they still believe that in the end, it will be for the good of all. The examination test is not a completely satisfactory one for boys or girls, men or women; but on the whole, it is the best that has been devised so far, and while this is recognised, women are prepared to submit themselves to it.

Separate Ladders.

A third point on which dissatisfaction is felt is the method of promotion. The separate ladders by which men and women are to move. This is a bad method for the State. It ought to be possible to fill every post by the selection of the individual who is most suitable for it, whether it be a man or a woman. In short, what organised women are working for is the removal of the sex barrier in the Civil Service, and nothing less will content them.

Marriage a Bar.

The judicious reader of Reports attributes as much importance to omissions as to recommendations. It is not therefore surprising that Women's Societies view with anxiety the absence of any mention of married women in the Whitley

Report on the Civil Service. The Government's pledge to women is that neither sex nor marriage shall debar them from their citizen rights, and they will not be satisfied if the new regulations of the Civil Service continue to take for granted that a woman shall retire from her work on marriage.

Greek League of Women's Rights.

We chronicled last week the formation of a Greek League of Women's Rights. We have now received the programme from the President, Madame Negroportes. It includes: Equal guardianship rights for mothers, and an equal position for women in the family, equal divorce laws, equal rights of inheritance for women, and the reforming of the law which will enforce the obligations of fathers and the rights of mothers in the case of illegitimate children; protective labour legislation for women; enforcement of the laws against white slave traffic; the admission of women to the magistracy and to juries; and last, but not least, Women's Suffrage, and the admission of women to all positions in the State. It is a fine programme, and, as our readers will see, agrees almost point for point with that of British feminists. We send our hearty good wishes to the Athenian Society.

Birmingham's Famine Commissioners.

The Committee of the Lord Mayor of Birmingham's Famine Fund have done a wise thing in appointing two women to visit Central and Eastern Europe and report to the Committee on the conditions and needs of the different districts. The organisation of relief on the scale which is needed to meet the present calamity is something so immense that those who wish to help are apt to feel that their gifts are only little drops lost in an ocean of misery. It is easier for people to work and to give if they know that what they are sending does meet some special need of some special set of unhappy women and children, and that they are sending the right thing to the right place. In some places the chief need is food, in other places garments, in others drugs, and so far there are too few links between the workers on the spot and the helpers in England for the latter to be certain that their gifts always go to the right place. As so many of those who are suffering most are young children, it is obviously wise that the investigators should be women. Many of our readers will be glad to know that one of them is Mrs. Carol Ring, a devoted worker in the Suffrage movement, and at present Secretary of the Birmingham Society for Equal Citizenship. Mrs. Ring will be missed from her citizen work in Birmingham; but the members of her Society there are most keenly interested in famine relief; they have already contributed over 1,300 garments to the Lord Mayor's Fund, and are anxious to do more and to know how they can do it most usefully. Mrs. Ring will be accompanied by Miss Chase (late of Queen Mary's Army Auxiliary Corps). They are starting immediately, and will be away for some months.

Divorce Law Reform.

Lord Buckmaster's Divorce Bill, which is expected to come up for Second Reading in the House of Lords next week, is understood to be based on the 1914 Bill embodying the reforms advocated by the Divorce Law Reform Union. Mr. Athelstan Rendall has given notice in the Commons of a motion calling for legislation to give effect to the findings of the Divorce Law Commission of 1912. It will be remembered that Lady Frances Balfour and Mrs. Tennant sat on this Commission and signed the Majority Report. The N.U.S.E.C. supports all reforms of the divorce law recommended by the Commission which equalise the law as between men and women. From this point of view it regards the cheapening of divorce proceedings as important, because the wife in almost all cases has less command of money than the husband, so that expense may well debar her from relief to which she is legally entitled. The N.U.S.E.C. also presses for restriction of the publication of details of divorce proceedings. Though some publicity is no doubt in the public interest, very much evidence that appears in the Press is demoralising to the reader and unduly painful to any children of the couple to be divorced. There is evidence also that the license allowed to the Press in this country is likely to defeat the ends of justice. The French practice is infinitely preferable.

Boarded-Out Children.

The increased cost of living is making the work of those Poor Law Committees which are responsible for boarding-out children in the care of foster-mothers extremely difficult. Rates of payment must obviously be raised, but they must not be fixed at a scale which would induce women to undertake the care of children purely for gain. The ideal is to pay all expenses of providing for the boarded-out child as well, at least, as though he or she were really the child of the foster-mother, and to recompense her for the time spent on the child's welfare, but not to compensate her to the degree appropriate to satisfy anyone who looks on the care of children as an unpleasant duty. This is not a sum easy to estimate. A correspondent whose committee is contemplating a revision of their scale of payment is anxious to learn what other Guardians are doing in the matter. She would be grateful to any who would inform her, through THE WOMAN'S LEADER, what are their weekly rates of payment for maintenance; clothing, including boots; medical fees; incidental expenses. This is a matter of great importance, and even if the Guardians' work should be allotted to other bodies, the boarding-out of children will still continue, and the problems to which it gives rise will be the same as now. We shall welcome detailed and exact information as to the sums now expended, and the experience of Guardians as to their adequacy in present circumstances.

The Housing Bonds.

The Treasury is now prepared to sanction the issue by Local Authorities of Housing Bonds; the money borrowed in this manner being spent upon building schemes approved by the Ministry of Health, and secured not merely upon the houses built, but upon the rates, revenue and property of the authority. This security gives the new Bonds the status of a trustee investment, and the proposed rate of interest, six per cent, is just a little higher than that of Government stock. It is pointed out that these Bonds should be especially attractive to women who have made small savings. Women have, as a rule, little experience in investing money, and are apt to content themselves with the low interest offered by the Post Office Savings Bank, because they fear to risk going far afield. In buying their Local Housing Bonds they will be helping to improve their own neighbourhood, they will secure six per cent. interest, they will get their interest half-yearly, and they will be sure of the return at the end of the loan period of the exact sum lent. This provision, that the Bonds should be redeemable at par, will reassure those investors who still remember with disappointment the loss they sustained by the conversion of Consols. It will be inspiring to see one's money used on local needs, and if it is used wastefully the lender will be able to protest with effect. The Bonds would presumably be obtainable at Post Offices, and certainly at local banks, and are to be issued in denominations as low as £5.

The Welsh Board of Health.

Before the Health Insurance Commissions were absorbed into the Ministry of Health, the Welsh and Scottish Commissions each consisted of three men and one woman. The Scottish and Irish Boards of Health still observe this proportion, but there is no woman on the Welsh Board. The attention of the Government has been called to this anomaly, and a questioner in the House has been informed that the matter is "receiving attention." If it is, well and good, but that civil phrase is usually to be taken in a Pickwickian sense. The Government will be reminded of this matter from time to time.

Crimes Against Little Girls.

Last week we commented on two very inadequate sentences given in an Edinburgh Court on offenders against little girls. We are glad to see that certain Scottish Judges have a much more just idea of the kind of sentence which should be administered. We hear from Glasgow that Lord Anderson last week passed a sentence of seven years' penal servitude on a man who had been found guilty of criminal behaviour towards a two-year-old child. The jury were unanimous in their finding, and Lord Anderson characterised the crime as "too terrible for words." He was right; and though even seven years is far from being sufficient punishment for such an infamy, it is nearer to justice than most magistrates go, at the present time.

One Standard of Morals.

The New York Court of General Sessions has registered a decision by Judge Wadhams that the police in making arrests must no longer recognise a double standard of morals. When disorderly houses are raided the men visiting them must not be allowed to go free. "The law is quite clear on this point, and it is the duty of the police to act in accordance with it," was his statement, unpretentious in form, but revolutionary in reality. Until the United States lives up to the pronouncement of this most modern judge and England follows suit, the English-speaking races will continue to be called hypocrites by the more logical Latins. That it should be a crime to sell what it is hardly a peccadillo to buy is an intolerable state of things, and a barrier to any material raising of the moral code of either men or women.

An Austrian Controversy.

The Association for Moral and Social Hygiene has received from Austria some interesting papers in connection with an action for criminal libel which is pending against Dr. Johann Ude, a prominent Austrian Abolitionist. Dr. Ude is a professor of Theology in the University of Graz, Austria, and is also President of the *Oesterreichs Volkerwacht*, a Union for combating public immorality. It appears that in December the Town Council of Graz rejected by a large majority a proposition to abolish the fifteen regulated brothels in that city. Had this proposal been carried the buildings so set free would have sufficed to house fifty-five families, thus helping to solve the housing problem which is a very serious one in Graz. A few days later, Professor Ude gave an address in a public hall on the subject—"Houses of the People versus Houses of Ill-fame." He was interrupted and almost silenced by a group consisting of prostitutes, souteneurs, students, and others. Then the other side put up their spokesmen—first, Dr. Polland, Professor of Dermatology in the University, and second, Hermann Meier, brothel owner. The former declared his conviction, as a doctor and a specialist, that the public health urgently required the maintenance of the houses of shame. Shortly after this meeting, Dr. Ude issued a small pamphlet entitled "University Professor and Brothel Owner," in which he bracketed these two speakers together as the defenders of the shameful traffic. In this pamphlet he quotes Blaschko, Neisser, Düring, Finger, and others as to the worthlessness—and worse—of tolerated houses from the public health standpoint, and draws the inference that Dr. Polland's statements are unreliable medically. He further points out that brothel-keeping is contrary to the law of the land, since a statute of 1852, enforced by a decision of the High Court in 1917, declares that brothel-owners are to be prosecuted and punished as criminals; and that in upholding this trade, Dr. Polland has violated the oath which as a Professor he had taken, "to keep inviolate the fundamental laws of the State" and "to teach nothing contrary to the law."

Dr. Polland resents this pamphlet as impugning his personal honour and professional credit, and is bringing an action for criminal libel against Professor Ude. The case is to be tried in March. The warm sympathy of all Abolitionists will be with Professor Ude, who asks for publicity to make known the facts of his present conflict with the Regulation system and to open people's eyes to its evil effects. We hope that the Graz jury will acquit him triumphantly, and in so doing, will support him in the aim which he sets forth in his pamphlet, namely, cleansing of the country from the disgrace of tolerated and recognised brothels and regulated prostitution. We understand that the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene will be glad to show the pamphlet and other papers in connection with this trial to anyone interested who cares to call at 19, Tothill Street, Westminster, S.W. 1. The papers are in German.

"Those Uppish Women."

One of the many causes of the present housing difficulty has been little noticed in the Press, but it is very real. It is the difficulty of persuading the husband to give his wife a fair share of his earnings and thus make it possible for a fair rent to be paid. "After all, it's all we've got, the home" said a working woman after a discussion of rents; "it's better to pay and get something worth having." This point of view is not uncommon among working women, as evidenced by the remark the other day of a man earning nearly £5 a week. "As soon as a man gets a bit more money, these women get uppish and want a better house." The words are true, and will have a bearing on future developments in connection with housing.

Reforms Needed on the Railways.

The tragic death of Miss Shore, at the hands of a murderer who has not yet been traced by the police, called public attention once more to the dangers of travelling in the old-fashioned, non-corridor trains, which some reactionary railway companies cling to in a manner which, after the crimes have taken place on their lines, incites indignation as well as amazement. We do not think that special compartments for ladies are all that are needed to meet this danger. The old-fashioned railway carriages should be scrapped once and for all, in favour of corridor carriages, with railway attendants accessible in case of need. But there should be ladies' compartments; and we are not surprised (though we are somewhat amused) to hear from a correspondent that it was the discovery that men had a statutory right to demand smoking carriages while she had none to demand a "Ladies' Only" that converted her to Votes for Women.

Travel Inspectors.

The same correspondent draws attention to the discomforts and minor dangers suffered by women travellers; and points out how unfavourably conditions of travel now compare with conditions in factories. She advocates "Travel Inspectors," and says there is a missing link between the Sanitary and Food Inspectors who look after our homes, and the Shop and Welfare Inspectors who look after us when we have once got to our work. She points out that whereas sanitary accommodation must be kept clean and separate in the workshops, it is often used promiscuously on trains, and kept in a filthy state. The regulations of the late Ministry of Munitions laid down the standard of a clean towel daily for each worker, in the filling factories; one of our railway companies supplies one towel for twelve first and thirty-two third carriages, for the use of passengers of both sexes. In connection with this, it may be pointed out that the risk of venereal infection is hardly a minor danger. In the same way, drinking water is now provided in every factory or workshop where twenty-five persons are employed, even if the maximum spell of work is no longer than five hours. There is no obligation to supply it on trains, whatever the length of the journey. A reasonable temperature must be maintained in work-rooms; but who can say that the temperature in our trains is always reasonable? Our correspondent advocates an Inspectorate of women who will receive and investigate women's complaints. We are not sure that women are the only travellers who have to complain; but it is likely that they suffer even more than men, and we think it is a misfortune that the personnel of our railway companies continues to be entirely made up of men; even in branches of the work which women would do as well or better. We think it is high time that the railway companies improved the conditions so deleterious to travellers of both sexes which now prevail, and we hope that both women shareholders and women voters will give attention to this matter.

The After Dinner Club.

A correspondent writes: "One went to the first *Conversazione* of the 'After Dinner Club,' armed with a quizzing glass it is true, but also with high hopes, tinged with the reflection that between the *theoria* and the *genesis* of real conversation, as of art, there is often a 'fatal pause.' But there was no pause in the buzz of speech in the salons of the Forum Club. The three hundred guests received by Mrs. Kendal came to talk, nay, even to scintillate, and not even the strains of the orchestra, whose presence seemed to denote a certain lack of faith in the organisers, abated their determination. What they all said, and how far their conversation was comparable to that of Madame Geoffrin's or Madame du Deffand's visitors, was unrevealed, for their number was too great for the general conversation that made those salons so brilliant and the little apartment of Julie de Lespinasse the *mecca* of the *Encyclopédistes*. One wanted to split up the gay crowd into groups that would absorb the lonely people and provide the possibility of that good talk that the presence of so many notable people ensured. As it was, the chroniclers of this unusual gathering found themselves recording it like any other delightful society entertainment: 'The Committee of the After Dinner Club held a most successful reception at the Forum Club. The founders included the late Mr. Charles Garvice, Mr. G. K. Chesterton, Lucas Malet, Lady Stanley, Mr. Douglas Sladen, Mrs. Champion de Crespigny, Lord Montague de Beaulieu, etc. Among those present were Mr. Solomon J. Solomon, Lady Hamar Greenwood, Miss Cicely Hamilton, Lady Sydenham, Lord Rothermere, Mrs. Baillie Reynolds, etc.'"

V.A.D. Ladies' Club.

Members of the V.A.D. are very anxious to establish a Club in London, which will enable them to remain in touch with each other, and keep alive that spirit of comradeship that helped them through the difficult years. It will be run on the lines of a first-class social club, and will be under the immediate control of the members themselves. Its founders are Lady Amphyll, Lady Oliver, Dame Rachel Croody, the Earl of Donoughmore, the Viscount Chilston, the Hon. Sir Arthur Stanley, and Mr. R. B. Holland Martin. It is hoped to open the club within two months if sufficient support is forthcoming. Once launched, the club will, of course, be self-supporting; the entrance fee for original members has been fixed at one guinea, and the annual subscription two guineas, and for country members one guinea. The membership of the club is to be strictly confined to all V.A.D. members of regular detachments, and ex-V.A.D.'s who have served three years during the war.

The Buchanan Society.

Miss M. J. Buchanan, Chairman of the Glasgow Society for Equal Citizenship, has achieved the unique distinction of being the first woman Director appointed to the Buchanan Society. This Society is a very old one, dating back to 1725. The Directors have "power to make considerable educational grants in the form of bursaries and scholarships to young talented persons of the clan of both sexes, decided by competition, to enable them to obtain a liberal education, and who are desirous of following academic pursuits."

Curriculum of the Working Women's College.

The students of the Working Women's College at Beckenham will not have to complain of a restricted curriculum. Its resident lecturers from London Colleges and Schools are giving courses in History, Literature, Economics, Science, and other subjects. The College aims at making its course a preliminary to vocational training, but does not itself train for any trade or profession. Its whole life and work will be founded on the belief that the basis of all education is spiritual. It will seek "to enlarge the vision of its students and to open to them possibilities of developing their latent capacities for leadership and service." A limited number of scholarships will be in the gift of the Y.W.C.A., and some have been most generously provided by individuals or groups of friends. Three of the present students have been sent to the College by their employers, and it is hoped that this example may be followed by many of those directors of industry who realise the value of general education.

High Prices.

