

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

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THE WOMAN'S LEADER

AND
COMMON CAUSE.

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NOTES AND NEWS

The League of Nations Demonstration.

Saturday, June 25th, is League of Nations Day, and the Great Rally in Hyde Park, which is to celebrate it, will, we think, express in unmistakable terms the support of the British people for the League. The Colonial Premiers are meeting in London at the same time, and are discussing the problems of our Empire, and it grows clearer day by day that not only Imperial but even domestic problems depend for their solution upon a right spirit in international affairs. The League of Nations points the way; the countries of the world are beginning to move along it. It is for the people of Great Britain to see that their own Empire does not lag behind, and League of Nations Day affords an opportunity to many of them to express the sympathy and enthusiasm which they feel. The demonstration is organised by the League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W. 1, and every reader who is not already in touch with that body should take this opportunity of joining it.

The Washington Conventions.

News has reached London that the Secretary-General of the League of Nations has received from the Roumanian Government the formal ratification of all the Draft Conventions adopted at the International Labour Conference in Washington. Roumania is the second State to take this step, for the Greek Government sent its ratification some months ago. This announcement marks a new and important stage in the progress of international labour legislation under the conditions laid down by the Peace Treaty. By a clause in each of the Draft Conventions, except that relating to unemployment, it is provided that "as soon as the ratifications of two members of the International Labour Organisation have been registered with the Secretariat, the Secretary-General of the League of Nations shall so notify all the members of the organisation." Further, it is provided that each Convention "shall come into force at the date on which such notification is issued," and "shall then be binding on those members which have registered their ratifications." In the case of the Unemployment Convention, the ratifications of three members are required to bring it into force. The Conventions are now virtually treaties between the countries which have ratified them, or which may in future ratify them, and the existence of such treaties upon the subject of Labour Legislation marks a new and most important development in the harmonious International relations which the League of Nations exists to secure.

Rights of Immigrant Workers.

An agreement has been reached between France and Italy on the treatment of subjects of each of these countries working in the other country, and a convention on the subject has just been published in Paris. This convention stipulates that the two Governments shall simplify the formalities to be observed by their nationals who are desirous of going to the other country in order to work there. It also provides that the wages of immigrant workers shall not be less than the wages paid for the same work to workers who are natives of the country, nor than the current wage ordinarily paid in the district. In regard to labour conditions and living conditions, immigrants shall enjoy the same protection as is accorded to nationals by legislation or custom. Each Government may appoint to its Embassy to the other Government a technical attaché who is an expert in labour matters. Governments shall notify each other should a crisis arise in the labour market, and, if necessary, they shall discuss jointly the measures to be adopted in regard to such a crisis. Equal treatment is agreed upon for pensions, unemployment and relief, and also for the application of laws regulating labour conditions and providing for the health and security of the worker. Workers and employers of both countries may

be members of conciliation and arbitration tribunals in collective disputes in which they are concerned. In view of the scandalous conditions under which British emigrants recently travelled to Peru, to which we drew our readers' attention, and of the fate which awaited them there, some international legislation on this subject seems to be most urgently necessary, and we may heartily welcome this agreement. It is one of the fruits of the League of Nations. May there be a large crop.

Evening School for Emigrants.

Considerable progress has been made in Italy in the direction of educating illiterate emigrants. A few months ago the General Emigration Department decided, in agreement with the Education Department, to organise evening schools, financed and controlled by the Emigration Department, for the teaching of Italians who contemplated seeking work in other countries. It is now reported that 749 evening schools have been established, with about 30,000 pupils, in 481 communes and 89 sections of communes. Further, the Emigration Department has organised a number of vocational schools to give unskilled workers training as cement workers. The object of these schools, which have been established in the province of Venezia, is to supply skilled labour for the reconstruction of the devastated areas in the North of France and Italy. The courses last for one month, and there are at present about 1,500 pupils.

Nationality Law.

A question has been raised in the House which will, we trust, be brought before the Imperial Conference, for it deals with one of the points of nationality law on which it is necessary to co-ordinate legislation with the self-governing Dominions. The point raised was the disability suffered by married British subjects of British blood resident in Portugal and other foreign countries, by reason of the fact that under British law their children, if born in a foreign country, are not entitled to British citizenship. Mr. Shortt, in reply, pointed out that the disability arises only if the father, as well as the child, has been born abroad, but said that the subject would be discussed at the earliest opportunity. We trust he means it. We have heard that phrase rather too often before.

The Criminal Law Amendment Bill.

The Bishop of London's Bill was introduced into the House of Commons by Major Farquharson on June 15th, and is now down for a Second Reading. Lady Astor has twice asked the Lord Privy Seal whether, since every organisation interested has promised to abstain from introducing controversial amendments, he will undertake to give facilities for the passage of the Bill this session. Mr. Chamberlain was evasive in his replies, and would make no promises. Since this is a private Bill it can only be taken after 11 p.m. Major Farquharson has most kindly undertaken to be present in the House every night it sits after 11 p.m., and to move the Second Reading at the earliest moment. Now is the time for action. Every local M.P. ought to receive letters from his own constituency asking him to study the Bill, and inquiring if he intends to support it. The points to make are:—(a) The clauses represent only the *minimum* recommendations of the two Joint Select Committees of 1918 and 1920, and are supported by the official Government representatives who gave evidence. (b) To ensure an easy passage for the Bill practically all outside Societies are pledged not to press for controversial amendments. The responsibility for wrecking amendments will then rest on any M.P. who promotes them. (c) The Bill has the unanimous support of all the organisations interested in such matters. The Government is favourable to the Bill; we hope it will adopt it; meantime, we must put every bit of pressure possible on the local M.P.s.

Guardianship, Custody and Maintenance of Infants Bill.

It was extremely gratifying to the supporters of this Bill to witness its very rapid passage through Standing Committee D on Wednesday, 15th instant. The main clauses of the Bill, *i.e.*, those dealing with the equal joint guardianship of both parents, and with the need for both parents to support their children according to their means, passed unchallenged, save for one or two drafting amendments. The principle that the work of a mother in the home for her child shall be recognised as of economic value was also accepted readily enough. Members of the Labour Party raised objections to those sections which relate to the attachment of wages, income, &c., but in order not to obstruct the Bill in Committee, consented to forego a discussion on these points until a later stage, and in the meantime to hold a conference thereon with the promoters of the Bill. An amendment was moved by Mr. Raper, and accepted by Colonel Sir James Greig, providing that, unless the Court determines otherwise, the balance of authority as between a surviving parent and a guardian shall lie with the parent. It is difficult to foretell the ultimate fate of the Bill, there being no time left this session for private Members' business if at all of a contentious nature. An irresponsible opposition could still ruin it, and such opposition has already materialised in certain wrecking amendments which have been put down by Sir Frederick Banbury. In view of the almost universal support this Bill has obtained among women and of the success that has so far attended its progress in the House, it would be nothing short of a tragedy if the Bill should be wrecked by such means.

Juvenile Delinquents.