The theory of Foreign Exchanges is little understood, and the few who understand it seem peculiarly unfitted to popularise their knowledge. Belgium is more intelligent or more fortunate than we are, and in that country employers and employed have deliberately combined together with the object of increasing output and thereby moving the exchange in their favour. We seem content to recommend attainment of the same object by the more tedious method of economy. And this again is a lesson we do not easily learn, because we are most of us pre-occupied with a determination to show our cleverness by buying at an exorbitant rate something that may presently be dearer still. We seem always to be justified by events because prices continue to rise. But if we were to refrain from buying they would in process of time fall. Naturally, anyone who has anything to sell encourages us, by printed advertisement or spoken exhortation, in our unwisdom. We are, naturally enough, tired of privations and economies, yet it is only by the homeopathic method of more economy that we can be cured. The question is pressing, and it especially affects women. How intimately it touches them is shown by the Report of the Glasgow Royal Asylum which has this year an unusual number of admissions of married women, many of them of the professional classes. The female admissions have been nearly double those of former years, and Dr. L. R. Oswald attributes this to the increasing stress of life, especially among those whose income has not risen proportionately to the rise in the price of necessities. Apart from the suffering of these poor women, the misery in which their families must be left now that lack of a mother's care is added to the sting of poverty, presents a deplorable picture of what high prices means in terms of human life.

Another most important thing to remember is that the pound we spend is worth less than ten shillings, but the pound we save till Europe has recovered herself is worth a pound—and is earning interest all the time.

STATE PURCHASE.

Nationalisation is one of the big political subjects of the future: indeed, it is a big political subject in the present. But there are wide differences within the general term, and the arguments that apply to the nationalisation of one thing are very wide of the mark when applied to another.

The State purchase of the drink trade, therefore, is best considered on its own merits, and not as a part of any general socialistic scheme. For the manufacture and sale of strong drink is already a controlled trade, subject to licenses and permission, and liable to restrictions imposed by Parliament upon the strength, the manner, and the extent of the wholesale and retail sale.

The nationalisation of this trade, therefore, is only a further step along a path already entered, and thus it is unlike the nationalisation of, let us say, the bootmakers' business. It is unlike too, in another and more important way. For strong drink is a commodity that differs from other goods. It is dangerous stuff, very easily bringing disease and misery, and poverty and degradation in its train, and it is, therefore, to the national interest to see that it is not excessively sold or consumed. Instead of growing richer by the increased productiveness of this trade, the country grows poorer, and the more it flourishes the worse it is. The consequence of this is that the main objection to State control, namely, that it cuts off enterprise and competition, does not hold any value in this case. For the more the trade dwindles the better, and, in fact, the main object of State Purchase would be to secure that the dwindling took place.

There is another point of view for which the nationalisation of this trade differs from that of others. The Trade, because of the legal restrictions and the system of licensing that has been imposed upon it, has become a monopoly. So complete a monopoly is it that it has been able to organise itself politically in a way that no other concern has done; it has gained the distinctive name of The Trade, as if there was no other in the land, and it has acquired a very tangible and solid vested interest in its own continuance. It may be said to be entrenched in its present position, and the Licensing Act of 1904 positively recognised and gave legal sanction to this fact. The natural result of this has been that The Trade has become one of the strongest political organisations in the country. Until the enfranchisement of women its ramifications in the constituencies were almost all powerful, and its strength in the House of Commons was enough to frighten every successive Government and to prevent any genuine temperance reform. The sorry history of our Parliamentary dealings with this question is no credit to us.

The State Purchase of this monopoly, therefore, would be unlike the nationalisation of any other great trade, in that it would involve the complete destruction of a whole political party, and the freeing of the British House of Commons from the strangling grip of the men who openly admit that their trade is their politics. If State Purchase did nothing else it would be a blessing for this only, that it was a long step towards clean politics and disinterested representatives.

State Purchase, however, means much more than all this, for it means that the field will become clear for constructive temperance reform. It is no use whatever, nature being what it is, to forbid people to go to public-houses unless some other recreation is provided instead. It is no use saying they shall not drink alcohol, unless something else is provided that will refresh and restore the weary public. In short, limitation is not likely to be very useful unless something else is provided to take the place of drink, and it is exactly this possibility that State Purchase creates.

It is impossible to write about State Purchase, and it would be foolish to do so, without referring to the Carlisle experiment. There, over an area of 500 square miles, the Liquor Control Board has been putting into practice the policy of State Purchase, and without in any way differing from the ordinary regulations in force in the rest of the county, has proved abundantly the power of real reform that comes with the abolition of private ownership.

It is positively startling to walk in the streets of Carlisle to-day, or in the neighbouring villages, because of the transformation caused by the absence of all advertisements of drink. One does not realise, until they are removed, how shockingly numerous they are, and how large a part they play in the visual effect of a small town. Once the attention has been directed to it, however, drink advertisements in other places seem the monstrosity they are, and the amazing pertinacity of them affords an outward measure of the wealth and strength of the vested interest that now controls this trade.

The vanishing of advertisements, however, is only the outward sign of the Carlisle experiment. More important, and more effective is the change in the public houses themselves. There, for the first time, we can see the clearing away of all the redundant houses. There, and there only, we do not find the public houses nestling side by side, wasting house room and effort, and competing uselessly for a demand they seek to create.

There too—and there only—are really good cheap eating rooms to be found attached to the public houses, where men and women can get other than alcoholic refreshment, and where a quiet and a comfortable meal can be had. There, and there only, are the public houses clean and ventilated; with proper entrances and good sanitation, with seats, tables and open rooms. And there, and there only, the public houses themselves have their own counter attractions, taking a pride and making a profit from the other sides of their business, selling sweets, tea cakes, and "minerals," running cinemas and offering games like bowls as an alternative to the endless sipping of strong drink.

All this is possible, and is indeed actually in existence under State Purchase. Under private management it has never come and is never likely to. For while you can get 20 per cent. by selling drink, why should you trouble to do the more difficult job of selling good food for which, for all your pains, you will hardly get 5 per cent.? It is foolish to expect it, or to believe in the "Reformed Public Houses" of the Trade itself, and if we really want hotels and places of rest and refreshment that shall meet our needs without seeking to make beasts of us, it is clear from the experience of the war that State Purchase affords us the first necessary step towards it. There is nothing romantic or even idealistic about this case of State Purchase. It is so surely a matter of commonsense practical measures that it is hard to attach to it a passionate loyalty or a burning faith.

Nevertheless, it is a real, a possible, and an immediate step towards the solution of the very difficult and yet most urgent of the social problems of the day, and if the level-headed and practical part of the population lately enfranchised will but turn their attention in this direction the thing can actually be done.

This Government is about to bring forward a measure for the Control of the Sale of Drink. Prohibition may have attractions for enthusiasts and for extremists, but every practical politician knows that it cannot come in this session here and now, if it is ever likely to come in these islands. But, nevertheless, something must be done, and done quickly, before the war gains in sobriety and temperance have been altogether lost. It is, therefore, the moment now for women voters to consider practical measures and to make their influence felt. For this is a woman's question if ever there was one.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

By A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.

Perhaps the most memorable feature of an otherwise rather commonplace debate on the occasion of the Second Reading of the Representation of the People Bill was, that for the first time in the history of sixty years' political controversy on the subject of Woman's Suffrage, a woman was able to make a speech on it in the House of Commons. Women in the Gallery, who remembered something of past debates in the House, rubbed their eyes and wondered if it was all a dream when Lady Astor took the floor of the House and pleaded for the extension of the franchise, not for the sake of women themselves, but for the well-being of the community. The scene would, perhaps, have been more perfect from a dramatic point of view if Mrs. Fawcett, or some other honoured leader who had fought through years of obloquy and disappointment to years of victory, had herself been there to plead for the removal of the last remaining disability to an equitable franchise.

It has been suggested that Lady Astor was ill-advised to speak at all, that since she had so recently made her maiden speech with such distinction, an obviously unprepared contribution to Friday's debate in a thin House would, it was said, do her reputation more harm than good both in the House and outside. But is there a woman, who sincerely cares about justice for other women, or, to put the matter on higher grounds, who sincerely cares about freedom of opportunity on the part of both sexes alike to serve the State, who would have sat silent on such an occasion in an assembly which, except for herself, was composed wholly of men? Is there a woman worth her salt who would value her reputation as a speaker as more important than the causes she comes to Westminster to represent? Certainly not Lady Astor! All right-minded women will feel grateful to their spirited and fearless champion who, in these early days of her political experience, while still, in a sense, on trial in the House, sprang to her feet because she felt that she must. Apart from the dramatic appeal of Lady Astor's contribution, the debate presented no special interest. The mover of the Second Reading, Mr. T. W. Grundy, Labour Member for Rother Valley, who came from a sick-bed, and the seconder, Mr. Robert Young, Labour Member for Newton, stated the arguments for the amended Bill on the highest grounds of equal citizenship, and were ably supported from the Labour Benches.

The case for the opposition was opened by Mr. Gideon Murray, Coalition Unionist Member for St. Rollox Division of Glasgow, who, judging from the women of his constituency, assured the House that there was no demand for extension. His other objections were based on the supposition that women of twenty-one are more emotional than men of the same age, and on the preponderance of women over men voters which would be the result of the measure.

The Minister of Health, Dr. Addison, announced that the Government proposed to leave the matter to a free vote of the House on the Second Reading, reserving the right to bring forward amendments in Committee as they may seem desirable. He declared that he was wholeheartedly in favour of the principle of the Bill, and effectively dismissed such bogies as a gigantic combination of women against men, and the temperamental unfitness of the young women of twenty-one.

One of the ablest speeches in the debate was very inadequately reported in the Press. Captain Wedgwood Benn spoke with a ring of genuine, almost passionate, conviction and earnestness which had been absent in many of the other quite favourable and friendly speeches. He reminded the Government of the pledge to the country in which they stated that it would be the duty of the new Government to remove all existing inequalities between men and women, and cleared away the suggestion made by an opponent that some sort of understanding existed that there should be no further extension for the present. Captain Benn lifted the subject to a high level when he spoke of the influence for good which he believed women would exercise in such matters as temperance reform, conscription, and disarmament policy, and the terms of peace.

In the whole debate there was little trace of the levity of pre-war years. The only approach to flippancy was the plea for votes for school-children and a tragic allusion to Samson and Delilah. The debate was far from brilliant, but the subject was treated seriously and generously both by friends and foes. It was impossible not to feel that there was every hope that the end of the long struggle for the complete enfranchisement of women was at hand.

NEWS FROM WESTMINSTER.

BY OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

The return of Mr. Asquith to the House of Commons has revived much of the gossip with which the Parliamentary session opened. Although his reception on Monday was decidedly cold, there seems, except among the official members of the House, a general disposition to welcome him back as a great Parliamentarian to whom everyone looks for the rehabilitating of the power of the House as against the over-bureaucratic methods of the present executive. Speculation is rife as to whether he and Lord Robert Cecil will play into each other's hands; and it is certain that, whatever they may think about coalescing, they both share a belief in the importance of the supremacy of the elected House of Commons over the host of obedient minor officials who hold up the hands of the present Cabinet.

In the old suffrage days Mr. Asquith was an important enemy; many and many a time the pages of the predecessor of this paper have been filled with indignation against him. Mr. Asquith, however, has openly and frankly changed his mind. Old scores are healed, the hatchet is well buried, and among those who welcome him back to Westminster many of his old foes are to be found.

The Parliamentary week had little else that was of interest except the Friday afternoon discussion upon the Labour Party's Bill for real Adult Suffrage. The progress of this debate was an interesting commentary on an old truth. Once women have the vote they will find it easy enough to get the vote. The multitude of supporters who rose up almost excited to laughter the "old hands" who remembered the "old arguments." And it is noticeable that the worst sinners of the past are among the loudest talking friends to-day. The debate was remarkable, as suffrage debates have always been, for the staunch and disinterested support of Labour members. "Even if young women vote against us," Mr. Robert Young said, "they ought to vote"—and, as a former Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Mr. Young knows well how possible it is that the young industrial women of this country may feel out of sympathy with the Trade Union movement. Support such as this is worthy of respect, and obtains it. There is one consideration that applies to this aspect of the Bill that Mr. Young did not mention, though it was doubtless in his mind. If we enfranchise these young women, and if they use their votes with any reference to their present cold treatment at the hands of the skilled Unions, it is likely to change the point of view of the Unions with some suddenness. We have not forgotten the history of the opening of the legal profession to women, which stuck for so long against the exclusive Trade Unionism of the barristers and solicitors, and collapsed with a run upon the enfranchisement of the older professional women who were interested in the matter. History repeats itself, and men like Mr. Young, who sincerely believe in our cause, may see in the enfranchisement of the women under thirty a two-edged blessing.

The debate was the occasion of Lady Astor's second speech in Parliament. That she supported the Bill wholeheartedly goes without saying, and she gave her reasons in as cogent and as witty a form as on the previous occasion. One of the things we hoped from the entry of women to Parliament was a change of atmosphere; and if in Lady Astor's speeches that change is very plainly manifest, they are none the worse for that.

Last week we promised to publish the Division list. There was none, and the Bill passed its second reading unanimously. Nevertheless, we publish on another page a list which gives the Division on the motion for the closure. Those who voted with the "Noes to the Left" were voting in favour of talking the Bill out and coming to no decision upon it. The "No" list is therefore equivalent to a list of opponents to the Bill. We commend it to the attention of readers in the constituencies there mis-represented.

One event, not occurring at Westminster, is important, namely, the French railway strike, which is not without its interest for British politics. Coming as it does a few days before the special Trade Union Congress on Direct Action versus Constitutional Effort, it must have a marked effect. Its sudden beginning and as sudden collapse seem from this side of the channel to be characteristically French. Its results are none the less likely to make for moderation at next week's Congress.

THE APPOINTMENT OF WOMEN MAGISTRATES.

By J. R. CROSS, J.P.

It is time an effort was made all over the country to "speed up" the appointment of Women Magistrates. The Legislature has tardily conceded the right of women to become Justices of the Peace; but unless steps are taken and pressure exercised in the constituencies there will be a long delay before the anachronism of one-sex benches ceases. It is one thing to have gained a principle, quite another to bring it into general practice. The Lord Chancellor has appointed an Advisory Committee of eminent women to give him assistance. In view of the existing prejudice and as a temporary measure it is no doubt all to the good. There is no cause to complain of its composition, except to regret that Mrs. Henry Fawcett, the greatest living English woman, is not a member; her wide knowledge and impartial judgment would have inspired confidence, and she would have been a tower of strength. One is also inclined to ask why should it be a committee of women only? It is to be hoped that it has a limited reference and will mainly deal with first appointments, otherwise it presages something very undesirable—i.e., sex-differentiation in the method by which magistrates are to be appointed. This of course would be altogether against the spirit of the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act. The point ought to be watched, because committees take "an unconscionable time a-dying," even after they have finished their work, and sometimes seek added functions in order to survive.

This one is, however, composed of women who are far too busy to do so. What will probably occur is that the committee will submit to the Lord Chancellor a list of women nationally known, distinguished in public service, and that these will be made magistrates. When this has been done, the fringe of the grievance will scarcely have been touched. What should be aimed at, is not the flooding of the benches with women magistrates, but the setting in motion of machinery to secure the appointment of three or four women on each Bench as a beginning; the future will then take care of itself. The machinery already exists. The purpose of this article is to indicate it and to urge women throughout the country to lose no time before using it. This duty especially devolves on those who stand for Equal Citizenship. They should see that women without undue delay enter into the possession of their newly-obtained rights. What has been enacted by Parliament may not have percolated through "to the proper quarter," for in some places, especially in the counties, "the proper quarter" lies deeply embedded in custom and tradition. Let the women help to dig it out.

Dealing with the counties (excepting Lancashire, where the Chancellor of the Duchy is the power), the Lord Lieutenant is the *Custos Rotulorum* or Keeper of the Rolls of Justice. He is virtually the head of the Magistracy in his county and, as a matter of custom but not of right, recommends to the Lord Chancellor those (hitherto men only) whom he considers suitable to be placed on the Commission. His recommendations are generally acted upon, though the Lord Chancellor sometimes adds to the list. The actual appointment is made by the Crown. The Lord Lieutenant has generally the assistance of a small advisory committee, consisting of four or five members. The Clerk of the Peace for the County is frequently the clerk to this committee, over which the Lord Lieutenant presides. This body meets in secret conclave, and its composition is not widely known, but it has great influence in the appointment of magistrates. It considers names which are submitted to it, to the Lord Lieutenant, or to the Clerk of the Peace. It is quite in order for a magistrate in the county to send in a name or names, but the more effective way is for local administrative bodies, i.e., Urban or Rural Councils, or organisations, to submit names for consideration. It would be quite a proper thing for Societies for Equal Citizenship, Women's Citizens' Societies, or other representative women's societies to send recommendations or resolutions to the Lord Lieutenant and his Women's Advisory Committee, urging the appointment of Women J.P.s, and to point out the present unequal composition of the Benches. In passing it ought to be said that it is neither equitable nor logical that these Committees should remain entirely composed

of men. Herein lies a task which the Women's Advisory Committee is eminently fitted to perform:—To tender advice to the Lord Chancellor as to the names of women who might be added to the Advisory Committees throughout the country. The selections would be impartial because well-removed from local influences or bias. The altered circumstances have made it necessary that this hidden machinery should be added to and overhauled. May a well-wisher of the Women's Advisory Committee suggest this as a valuable piece of work which, if well done, would be of immense public service.

In cities and towns the nominations generally go to the Lord Chancellor *via* the local Bench. The Chairman or Clerk to the Magistrates communicates with him or his secretary, submitting names from the Bench considered suitable for the office. In some towns the Council and the Town Clerk take a hand. Most large cities have an advisory committee from whom the Lord Chancellor gets assistance, but the names of its members do not usually transpire, also it seldom meets. Where these committees are known, interviewing individual members might be a method of attack. The best course, however, to adopt is to have an influential deputation, consisting of representatives of women's organisations, to the Town Council. This gives publicity and provokes discussion. Another way is to send resolutions, also to get some Councillor with sympathetic views to call attention to the present unsatisfactory composition of the Bench. He might move that representations by the Council be made to the Lord Chancellor. If this fails, petition might be made to the Lord Chancellor through the Women's Advisory committee. Persistency of purpose and a certain amount of impatience (women have been patient too long) are the necessary equipment for the campaign.

A former Lord Chancellor wrote: "It is contrary to the public interest that the authority of the Bench should be weakened by any widespread suspicion that the members of it are not fairly selected." Now the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act has become law, Benches will not be fairly selected unless they include a fair proportion of women. It must be insisted that the usual channels are not blocked against them, nor any different method of selection adopted because of their sex. After a fairly long experience as a County Magistrate, the writer has no hesitation in affirming that justice will be better administered when men and women share the responsibility. It may be an argument at the present juncture that women magistrates are needed for Children's Courts, and in cases where women are concerned, but this does not put "equality of status" in a true perspective. Feminists will hesitate to use it. There is one danger signal, maybe, that needs flying. Do not let the women follow the bad example of men in respect to appointment through Party. It is a scandal that the caucus, especially in the towns, has in the past largely controlled the selection of magistrates. It has been considered a party perquisite. Women will be well advised if they keep clear from the backing of any political party.

"The office of Justice of the Peace places in the magistrates' hands the liberty and reputation of their humblest neighbours," and no one ought to owe appointment to political influence or accept it as a party reward.

Courts of Justice are amongst the saddest places on earth, and all thoughtful magistrates realise that the present system does little to change those who are anti-social, to mend broken lives, to restore self-respect, or to raise up the fallen. Viewing the failure of it, some magistrates feel they are but cogs in the wheel of an often mindless machine. The presence of women on the Bench will create a fresh atmosphere and bring new ideas. It is not too much to hope that the knowledge and experience gained when men and women share the making and administration of the law will be reflected in a wiser, less vengeful, and more remedial criminal code. Women magistrates are needed badly, and there is every reason why their appointment should be hastened.

SAUCE FOR THE GOOSE

WONDER of wonders! the new Labour Party Representation of the People Bill, which proposes to give women votes when they are twenty-one, has passed its Second Reading in the House of Commons with ease. A good deal of conversation about it too, but scarcely a voice raised in opposition. Where are the snows of yester-year? Where, oh where, are the anti-Suffrage big guns? What can be the meaning of this ominous silence? Will the Government rend us limb from limb in the Committee stage, or can it be that Women's Suffrage has suddenly become popular? If that is so I wonder what will be the effect on all of us. For no hobby is dearer to the heart than a grievance, and how will feminist energy expend itself if it has no prejudices to combat?

Lady Astor took part in the debate on the Representation of the People Bill. Her chief argument was rather a nice one—how helpful to men will be the full enfranchisement of women. This is not the first time that Lady Astor has spoken. Her maiden speech was made last week on the continuance of war-time restrictions on the liquor trade. Quite a long speech, too, and received with great enthusiasm by the House.

Everyone—and particularly the Gander—is much interested in Mr. Mallaby-Deeley, M.P.'s new scheme for providing men with beautifully cut suits of clothes for three and a half guineas. Mr. Mallaby-Deeley is himself to set the fashion by appearing in one of these creations, and is inviting other M.P.'s to follow his example. But what about the poor Goose? Is there truth in the rumour that her appearance is also under consideration, and if so will Lady Astor be invited to dazzle Parliament in a three and a half guinea Mallaby-Deeley outfit?

The Goose has had rather a bad time altogether within the last week. She has been called all manner of names for venturing to appear at a murder trial. Well, I own it seems to me odd taste in anyone to long to attend murder trials, but if they do—and in any case what's sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander! What about the scores of men who were present in court? Dear me, it is a good thing there's even an Attorney-General left in the world to stand up for us!

And one way and another there's a good deal to be said for the Goose. Have you seen the charming flower and fruit shop at 1, Buckingham Palace Road? It is managed by Mrs. Atkinson—now "Farm Gardens, Ltd."—who during the war persuaded six large country house-owners to allow her to take over control of their gardens. These she has managed so efficiently that she has turned the lot into successful business concerns, including the largest, Arundel Castle, the Duke of Norfolk's estate, which before the war cost him £3,000 a year to keep up, and now pays £1,500 into his pocket. At her shop in Buckingham Palace Road, Mrs. Atkinson sells her garden produce—incidentally at about half the price charged elsewhere.

Have you heard of the new scheme to provide a college for working women at Cambridge? I understand that the Y.W.C.A. is behind it, and that the women's colleges at Cambridge are backing it up. It is hoped to establish a small college where twenty working women can live and learn practically expense free for a year. A good scheme, isn't it?—too good to my mind to be spoilt by the scare-mongers who have recently been exclaiming that women seize too large a share of University advantages.

Well, if we poor women are not regarded very seriously in our own country it is at least consoling to discover that we can actually upset a Government in Japan. For, incredible as it seems, that is what has happened—the Japanese Government has taken a women's suffrage bill so much to heart that it has resigned office and appealed to the country for a verdict. The news is really thrilling to a good feminist, but I admit I feel rather as though the Millennium had arrived!

THE GOOSE GIRL.

IS THE COVENANT PRACTICABLE?

II.—The Clause Providing for the Reduction of Armaments.

To some of its critics the League of Nations seems to be an ultra-pacifist, prematurely internationalist, organization. Such folk would have us believe that the nations which have subscribed to the Covenant of the League have given to an international authority power to disarm them at its pleasure and leave them for all time without any adequate armies or navies at all!

But if we take the trouble to read, and carefully to examine in the light thrown upon it by other Articles, Article 8 of the Covenant, providing for the limitation of armaments, we shall see that it affords no justification for such an attack upon the League.

It runs as follows:—

"The Members of the League recognise that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

"The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each member of the League, shall formulate plans for such reduction, for the consideration and action of the several Governments.

"Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years.

"After these plans shall have been adopted by the several Governments, the limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the Council."

By Article 5.

"Except where otherwise expressly provided in the Covenant, decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or the Council shall require the assent of all the Members of the League represented at the meeting."

Therefore, since no express provision to the contrary is to be found in Article 8, any ruling of the Council limiting the armaments of the various members of the League must be the unanimous ruling of the representatives of the greater Powers. For instance, the assent of the British representative on the Council (who, one imagines, is likely always to be, as at present, a member of the Government) will be necessary before any proposal for the reduction of our army or navy can be so much as submitted "for the consideration and action" of our Government. Now, surely Mr. Balfour, or any other man who sufficiently possesses the confidence of his fellow-countrymen to attain to a responsible position in the Cabinet, may be trusted to see to it that our "geographical situation" and "special circumstances" are duly weighed and allowed for before he consents to propose reductions in our armaments to the Government of which he is a member. Moreover, the representative of France on the Council will have very nearly as strong an interest in the maintenance of the British Navy at adequate strength as we have ourselves. And every other nation in the League, whether directly represented on the Council or not, will surely have at least one friend there who can be depended on to nip in the bud any suggestion for the reduction of its armaments below the point which geographical or other circumstances indicate as being, for it, the level of safety. The proposals of the Council are, therefore, very unlikely to be unfair to any member of the League. Nevertheless, the Covenant provides that they shall not become legally binding until they have been accepted by the Government of every nation in the League. For, only when this has happened does the prohibition of any excess of armaments over and above the limit fixed by the Council come into force.

It is clear, then, that no nation can be forced, under the Covenant, to reduce its armaments below the level which its responsible statesmen consider to be the level of safety. Yet,

even after this reduction of armaments by mutual consent has been effected, the Covenant provides for constant "reconsideration and revision" of the original arrangements. It is true that such revision—like the original reduction—would need to be authorised by the unanimous vote of the Council. But we must remember that it is only in the unhappy—and, one hopes, improbable—event of some powerful nation not only remaining obstinately outside the League but also setting to work to pile up armaments on an alarming scale, that any member of the League could legitimately desire to increase its own armaments. Now, in such a case, the Council, as the responsible executive of the League, charged with the duty of providing adequate armed force for the protection of the League and all its members, would have the strongest possible motive for not merely permitting, but actually encouraging, any increase of armaments necessary to meet the menace from outside. Moreover, Article 1 of the Covenant puts into the hands of every member of the League—or, at all events, of every powerful member—a very strong weapon with which to back up any just plea for permission to increase its armaments—for it provides that any member which has loyally fulfilled its obligations up to the date of its withdrawal may renounce its membership after giving two years' notice of its intention to do so. Now, if the almost impossible should happen, and one or two members of the Council should veto a request addressed to the Council to sanction a justifiable increase of armaments, a powerful member—or even a weaker member, which might take others with it in the event of its defection—could surely bring these perverse people to reason by the threat of leaving the League altogether.

This clause, giving permission to the members to withdraw from the League after two years' notice, is strangely overlooked by most critics of the Covenant. Yet it is of the utmost importance and value. For it provides a very strong safeguard against any unreasonable action, or any undue straining of its authority, on the part of the League as a whole. It also knocks the bottom out of the accusation so frequently brought against the League by thoughtless critics, of infringing upon the national independence of the signatories to the Covenant. Of course, it is impossible for two or more nations to make a treaty with each other—just as it is impossible for two or more individuals to enter into a contract—without thereby limiting their freedom of action for so long as the treaty shall continue in force. But no sane man would feel that he had renounced his manhood, given up his rights as an individual, or in any way incurred humiliation, by making a contract, just and reasonable in itself, which he might terminate any time at two years' notice. And it is only because—to quote a pre-war speech of Mr. Lloyd George—the nations have for ages been accustomed to the "organised insanity" of competitive armaments that it is possible for any (otherwise!) sane man to consider his nation humiliated by entering into an agreement with other nations which it is free to "denounce" after an interval of time, hardly more than sufficient to allow public opinion to form and express itself within the nation itself and in the world at large.

And yet, only six years ago, the whole world—or, at all events, the whole of Continental Europe—was probably still sufficiently under the influence of this "insanity" to make sane proposals for the reduction of armaments impracticable. On the 4th of February, 1914, Sir Edward Grey (as he then was), in a speech delivered at a dinner given by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, declared the New Year campaign for the reduction of armaments, which a section of the Liberal Party had started at Mr. Lloyd George's instigation, to be entirely premature and foredoomed to failure. I quote from the report in the *Times* of his speech:—

"A day may come—though not in our generation, I hope in some future generation—when, if ever a war breaks out between any two countries, the other countries will rush to stamp out that war with as little suspicion of each other's motives as neighbours rush to help each other put out a fire. (Cheers.) But we have not reached that point yet. (Laughter.)" The gist of the speech was that, in Sir Edward's opinion, the desire for peace and disarmament had not yet—at least, not on the Continent of Europe—really taken possession of the hearts of the peoples. "It is not enough," he wisely urged, "to get things into

people's heads: you have got to get them into their feelings as well before they become really operative." This process of education he thought would require a generation at the very least to perfect itself. The reason for his pessimism was that he could see no "schoolmaster" but "finance" capable of performing the task; he looked to the crushing financial burden of armaments, little by little, to force the nations to realise the folly of war.

Now, had the nations remained at peace—that wretched, costly, uneasy, "armed peace" of pre-war days—this gloomy prophecy might well have been realised. But we all know what happened exactly six months after the speech was delivered, to shock and educate the "feelings" of ordinary folk everywhere. A great European war broke out, provoked by the lawless ambition of one nation; and in the course of four years practically the whole of civilised mankind was compelled to take up arms against the outlaw. But, because the nations only gradually and separately awoke to the significance of Germany's aggression, the victory of right was not achieved without colossal loss, suffering and devastation, which has left all the world mourning, something like half Europe in ruins, and the other half very near the edge of an abyss. Any man or woman possessing an average degree of imagination must surely realise by this time that an outlaw nation is a menace to mankind, and must be resisted by mankind. The only question to be answered is the practical question: How shall mankind prepare to meet such a danger in the future?

If we all cling to the old haphazard, anarchic system of what I may call private armaments or duelling as between nations, then the peoples in their present impoverished condition will have to bear a financial burden heavier even than that which in their days of comparative wealth was slowly crushing civilisation. Worse still, men of science will continue to devote their great gifts to the task of inventing ever more and more deadly means of destruction, with the result that, should another great war occur, cities the size of Paris might be practically wiped out in a night. If we choose this method of insurance against an outlaw nation, then, before the aggressor can be defeated, the whole of European—and perhaps even of American—civilisation may easily perish in the conflict. Is it practicable to take so fearful a risk?

If not, then the only alternative course that has been suggested is the Covenant of the League of Nations—to which the greater part of civilised mankind has already subscribed—this solemn vow of the nations to stand together from the first should an outlaw Power again arise to threaten the human race, and reduce their individual private armaments by a mutual agreement in order to do away with monster armies and navies.

Now, which of these alternatives is the average man and woman in this country, and every other country, likely to choose?

This, at least, can be said with confidence already. In every country at present the League finds its strongest supporters amongst the shrewdest, most level-headed, most practical folk. In the United States, for instance, the strongest pressure that has been brought to bear to induce the Senate to ratify the treaty, has come from the business men—men of the same class as those members of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce who six years ago were moved to laughter by the mere thought that anyone could imagine the root idea of the League to be immediately practicable. In this country—as anyone who visits a public library may see for himself—it is the extremist fanatics on either side, the bigoted reactionaries and the wild revolutionaries, who sneer at the League as impracticable. From King George V. downwards, all our most sober statesmen have declared their faith in the League. The most striking instance of all, perhaps, is the case of Viscount Grey. He, who just before the war proved his clear-sightedness by warning certain over-sanguine friends of the cause of peace and disarmament that the minds of men were not yet ripe for the fulfilment of their dreams, has since—after the lapse of a few short years, into which has been crowded the experience and the progress of fifty normal years—indicates by his tenure of the office of President of the British League of Nations Union, his conviction that the fullness of time has come at last.

M. DOROTHEA JORDAN.

ON PUBLIC SPEAKING.

"GET THE MESSAGE ACROSS."

By M. S. DALTON, F.R.G.S.

Is a public speaker born or made? Partly one, partly the other, in proportions varying with the individual. It is the old riddle of 'nature and nurture' over again, undecipherable and defying analysis. So it may happen that the born orator, through lack of training, fails to capture and harness the elusive ether of genius, while the speaker of but average natural gift becomes, by determination and patience, a great and far-reaching influence.

Fine speaking is undoubtedly a difficult, because a complex art. That it should still be comparatively rare is regrettable, for it is a power of extreme value. Humanity is at the cross roads; ideas hitherto held fundamental are in the melting-pot. Now, if ever, may it be aptly said that "du choc des opinions jaillit la vérité." Printed matter is a drug in the market, and probably therefore more has to be achieved by the tongue than ever before in the world's history.

"The tongue is a fire," and the force that generates and drives it is the potent energy of thought. The increasing realisation of the profound truth that mind is the ultimate creative force emphasises the need for adequate application of that force; and every means of promoting fruitful union between thought and the speech which is its expression should therefore be used to the full. Public speaking is one such powerful means.