New regulations have been issued by the Home Secretary concerning the boarding-out of children whom the Courts have committed to industrial schools. All children under eight are to be boarded out with foster-parents unless the school managers think it is better for the child to remain in the school. In each case the Home Secretary's written consent must be obtained, which will authorise boarding-out up to the age of ten, or, if the managers apply for an extension, permission may be given for the child to be boarded out until the end of the period for which it was ordered to be detained. No child may be sent to a foster-parent who has three children, and other regulations provide for periodical visits by members of a committee, one of whom must be a woman, for education and medical care, for placing the child in employment after school life is over, and for supervision up to the age of eighteen. Parents of a youthful offender committed to a reformatory or industrial school must pay 23s. a week for maintenance. All this is satisfactory, but there are other reforms which are urgently necessary. The habit of having long intervals between commitment and trial deserves severe criticism, and every effort should be made to get the law altered. In Winchester recently a boy of sixteen, who was awaiting trial at the Quarter Sessions, committed suicide because he could not stand prison life any longer. He had been in prison for more than two months. It would seem as if legislators were not gifted with imagination. The child had been employed in making mail bags in his cell, and, since it was a Government order that work should be left in the cells instead of being cleared away every night, the boy was able to hang himself with strips of hessian knotted together. There must be something very radically wrong with our penal system when it is possible for a child's sensitive mind to become sufficiently unbalanced to enable him to take his own life because, before conviction, he could stand prison life no longer.

The Cave Report.

The Voluntary Hospitals Committee has issued a report entirely in favour of retaining the voluntary system, but recommends a State grant to help them over difficulties which, it is hoped, will be temporary. Voluntary contributions to hospitals now amount to three millions a year; far from decreasing in this period of financial stress, they have risen by 67 per cent. since 1913. Expenses have, of course, risen at a much greater rate, and some of the schemes for reducing these, like the removal of convalescent cases to less costly auxiliary hospitals, will entail some initial outlay. Revenues may be increased by a development of contributory schemes, such as subscriptions from wage-earners and employers. The Report suggests that employers' subscriptions should be deductible from profits for purposes of income-tax, a material encouragement to this form of subscription. Another proposal is that legacies to hospitals should be relieved of legacy and succession duty. The immediate emergency will be met, if the Committee's recommendations are accepted, by a contribution from the State to be spread

over two years, and to amount for 1921 to a million. This will be administered by a Hospitals Commission set up by the Ministry of Health. Hospital extensions and improvements are provided for by the power given to the Commission to grant during the two years a sum not exceeding a quarter of a million, on condition that a like sum is obtained from private sources. Local Hospitals' Committees should negotiate for the utilisation of vacant beds in Poor Law Infirmaries. The Report is a well-thought-out attempt to help the hospitals to help themselves. The State, having in its effort to meet the emergencies of war, dislocated the hospital system, will assist in its reinstatement without undertaking permanent responsibilities, and without hampering the development of the voluntary system on the lines which have made it successful.

Women Inspectors.

Sir Alfred Mond told the House recently that he had decided to dispense with the services of the qualified women inspectors appointed on the staffs of the Housing Commissioners in 1919 to investigate and report on the insanitary dwellings which abound in the urban and rural centres. Mr. Thomson asked him to reconsider his decision in view of the importance of ascertaining the extent to which slums and bad housing conditions prevail throughout the country, but was told that the primary responsibility rests with the local authorities, and that the Central Department should interfere as little as possible. Economy was again pleaded as an excuse for dispensing with these qualified women. It is curious how, when economy is necessary, it is always the women who go. A good many of them could be employed if the salary of the Minister without Portfolio were abolished.

Miss Snell's Success.

Miss Kathleen Snell, who has been placed in Part II. of the Law Tripos above the first man in the first class, should have a distinguished career now that the Bar is open to women. She is a Girtonian, daughter of a solicitor at Tunbridge Wells, whose voluntary work as Executive Officer of the Food Control Committee was recognised by the award of the O.B.E. and the freedom of the Borough. Miss Snell worked with him in the Food Control Office, and has therefore a record of public service as well as of distinguished academic successes at the early age of twenty-three. We understand that she celebrated her success by taking a motor-cycle tour to Cornwall. No one could be less like the exhausted one-idea'd bookworm imagined by the pessimists who in the eighties used to tell us of the goal to which women who invaded men's sphere were hurrying, and nothing could be more opportune than this triumphant vindication of women's power to win laurels at the most step-motherly of universities.

A Woman Professor.

Signora di Castelvechio has been appointed as the first professor to the Chair of Italian at Birmingham University. She is also Birmingham's first woman professor, and will now have a seat on the Senate of that body. Signora di Castelvechio has lived in England for many years, and has lectured at London University and at Cambridge. She has a wide and deep knowledge of philosophy, and is known as a writer on this and kindred subjects.

Licensing.

A very able and representative body of members of the House of Commons, of which Lady Astor is one, will consider the application to the licensing laws of the experience gained during the war. At present the country suffers under a variety of licensed hours for the sale of drink, useless restrictions on the strength of beer and spirits, and other survivals of war conditions which serve no useful purpose, while the lessons learned in the Carlisle experimental area are without fruit. A certain measure of agreement has been reached in this thorny question. Everyone now knows something of the effects of various possible systems. The war-time system, Prohibition as practised in America, Local Option as practised in Scotland, and the old pre-war customs, have all had results both expected and unexpected, both good and bad. Everyone is in the mood for careful and limited experiment, and everyone wishes to see the end of the remnants of war-time experiments if these can be superseded by regulations less irksome to the public and more conducive to temperance. What the public will not stand is another of the many conferences whose considered reports are pigeon-holed and forgotten. We imagine that no member of this conference will sit down under such treatment, and that the country will agree with them in expecting immediate legislation.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. AN APPEAL TO WOMEN.

By **THE RIGHT HON. LORD ROBERT CECIL, K.C., M.P.**

The most important thing in politics to-day is that every man and woman should whole-heartedly support the League of Nations. It is the world's best hope for future peace, and it is but self-protection to support it; but it is more than this. The League is the embodiment of the best ideals of government, for it is based throughout upon the assumption that what is just and honest and fair will be universally accepted. It relies for its success upon the good sense and the plain dealing of the nations of the world. It assumes that the acquisitive and fighting impulses of nations are less powerful than their peaceful, friendly, and just impulses, and that when the dealings of one country with another are open and public, the good sense of the whole world will compel those dealings to be honourable and fair. It assumes too, that the civilised nations will accept responsibilities towards the more backward races, and will act disinterestedly in helping their development. It assumes that unfair national monopolies and ruinous rivalries can be ended by the agreement of all nations, and that all the races which people this earth will accord to each other the right to live and labour in peace. The Covenant of the League is, in short, the expression of the best political ideals, and if we fail to support its principles we fail not only in good sense but in good feeling.

The League of Nations, however, is more than a code of ideals. It is a practical, working reality, with tangible achievements to its credit, and a capable instrument to its hand. It is a League of forty-eight nations, and already, even in its early stages, it has influenced and improved the relations of those nations to each other, and their outlook upon international affairs. It has set up an International Court of Justice which wields a real authority, and it has given a necessary and most wholesome publicity to many of the dark transactions of the world. The ideal embodied in the articles of the Covenant concerning mandates has already begun to influence all those Powers which administer colonial possessions, and the Governments of the smaller nationalities are drawing security from its existence. It has solved, without war, problems which might have had serious developments, and has already proved the possibility of effective international co-operation.

The League of Nations, therefore, deserves the backing of all men and of all women, because of the generous ideals upon which it is based, and the serious beginning it has made. It is, in fact, dependent upon popular backing, and without this it will not continue to be effective. For its very essence is the application of public goodwill to international problems, and if the public is not conscious of the League, and is not actively supporting it, that goodwill cannot be reached and used. For a time, perhaps, the Governments of nations can co-operate for peace while their people remain inattentive, but in the long run it must be the people themselves who consciously move their representatives. And that is why organisation in support of the League is so important.