The great issues of national life hang ultimately on psychological conditions, which we commonly call states of mind. These are what matter most of all. And they are largely induced and modified by the persuasion of words, to the extent that great utterances have changed the course of history. In a nation's life, every citizen counts, and it follows, therefore, that the speaking capacity of every educated citizen should be developed for use should need arise. Here woman's high vocation is writ large. Her mentality, so psychic, so subtle, so intuitive, marks her out as specially fitted for the use of the speaking gift. Quite incalculable good might be done by women speakers well equipped for their work, dealing with civic, industrial, and social questions on broad and sympathetic lines up and down the country.

Splendid work has already been accomplished in this direction, and more is to come. But in view of the nation's need, and of the unparalleled opportunity of the present time, we must still ask ourselves why so comparatively few women are as yet in the first rank of speakers, and why so many more have not as yet entered the field? There must be a considerable number who vaguely feel the power within them, but who from one cause or another fail to develop and apply it, or through timidity or hesitancy shiver on the bank and never make the plunge. Some from lack of concentrated and sustained effort remain mediocre speakers, and this is the more regrettable, as inferior speaking tends to tar the very word "meeting" with the brush of boredom. Others wait for the opportunity of taking a course of lessons in speaking. Such tuition is of great value, but it is not absolutely necessary. Some of our best women speakers are self-trained.

One thing alone is indispensable. There must be an enthusiasm. Nothing else will supply the impetus needed to carry on through the dreariness of self-depreciation or the mortification of a partial failure. Nor will talking for talking's sake or for effect move mountains. The Americans, with their genius for happy expression, have coined the phrase, "Get the message across." That exactly hits it. *There must be a message.* And it must lie deep and burning at the heart, a hidden dynamo of power.

From this reserve of energy there must issue forth the living organism of the speech in its actuality. Such a creation—for it is no less—must be scientific, on broad and generous lines. It will have a bony framework of thought, with parts correlating; and it must be clothed with flesh, and wear a form of beauty,

and red blood must leap through it to quicken it to a strong vitality. The listeners must be able to grasp a clear outline, and to follow one by one the points radiating from it, each depending on the one before it, and passing smoothly and logically to the next. Each point should be carefully worked out beforehand, and be enriched with more or less of detail. The speaker should grip the audience with a direct thought. It is a mistake to buzz round and round an idea with a view to leading up to it. This confuses and wearies the hearer. Sentences should be terse, going straight to the point; but the short sentence must not be overdone, or the effect will be jerky and unpleasing. Present day speaking should be impressionist, but not exaggeratedly so in style, or an angular futurism may result. Gesticulation is usually best avoided; it may very easily become foolish and exaggerated.

Then, as to voice production. The management of the voice is all-important, but it may safely be said that the best speakers are conscious of no management at all. So if it comes naturally it is far better to let well alone. But some people will do well to take a lesson or two in correct breathing and elocution. A voice that "gets on the nerves" will mar the most heaven-sent message. There is a dangerous tendency in speaking to raise the voice to a higher key through excitement. The writer heard a great orator note his admiration of a woman speaker because she invariably kept her voice at the same pitch. This is quite compatible with modulation, and is very far from inducing monotony. An audience can be held in great measure by the witchery of the voice. The Americans enjoy our speaking not only because they appreciate our use of the English tongue and our pronunciation, but because they find our voices musical. The larger the audience, the more slowly and clearly should each word be articulated. Shouting fails of its effect. A drop of the voice to a whisper, so long as it is a whisper that reaches the whole audience, has a telling effect. Brogues and dialects are dangerous, a cockney pronunciation or a nasal twang, fatal.

Great attention should be paid to the beginning and to the ending of a speech. Some speakers give the impression of not knowing how to get under way, others, that they dare not, or cannot leave off. We have all suffered under these last, in the pulpit and out of it. And we must remember that audiences are not there to be practised in patient suffering, but to be impressed, persuaded, kindled, and that if these objects are to be achieved, they must really enjoy themselves. The termination of sentences, and even of phrases, is important also. Every sentence should end off firmly and crisply; a platitude elaborated or a meandering "tail-off" invariably denotes a weak speaker. "Woolly" speaking is most depressing to listen to.

Memory is perhaps the greatest source of anxiety and, indeed, of genuine difficulty, and this possibly not only to the tyro. Most probably even the greatest orators would admit having had painful experiences on this head. The real danger is of loss of continuity of thought. It may be annoying to oneself to forget to bring in one's best story, but the audience remains blissfully unconscious of its loss. Probably the most reliable means of securing against memory failure is to acquire the habit of mentally looking on to the next point. Should the danger-flag of threatened hiatus hoist itself, one must at all costs hitch on to something, and mark time. In a few moments the situation will most likely have retrieved itself. *This power of looking ahead can only be gained by degrees; it will be greatly helped by steady practice in private, rehearsing a speech aloud with an inflexible determination to secure the text point without any intermission. There is no harm in a silence; on the contrary, it is often effective, so long as the audience is quite certain that it is of set purpose and born neither of vacuum nor of panic, and provided also that we ourselves are quite certain how and when we are going on again.

Speakers should train themselves to speak without notes. A speech without reference to even the smallest "invisible" card is by far the most effective. But it is well to have some brief reminders handy, in case of the painful experience of "going blank," which is generally due to fright or fatigue. The consciousness of having a few notes in reserve is a wonderfully efficient safeguard against this form of nervousness. A memory-book of anecdotes, quotations, and suggestions is invaluable. A speech is all the better for an anecdote near the

beginning. The audience is "sizing-up" the speaker; and a well-told story then may decide the success of the whole. An apt story somewhere about the middle is as good as a cocktail or blackcoffee at the "sticky" time of day, when an afternoon audience sub-consciously resigns itself to patient lotus-eating. But beware of "old chestnuts."

A very great deal depends on the power to "sense" an audience. This is partly magnetic and intuitive, partly sympathetic; but it can be in great measure acquired by watchfulness, and by cultivating a certain presence of mind. A hall-full of working people, who need to have everything in the concrete, likes to know a little about the speaker and his or her experiences. On the other hand, autobiography confided to educated listeners is hardly likely to be appreciated. A working man recently told the writer that he and his mates like to listen to educated speakers, especially ladies, if they have no "swank," and particularly if they can give him a little of his own vernacular. But metaphors must be carefully chosen. The writer was told of the annoyance of an audience of working women who were told to "pull up their socks and get to work." A great deal will be stood if the sentence can be turned humorously and sympathetically. A little flattery acts like magic. A country-town audience gets enthusiastic when it

hears itself congratulated on its buildings or its allotments, or praised for its municipal progressiveness. Should defects need to be hinted at, they are best applied to some other, imaginary, centre—we all enjoy criticising "the other fellows."

Frankness in owning up to ignorance in answer to a question never scores against a speaker, while "camouflage" is pretty sure to be detected.

To sum up. Speakers should say what they mean, and mean what they say. They should use words that convey the exact sense, and never be slipshod. Arguments used should appeal to the type of audience addressed, and examples and illustrations be up-to-date and, where possible, topical. Courage, directness, and sympathy can win unlooked-for triumphs.

Lastly, brevity is the soul of wit, which is wisdom. The wise man says "a fool's voice is known by multitude of words." Forty to forty-five minutes is the average measure of human listening capacity. After that may follow repletion and indigestion. The audience should leave the table hungry. When they say to us after a full forty-five minutes, "But it was so short," or "I could have gone on listening all night," we may put up thanks and take courage. Perhaps we have got our message across.

THE HOME IN PARLIAMENT

Because the home-loving woman so often thinks that Parliament is no concern of hers, and, because as a matter of fact Parliament has a great deal more to do with the home than you imagine.

And because, during the coming Parliamentary Session in particular, Parliament will be discussing and deciding a number of questions which every good housekeeper must understand:

For these reasons you will find, every week on this page during the session an article about one home question with which Parliament is concerned, showing just how the home comes into Parliament's discussions and debates.

You will find this article because the "Woman's Leader" knows that only the woman who understands how Parliament is dealing with her affairs can be a really responsible citizen and a really reliable home-keeper.

THE HOME WITHOUT A HEAD.

ON Friday, February 20th, the home stepped for a few minutes straight into Parliament and asked for and had everybody's attention—not your home and my home perhaps, but the tragic homes of this country of ours, the homes that have lost their bread-winner. In the sheltered country houses of England, on that Friday evening, women were sitting over their drawing-room fires reading the evening papers that their husbands had brought home, happy in the consciousness of warm, peaceful nurseries overhead. As they glanced at their papers they did not perhaps realise the importance of what they read—they saw only that a Widows' Pensions Bill had been introduced into Parliament and had been ruled out of order. But the women in homes less sheltered and happy, and the women whose work brings them in touch with political life, knew that here was the first step of a great movement to soften for its inmates the tragedy that befalls a home when it loses its head and bread-winner.

REAL ECONOMICS.

The Bill which was introduced on that Friday was intended to provide a pension for every widow with one or more children dependent on her. This pension would be paid by the State as her right, because it is to the interest of the State that widows should not starve and that children should not grow up delicate and underfed simply because they have undergone the sorrow of losing their father. There would be nothing shameful to the widow in receiving her pension, just as there is no shame attached to the pensions which the country is paying to-day to soldiers' widows.

This Bill was ruled out of order because it involved great expense to the State and was introduced not by the Government but by a single Member of Parliament, the rule being that all Bills which imply the spending of State money must be Government Bills. But because the Bill was ruled out the idea behind it is not ruled out, and sooner or later there will be a Widows' Pensions Bill which will also be a Government Bill, and which will be discussed and we hope turned into law. For the question of widows' pensions is urgent. The country is losing too many children, wasting too much health, enduring too much suffering to wait long.

The question of the expense to the country at a time when the country is unusually poor is one of the great difficulties of a

Widows' Pensions Bill. But although the actual cost of paying pensions to widows would at the start be heavy, the money expended would comparatively soon repay itself in the better health and better working power of our citizens. And even the first cost of a widows' pension scheme would not really be so tremendous as it appears. For widows' pensions would be replacing our present Poor Law relief to widows, which costs the State a very great deal and is highly unsatisfactory.

THE PRESENT PRACTICE.

Just now, if the father of a family of small children dies, his widow must choose—if she has no income on which to depend—between going out to work for her children while leaving them neglected at home, and staying at home to care for them, in which case where is the money to come from that will provide food, and rent and clothing? Of course, always she must choose to go out to work; but generally her working powers are not good and her wages small, since for years she has been mother and housekeeper only, and knows nothing of recent trade and industrial methods. So in the end she must probably apply to the Poor Law Guardians for relief which, when she gets it, is usually insufficient and brings with it the shame of pauperism. No woman who cares for her home and her children can feel this a proper condition of things.

WANTED, A HOMELY BILL.

So, as we all know, there must soon be a Widows' Pensions Bill before Parliament, but if it is to be taken up seriously by the Government and passed successfully into an Act of Parliament it must be made a thoroughly "homely" matter. That is to say, the Government must feel that the women home-makers of the country are really asking for it, not only the widow who is finding it a hard enough struggle to be a home-maker in any sense at all, but the more fortunate woman whose home is assured and her children cared for, and who has the time and the energy to make her voice heard. It is always very difficult for us to realise the troubles that are not our own, and to spend time on work that does not directly concern us. But the cause of the fatherless child is one which comes knocking at the doors of our hearts, and there are few of us who will not be ready to give all the help we can to the new Widows' Pensions Bill when it makes its Parliamentary *début*.

INEZ M. FERGUSON.

THE EQUALITY OF THE SEXES.

By A. M. BRUNLEES.

"Engage the one who will suit you best," said the girl, carelessly; "don't let either of us persuade you."

In truth, nothing could be less persuasive than she, as she stood forth a magnificent type of healthy, self-confident, young womanhood, in her land smock and breeches, and surveyed the farmer frankly and half humourously. He was a deliberate, thin-lipped, old gentleman, even more conservative than he was shrewd, suffering at the moment the keenest pangs of indecision. Never before had the agony of a choice between a powerful young woman and an absent-minded, unenthusiastic young man, assailed him. Outwardly, everything was on the girl's side. Nevertheless, he knew by an instinct born in him, and since carefully fostered, that the man, by reason of his sex, must be vastly superior. He wished one would betray eagerness for the post, since such weakness might justify him in deciding in the other direction.

"Of course," he mused aloud, "women—are—cheaper."

The young man turned his dreamy, intelligent eyes upon the farmer with interest, for the problems of life, if not those of farming, seemed to him eminently worth pursuing.

The girl spoke hotly.

"This woman is not cheaper!" she said, pulling up her smock sleeve and showing so strong an arm that it entirely awed the farmer. "She can do equal work, and she takes equal pay for it. She is not a blackleg, seeking to throw the poor men out of employment. We've all got to live," she added cheerfully.

The balance went down heavily in the man's favour. If this girl wanted equal pay then of course that settled it. Despite all appearances to the contrary, a man *must* be stronger and more capable than a woman. The argument of conventionality, if not actual respectability, was equally potent; his neighbours resented women usurping men's natural work on the land, and small wonder. So he engaged the man, who did not seem grateful, and dismissed the woman who was not disconcerted.

Their way to the village lay across the fields; and, though strangers, it seemed natural that they should take it together.

When they had been walking two or three minutes, she sank down under a haystack and began to laugh. Her merriment was infectious, and he naturally responsive.

"The poor old chap has made an awful mess of it, hasn't he?" he reflected indulgently.

"You know," she said, striding on, "I can't think what makes you want to be a farmer."

"But I don't!" he replied promptly.

"Oh! I see, circumstances over which—I do really believe we *can* control circumstances."

"I can't," he said gloomily. "My father is that vague, impossible thing known as a 'gentleman farmer.' Allowing for slight exaggeration, he can't tell a potato from a turnip. He rides about the place and would have ruined it long ago, only he has an excellent foreman who manages to make a handsome income for him. I was the only child. They gave me a public school education and sent me to college. Just when I came down, war broke out. That meant five years' soldiering, and at the end of it my chances seemed pretty well dashed for entering a profession. There was the farm, ready made and prosperous, with no one but myself to inherit it. I worked on it for six months, but the foreman objected to interference nearly as much as I objected to interfering. I thoroughly disliked the life, but as I said—there was the farm. I did not feel justified in idly reaping the fruits of another man's labour. I conceived the idea of taking a post outside and so gaining further experience."

She was quite willing to exchange confidences.

"I've had heaps of experience," she said briskly. "I've been on the land four years, and I love the work—especially with the animals. I'm as strong as a horse, and I have had the very best modern, scientific training. My people loathe it, they think it is so unwomanly. Besides, they want to *provide* for me,

give me seasons in London, and see me make a brilliant marriage. They can't help it. They were brought up that way!" she added apologetically. "I applied for the post you have just got because I am tied to this village. I am living with a friend who has a job on a neighbouring farm, and we have excellent diggings—but I don't care, I shall rent a large field and keep chickens."

"You're very lucky to like the life," he declared ruefully. "Yes, I'm afraid *you* will be caught sitting under a hedge writing poetry or some philosophical treatise."

"Why do you think—? I will really try not to," he declared penitently.

"Well," she said, offering her hand as they parted, "I hope you will not get on, for it will be very bad for you, and you will hate it."

She mused by the fireside upon the strange contrariness of life and the part they three had played in it to-day, a little drama she meant to watch to its close with interest and perhaps amusement: then with characteristic energy, went out and hired the field for the chickens.

The field happened to be one belonging to Farmer Fellowes of the late interview; but he was not the man to push his views on the sexes to extremes which might interfere with his own interests, and he professed himself willing to accept the feminine money, so soon as he had assured himself that it would be paid regularly.

Marion Edrige was also satisfied. To watch, with almost a mother's eye, over the post for which she had been rejected, offered her some curious consolation. If Mr. Fellowes had known out of how many bad muddles she pulled his crops and his stock during the next six months, he might possibly have reduced the rent of the field in gratitude.

But he knew nothing. Suspicious of all women, and the labouring classes, his confidence in this man, at once a farmer's son and a gentleman, was pathetic. He retired to his fireside and left the farm to Eric Henderson. Eric Henderson was astounded. He must give notice. He consulted Marion. Marion thought immediate flight faint-hearted. She inferred that the farm might prosper without the old gentleman. She knocked up a gate in the hedge of the poultry field and became immediately helpful.

So the place was run secretly by Marion, nominally by Eric, and practically by three rough farm hands, who despised their new master and frequently laughed at him.

The cows were milked in the fields in the old-fashioned way, which is equally picturesque, hygienic, and inconvenient. Eric was pursuing one. It strolled away; and as he gained upon it deliberately walked into the middle of a stream to avoid him.

Marion came through her little gate and watched them.

"You see what he's done," Eric exclaimed irritably.

Marion drove the cow out of the stream and came up breathless.

"I wish you wouldn't call a cow 'he,'" she said gravely.

"It's enough to make any farmer hate you."

Eric was hopeless with animals. He did not dislike them, he was not in the least afraid of them; but it was part of his anxious, scholarly disposition to expect them to be troublesome. Like children, who are not trusted, they rose up and met his expectation unanimously.

"You don't know how to touch them," explained Marion, putting her large, capable, reassuring hand upon a restive horse. It was quiet instantly.

They compared notes. The chickens in the field were thriving. Eric was not so fortunate with his poultry.

"How long are you going on farming?" asked Marion curiously.

"I suppose for ever."

"Surely after six months of this—"

"There is the farm," he reminded her, as though he were repeating a lesson, "and no one but me to inherit it."

"You know what is the matter with you, don't you? You're trying to serve both God and Mammon, and," she added cheerfully, "you're making more than the usual mess of it."

A fortnight later he told her suddenly: "I could make a living at journalism. No, really I don't write articles sitting under the hedges. It wouldn't be conscientious. I do them all in the evening. But I've kept up with college friends, and I wish an earthquake would swallow up that beastly little farm and all the rotten turnips."

"Sometimes I think I shall go and burn it myself!" she replied energetically.

They laughed in sympathetic glee at the thought. They were wonderful comrades.

"You oughtn't to break in horses," said Marion. "You're not fit for it."

"It's my work."

"No it isn't. John could do it."

"That would be cowardly."

"It's not a question of cowardice, but of capability," retorted Marion testily. "I said you *couldn't* do it. Horses don't like you."

"I can't help that," he replied humbly. "I'm quite polite to them."

"It's a knack; and when you haven't got it there's danger—just as much danger for the horse as for you," she added hastily, thinking this would be effective.

But it was not true, and indeed he did not believe it. He continued, with very poor success, to break in horses.

One day the inevitable happened. A horse threw him and tried to dance about on top of him.

Marion came running into the yard, attracted by the wild cries of old Thomas, the cowherd.

When she got there Eric Henderson was lying on the ground quite still, and the terrified horse was flinging out its legs, with the man's head only a foot away from them. Marion did not know if he were already dead. Her heart, her whole self, stopped; then with a tremendous physical effort she pushed herself forward. She spoke to the horse in vain, so she crawled along the ground behind it—it seemed to her dazed sense as if it had a fabulous number of legs all kicking violently—and dragged the man's body away from it. Even at that horrible moment she felt it was somehow pathetic that she was so strong and that the removal of his thin, but tall figure, needed no super-human effort.

Thomas caught the horse, while she rested Henderson's limp form against a bank.

Was he dead? If she looked at his face perhaps she would know. If she didn't look—then possibly that awful stab of pain she was expecting wouldn't come so quickly. She raised her head and gazed straight at horror in that characteristic way which had often done much to dispel it. He opened his eyes and smiled at her.

When people who are supposed to be dead wake up again, when they are hardly stunned enough to cause a bad headache, fear may turn in coarse natures to raillery. So it was with Thomas, the cowherd. The man who was saved by a young woman became his constant and careless joke, so careless that one day she caught it. "Coward like a schoolgirl."

She was standing upright in a cart, and delivered herself promptly of her wrath in that peculiar position.

"Mr. Henderson is not a coward, nor is the average school-girl. You must be strangely ignorant. If he had been a coward he would not have gone on breaking horses, for he knew it was dangerous. He is a man of education and culture. He is a scholar, and this life is not suited to him. You are a narrow-minded old man, for you think only large hands and feet make real living people. If you had had an ounce of courage yourself you would have gone to his assistance instead of waiting for me and meanwhile jumping about and shouting like a maniac."

Stung by her reproaches, the old man hurled fresh insults upon the absent Henderson, declaring he would have a good laugh over the affair with his master.

She leapt from the cart, took him by his coat collar and shook him as though he were a little terrier.

"Swear to me that not one word of this shall reach Mr. Fellowes, and that you will stop your miserable jokes, or I'll put you under the pump," she declared wrathfully.

He gave the promise and turned away whimpering.

She flung herself on the ground and burst into tears.

There Eric found her.

"What is the matter?" he asked in concern.

"I've just been behaving like a barbarian to a man old enough to be my grandfather," she sobbed.

But she knew that was not what she was crying for.

She walked home to her lodgings in the village thinking. But she did not want to think and tried singing. It was a miserable failure. She stopped in the middle and found herself thinking harder than ever. She was thinking the most irrelevant things mixed up with the most important; for instance, that the blueness of the sky hurt one spiritually sometimes; that Eric was a shy young man and singularly humble-minded; that she had to do nearly all the talking. "It would be just the same in serious matters, I suppose," she mused, and fell to reflecting that the colour of a chaffinch's breast would make a heavenly frock, only it wouldn't suit her. This was nonsense—a cowardly turning aside. Where was she when she got to the chaffinch? Oh, something about Mr. Henderson being shy. Well, that equally was a trivial affair. She was not shy. She would go straight on with—anything. But you had to take hold of the "anything" and recognise it squarely before you could go on with it. That was the crux of the matter.

For weeks past there had been something at the back of her mind; she had pushed it away almost unconsciously; the day of Eric's accident it had become prominent; and then she pushed it away resolutely. Now, with the taunts of Thomas, and her own hot defence, still ringing in her ears, the same feeling threatened to overwhelm her, and she resisted with a sort of desperation because she was frightened. She who had always gone straight on till difficulty had melted before her, who had dared to look even death in the face—she was frightened. But was it really cowardice? "No man can look on God and live." Why did those words suddenly assail her? Perhaps because there are things so great that we dare not look straight at them, not through fear, but through reverence. At any rate, she knew now that this strange, new glory could not be faced so suddenly. There was a veil in the temple of old before the Holy of Holies.

She walked on, neither trying to think nor resisting. The sun was setting in front of her in a blaze of dazzling light. Suddenly, as though typical of her spiritual state, she decided to raise her eyes to it, but very slowly and softly in case she might be blinded by its brightness.

"You know that we've always believed in the equality of the sexes," Marion broke out to Eric abruptly.

She had emerged apparently from nowhere on purpose to make the statement.

"Certainly."

"Then if a thing had simply got to be said it wouldn't matter in the least which said it?"

He peered at her curiously with his short-sighted eyes, for he suddenly discovered she was nervous.

"It wouldn't matter in the least which said it," he agreed reassuringly but wonderingly.

"If you confided to me what I'm just going to confide to you I should tell you exactly and truthfully what I thought about it."

"Oh, I hope so," replied Eric heartily.

"I'm afraid I'm dreadfully muddled," faltered Marion, with a sudden and most unusual attack of humility.

"Oh no, not muddled. I expect it will be all right when you get to the end of it."

He became suddenly uncomfortable.

She noticed it, and it gave her courage.

"Take hold of my hands," she said advancing, "and look straight into my eyes and tell me, on your most sacred honour, exactly what you think when I've said it."

The next week Marion, as tenant of the field, called on Mr. Fellowes to give notice.

"I'm leaving," she said briskly. "The gentleman you engaged thinks better of my capabilities than you do. I'm going to run his father's farm in Worcestershire."

Mr. Fellowes expressed timid hopes of her success; since the first interview he had been rather frightened of her.

"Mr. Henderson has given me notice too," he said sadly. "He's giving up farming, which he hates, and going in for a literary career."

"What a pity. He would have been a comfort to his father." "Oh, his father will be comforted all right. We're going to live practically next door."

"We," exclaimed Mr. Fellowes in amazement.

"Yes, he's returning to his old home (didn't he tell you?), but less as a farmer than as my husband."

GIRL GUIDES.

By LADY BADEN-POWELL.

In these days after the war, when the old values have to such a large extent been swept away, we feel that it is useless to look back and that we must now pin our hopes on the future. But to merely hope is to shirk responsibility, and it is, up to us, the women of the world, not only to hope but to *work* for the future. And it is obvious that the great field for work stretching before us now is the training of the younger generation. If we can teach our boys and girls to be straighter and clearer and more capable we shall be handing on to the world a finer race of men and women, and forging the strong link in the chain of progress that is urgently wanted in the present day.

This is what the Boy Scout and the Girl Guide movements have set out to do, and it is of the part that the Girl Guides are playing in this work of training that I want to write a few words.

Our aim is to take girls from dull and often bad surroundings and give them a broader outlook—to train them physically and morally, and make them more efficient and above all happier in every way, so that they may grow up into women who will be the splendid mothers and fine citizens of the future. Waste of good human material in every grade of life has been prevalent in the nation in the past. The social evils that stare us daily in the face do not grow less in quality or quantity as time goes on, and many things to-day tend to make even the most optimistic of us look to the future with gloomy and fearful feelings. It is to the growing girls of the pliable age that we have got to turn, and it is not their fault, nor their parents' fault, nor the State's fault, but *our* fault if they fail to grow into the type of woman that is wanted.

I say our fault, for it is we grown-up women, who can see ahead and have the time to give to them, who ought and can give a helping hand and the wholesome training that may just turn the tide at an important time. The schools of the day are doing all they can in the matter of actual teaching; the parents have much to do, and cannot give undivided, individual attention to their girls in their scanty moments of free time; there are countless hours when a girl's mind and energies are practically lying fallow, and when given the opportunity they might be developing themselves for the benefit of the girl herself and the community at large.

At this time when the whole Empire is suffering great financial loss as the effect of the war we cannot be too insistent on teaching the young generation the value of thrift. There have been many definitions of this word, but I think the best I have ever heard came from the lips of a little Brownie. "What is thrift?" she was asked. "It is making the best of what one has got," came the reply. That is what is at the bottom of all we try to teach our Guides—their badge work, their games, all the many jolly things they learn, everything has the same end in view—to teach them when they go out into life to make the best of what they have got. The war has shown us that women are quite as capable of playing their part and playing the game for their country as the men when called upon, and provided they are given equal opportunity and equal encouragement to become efficient.

But if we only teach the Guides how each individual girl can improve herself we shall have left half our work undone, and we shall have lost the real meaning of Guiding. The great, all-important thing is to show Guides that they are not units standing by themselves, but that they are knit together in a strong bond of sisterhood with every other Guide in the Empire. This is not a mere dream but a sound reality. In the Guide movement girls are brought together in one great common cause. They have common ideals to strive after, common activities to take part in, and they are sharers in the common joy and happi-

ness which Guiding brings. Moreover, they all bear the same name and make the same promise of loyalty and sisterhood.

The results in the few years which the movement has been experimenting have exceeded all expectations, both in universal extension throughout the Empire and in the actual effects on the girls themselves, especially in the last year. We now number 250,000 Guides all the world over and we are growing every day. This has come about without any "pushing" and without any financial backing, merely on the merits of the movement itself. It is inevitable that this sisterhood of girls, knitting together as it does all the daughters of the Empire, should bring about a greater friendliness and a better understanding throughout the whole world. And as the movement grows daily and stretches out hands further and further afield, so we believe this spirit of friendliness will grow too and make itself a power for good and for peace. I expect you have heard about the great Peace Rally held at the Albert Hall in London last November, and how each and every part of the Empire was represented and its flag carried in the great procession of flags. That was a very wonderful day in the life of our movement—a day which those present will never forget—and which made us feel more strongly than ever before that we are all part of a great and world-wide sisterhood.

Over here in England we find that many women's organisations, such as for instance the Y.W.C.A., or the Girls' Friendly Society, have joined hands to help us in our work. Though these organisations are quite separate and distinct they are all working with the same end in view—that of helping the girls—for they feel with us that it is to their younger sisters that they must look for the future—for the still further building-up of the Empire.

THE CONQUEROR.

By RUTH YOUNG.

When Night unlocks the casket of the Past
Sleep knows her power:

A sentinel she stands and hour on hour
She guards all entrance to the weary heart
And maketh fast

The unhinged door, sealing it with her breath.
Sleep is a surer friend than Death.

And no one enters that close sealed room
To take an inventory of treasures there,
To note what link is broken, or what doom
Has fallen upon the still inhabitant:
To notice whether incense burn, or fire,
Before the altar of that soul's desire.

While Death lays all things bare,
And on the brow
Of him who only feigned Love
Death seals the violated vow.

O Sleep, O Friend, desert me not until
I have enthroned Love above my will.
Above my will; till Love is King alone,
Love, not the terror of a stronger soul:
Love, who is stronger than the strongest fears:
Love, who is older than primeval years
And yet, the youngest Child that Time hath borne
Out of the mirror of Eternity,
From furthest space that hath a star for goal:
Love, the Young Child that knoweth smile and moan:
The Conqueror of scorn.

THE OUTLOOK IN JOURNALISM.

By STELLA WOLFE MURRAY.

(Member of the Society of Women Journalists.)

THE name of Mrs. Margaret Heitland is well-known to me as one of the pioneers of "Women's Work and Public Employment," and her writings in the *Queen* on that subject for many years past are well-known to most women. For her pioneer work we who profit by it to-day are deeply grateful.

But her article on woman's outlook in journalism at the present moment is calculated to dash to the ground all hopes of the younger would-be women journalists, and for their comfort I hope she will forgive me for challenging some of her facts, and substituting others based on my own experience and research.

Mrs. Heitland states that she is "dissatisfied with the position that women now occupy on the Press."

While agreeing that there is plenty of room for improvement, may I point out that journalism—at any rate as regards free-lance work—is almost the only profession where equal pay for equal work is unquestionably given?

Having learnt the ropes by a correspondence course in newspaper work, I adopted journalism as my profession in January, 1918, free-lancing with gratifying success. In February the *Pall Mall Gazette* invited me to report for them "on space"; in April I obtained a staff appointment as sub-editor at Reuter's. That historic firm, where even women typists never set foot until the war, had in 1917 tried the experiment of a woman sub-editor, with such good results that in April, 1918, six more were engaged. We had to take our turn, not only at ordinary newspaper hours, getting home about one in the morning, but at all-night work, starting somewhere about midnight, and getting home to breakfast by workmen's train; almost the only instance of women working side by side with men the whole night long in an office that I know of.

All seven of us made good. The work involved pretty comprehensive general knowledge, while our French had to be particularly sound, since we had to edit mutilated telegrams in that tongue, as often as not compiled by illiterate Russians, by Spaniards, or by Italians. If we aimed at efficiency, however, the study of foreign politics was absolutely necessary, and absorbed our spare time, much to the amusement of our male colleagues whenever we made an entry in a note-book, an aid to memory which they affected to despise.

I must admit that Reuter's did not at that time (1918) pay their women sub-editors as much as their men; but this fact was not discovered until after the armistice, when it called forth the following cry against us: "You women are only being kept on because you do the same work a d—d sight cheaper!" The plea for equal pay, and from the man's own point of view, is self-evident, and I need not labour it here. Though only three now remain at Reuter's two have risen to the proud title of assistant-editor-in-charge. Of the four who, after a year's work, retired in favour of ex-Service men one went to a similar post with the Exchange Telegraph, another to the *Daily Mail*, a third, being married, returned to domestic cares, while the fourth (myself) returned to free-lance work.

Mrs. Heitland's statement that "the progress of women as regular reporters has certainly been discouraged" is therefore answered, since they have not only become reporters but sub-editors at two of our great news agencies. She admits that they are to be found on the great London dailies, but omits all mention of the £1,000 salary recently offered by the *Daily Mail*. True, she quotes their employment (for the first time in May, 1919), as official shorthand reporters in the Parliamentary Committee rooms, and also their admission into the Press Gallery.

A study of the *Newspaper World* reveals many an interesting fact to journalistic aspirants, for instance this: that in Canada women reporters have seldom had any difficulty in being admitted

to the Press Galleries; that in France that brilliant woman journalist, Mademoiselle Andrée Viollis, writes many columns, not only in the French Press, but in the British, and that Madame Raoul Nicole (of British birth) was "the only representative (not the only woman representative, mark you), of the British Press who attended the meetings of the Peace Conference from start to finish. Madame Nicole, who represented the *Western Mail*, is therefore a brilliant example of the welcome to women given by the provincial press, concerning which Mrs. Heitland states:—

"At the present time it is easier for a woman to become a great physician or surgeon, the mayor of a borough, a magistrate, or a Member of Parliament than it is for her to be engaged as a regular member of the reporting staff on a small local newspaper."

That may be true in Cambridge, where I believe Mrs. Heitland lives, but I question whether she has put her statement to the test by herself applying for such a position, and I admit that I have not, but it has been offered to me nevertheless, and declined with thanks, free-lancing being far more interesting, and, though precarious at times, on the whole more profitable.