I believe that in this organisation women can play an important part. Women have been considered all sorts of things in the past. They have been both praised and abused, set on pedestals and ground into the mud. Some have called them wonderful, and wound round the idea of the female sex visions of all that is romantic. Others have called them silly, and have attached to them all that is trivial and unstable, but no one has ever denied that women possess in a very marked degree a love both for ideals and for practical details. And both these qualities are needed to support the League of Nations to-day.

It is, in my opinion, mistaken to think of men and women as if they were very different creatures; but still it is possible,

in a paper like *THE WOMAN'S LEADER*, to make a special appeal to women. However similar men and women may be, there is no doubt that their political circumstances are different to-day. Women are new voters: they come to their share in politics fresh, and with their ideals untarnished. They can, if they will, bring an immense new vigour to the struggle for the supremacy of national and international sincerity. And they must do it! In the interests of all that they care for—of peace and security, of childhood and motherhood, of economy and the progress of civilisation—they must rally to the support of the League. Nothing else is so important, nothing else so fundamental, and I most strongly urge all the women who care for any of these things to come forward and help.

The League of Nations, as it exists to-day, is incomplete, but nevertheless active and vigorous. When it is stronger still, as it will be if people of goodwill in all countries support it, it will be a great instrument for economy and social progress. Social progress depends upon economy, and economy depends upon peace and stability: it requires settled conditions, and time for the steady development of ideas. War, revolution, invasion, arson, starvation—all these things, when they come upon a country, drive out all other considerations. The preservation of life, the mere struggle to exist, takes the place of everything else, and all the things which make up modern civilisation are inevitably forgotten or destroyed. The League, therefore, in so far as it helps peace helps social reform. It is not only by lessening the likelihood of war, however, that the League will forward social reforms. It helps them forward also by increasing the amount of energy and of wealth which can be devoted to them. The first great task for the League to perform is disarmament. It will, by degrees perhaps, but nevertheless quite certainly, prevent that outrageous expenditure of the world's wealth which is now wasted in the production of the instruments of death. When, by international agreements, the scale of armaments is reduced—a thing which is actually within the bounds of practical politics to-day, owing to the existence of the League—then an immense saving of every national income will be effected. And then, if women care for social reforms, as I believe they do, it will be possible to carry them forward sanely and surely. And when this time comes the League will prove its usefulness yet again: for through its machinery it will be possible for all the experiments and all the varying experiences of different nations to be examined together. Through the League, in the future, the world can improve its whole organisation, and the wastefulness which now comes from ignorance can be and will be prevented. Nor is all this only a dream for the future. An actual concrete beginning has already been made, and the Labour Bureau and the first Washington Conventions are an earnest of what can be done. Imperfect, incomplete, faulty, but a sign-post nevertheless of the way in which the standard of life may be raised up throughout the world.

With this hope and this possibility before us, and with the League in actual working existence to give us faith, it is easy to ask for general public support. I ask it now from all the women of the country, and I look to them to respond to the practical as well as to the ideal aspect of the League. Like all young things it needs its friends most in its early years. I trust that the women of Great Britain are ready to befriend it now, and that they will respond magnificently to the appeal for membership sent out by the British League of Nations Union. June 25th is the League of Nations day in this country. Let us make it a triumphant success.

NEWS FROM WESTMINSTER.

By **OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT.**

The week has been dominated by three incidents. The first is Mr. Churchill's speech on Mesopotamia; the second, Dr. Addison's salary; and the third, the defeat of the Government candidate in Hertfordshire. The last two are closely inter-linked.

Listening to Mr. Churchill was an extraordinary refreshment after the speeches of most of his colleagues. He brings a sense of vision and eternity which are lacking from the ordinary huckstering of politics. He paints a part of the world, and a part of human nature, which has never changed for centuries, and will not change for centuries more, and for this old, unchanging environment he builds a romantic and, it is to be hoped, permanent fabric. The Arab race, brave but untrustworthy, intelligent but turbulent, imaginative yet material, is to have its chance. Under our guidance a State is to be built up, fashioned to suit the temperament and traditions of the people, wherein its genius can develop under auspices which have never before been present. It is a fascinating idea, and, moreover, it is a right one; for if the British Empire exists for any purpose it exists to encourage free development. Held down for centuries by the Turks, played off one against the other, with no hope of escape except by treachery and massacre, the Arab race has dropped out of the great march of events. To restore it to the road is our share of the white man's burden.

Compared to these big realities, domestic politics, as illustrated in the squabble about Dr. Addison and the success of Anti-Waste in Hertford, are like the gentlest of storms in the smallest of tea-cups. For some time past, in fact ever since the granting of a salary to the Minister without Portfolio was announced; a bitter feeling has run through the ranks of the Coalition. No doubt some Members may have been actuated by personal dislike; and for others, who are extreme Conservatives, it is possible that there was a wish to knife a Liberal Minister. But the conflagration would not have reached its present size from such small beginnings. Dr. Addison holds an appointment, paid at £5,000 a year for no work. Parliament, which has to vote the £5,000 a year, has no notion what services the money is paid for, or any means of checking the efficiency of the Minister. The head of the humblest Department is obliged, on at least one day a year, to come before the House, to give an account of his work, and to receive praise or censure. Not so Dr. Addison, for he has no work of which the House has any knowledge, and it cannot judge whether he has done it well or badly, and whether he is worth the salary or not. The Government Press, which now, it may be remarked, is nearly as powerful as the Opposition Press, at which Ministers never tire of gibing, tries to make out that the incident is a covert attack on the Prime Minister, and probably this will be the line that Mr. Lloyd George will take when he speaks on Thursday. It is nothing of the sort. It is a struggle for the control of Parliament over Ministers and over expenditure. The word is being passed round that if the Government are beaten they will resign, and naturally this places their supporters in a difficulty, for most of the Coalition regard Mr. Lloyd George as essential for the country, and are reluctant to allow a trivial occurrence such as this to compromise the great causes for which he stands. At the same time, it is apposite to remark that the Government have no right to pin their existence to Dr. Addison's personality, that by so doing they compel their supporters either to vote against them or to encourage something which they know to be wrong, and that if they are defeated it is they themselves who have chosen the ground. Written, as these notes must be, some time before they appear in print, the situation may have changed by the time they are read. At the moment, however, so strong is the feeling and so ridiculous would be a Government resignation on such a trifling issue, that it is believed that Mr. Lloyd George will take the only possible course by announcing the abolition of the office, and, it may be, the transfer of Dr. Addison to some executive post.

But it must be confessed that this incident, coupled with the overwhelming Government defeat in Hertfordshire, brings an election within prospect. There the Coalition candidate was a picked and experienced politician, and his opponent a newcomer, and yet Anti-Waste has won by a majority considerably more than two to one. However, in spite of all the omens, it is believed that an election will not take place until next year.

[The views expressed in this column are those of our Parliamentary correspondent, and are not our editorial opinion. Like so many other things in this paper they are expressly controversial, and comment upon them will be welcomed.—ED.]

A LEAGUE OF NATIONS FOR WOMEN THAT WORKS.