With all that Mrs. Heitland says concerning the treatment of women's interests in the daily press I am in strong agreement. There are many editors who even now cannot get it out of their heads that the only part of the newspaper that women will read is the Fashion Page, and that consequently all women's interests must appear within its shadow. If they would only realise that unless the page happens to contain a thoughtful article (permitted by most editors about once a week), it is so often the only page of the whole newspaper that the thinking woman does *not* read!

The treatment of women's interests in the Press is far from ideal, but since the outlook for the woman journalist is fast improving, in this very fact lies hope. The more the woman writer has the editor's ear the more she will appeal to his sense of equity and of justice, and get him to conduct his paper on the lines of co-operation between the sexes, and not that of competition, with its spirit of antagonism, which we see so strongly represented—and chiefly from the man's point of view—in the daily paper of to-day. The general public can help too, for as soon as they see any statement unjust to women they can write and protest! The editor may not print their letters, but at least he will have to read them, and if there are hundreds of them he cannot but be influenced by them. Since we women preponderate by a million or so, have we not a right to be justly represented in the Press, of whose readers we form so large a bulk?

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"THE WOMAN'S LEADER" IN LITERATURE. HOUSE AND SCHOOL.

By CLEMENTINA BLACK.

The Working Woman's House. By A. D. Sanderson Furniss (Secretary of the Women's Housing Committee of the Labour Party) and Marion Phillips, D.Sc. (Chief Woman Officer of the Labour Party). (The Swarthmore Press. 1s. 6d. net.)

In this unpretentious little handbook we hear the authentic voice of working women about the houses they desire. Opinions have been carefully gathered; a questionnaire (reprinted here) has been circulated, discussion meetings held, and the results summarised. We may agree or disagree; but none of us can deny that the views expressed are in fact those of representative working women.

Working women, then, demand a parlour in addition to a general living room, some sort of hall or lobby by the front door, a supply of hot as well as cold water, and for that supply central heating serving several cottages; a bath in a room to itself; stairs in short flights with half landings, so that children who fall (as all children tend to do on stairs) shall not fall very far; a box-room, however diminutive; the replacement of the kitchen range by an inter-oven grate; taps to the copper; a plate-rack to the sink, and windows that can be easily and safely cleaned from inside. In the way of fitted furniture they ask for window seats—that in the living-room to have a cupboard below for toys and children's books, that in the largest bedroom forming the lid of a box fitment in which clothes can be stored; for a built-in cupboard with glass doors in the upper part to replace the usual open dresser; for another fixed cupboard to form a kitchen cabinet in the scullery; and for cupboards reaching to the ceiling in every bedroom. In every one of these demands they are perfectly right. "There must," say the editors, "be opportunities for the quiet which any sort of intellectual work necessitates"; and clearly if there is no room at home which provides these opportunities the man and children must either seek them elsewhere or give up the cultivation of their intellects. Even a stamp collection requires the use of a quiet room now and again. Clearly, too, toys can only be kept in the proper place if a proper place exists; and certainly every intelligent woman who has ever cooked in an ordinary kitchen must wish for the disappearance of the dust-collecting dresser and the coal-devouring range, while the absence of a box-room causes perpetual annoyance, not only in most cottages but in more than half the "desirable villas" of the country.

Two excellent suggestions are made: (a) that a tap with an attachable hose should be fixed at one side of the doorstep; thus "the force of the water through the hose would satisfactorily swill both the step and the floor of the porch," and there would be no more kneeling with brushes and buckets; (b) that where, say, four houses, each with three bedrooms, are built in a block "one bedroom in Nos. 2 and 3 . . . would have a door in the wall communicating with Nos. 1 and 4." Such a room could then belong to either to the one house or the other and could be easily and effectually shut off from the other. The old couple inhabiting No. 1 would be relieved of an unwanted room, and the large family in No. 2 would gain a much needed extra bedroom.

When we come to co-operative house management, main principles are clear; but their application is more uncertain, and there are even traces of self-contradiction. The aim is to secure "increased efficiency and a higher standard of life without interfering unduly with individual privacy." Furthermore, "if co-operation is to work well the whole work must be done by highly skilled people, and not by providing appliances which each tenant in turn may use." It is further declared that "the working woman at home" wants her house to have "its sufficiency" not only of sitting-rooms and bedrooms, but also of "cooking and washing arrangements within itself."

Mrs. Furniss and Miss Phillips, however, are evidently aware that to do all the washing and cooking for a family in addition to her other duties is too heavy a burden for the mother of several children. They know that "every family feast means excessively hard work for the woman . . . and that when the feast takes place the mother of the family is usually too tired to eat." They know, too, that "washing is a very great strain on the health of

many women, "and that at the best washing day in the small homes of the workers is always a considerable trial." While each house should have conveniences for doing some part of the washing, part, they think, should go out to a bag-wash laundry. National restaurants and kitchens are suggested as occasional lighteners of the ever-recurring need for cooking. The problem, however (which is really a pressing one, not only for working people but for the whole middle class), of getting better and better cooked food at no increase of cost demands a more drastic solution. Not every woman, however willing, can be a good cook, any more than every woman can be a good musician or a good milliner; while to buy food skilfully and economically is as much a special business as to buy stock for a drapery store. There will be no real improvement in food or cookery until the supplies for a group of families are bought in quantity by one trained person and cooked—with far better and more economical appliances than any single house can have—by a professional cook; both of whom must be the servants of the people who eat and pay for the meals. But the meals need not be communalised; they could be fetched from the centre—which would never be far off—and eaten in private at home. The inter-oven fire and gas-ring would remain in each house for emergencies. Then indeed the house would cease to be a workshop, in which the mother's toil knows no limitation of hours; and she, too, might know the pleasure (for which her daughters are willing to sacrifice so much) of "having her evenings to herself."

TWO BOOKS ON EDUCATION.

Education: Its Data and First Principles. By T. Percy Nunn, M.A., D.Sc. Professor of Education in the University of London. (Edward Arnold. 6s.)

Moral and Religious Education. By Sophie Bryant, D.Sc., D.Litt. Late Head Mistress of the North London Collegiate School for Girls. (Edward Arnold. 6s.)

It is interesting to find a teacher of education basing his plea for freedom of development upon that new biology which sees the process of evolution as a gradual awakening of the conscious soul. To thinkers of this school the humblest creature is, in a sense, its own master and potentially, in a degree, its own maker. Not blind chance—as the early readers of Darwin misinterpreted the tale—but an inward urge pressing towards a higher step is now seen as the key of that wondrous ascent. Individuality, flowering into ever richer variety, marks the advanced stages; and individuality, freely developing, is what Dr. Nunn sees as the true aim of education, which, if it knows its business, is also an evolution.

This attitude of mind naturally inspires the greatest reverence for every growing personality and the utmost care to avoid not only constraint but even undue influence. It inspires also an inexpugnable hope, although we may see ourselves standing "at an hour when the civilisation that bred us is sick—some fear even unto death." That hope extends not only to the children escaping from all the dull conventionalities under which thousands of their predecessors have been taught to dislike knowledge, but to the teachers who, dropping a great weight of dead matter, will rise into a far finer and more inspiring sphere. Every person who has to do with children should read and ponder this illuminating volume.

To review Mrs. Bryant's book in any adequate degree of detail would take up several pages of THE WOMAN'S LEADER. It is, in a certain sense, a practical handbook for teachers written by a highly experienced member of their own profession. But it is also far more than this. In dealing with perhaps the most difficult of all educational subjects—certainly that which most easily tempts to the perfunctory and the conventional—Mrs. Bryant writes with such manifest sincerity, such candour, simplicity, knowledge and wisdom, as to transform her handbook into a draught of fine spiritual refreshment. Hers is a teaching not of theology but of religion. Both these volumes belong to "The Modern Educator's Library." If the rest of the series attains the same level that Library may do much for English education.

THE TROJAN WOMEN. (At The Holborn Empire).

Euripides had seen civilised war, not for a few years only but for nearly all his life-time. He had seen his countrymen arming against men of the same blood, the same language, inheritors of the same traditions and civilisation. He had seen the most wonderful inheritance always in danger, often almost submerged under the flood of war. And for no apparent reason—no clear defined end. His countrymen had fought to defend themselves against a trembling neighbour. To save or extend an Empire which was a curse alike to rulers and ruled—to satisfy the ambitions of men who had shouldered their way to the head of a corrupt democracy. In 416 B.C. the Athenians under Alcibiades laid siege to the Island of Melos. The attack was entirely unprovoked. The only offence of Melos was that though small and powerless, she preferred to remain outside the Sea Empire of Athens. The island was, of course, defeated. All the men of military age were put to death—the rest were enslaved. The town was colonised by the Athenians.

The next year Euripides produced the tragedy of the Trojan women. It is not an attack on the Government. It contains no reference to current events. Such an attack, such references, would have been contrary to all the laws of Greek tragedy. It deals entirely with the old story of the Fall of Troy, or rather, with one episode in the story. Yet in this play, whose theme is as old as the Greek race—and so simple that no one but Euripides or one of the modern Russians would have thought of it as the subject for a play—Euripides says all he has to say about the horror and futility of war as he had seen it. More, he anticipates all that modern poets, artists, and statesmen have to say. He is abreast—ahead of them all.

He shows not merely the horror, but the futility of war. How the original causes are lost sight of in the struggle—and when the prize is won, the victor too weary to take it. Again and again he harps on the cause of the war "all that one man's hand might clasp one woman." When she is won—when the man who had stolen her, his father, his brother, and all his townsmen are slain, his city razed to the ground and Helen restored to Menelaus, he does not know what to do with her. He hesitates whether he shall kill her on the spot or take her back to Greece and slay her there. Then he reminds himself that he did not fight to win Helen back, but to slay Paris. But Paris was slain long ago.

For victory brings the Greeks no joy. They too have sinned during the course of the long war—and even as they prepare their ships to return home Athens is preparing a punishment for them—"a bitter home-coming."

"Rain, long rain, and flow of driven
Hail, and a whirling darkness blown from Heaven."

And when after long perils they reach home, what are they to find but—

"Women that lonely died, and aged men
Waiting for sons that ne'er should turn again,
Nor know their graves, nor pour drink offerings
To still the unslaked dust. There be the things
The conquering Greek hath won."

"How are ye blind,
Ye treaders down of cities."

"Women that lonely died." Euripides sees what we are only just beginning to see—that the real horror of war lies not in the dust and blood and noise of battle itself. Not even in the death of young men. There is a glory in that. As Cassandra says:—

"And Hector's woe, what is it?
He is gone and all men know
His glory and how true a heart he bore.
It is the gift the Greek hath brought. Of yore
Men saw him not nor knew him."

The real tragedy begins when the war is over. It is not in the deaths of the men who fall—but in the lives of the women who survive. Thus the figures of Euripides' tragedy are the women of Troy—it is of their sorrows and through their mouths that he speaks.

The tragedy does not begin until the war is over. Troy has been sacked, all her men slain, and her women taken captive. The Greeks victorious beyond all hope are embarking into their ships. To-morrow they will have sailed for Greece. Outside the walls waits a little band of women. "Spoils that the Greek

hath won." The noblest women of Troy, whom the lords of Greece have picked out by name for themselves. One by one they are fetched away by the Greek herald to the ships which are waiting to carry them to Greece and slavery. As the last old woman, Hecuba, the mother of all the heroes of Troy, is led away, the city bursts into flames. The ships sail, and Troy is left desolate.

War can bring no sorrows which are not felt by these Trojan women. There is the agony of the virgins. Polyxena, the young princess, is brutally murdered and thrown dead across the tomb of Achilles—exposed to the gaze of every passing soldier. Cassandra, the royal virgin, whose madness and whose virginity were sacred to Apollo, is chosen to be the bride of Agamemnon. She is carried away to that dreadful sacrilegious bridal bed, where are conceived long, long horrors.

There is Andromache—the young widow, the young mother—a stranger again in Troy now that her husband is dead. Her home laid bare, her body defenceless, driven out to slavery—"driven as a beast is driven"—her good name but the source of further woes. Her child taken from her and dashed from the walls.

But all these sorrows meet and are drowned in the sorrows of Hecuba. She has lost in the war all that a woman can love—all it seems that the world holds. Her husband, the old king; her pride and splendour as a queen; the city where she had lived; all her sons—"high strong princes of all Troy the best." She had seen their deaths. Her daughters—

"Virgins of the fold,
Meet to be brides of kings,"

had been torn from her to be ravished by the enemy. All the past has gone. Then they take from her all hope for the future. Her grandson—"that thread so frail of a hope so high"—is broken, and there is nothing left.

"So," she says, "I have seen the open hand of God,
And in it nothing, nothing save the rod
Of mine affliction."

She turns and beats upon the earth which holds all her treasure. Even that is not left her. The trumpet sounds—and she is led away,

"Forth to the long Greek ships
And the seas foaming."

How can such a play be performed in a modern theatre? Its very beauties add to the difficulties of the producer. Its gloom—unrelieved except for the exquisite lyrics, inevitably ruined in translation; the high emotional key at which it is all pitched; the characters of the four chief women, which demand four actresses of unusual gifts, all this make it very difficult to represent at all adequately.

The performance at the Holborn Empire has one excellent actress—Miss Sybil Thorndike—who is really convincing and pitiful as Hecuba, especially, I think, in the lament over the dead child. It is on her acting alone that the whole performance rests. Cassandra is, of course, a difficult part for a young actress, but surely something might have been managed a little less like a dramatized version of the "May Queen" than Miss Jane Wood's performance. There are few women whom it is fair to ask to play Helen—and it certainly was most unfair to ask Miss Muriel Hope. Far better was Miss Florence Bushton's rendering of Andromache. She brought out in an interesting way, though possibly unintentionally, the early Victorian element in the character. Her exit was ruined by an odd piece of stupidity. She rushes off the stage at the end of a frenzied speech, without once turning to look at her little son whom she knows she will never see again. He is left in the arms of his grandmother, who is also making a speech. The difficulty rises from the lack of a chariot. According to the stage directions, the soldier should lift Andromache into her chariot while the herald leads away her child. The fact that Miss Bushton is not allowed a chariot is surely no reason why she should dash off the stage apparently quite oblivious of the child she knows she has seen for the last time. Mr. Nicholas Hannen was rather a grotesque Menelaus. He seemed to feel this himself, and perhaps Euripides would have liked his rendering. Anyhow, one cannot help looking forward to seeing "Medea" next week—and wishing Euripides were acted more often.

OPEN THE WINDOWS.

WHEN men and women are shut up together for long periods of time in railway trains a very curious thing always takes place. The women want to open the windows and the men want to shut them. If the matter is acute, and it usually is, cross currents of sex sympathy and sex antagonism are set up; the women look at each other with a resigned look and puff a little if the men are having their way; the men exchange meaning glances and turn up their coat collars if the women are. Politeness struggles for a time with physical discomfort, and in the end—the windows are shut.

Would this take place in other stuffy places, or would the issue be different? Would the House of Commons, for instance, which is now almost entirely staffed by men, be changed by the coming of several women members? And the Law Courts, and the Stock Exchange, the fastnesses of the Treasury, and the other closed precincts? What would happen to their sacred frowstinesses? It is within everyone's personal experience that men like "a good fug," and that tobacco smoke, closed windows with a blazing fire constitute the ideal of comfort to but few women; and this one fact is a symptom of many others. The standing difficulty of ventilation is not merely a matter of male and female convention, moreover, any more than are the other facts that make for differences between them. Even in these days when women smoke as a matter of course, they still demand more fresh air than men do, and it seems that it has been physiologically proved that this demand comes from a genuine bodily need for more air in their lungs. And similarly, no doubt, with the other things. This difference about fresh air may set us thinking. If women really need more physical fresh air than men, do they not perhaps need more mental fresh air also? Will those closed male fastnesses take on a new set of manners and customs when women get in? Will they go on just as they are, with their musty, fusty ways and their hoary old absurdities, or will they make a new set of ways and a different lot of absurdities when women make their entrance?

The probabilities are that many traditions would change, and that this fact accounts for the obstinate opposition with which the imminent entry of women into these hallowed places is regarded by their inmates. For men and women are different, and have different ways, and they cannot help carrying their own atmospheres with them. We cannot be quite sure what the new composite atmospheres will be, however, until we have tried women in all the airless, stuffy places of the State; as Law Officers of the Crown, for example, or as Clerks to the House of Lords. But, while we do not know, we can still hope that they will succeed in letting the air into such places, for it is much needed.