What is it? It is an organisation of women, Christian in its basis, world-wide in its extent, and having the all-round development of young women as its object. It has an active membership of over a million, a circle of girls using the advantages it offers which no one has attempted to number, and it works in Egypt, Algeria, Tunis, South Africa, Portuguese East Africa, West Africa, Kenya Colony; in Canada, the United States, the West Indies, the Argentine, Brazil, Chili, and Uruguay; in China, India, Japan, Malaya, Dutch East Indies, and the Philippines; in Australia, New Zealand, and some islands of the Pacific; in Austria, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Hungary, Italy, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, Belgium, Roumania, Czecho-Slovakia, the Baltic States, the Near East, Palestine, and Poland. A traveller making the world-tour would find hardly a port or city of any importance, whether in the New World or the Old, where there was not the Young Women's Christian Association at work, in touch with hundreds and thousands of young women and girls. Copenhagen? There are 8,000 members in that town alone, and everyone knows the big K.F.U.K. building (Kristelig Forening for Unge Kvinder) near the Cathedral and University. Smyrna? Walk straight up from the quay to the Rue des Roses, and ask your questions at the door in Greek, Armenian, Turkish, French, or English. Bombay? The two big buildings are five minutes drive from the Apollo Bunder. New York? The Blue Triangle will be at your service from the moment you land, and if you are an immigrant, one of the first people you will notice on Ellis Island is the uniformed Y.W.C.A. worker. The net of service is a world-wide one. Girls landing in a strange port, ignorant of the language of the country; girls coming to big towns from country villages; girls in college; girls in offices, warehouses and factories; girls whose homes are in sight of the Association building; girls of every race, age and class—the Young Women's Christian Association has something to offer to each one of them.

Although the headquarters office of the World's Y.W.C.A. is, for the present, in London (34, Baker Street), and although the movement began in the last century in Great Britain, this women's international fellowship is not an Anglo-Saxon movement. Each of the great countries composing it has its own autonomous National Committee, and an equal voice on the World's Committee. The whole body is so large that it can meet only every two years, but an interim Executive Committee (with vice-presidents from the Latin, the Scandinavian, the Oriental and Anglo-Saxon groups) carries on the manifold business, and is responsible to the larger body.

A glance down an ordinary committee agenda gives some idea of the outreach of the world-wide Association. Here is a country with an acute industrial situation among its women, will it be possible to borrow an expert from another country, say, for two years, until indigenous leadership can be trained? Here are two candidates for post-graduate courses in Y.W.C.A. work, to which of the six national training schools shall they be sent, and what scholarships are available? This or that country wishes to extend its work for young girls in a certain direction. What are other countries doing to meet this particular need, and what literature is available? Correspondents report that migration conditions through some particular region are intolerably bad, can the Migration Secretary investigate and report on them? Work in a certain centre involves girls of more than one nationality. Will the countries whose girls are cared for there help in securing the freehold of the building? Often the pressure of international liaison work is so heavy that it is impossible for the committee to deal with it at its regular sessions.

Infinite variety of work characterises the Association; a variety so wide that it is necessary to visit more than one's own country to grasp it. But it is this very diversity that is its strength. United by the common Christian basis, and the four-fold aim of the development of girlhood spiritually, physically, mentally, and socially, each National Association is free to develop along the lines of its own national genius. Even though there are developments common to all (such as the provision of cheap housing for girls), there is nothing stereotyped about the work, nor are there hide-bound constitutions to fetter its expansion in any direction in the future. Above all, this movement expresses the democratic spirit of the age. There is no secret diplomacy. There is absolute equality of opportunity. It is not a case of one class serving another, but it is the united effort for young women by young women. And it stands for Christian internationalism, and knows by experience that this is a practical possibility, not a visionary's dream.

THE BRITISH NATIONS IN COUNCIL.

By PROFESSOR R. COUPLAND.

I.

It is not easy to appreciate the full importance of the meeting of the Imperial Cabinet. We are beginning to lose the wise habit we acquired in the war of regarding all our main problems as in some degree world-problems. We are apt, nowadays, to forget that the United Kingdom is part of a great world-society of nations, bound together not only by a common allegiance to one Sovereign, but also by a common political tradition, by common ideals, and by a common purpose to maintain them. The solidarity of the British Commonwealth was magnificently manifest throughout the war; and it did not fade into thin air when peace was signed. Outwardly, indeed, there was a great disruption. The armies of the British nations, which had stood shoulder to shoulder through years of fighting, disentangled themselves and departed each to its distant home. The multitude of Dominion officials and war-workers whom the struggle had brought to England followed on their track. The political chiefs, who had sat beside their colleagues of the United Kingdom through many months of war-making and peace-making in London and in Paris, likewise hastened back to their decapitated Governments. And the duties and interests of these war-exiles, as soon as they were home again, were quickly concentrated on home problems. Before many months had passed the Dominions seemed, on the surface, almost as isolated from, and indifferent to, the troubles of Europe as they had seemed, on the surface, before the war. In expounding, moreover, the new principle of equality of national status between the Dominions and the United Kingdom, Dominion statesmen laid all the emphasis on the freedom of the constituent parts of the Commonwealth, and said little of the unity of the whole. To some minds, indeed, it almost seemed as if the complete dissolution of the Commonwealth was at hand.

To anyone who knows what are the deepest and most lasting elements in the public opinion of the Dominions, this illusion of disruption is absurd. If the war has given a new impetus in each Dominion and in India to the sentiment of nationalism, to the desire freely and fully to develop national individuality, it has also strengthened those moral forces which hold the nations of the Commonwealth together. We knew before the war that the British peoples were united in their devotion to the principles of liberty and justice: we know it better now that their sons have fought and died for them side by side. And, however closely each people may seem at the moment to be absorbed in its own affairs, at the back of their minds remains, unforgetting and unforgettable, the lesson taught them by the war, of their mutual interdependence. This gathering of their Prime Ministers in London from every quarter of the world, at a time when they can ill be spared from home, and so relatively soon after their last return from Europe, would have been considered an extraordinary, if not unreasonable, proceeding in the days before the war; yet now, it has been everywhere accepted, with only a few dissentient voices, as a vital necessity. The British peoples, in the Mother Country and the Dominions alike, are aware that the maintenance of their common ideals and the safeguarding of their common interests require common action; and that only through personal discussion between their political leaders can this common action be effectively planned and carried out. All the world knows what they did by thus working together in war: they are determined to work together and see what they can do in peace.

II.

It may be useful, if only to avoid misunderstandings, to consider briefly what exactly this meeting of Imperial Ministers is. What is its constitutional status? What are its powers?

In some respect the "Imperial Cabinet" is a misnomer. The status and functions of the Cabinet in the constitutional system of the United Kingdom, though, like all our political organs, they are liable to development and change, are tolerably clear. It is a body of Ministers appointed by the Prime Minister and subordinate to him. It not only discusses policy, but, if opinions differ, decides it by a majority vote. It directly instructs the departmental Ministers concerned to carry those decisions into effect. It is jointly responsible for the results thereof to the single supreme authority of Parliament. On all these points the position of the Imperial Cabinet is different. The Ministers who compose it are not appointed by the British Prime Minister:

they are themselves Prime Ministers, virtually appointed by the electorates of the Dominions; and Mr. Meighen, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Massey, and General Smuts will sit in the Cabinet as the equals and not the subordinates of Mr. Lloyd George. They will discuss policy, but, if they disagree, they will not be able to decide it. They cannot allow themselves to be bound by a majority vote, because, unlike the British Cabinet, they are not jointly responsible to a single authority. Each Prime Minister is responsible only to his own Parliament; its opinions constitute, so to speak, his "mandate"; and to commit himself to any policy which exceeds or contradicts it would be a violation of his constitutional trust, and might well be so hotly resented by his Parliament as to bring his Government abruptly to an end. No decisions, therefore, affecting the whole Cabinet can be made except by its unanimous agreement. Nor can these agreed decisions be executed by a single administrative machine at the Cabinet's direct command: each Prime Minister must instruct his own administration to take its part in the joint execution of the policy. And, finally, for having adopted the policy and for the fruits of it, the Imperial Cabinet is not jointly responsible to any one authority: each member of it is responsible only to his own Parliament.

It is evident from the foregoing analysis that the Imperial Cabinet is not a Cabinet in the ordinary meaning of the word. It is not a Government, but a Council of Heads of Governments. "Imperial Council," indeed, would be a better title than "Imperial Cabinet." Yet it is something different from the "Imperial Conference" which used to meet at intervals of four years before the war—different, not so much in its composition or in its powers as in the scope of its work. What primarily distinguishes this Cabinet from any pre-war Conference is the fact that its chief function is to discuss and, if possible, to arrive at joint decisions on foreign policy. Not till the historic Conference of 1911 were the Dominion representatives ever admitted to the inner sanctum of our foreign policy; and even then they were told the grave secrets of the growing tension in Europe more because it was good policy than because it was their right that they should know them. It was still assumed, as a matter of course, that the actual conduct of foreign policy would remain almost exclusively in the hands of the British Government, and that, with some authorised exceptions, the relations of the Dominions with foreign Powers would only be adjusted through the intermediary channel of the British Foreign Office. But the Dominion representatives in this present Cabinet hold very different views on this point from those their predecessors held ten years ago. The conduct of foreign policy is assumed to be one of those functions of national self-government which the Dominions have acquired as the result of the war and of the Peace negotiations. The Dominion Ministers severally signed the Treaty, and the Dominion Parliaments severally confirmed their signatures. They have thus separately undertaken the obligations it contained, and are separately represented in the League of Nations it created. The Prime Ministers are therefore meeting now as equals in diplomatic status. Each can recommend the foreign policy he chooses; and each, if he chooses, can put his own foreign policy into execution.

It is this application of the new doctrine of national equality to the field of foreign policy which makes the meeting of the Prime Ministers a political necessity. Even in times of international tranquillity frequent consultation between the heads of the united yet independent Governments of the Commonwealth will be indispensable if their independence is not to be sustained at the cost of their unity. Radical divergence of action in foreign affairs would lead at once to a dangerous *impasse*, from which the only escape might be the formal disruption of the Commonwealth. And the public exposure of even minor differences of opinion among the British nations, such as has already occurred at Geneva, is obviously undesirable. Clearly, differences should, if possible, be settled, and a common British policy jointly fashioned and followed out, "within the family." Yet more is this essential at a moment like the present, when the world is still trembling between war and peace, when immediate and far-reaching decisions are required if the British Commonwealth is to play its full part in the restoration of stability, in the completion of the task which all its labours in the War and in the Peace negotiations still left unfinished.

III.

The Imperial Cabinet will necessarily sit behind closed doors. It is to be hoped that as much publicity as possible will be given to its work: but we cannot expect to be told everything it decides, or even everything it discusses. We can be fairly certain, however, as to what some of the main topics of discussion will be. It is bound to discuss the general situation in Europe; and it will arrive, we may hope, at unanimous agreement as to what is to be the attitude of the British Commonwealth as a whole to such vital questions as the German reparations, the division of Silesia, relations with Bolshevik Russia, and the war between Greece and the Turkish Nationalists. We may assume, too, that it will discuss the problem of Egypt, because the settlement of the problem of Egypt involves the question of the Suez Canal; and, as Egyptian Nationalists are ready enough to recognise, the security of the Suez Canal is a vital strategic interest to the British Commonwealth as a whole—at least as vital to India, Australia, and New Zealand as to the United Kingdom. Above all, it will discuss the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance—the question which more than any other has made this imperial consultation necessary. For the different nations of the Commonwealth regard the Japanese question, not, indeed, in a different spirit, but from different angles. It is primarily a problem of the Pacific; and it therefore affects the Pacific nations, Australia, New Zealand, and in a somewhat less degree Canada, more directly and gravely than the United Kingdom or South Africa. It is a problem of the relations between East and West, between European and Asiatic races; and the Indian attitude towards it, therefore, is inevitably coloured by sentiments which the white nations of the Commonwealth do not feel. It is a problem of the relations between the British and American Commonwealths; and therefore, though all the British nations are at one in desiring the friendship and co-operation of the United States, it is of special concern to the United States' immediate neighbour, Canada. Obviously, the fullest and frankest consultation between the exponents of those different standpoints is required: and if they succeed, as we may be confident they will, in fusing their national purposes into one harmonious policy for the whole Commonwealth, that achievement alone will justify the meeting of the Cabinet and vindicate the imperial solidarity it represents.

But policy depends on power. No common decisions of the Commonwealth in foreign affairs can operate if the world knows that there is no adequate force behind it. The Cabinet, therefore, will almost inevitably discuss Defence. And the question of Defence is specially urgent because the taxpayers of the United Kingdom can no longer afford the cost of maintaining so overwhelmingly powerful a navy as that which they maintained before the war. What share, they are asking, are the younger nations prepared to take in the burden of naval armaments? Or what is their attitude to the question of the limitation of fleets recently raised in the United States? Provisional agreements may be reached on those points; but no full or final settlement can be attempted by this Cabinet. For the organisation of imperial defence involves constitutional problems—the method of apportioning the burden and its cost, the question of unity of command in war and of strategic disposition in peace, the international status of Dominion warships in foreign waters, and so forth. And whatever fields may be explored at this Cabinet, one field is barred. Both in the Dominions and in the Mother Country it has been repeatedly and authoritatively stated that this meeting of the Imperial Cabinet will not deal with "the constitutional relations between the component parts of the Empire." In 1917 the Imperial War Conference resolved that that subject should be considered separately by a special Conference after the war. That special Conference will probably be held next year, and this present Cabinet will probably discuss its composition and its place of meeting; but certainly it will not trespass on its field of business.

This is not the occasion, therefore, for considering how the constitutional problem is to be solved. We have in this meeting of the Cabinet a practical temporary instrument for co-ordinating the principles of national freedom and imperial unity. It is not a scientific political machine, but it fulfils our immediate needs. And besides its practical utility it has a great symbolic and sentimental value. The leaders of the whole Commonwealth are taking counsel together. In these grey days of peace as in the darkest hours of the war we know that, severed as they are by leagues of ocean, and self-centred as they sometimes seem to be, the nations of the Commonwealth are unalterably determined to stand together. Let us lift up our hearts then; for there are no stronger forces in the world for the promotion of peace and justice, of freedom and stability, than the united will and the united power of the British Commonwealth.

THE IMPERIAL CABINET AND THE NATIONALITY OF MARRIED WOMEN.

The essential virtue of the British Constitution—so its eulogists inform us—is that it is unwritten. At any moment it may develop in any direction, according to the inclination of the Government and the complacency of Parliament. This week will see another stage in its expansion; and if Parliament is sufficiently acquiescent the change will have a permanent effect, if not on the nominal powers of the United Kingdom Parliament and its electors, certainly on their *de facto* powers.