To go back to the British House of Commons, as good an example as we could find of a stuffy, tradition-ridden institution. Up to now the Mother of Parliaments has been the most powerful and respected body in the whole world. It is slipping from its eminence to-day, owing to a thousand conflicting causes; and perhaps one of the ways to save it from disaster, which would involve the disaster of the whole British Constitution, and perhaps of the whole of our civilisation as well, is the simple method of opening its windows.

Literally and actually the windows of the House of Commons will not open. In the Chamber itself none of them will, and in other parts of the House a pane here and a pane there is all that can be managed. In place of the winds of heaven an elaborate and complicated system of ventilation keeps the great pile of buildings uncomfortably hot, and involves a severe headache for every woman who spends more than half an hour on the premises.

Symbolically and allegorically its windows will not open either. Wrapped in tradition as sacred (and as silly) as those of our public schools, the etiquette of the place triumphs over the most urgent of national necessities. Even the Labour men fall under its sway and apologise and explain with unnecessary care that they are trying to become expert Parliamentarians as fast as the pressure of their trade unions will allow. But expert Parliamentarians are not what we want at the present time half so much as men of sense. It really does not matter at all whether a man has made his maiden speech in the correct flowery

form, or whether he has served his proper apprenticeship of ten years of back bench obscurity. It does not matter if his jokes are not of the right Parliamentary flavour; nor do any of those schoolboy formalities of the House matter one rap. What matters is whether a man speaks sense, whether he is playing straight, and whether he knows what he is talking about. Perhaps when women get into the House they will be able to let the air into this closed place, and blow away some of these funny, dangerous old cobwebs. Perhaps the new women Members when they come will dare to make their mark at once; will say, without circumlocution, what they believe, and will attend more devotedly to the essentials of the rapidly changing world outside the House, and lend themselves less devotedly to the task of carrying on that great political club along the old traditional lines of their predecessors.

If only they will do this, their coming will be very useful, more even than we now naturally expect. We can take for granted that women Members will contribute expert knowledge on women's things; we can easily agree that they will be able and useful collaborators with men on a thousand and one domestic questions; we can admit that they will widen the choice of really first-rate people for big jobs, and welcome their approach for these reasons. But if, in addition, we can look to them by their mere presence to do something to crumble away some of the past mass of Parliamentary tradition, then we can say without any hesitation at all that women as women are useful, and that their window-opening propensities will be an unmitigated blessing to the country.

RAY STRACHEY.

FROM THE OTHER SIDE.

I had been talking, earlier in the day, to a man in my own line of business—the Post Office.

"Oh! yes," he said, "things are approaching normal. You see, we are getting rid of the women."

I quoted the Prime Minister, but he was unabashed. And now, to-night, coming out of the school—I beg its pardon, Evening Institute, which is a standing illustration that the working classes do not desire culture—I heard hurrying footsteps, and turned. She is a "brunzy" girl with the inevitable *pince-nez*. I had noticed her, of course; the class is so small that we are all friends by sight, but we had not hitherto spoken.

"Excuse me, but I must speak to someone. I am in such a quandary. And I am sure you must be the head of a Government Department."

I wondered. I did not know Civil Servants were so plainly branded. "And you have such a kind face."

"I'm getting tired of my face. Yesterday it let me in for 'fifteen shillings till pay-day.'"

She continued: "You see, I must be good to have been specially transferred from"—let us call it Plymouth. "I have sole charge of the staff work of the Exchange, and my Chief is very sorry to part with me. He would do all he could, but he hasn't the power. And I must be good. I have now nearly five years' experience, and I know I have the human touch. It is so important, the human touch, don't you think so?" It is indeed.

"The trouble? Oh! how silly of me. We are all being got rid of. I shouldn't mind so much if the men were really all disabled, but they aren't. And my Chief says he doesn't know how he can carry on with quite untrained staff. And one does want the human touch in a Labour Exchange. Oh! Yes! I've tried, and keep on trying, but nobody seems to want a clerk from a Government office, not at more than thirty shillings a week, anyway. And that won't do. You see, I have dependents. It's really very difficult."

I opened my mouth with the word 'exam.' trembling on it, but shut it again. She and thirty had passed on the road.

"Of course, I was, I mean I am, engaged to be married. But my fiancé is almost hopelessly ill. Shell-shock, you know. I'm not counting on that at all. Did I mention that I was specially transferred from the West? So I must be good, you see."

I did what I could for her. Little enough, for I am not nearly the head of my department, and even if I were, we only want "temps."—of the female variety—for the £2 a week routine jobs. The 'human touch' would be wasted there. I could only manage an address or so, and a recommendation.

And I am left asking, "Is it quite fair?"

BETTY MARTYN.

CORRESPONDENCE.

HUMANITY AND THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT.

MADAM,—It is good news that the more progressive women's societies are lending their support to the Plumage Bill. It cannot be too frequently or publicly demonstrated that educated and intelligent women are on the right side whenever and wherever some helpless victim of our civilisation cries for justice—whether that victim is a weary, over-burdened woman, or a neglected child, or one of "our little brothers and sisters, the birds and beasts."

This is particularly desirable, because one of the commonest charges against women's logic and women's sense of fairness is based upon our supposed universal indifference to the horrible suffering directly caused by the freaks and whims of feminine vanity. And so long as egret feathers continue to adorn empty heads, and sealskin coats are buttoned over selfish hearts, these charges are certainly extremely difficult to refute. It is true that many most barbarous and abominable customs—rabbit coursing and otter hunting, for example—are perpetuated solely by men, and by a small handful of women of the type that will go anywhere and do anything in pursuit of their own two-legged and masculine quarry; moreover, the profits of the fur and leather trade generally go into a man's pockets; but *tu quoque* is never a very satisfactory retort, nor one that makes for moral enlightenment and progress.

If, however, it is desirable that women should unite to forward all those long-overdue reforms which have little or nothing to do with party politics, then we cannot do better than keep an eye on every useful piece of human legislation which may be brought forward; we may even, I hope, be encouraged in course of time to initiate such legislation ourselves; bearing in mind the truth so admirably summed up by Norman McLeod: "I would give nothing for that man's religion whose dog and cat are not the better for it."

M. MEARS.

URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL ELECTIONS.

MADAM,—On March 20th the elections for Urban District Councils will take place. There are 803 Urban District Councils in England and Wales, and at the present time only sixty-seven women are serving on forty-five councils; it is therefore evident that effort is necessary to secure the return of suitable women on these authorities.

The Election Consultative Committee of the Women's Local Government Society desires to draw the attention of all men and women who are anxious for good and efficient local government to this need, and they most earnestly urge the electors to do their utmost to secure the nomination and return of at least one woman on every urban district council. The last day for nominations is March 11th, before noon.

The women electors are numerous, and they include a large number of married women. It is to women with children that the Committee especially appeal, for mothers know how home life suffers by bad conditions. Women Councillors are needed to aid in Public Health administration and in regard to Housing, water supply, infant welfare, playgrounds, and much besides.

Electors are ultimately responsible for the administration of their area, and it is their duty to take care that men and women of high character and ideals are returned to the local authority.

MARION BERRY.

(On behalf of the Election Consultative Committee of the Women's Local Government Society.)

The N.U.S.E.C. have sent the following letter to the Press:—

Many of the worst fears of women who seek for equal opportunities and pay in the Civil Service are realised in the report of the Special Joint Committee of the Civil Service National Whitley Council published on 24th inst.

The National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship has noted the facts that women are to be admitted under special regulations to the higher administrative posts in the Civil Service, and that the lowest grades of women workers are to receive the same initial rate of salary as the men.

At the same time the N.U.S.E.C. deplors the following facts:—

(1) That the report denies to women the same right to enter the Civil Service in the same way as men. (The administrative and executive grades are to choose by selection Boards—a method which has over and over again been discredited in the Civil Service Commission and elsewhere when applied to men, the "Writing Assistant" and "Clerical" Classes are to be admitted by a different examination from that of men.)

(2) That the report denies to women equal opportunities for promotion by creating separate establishments for men and women irrespective of the relative merits of individuals.

(3) That except at the initial stages of the lowest grades of work, there are grave discrepancies in the rates of pay given to men and women for the same work, in this way setting at naught the recommendations of the War Cabinet Committee on Women in Industry.

The N.U.S.E.C. therefore calls on the Civil Service National Whitley Council to amend the Special Joint Committee report so as to include equal methods of admission, equal opportunities for promotion, and equal pay for men and women in the Civil Service.

WOMEN AND BRIBERY.

MADAM,—The Committee of the Bribery and Secret Commissions Prevention League, Incorporated, is very anxious to obtain more support from women who own property or are engaged in professional and commercial work. Out of a membership of nearly 900, only twelve are women; a very small number considering the importance to women as well as to men of suppressing this widespread demoralising evil. These include Viscountess Rhondda and Miss A. Ruth Fry—members of the Council, and the Dowager Lady Farrar, the Dowager Lady Monks-well, Lady Fry (widow of Sir Edward Fry), Miss Agnes Fry, Mrs. Hurle-Cooke, and Dr. Christine Murrell.

I shall be glad to send to any of your readers some of the printed matter issued by the League, and to give any information that I can.

R. M. LEONARD, Secretary.

9, Queen Street Place, London, E.C.4.

REPORTS.

MISS PICTON-TURBERVILL IN BELFAST.

Belfast feminists have had the great pleasure of a visit from Miss Picton-Turbervill, O.B.E., who addressed a large meeting on Friday night, and also spoke at some private gatherings. Miss Picton-Turbervill dwelt chiefly on the need for understanding and knowledge in the use of the vote. In her address at the public meeting she emphasised the need for women to bring about a revolution which should be bloodless, a pageant of life and not a dance of death. This will only be accomplished if women, now they have won political power, are willing to give time and trouble to acquire the knowledge how to use that power rightly. Deep disappointment is felt by many women that all the sufferings and sacrifices of the war do not seem to have brought about that better world of which we dreamed in the early days, not a "world fit for heroes to live in," that foolish phrase was never used by women, any more than by the brave men themselves, who never thought of themselves as heroes; they were doing their duty, and that was all. What the men who bore the hardships of the trenches and the women who worked and suffered at home or just behind the fighting line both longed for was a world fit for men and women and children to dwell in, and that does not seem to have come yet. Nor will it come, unless women bring knowledge as well as enthusiasm to the work. This is the difference between the Victorian point of view and the modern. Once women thought the suffering of the world could be adequately dealt with by philanthropic methods; they stayed at home and worked for philanthropic societies and thought all would come well in time. Now we are realising women must go out and study conditions and learn the causes of the suffering and unrest, and work to remove these. The lecturer spoke of Blake's description of the destitute babes in the charitable institution and the horror which overcame the poet at the thought there should be destitute babes in this fair and fruitful land. That is the modern view.

In conclusion, the lecturer urged support of the women's organisations which seek to provide the knowledge women need if their power is to be effective and to read THE WOMAN'S LEADER which brings knowledge within the reach of everyone.

IRISH WOMEN CITIZEN'S AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT ASSOCIATION.

The first annual meeting of the reconstructed society was held in Dublin on February 5th, Mrs. Haslam presiding. The President gave details from the Local Government returns showing forty-three women had been returned in the Municipal and Borough elections. The Annual Report and statement of accounts was submitted, and the committee for 1920 elected. A discussion on the "City Child" was opened by Miss Mellone, who pointed out the grave results of child trading, child mendicancy, and child vagrancy, as existing in Dublin at present. The need for co-operation among all societies concerned with child welfare was dwelt upon, and it was urged that a Day Industrial School would remedy some of the existing evils. Dr. Denham Osborne agreed with Miss Mellone, and pointed out the direction in which a school of the type described would help. So many points of interest were raised that the meeting was adjourned until February 12th. On this occasion an animated discussion took place, in which Lady Dockrell, J.P., U.D.C., Mrs. Haslam, Prof. Mary Haydon, and others took part. A resolution was carried by a large majority "that this Association approves of the principle of the Day Industrial School; and is ready to co-operate with other societies in their efforts to obtain such a school for Dublin."

M. STORY, Hon. Sec.

GLASGOW SOCIETY FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

The Glasgow Society for Equal Citizenship has been much occupied with the Spring Register of Voters. A card has been sent to each member inquiring if he, or she, appears on the Register, and if so, whether for Parliamentary or Local Government franchise, or for both. The interest thereby aroused has been the means of getting a great many people on the Register who otherwise would have overlooked the matter till too late.

The Society has been reviving Drawing-Room Meetings, and these have been most successful. The N.U.S.E.C. programme generally, and Equal Moral Standard, Women in Industry in particular, have been the subjects of discussion. Women, now realising the weapon they possess even with the limited vote, are taking a keen interest in these subjects.

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

President: MISS ELEANOR F. RATHBONE.

Hon. Secretary: Mrs. A. K. Game.
Acting Hon. Secretary: Miss Macadam.

Parliamentary and Information Bureau Secretary:
Mrs. Hubback.

Hon. Treasurer: Miss Rosamond Smith.

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 DEPARTMENT.

DIVORCE LAW REFORM.

On Tuesday, the 9th March, Mr. Athelstane Rendall, M.P., is moving a resolution in the House of Commons calling upon the Government to give effect to the recommendations of the report of the Royal Commission on the Divorce Laws, 1912. During the same week, Lord Buckmaster will move the second reading of a Bill, at present not yet published, in the House of Lords, embodying somewhat similar proposals.

Although it is beyond the scope of the N.U.S.E.C. to give any opinion, as a Union, on many aspects of Divorce Law Reform, at the same time it had, at the last Council, expressed itself definitely "in favour of an alteration in the Divorce Laws such as will establish equality between men and women."

All affiliated societies are, therefore, asked to take immediate steps to approach Members of Parliament or any Peers with whom they are in touch, asking them to be in their places to try to ensure that the following points should be included in any scheme on Divorce Law Reform that may be brought forward:—

- (1) That the causes for which a divorce may be granted should be the same for men as for women.
 - (2) That steps should be taken, such as making divorce a matter for local jurisdiction, to make the process of obtaining a divorce cheaper.
 - (3) That the alimony granted to wives should be adequate.
 - (4) That Press reports should not be allowed to include details of divorce cases.
- N.B.—It is felt that as a woman is, as a rule, poorer and has a greater feeling against publicity, numbers (2), (3), and (4), are necessary, in order to give full equality.

ANNUAL COUNCIL MEETING, MARCH 10th, 11th, and 12th.

Before this number is issued the final agenda and full particulars of the Council arrangements will be in the hands of Secretaries of our Branches and affiliated Societies. It may be useful to remind the outside public that visitors are admitted for a payment of 1s. a day, and that men or women interested in our programme during the Council will be warmly welcomed at any time.

We hope the Conference on "Women in the Churches" on Thursday, March 11th, at 4 p.m., will prove of special interest to many not directly connected with the N.U.S.E.C. Admission will be free, but a few seats at 2s. 6d. have been reserved. Applications should be made to the Headquarters Office, Evelyn House, 62, Oxford Street, London, W. 1.

EVENING RECEPTION.

Dr. Jane Walker has most kindly promised to lend her house on Wednesday, March 10th, for an Evening Reception at 8.30. Delegates who would like to bring friends (who may be either ladies or gentlemen) to the reception can obtain extra cards of invitation by applying to the Secretary, N.U.S.E.C., Evelyn House, 62, Oxford Street, before Tuesday, 9th.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR LUNCH.

By the kindness of Miss Garrett special arrangements have been made for a limited number of delegates to have lunch at a Ladies' Residential Club, close to the place of meeting. Any delegates wishing to make up a small party or to reserve places should write to Mrs. Godfrey Warr at Headquarters as soon as possible. The charges will be 2s. 3d., including coffee.

NEWS FROM SOCIETIES.

CARDIFF S.E.C.

A meeting jointly organised by the Cardiff and District Society for Equal Citizenship and the Cardiff Branch of the

National Council of Women was held on Tuesday, February 17th, in Cardiff, when an address was given by Mrs. Dixon (Society for Moral and Social Hygiene) on "Moral Standards at Home and Abroad." A resolution calling on the Government and municipalities within the British Empire to suppress known brothels was passed. Miss Callin, B.A., occupied the chair, and Professor Foxley, M.A., Mrs. Emerson Price, and Miss A. M. Ridler took part in the discussion.

CLIFTON S.E.C.