Before the war the Colonial Conference used to be summoned to consider questions of interest to both the United Kingdom and the Dominions. Later there was the Imperial Conference with a similar scope, and in 1917 and 1918 there developed the Imperial War Cabinet, where the small War Cabinet took into consultation representatives of the Dominions. Recently the House of Commons was informed that it is not a meeting of the Imperial Conference which is contemplated this year, but one on the lines of the Imperial War Cabinets of 1917 and 1918. If then, in future, part of the peace policy of the Government is to be discussed by a body on which representatives of the Dominions sit, on any question which falls to be decided by this expanded executive we must seek the co-operation of the electorates of the Dominions if our views are to be made effective.

Even when the decisions of past Conferences took the form of recommendations to the different Parliaments, the Minister bringing the question forward was apt to seek to limit the freedom of Members to move amendments by reminding the House that the Dominions were in agreement with the Home Government. Will the newly christened Imperial Cabinet expect to be still further exempt from the criticism of Parliament?

In any event it is well that the women's organisations at home and throughout the Dominions have already taken steps to express with a united voice their views on the need for the amendment of the Nationality and Naturalisation Laws of the Empire as they affect married women. The Memorial, organised by the National Council of Women, which asks that any amendment of the nationality laws of the Empire should include the grant to women of the right to retain their British nationality on marriage with an alien (a right enjoyed by them under the laws of the United Kingdom till 1870) and the same choice of nationality as a man, has been sent to the Imperial Cabinet, so that no member shall be left in ignorance of the wishes of the women of the Empire on the matter. The fifty-eight organisations which have signed the Memorial include twenty-eight national women's societies in the United Kingdom and Ireland, besides thirty others from Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Rhodesia, and East Africa.

It will be remembered that when the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Amendment Bill of 1918 was going through the House of Commons, the then Home Secretary, Lord Cave, in opposing Sir Willoughby Dickinson's amendment, which proposed to give to married women the right to retain their British nationality on marriage with an alien, did so on the ground that the question should be postponed until the Home Government had had time to consult the Dominions. He also informed the House that he hoped that the Imperial Conference would set up a special committee to take evidence and to report on the whole question of the nationality laws, including the nationality of married women, and that he hoped that a woman would be appointed to this committee. After the Imperial Conference had dispersed, he informed the deputation from women's organisations that the Imperial Conference had asked him to receive the deputation, and to report again to it the views there expressed. At the same time he said that, on his motion, the Conference had decided to appoint a Committee, and that he hoped it would contain representatives of all the Dominions. Up to the present, although the subject was discussed in a meeting of the Conference on July 31st, 1918, no Committee of the description indicated by Lord Cave has apparently been appointed. As it is of extreme importance that there should be uniformity of law throughout the Empire, a special committee, as originally suggested by Lord Cave, "to take evidence and report" is essential to a satisfactory solution of the question.

Notwithstanding the many Government Commissions, Committees, and Conferences which have discussed this question in the last fifty years, their published reports show that the subject of married women was never seriously considered. No harm could result from making a woman follow her

husband's nationality, because "it was only political status that was in question." In 1870 women had no political status. A member of the Interdepartmental Committee of 1901 expressed the view that it would be a very hard thing to deprive a man of his British nationality, as, for example, by his marriage with a foreign woman. But there was no one on the Committee to voice the view of the hardship to the woman in the same circumstances. The Colonial Conference which recommended the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Bill of 1914 hardly considered the married woman. The Bill continued to treat the woman as having no choice in the matter. Notwithstanding the assumption that a measure recommended by the Conference should pass the House of Commons without the alteration of a comma, the united protest of the women's societies compelled the grant of two important concessions. One provided that a woman who married a British man should not be compelled to lose her British nationality if, after the marriage, he decided to change his. This re-established in British law the principle abolished in 1870 that a husband and wife could be of different nationalities. And this principle was further extended in the 1918 Act, where it was also made possible for a British-born woman with an alien enemy husband to resume her British nationality with the approval of the Secretary of State.

There is no doubt that in the last seven years considerable progress has been made in convincing the general public, and Members of Parliament in particular, that women object to be considered as negligible when the citizenship of their native land is in question. To such a position of absurdity has this point of view brought us, that last year the British Government was refusing to admit an English-born woman to the United Kingdom because she would not forswear her British allegiance. Her husband was American, and the British Consul refused her a passport on the ground that she was a foreigner, while the American Consul refused her a passport because she would not forswear her British allegiance. And without the passport she could not enter her own country.

THE MARRIAGE MARKET IN THE PANJAB.

By ELEANOR FRANCES HALL.

Here, in this land of feminine freedom, I often think of the remark I heard from a woman on a road in the Panjab. A shrewd, middle-aged village woman she was, with a bundle on her head, and a bottle of oil hung on a string dangling from her hand, and her trousered legs were stepping bravely along the hot road.

"Yes," she was saying to a neighbour, "it is a bad world, they are selling very little girls nowadays." The remark interested me immensely, it dealt with a subject that was ever before our eyes, and in our ears, and for the purpose of drawing her out, I stopped and said, "Indeed, Mother, is that so? What are they selling little girls for?" The village goodwife was quite ready to pursue her theme. "Yes, Lady Sahib," she went on, "they are selling them for marriage, they are selling the little girls that long!" and she held out her hands, with the oil bottle swinging dangerously, about two feet apart! Then, adjusting the load on her head with the disengaged hand, and giving a vigorous and probably very relieving scratch to the folds of her figure, she passed away down the dusty road.

No one who lives in touch with village life in the Panjab but has the increasing tendency of fathers and mothers to bargain for the sale of their daughters in marriage, brought before them. With this often premature raising of money there is an increase in the unfaithfulness in keeping the bargain. I will give instances of it later. But it is interesting to try and get at the causes of this strangely evidenced trafficking in girls.

No one expects rural India to have awakened to the discovery that a female is an individual who has a certain right to a voice in negotiations for her disposal in marriage. It is not that of which I am complaining. Perhaps we are hardly ready yet for girl children to be informed that they could refuse the disposal of their persons in this arbitrary way. The Bengali girl, whose father is impoverished all his life by the purchase of a bridegroom for his daughter, is as much at the mercy of her parents as the Panjabi child, whose relations, having haggled as to the

price they can get for her according to her health and looks, will probably sell her again to a higher bidder. There will be not only marriage by arrangement, but commercial marriages for a long time, in spite of the loud-mouthed reformers, who yet go in fear of their own "Zenana log."

Now, I think the primary foundation of the situation in the Panjab is the fact that the females were returned in the last Census as nine to ten in proportion to males. This means that there is not one wife even for each man. And the well-to-do Mussulman may want to decrease the available number by keeping a couple, or three. Then the frequent loss of women in childbirth means that the respectable man, to whom a wife is a necessary sexual outlet, will absorb in turn three or four marriageable females for his own use. I know a white-haired native Padre who has run through four, and, on the last occasion, the notice in the Banns book had to be discreetly covered up with the blotting paper, as it was the preliminary to his marriage to number three. There is undoubtedly a great scarcity of young women. And I suppose one must still include a certain amount of female infanticide as a factor. It is not accomplished in so direct a way as that of a Sikh farmer, who, justly exasperated at the birth of a ninth daughter, disposed of the infant in the canal. An English woman doctor in Lahore told me that a full meal of some cereal, followed by the administration of long drinks of water, would bring on sufficient swelling of the half-cooked grain to cause fatal peritonitis, and the mother's act could be put down to "natural causes" if anyone asked about the matter.