His Honour Judge Stanger presided on February 24th at a public meeting in Clifton, at which Miss Rosamond Smith (London) addressed a sympathetic and representative audience on the subjects of adequate Pensions for Widows, Equal Rights of Guardianship of Children, An Equal Moral Standard, Equal Pay for Equal Work, Women and the Legal Professions, Women Members of Parliament, Proportional Representation, and the Vote for Women Under Thirty Years of Age. In concluding her address she moved:—

"That this meeting gives its hearty support to the Bill to amend the Representation of the People Act, and hopes that it may be passed into law in the near future, thus giving full enfranchisement to women. It further recognises the urgent necessity for the election of suitable women to Parliament, so that they may make their full contribution to the Government of the country."

Mr. W. C. H. Cross seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously, and the speakers were thanked for their addresses by Dr. Helen Wodehouse and Professor G. H. Leonard.

KENSINGTON S.E.C.

The annual meeting of the Kensington S.E.C. was held on Tuesday, February 17th. After the business meeting, at which Mrs. Claude Taylor was elected Hon. Treasurer and Mrs. Fyffe re-elected Hon. Secretary, an open meeting took place and two very interesting addresses were given—one by Mrs. H. B. Irving on Widows' Pensions and one by Miss Chrystal Macmillan on "Equal Guardianship of Children." It was unanimously decided that further legislation on both these subjects is urgently necessary, and a most interesting meeting was brought to a close by a hearty vote of thanks to the hostess, chairman and speakers.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS S.E.C.

We are delighted to report that the Tunbridge Wells W.S.S. has unanimously resolved itself into the Tunbridge Wells S.E.C. The only sad part of the news from there is that Madame Sarah Grand, who has worked so energetically for the old Society, is unable to continue as chairman of the new one, as she is leaving the neighbourhood. Lady Matthews has been elected President, and we wish her every success in her new work. We feel sure that this re-awakening of a Society to new life will be an inspiration to others.

WATERLOO (WITH SEAFORTH) WOMEN CITIZENS ASSOCIATION.

A lecture organised by this Society was given in the Town Hall on February 12th by Mr. James Macdonald on "The League of Nations Union." The following resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously:—"That this meeting of the residents of Waterloo and district and others accepts the principles of the League of Nations as submitted, and pledges itself to assist in the formation of a branch of the League of Nations in this area."

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

MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE:—

Lady HENRY SOMERSET, *Chairman*.
Miss LENA ASHWELL, O.B.E. Mrs. HUDSON LYALL, L.C.C.
Viscountess ASTOR, M.P. Lady ISABEL MARGESSON.
The Lady EMMOTT. Miss B. PICTON-TURBERVILL.
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.

WOMEN AND THE DRINK PROBLEM.

It is clear that the women of the country mean to take a very definite and powerful part in the settlement of the post-war arrangements for the better regulation of the drink trade. There is a new and very "live" interest in the question with which the Government and Parliament will have to reckon, and the new interest is not like the old. It is more practical and more constructive.

The Women's National Committee to secure State Purchase and Control of the Liquor Trade, which works independently of, but in close sympathy with, the similar movement in the Labour Party, has already met with a reasonable response from women in all parts of the country. Its conferences in different centres have been largely attended and warm in support of the policy. Speakers like Lady Henry Somerset (the chairman of the Committee), Lady Astor, M.P., Mrs. Rackham, Miss B. Picton-Turbervill, Mrs. Oliver Strachey, and Mrs. Hudson Lyall, L.C.C.—to mention some only—are arguing the case with convincing force, and putting the question where it needs to be placed—in its proper relation to a sound policy of national reconstruction. The movement is rapidly getting into a strong stride and an influential future is before it.

In the Labour Party, also, where the campaign—for party constitutional reasons—has a separate organization, vigorous propaganda work is being carried on, and outstanding women workers, like Dr. Ethel Bentham, Miss M. Carlin of the Dockers' Union, Miss Llewellyn Davies, Miss Susan Lawrence, L.C.C., Dr. Marion Phillips, Miss Bondfield, and others, are closely associated with it.

Miss Susan Lawrence has just published, through the Labour Committee, a useful pamphlet on "Women and the Drink Trade," in which both the evil to be remedied and "The Way Out" are clearly set out.

The matter is urgent because, although an immediate solution of the problem is not probable—it is too complex and deep-rooted for the stroke of the axe—the Government is pledged to early legislation, and Mr. Fisher, the Minister who is to have charge of the Bill, is known to be eager to introduce his proposals. The Bill, which has passed through many revisions and transformations during the past few months, is in draft, and, at the time of writing, only awaits Cabinet consideration. In its present form, if rumour speaks truly (and in this case it appears to be well grounded), it is not likely to meet with a cordial reception from thoughtful reformers. Indeed, it is probable that it would encounter very determined and powerful opposition outside Parliament from people whose opinion and influence no Government can afford to ignore. But we prefer to wait until the Cabinet have considered the revised draft. The Bill at present is hardly a fadgeling. The Prime Minister, at least, cannot afford to trifle with the question. His declarations have committed him too deeply for that. Lady Astor went to the heart of the matter when she shrewdly said in her speech in the House of Commons, that the character of the Bill would show whether Mr. Lloyd George is, or is not, "master in his own house."

It was fitting that Lady Astor's first speech in Parliament should be made on the drink question. Apart from her own intimate interest in the question, the speech was the sign and herald of a new force to be reckoned with in its settlement. It was a good speech, as Parliamentarians appraise speeches, but it was much more. It was a morally brave speech. As one of the two best judges of speeches in the House of Commons said privately afterwards, "the speech raised the tone and level of the debate."

The Conferences already held have been in Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, London, Leeds, and Bradford. Other forthcoming meetings have been arranged for Leicester, March 12th, at 8 p.m., in the Association Hall, with Mrs. Hudson Lyall and Miss B. Picton-Turbervill as speakers, and on March 16th at Nottingham, in the Circus Street Hall, at 7.30, when Miss B. Picton-Turbervill and Mrs. Burke-Bloor, of Nottingham, will present the case for State Purchase. The women in Leicester and Nottingham interested in social and temperance reform should make a note of these dates and endeavour to attend the meeting. Admission by invitation or on presentation of visiting card.

Women's organisations in any part of the country are asked to consider whether a meeting arranged to discuss the solution of the drink problem by State Purchase would not be very opportune at the present time. Miss Cotterell, the organising secretary, will be glad to hear from women's societies with a view to arranging for speakers to address their organisations on this subject.

This column will be reserved once a month for our use, and all correspondence concerning it should be addressed to:—

MISS M. COTTERELL,
Parliament Mansions,
Victoria Street, S.W. 1.
Tel.: Victoria 1649.

THREE LECTURES

THE ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF THE PEACE TREATY

By W. E. Arnold Forster.

Fridays, March 12th, 19th, 26th, at 8 p.m.

MORTIMER HALL, MORTIMER STREET, W.

Tickets for Course 5/-, Single Lecture 2/-, from Organiser, Women's

International League, 14, Bedford Row, W.C.1.

TELEPHONE: HOLBORN 5498.

UNION OF JEWISH WOMEN.

President: Mrs. M. A. SPIELMAN.

1. The Union of Jewish Women provides an organisation ready and able to assist Jewesses throughout the United Kingdom and the Empire with information and advice.
2. The Union promotes Conferences dealing with social subjects. It trains social workers; also keeps registers of voluntary workers and lists of Societies needing the help of voluntary workers, as well as of gentlewomen seeking paid employment.
3. The Union gives expert advice to Jewish girls and women training for professions or skilled avocations; and administers a Loan Training Fund entrusted to them for the purpose.

For further particulars apply to:—
Miss HALFORD, Secretary, Office, 4, Upper Gloucester Place, London, N.W.1.
Telephone: 382 Paddington.

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REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL.

Division on Closure, February 27th, 1920.

- AYES.
- Astor, Viscountess.
 - Bagley, Captain E. Ashton.
 - Barrand, A. R.
 - Bell, James (Lancaster, Ormskirke).
 - Benn, Captain Wedgwood (Leith).
 - Bentinck, Lord Henry Cavendish.
 - Blades, Capt. Sir Geo. Rowland.
 - Blake, Sir Francis Douglas.
 - Bowles, Colonel H. F.
 - Bowyer, Captain G. E. W.
 - Breese, Major Charles E.
 - Briant, Frank.
 - Broad, Thomas Tucker.
 - Bromfield, William.
 - Campbell, J. D. G.
 - Carter, W. (Nott'gham, Mansfield).
 - Casey, T. W.
 - Clynes, Rt. Hon. J. R.
 - Cowan, D. M. (Scottish Univer.).
 - Cowan, Sir H. Aberdeen & Kinc.
 - Davies, A. (Lancaster, Clitheroe).
 - Davies, Sir Joseph (Chester, Crewe).
 - Davies, M. Vaughan- (Cardigan).
 - Davison, J. E. (Smethwick).
 - Denison-Pender, John C.
 - Devlin, Joseph.
 - Edge, Captain William.
 - Edwards, Allen C. (East Ham, S.).
 - Edwards, C. (Mon., Bedwelty).
 - Edwards, John H. (Glam., Neath).
 - Elliot, Capt. Walter E. (Lanark).
 - Entwistle, Major C. F.
 - Forrest, Walter.
 - France, Gerald Ashburner.
 - Glanville, Harold James.
 - Goff, Sir R. Park.
 - Graham, W. (Edinburgh, Central).
 - Gray, Major Ernest (Accrington).
 - Greenwood, Colonel Sir Hamar.
 - Grundy, T. W.
 - Guest, J. (York, W. R., Hemsworth).
 - Hallas, Eldred.
 - Hanna, George Boyle.
 - Hartshorn, Vernon.
 - Hayday, Arthur.
 - Hills, Major John Waller.
 - Hirst, G. H.
 - Hoare, Lieut.-Colonel Sir S. J. G.
 - Holmes, J. Stanley.
 - Hope, Lt.-Col. Sir J. A. (Midloth'n).
 - Irving, Dan.
 - Johnstone, Joseph.
 - Jones, Sir Evan (Pembroke).
 - Jones, J. T. (Carmarthen, Llanelly).
 - Kelly, Major Fred (Rotherham).
 - Kenworthy, Lt.-Commander J. M.
 - Kerr-Smiley, Major Peter Kerr.
 - Lawson, John J.
 - Lewis, Rt. Hon. J. H. (Univ. Wales).
 - Lloyd-Greame, Major P.
 - Locker-Lampson, G. (Wood Green).
 - Lort-Williams, J.
 - Lunn, William.
- NOES.
- Hurd, Percy A.
 - Jodrell, Neville Paul.
 - Lindsay, William Arthur.
 - Loseby, Captain C. E.
 - Macmaster, Donald.
 - Molson, Major John Elsdale.
 - Pulley, Charles Thornton.
 - Sanders, Colonel Sir Robert A.
 - Sprot, Colonel Sir Alexander.
 - Stewart, Gershom.
 - Sturrock, J. Leng.
 - Talbot, Rt. Hon. Lord E. (Chic'str).
 - Terrell, G. (Wilts, Chippenham).
 - Volmer, Viscount.
 - Yate, Colonel Charles Edward.
 - Young, Sir Frederick W. (Swindon).
 - Young, W. (Perth & Kintross, Perth).
- Tellers for the Ayes.
Mr. Tyson Wilson and Mr. T. Griffiths.
- Tellers for the Noes.
Mr. Gideon Murray and Sir G. Younger.

COMING EVENTS.

- NEWPORT (MON.) WOMEN CITIZENS' ASSOCIATION.**
MARCH 5.
Town Hall, Assembly Room, Lantern Lecture.
Subject: "Modern Houses."
Speaker: Mr. Ewart Culpin.
Admission Free. Collection. 7.30 p.m.
- SCARBOROUGH WOMEN CITIZENS' ASSOCIATION.**
MARCH 5.
At the Office, 6, Falconer Chambers.
Lantern Lecture.
Subject: "Australia, the Woman's Paradise."
Speaker: W. James, Esq., (Editor "Scarborough Post").
- PARENTS' NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL UNION.**
MARCH 5.
At 22, Sloane Gardens, S.W.1 (By kind permission of Mrs. Peplow).
Subject: "Poetry and Education."
Speaker: Mrs. M. L. Woods (Author).
Chair: The Rev. W. H. Draper (Master of the Temple).
It is suggested that parents might bring poems by children to read in discussion. 5 p.m.
- THE UNION OF EAST AND WEST.**
MARCH 6.
Wigmore Hall, Wigmore Street, W.1.
A Special Yatra Performance of Two Indian Plays in English: "Autumn Festival" (with music), by Rabindranath Tagore, and "The Post Office" (allegorical).
Cast includes English and Indian artists.
Tagore's "song Offerings," by Landon Ronald, will be sung.
Tickets: Reserved Stalls, 10s. 6d., 7s.; Reserved Balcony, 5s. 9d., 4s. 9d.; Unreserved, 2s. 4d.; from Wigmore Hall, or from Miss Clarissa Miles, 59, Egerton Gardens, S.W., or from the Hon. Organiser, 14, St. Mark's Crescent, N.W.1. 8.30 p.m.
- WOMEN'S INDUSTRIAL LEAGUE.**
MARCH 8.
In the Conference Hall, Central Buildings, S.W.1.
Speaker: Mrs. Cohen (National Union of General Workers).
Subject: "Women's Political and Industrial Organisation."
Chair: Miss Key Jones (Gen. Organising Secretary, W.I.L.). 8 p.m.
- WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.**
MARCH 8.
Public Meeting in the Minerva Cafe, 144, High Holborn, W.C.1.
Speaker: Mr. W. L. George (Journalist and Author).
Subject: "Women Under Socialism."
Chair: Miss Pierotti. 7.30 p.m.
- MARCH 10.**
Speaker: Miss Jessie March ("Sister Jessie," of Bournemouth).
Subject: "The Unmarried Mother."
Chair: Dr. Patch. 3 p.m.
- GUILD OF EDUCATION AS NATIONAL SERVICE.**
MARCH 9.
11, Tavistock Square, W.C.1.
Subject: "The New Leisure."
Speaker: F. J. Adkins, M.A. (Gilchrist Lecturer, G.H.A. Lecturer, War Office). 5.15 p.m.
- INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S FRANCHISE CLUB.**
MARCH 10.
9, Grafton Street, Piccadilly, W.1.
Speaker: Dr. Christine Murrell.
Subject: "Physical Strength as a Basis of Freedom."
Chair: Mr. J. Y. Kennedy. 8.15 p.m.
- THE CHILD-STUDY SOCIETY, LONDON.**
MARCH 11.
At the Royal Sanitary Institute, 90, Buckingham Palace Road, S.W.1.
Subject: "The Educational Needs of Adolescence."
Speaker: Miss M. Jane Reaney, D.Sc. (London).
Chair: Mrs. Scharlieb, C.B.E., M.S., M.D. 6 p.m.
- WOMEN'S AFTER-CARE HOSTEL.**
MARCH 11.
Annual Meeting at 33, Portland Place, W.1. (by kind invitation of Lord Blyth).
Speakers: Mr. E. B. Turner, F.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., and others.
Chair: Lady Henry Somerset.
For invitation cards apply: The Secretary, W.A.C.H., 59, Lowndes Square, S.W.1. 3.30 p.m.
- THE EFFICIENCY CLUB.**
MARCH 11.
Conference Hall, Central Hall, Westminster.
Lantern and Cinematograph Lecture.
Subject: "The Gattie Scheme of Transport and How it Would Solve Our Transport Problem."
Speaker: Mr. Alfred Warwick Gattie.
Chair: Miss J. Reynolds (Ex-President, Association of Advertising Women).
Application for membership to the Club to be made to the Secretary, at the Triangle Secretarial Offices, 61, South Molton Street, W.1.
- CAMBRIDGE ASSOCIATION FOR THE POLITICAL EQUALITY OF WOMEN.**
MARCH 13.
Annual General Meeting in St. Andrew's Hall.
Business Meeting for Members.
Public Meeting.
Speaker: Miss E. Macadam (Acting Hon. Sec. N.U.S.E.C.).
Subject: "Pensions for Widows."
Chair: Mrs. Bethune-Baker, P.L.G. 5 p.m.
- BRITISH WOMEN'S PATRIOTIC LEAGUE.**
MARCH 15.
Room 1, Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W.1.
Subject: "Thrift and Patriotism."
Speaker: Lady Nott Bower.
Chair: Sir Henry Stone, C.I.E. 3 p.m.
- LONDON SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SERVICE.**
MARCH 21.
Conference Hall, Central Hall, Westminster.
Subject: "Women in Industry and Commerce."
Speakers: Miss Beryl Helland (Messrs. Evans Bros, Publishers), Miss E. M. Smith (Ingersoll Watch Co.), Miss Gladys Buriton (Director of Education, Selfridge).
Chair: Major P. Lloyd Greame, M.P., M.C. 4.30 p.m.



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