I will give two illustrations of the proofs of the demand for women among the native Christian community from my own experience. The headmistress of a village girls' Christian boarding school, told me that for every girl who passed out of the school, presumably at about the age of fourteen, she would have at least nine suitors applying for her. Of course, the girls were rather rareties, as they had passed a Primary

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standard of vernacular education. Another case was that of a widow, a plain, middle-aged creature with a child or two. When her husband had been dead only thirteen days, she was the cause of a violent quarrel between two parties of her relations, who each wanted to sell her to desiring purchasers. Two papers were produced, each bearing the woman's thumb mark as signature, by which she declared herself willing to marry each of the claimants respectively. This was explained by her afterwards by one paper having been read to her as a mere form, its contents being explained as having to do with the disposal of her late husband's goods—which, indeed, was not untrue! But she was quite willing to mate with one of the two claimants.

One curious little story about a Sikh farmer will show the lengths to which men of that class, too, will go in trying to get a woman to marry. An Englishman was camping in the Gurdaspur District, and inquired of a farmer how the world went with him. "Oh, Sahib," replied the man, leaning mournfully against the adjacent buffalo, "I have had a great blow." "That is very sad," said the Sahib, "what has happened?" "I have been much deceived; there came some people to my village, they were Hindustanis (that is, from further south than the Panjab), and they had some women with them. They offered to sell me one woman, and I paid Rs. 200 for her to marry her. The woman said to me, 'My master is dead, he is now my master', pointing to the man who was her husband's younger brother. However, they all seemed content. So I paid the money and took the woman to my house, my wife being dead. I gave her money and I gave her jewels, and she was very comfortable. Several men in the other villages bought women at that time from the Hindustani men. And one of those women is still giving satisfaction. But the woman I bought only stayed three or four months, and then ran away, and I heard she had joined the party she came with. And I have lost my money, and probably the woman is being sold again." Of course, the woman was cheap—dirt cheap, and the farmer, if he had not been in such a hurry, might have been suspicious. But very likely he would have been willing to have given six or seven hundred rupees and have made a present of good clothes and jewels, if he could have got a woman of his own religion and class. But to me the tale was a powerful testimony to the dearth of marriageable women among the Sikhs. And I have been assured that the younger brothers in a Sikh agricultural family, where blood runs hot, share the use of the wife of one of them.

A thing that surprises me, and for which I have never found an explanation, is how, in these circumstances, Panjabi parents do not take relative trouble in the rearing of their girl children, realising what a valuable investment they are when they mature. Nature, with her extraordinary care for the survival of the immediate producer of the species, keeps the girl death-rate below the boys'. But the credit is little due to the parents. The girls stand an amount of neglect and ill-clothing that would kill the boys. An intelligent native assistant-surgeon suggested that the girls survived by a process of hardening—that in the cold weather the petted, spoiled boy had a good warm coat made for him, and sometimes the coat was put on and a fine comforter tied round his head and ears, and then sometimes both were forgotten, and he ran about in only a shirt. And so a naturally fragile life was unequal to the inconsistency of treatment, while the muslin-clad, shivering sister bore the rigours of the northern cold and survived. It is later troubles that thin out the young women and create the disproportion of males and females, which the infantile mortality would have decided in favour of the girl children. One would have imagined that the parents would have conscientiously co-operated with Nature in securing the survival of their daughters till a saleable age. But I have seen less appreciation of their coming value than is shown in the case of a buffalo cow-calf.

This shortage of women acts unfavourably in several ways. It sends up the price, and makes the temptation of driving a hard bargain greater. In a Christian village in a Canal Colony the fathers made a "ring" in girls, and their saying was, "A hundred rupees an eye!"—the rest of the body in proportion bringing up the price above the market value. An extraordinary way of bringing the price down was conceived by the elders of the community, who imported seventeen girl orphans from a mission orphanage and married them in proper form to the first seventeen of the candidates for their favours among the village bachelors.

A well-looking, comfortably-off, young Sikh carpenter, in whose house I was nursing a case of plague, confided to me that he would like to marry, but that girls were too expensive nowadays. A well-known Indian lady doctor, who has the best opportunities of judging the situation, as she lives in the heart of the villages and the villagers, writes to me: "What you say about selling girls for marriage is getting worse and worse among all classes. The Sikhs say they have to give Rs. 500-1,000 for a bride." The heavy price is sometimes recklessly paid by loan from a tigerish money-lender, and the cost of securing the prospect of a future support for old age in a grandson, keeps the family in debt all the father-in-law's lifetime.

The second abuse is that there is frequently unfaithfulness on the part of the bride's parents. A preliminary sum is squeezed out of the bridegroom's family, and, a higher bidder coming along, the girl is re-sold. The enormity of this offence is increased by a definite betrothal being popularly considered as sacred as a wedding. Or if the girl is acknowledged to be retained by the first bidder, and the wedding is celebrated, the girl, as is very commonly the custom, comes back almost immediately to her own father's house. But she is not permitted to go to her father-in-law's house to live with her husband until a further sum is paid.

A third form of unfaithfulness by the girl's parents was emphasised during the war. This danger is that the girl, even after marriage, will be sold again, the husband being on service, and re-married under pretence that she is not married. Any suspicious circumstances can be explained by the statement that she has lapsed morally; her price is not very unfavourably affected, and her fertility may be proved.

This abuse is, indeed, deplorable. It works out in the girl being secured as soon as possible. Where her parents are likely to be unfaithful, the girl must be made as secure as possible by a formal marriage, and a legal claim established. Delay is dangerous. No pity or humanity is in force here. The "age of consent" has been fixed by the law at twelve years, but some missions refuse to perform the marriage ceremonies of girls under thirteen. A great difficulty is presented by the ambiguity of ages, and by the village watchman, who is a sort of Registrar, not having a complete register of births, especially those among the menial classes. The children are not registered by name, as the name is not generally given till later. The child wife becomes the child-mother, but perhaps never bears another child, and remains injured and suffering.

Suggestions for reform are difficult to make. Education—of the Indian Education Department type—is enormously in demand, but produces no revulsion of opinion from the old domestic habits. The boys for whom girls are bought, are "middle-passed," or "entrance-failed," or graduates. The mother and the barber settle such affairs, and the boy, if he wanted, could not resist. But the marriage of immature Christian girls could be stopped if united action were taken, and severer discipline exerted in the case of offenders. But there is always the danger that the convert thwarted of a Christian bride may go off and find a girl from his old co-religionists who may be had earlier. And till there is a public opinion against the practice of too early marriage and re-selling of girls, and getting into hopeless debt over the buying of them, European discipline will fail for want of backing up by the community.

One extraordinary obstacle to reform is the passivity of the women concerned. One can imagine a child of ten being pleased at the new wardrobe and jewels, and making only a half-hearted show of resistance on leaving her mother's house. It is considered proper to go away in the palanquin with shrieks and tears, a relic, perhaps, of the days of acquisition by capture. But the indifference of a mature woman, previously married, as to her future fate in the matter of a second master, is sometimes strange, except as an application of the submission to Kismet, which paralyses so much of the dynamic quality of character in the East. It might be a dangerous doctrine to preach to girls that some guarantee should be given that the bridegroom, only peeped at stealthily or described by a bribed servant, is neither diseased, nor old, nor grossly immoral. But the women should be encouraged to risk the accusation of immodesty by making inquiries about the future father of their children, or cause of their sterility. The Feminist movement has only touched the very, very thin layer of women educated to a Western model. They are not leaders, they are only curiosities. In the villages the woman is still the chattel, not to be disregarded as to secret influence, but with no right or claim to an individuality or independence of her own.

MORE EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF A WOMAN IN THE HOME

June 14th, 1921.

As we have been shut up for a fortnight in a mumps quarantine, my mind naturally dwells a good deal on the subject of infectious illness. One thinks more about the infection just because the disease is so little serious. This fact also makes it more difficult to enforce the quarantine regulations on which modern doctors insist. When one considers that the sick person usually feels all right again in five or six days and that no well person is seriously afraid of catching the complaint, or troubled about transmitting it, it seems surprising that the rules are ever carried out at all. I suppose the plain fact is that they very seldom are. That, no doubt, is the reason why the complaint is so widely spread. In this, as in other matters, the few conscientious parents suffer for the many who are irresponsible or ignorant.

I wonder how far the isolation of disease will be carried in the future? Many illnesses are treated as infectious now which no one thought of "catching" in the past; and even those which have always been thought contagious are much more severely isolated than they were. When Queen Elizabeth had small-pox in October, 1562, her Council sat in the ante-chamber of the room in which she lay in a stupor, and discussed what would happen if she did, as was expected, die that night. At midnight (on October 14th), a change took place in the Queen's condition, "the fever cooled, the skin grew moist, the spots began to appear, and after hours of unconsciousness Elizabeth returned to herself." The Council, we are told, "crowded round her bed," desperately anxious to hear whom she would name as her successor. She seems to have talked to them a good deal, not indeed about that, but about Lord Robert Dudley, who filled her mind, and about those she specially cared for in her household. We do not read that any of the Council got small-pox. Anti-vaccinationists maintain, I believe, that the decrease of small-pox is due not to vaccination but to hygiene and isolation. On the other hand, I suppose most "vaccinationists" would say that it is only the presence of so many unvaccinated or insufficiently vaccinated persons in our midst, that makes it necessary to confine sufferers in small-pox ships and remote hospitals. However this may be, we are certainly much more strenuous in our precautions even against the less deadly infectious diseases. We now isolate scarlet fever far more severely than small-pox was isolated in earlier days, and the time seems fast approaching when such slight complaints as mumps and German measles are to be quarantined as if they were scarlet fever. Is this the result of the germ theory of disease? And, if so, how will it work out in the future? Shall we try harder and harder to put more and more germs into solitary confinement? Must we look forward to a time when large yellow ambulances labelled "Toothache," "Cold in the Head," "Corns," will rush about the streets picking up suspected sufferers from these illnesses, and carrying them off to compulsory detention in special isolation hospitals? One can easily imagine it.

I hope, however, that we shall stop before we reach that point. Not because of the inconvenience. No inconvenience would prevent doctors from ordering a thing—or mothers from carrying it out, when there is the bare chance that one of their children may be the specially vulnerable child for whose protection all the elaborate defences are set up. But other kinds of defences may be invented, or perfected, and as scientists learn more about each special disease they will learn more about the particular ways in which it can or cannot be communicated. I suppose the new defences may be either of the nature of inoculation or vaccination, or may be simpler and more general in character. Some years ago I read (I think it was in that excellent little periodical "Maternity and Child Welfare") that there are now some hospitals in which patients suffering from scarlet fever, measles, or other very infectious complaints, instead of being isolated are simply anointed every two hours with eucalyptus oil. Their relations, even if they are children, are then allowed to be with them, and merely have to be sprinkled with a little more eucalyptus themselves in order to be quite safe. Can this be true? And if so, why do we not all do it? How much trouble, how much expense, and, often, how much pain it would save. It is true that many children hate the smell of eucalyptus. (I wonder whether the super-sensitiveness of nervous children to certain smells has ever been investigated?) But it would surely be easier for them to get accustomed to it, than to this unnatural business of isolation?

I write with feeling, because though Ellie, who is "the patient," began to lose her full-moon face and to feel herself again nearly ten days ago, I have had to keep her confined to one room, out of which nothing may come till it has been disinfected, and to the garden, when Bridget is not there, ever since. Bridget, on her side, is dragging out a dreary existence cut off at once from Ellie (who, as she miserably remarks at intervals, "hardly seems to be my sister now") and from all the outside world. She may not go near Ellie, because perhaps she has not got the mumps germ, and might get it; she may not go near anyone else, because perhaps she has got the germ and might give it; and no one can be certain which is the more pressing danger for twenty-five days!

All this makes me wish, first, that I could find out more about protection by eucalyptus, in how many places it is used, in what conditions, and with what success, and, second, that I could remember all I have ever heard about amusements for solitary children in dullness arising from quarantine or any other cause. I remember dimly a French book I read when I was a child, about a number of children in a chateau recovering from scarlet fever. What they did I cannot quite remember, but I think they were told stories. I do not remember anything more about the book at all. It was not the same as Madame de Genlis' "Veillées du Château," nor as George Sands' "Contes d'une Grandmère," though I think that in both these books children's dullness is beguiled by a grandmother who can tell stories. In books, it is generally the grandmother who is best at this, though, in real life, story-telling seems to me to be a faculty of youth, which is apt to be lost as the years go on.

But story-telling seems to have been the only suggestion for amusement in these books; and story-telling is not enough, especially when there is only half a grown-up person to each child. There is seldom more, because even when the number of grown-up people in the household is as great, or greater, than the number of children, most grown-up people have some work to do which cannot be indefinitely put aside. Poor Bridget has to spend a good deal of time more or less alone, and this is trying for her, because, although she does invent some occupations for herself, and has many others invented for her, none of them, as practised by her, seem to last longer than five minutes. Her "lessons," for instance, which she insists on managing entirely herself, are over almost before they are begun. The dolls, the cat, or some imaginary children usually take part. Their education, as conducted by Bridget, must have strange results. In answer to an enquiry what they are learning, the teacher cheerfully replies, "Oh, to-day we're having a history lesson about Queen Elizabeth, and how they cut off her head."

"But I don't think they did cut off Queen Elizabeth's head, did they?"

"Oh, didn't they; well, who was it then?"

"Perhaps it was Mary, Queen of Scots, you were thinking of?"

"Did they cut off her head?"

"Yes."

"Oh!—(pause)—Why did Queen Mary have to have her head cut off? Had she done anything that was so very wrong then?" Fresh from a perusal of Froude's account of "Kirk-o'-the-Fields," I murmured, "Some people thought she had killed her husband."

"Oh!—But she hadn't really, of course. You don't think so, do you?" My professions of ignorance were received with shocked amazement.

Ellie, in her solitary confinement, does not suffer nearly as severely as Bridget does, deprived of her company. She has been supplied with a glorious pile of jig-saw puzzles, she has invented numerous games that can be played in solitude, and there are always books. On the first day of the illness I finished reading "Woodstock" to her, and then we began on Shakespeare's comedies, reading, on successive days, "A Midsummer Night's Dream," "As You Like It," "Much Ado About Nothing," and "Twelfth Night." The only drawback was that Bottom, Malvolio, and others caused such paroxysms of mirth that, with mumps at its height, it was almost impossible for the victim to bear it. Shakespeare's humour certainly appeals far more to the modern child than to the modern grown-up person. I am more and more convinced that Shakespeare ought to be begun early, and that the existence of "Lamb's Tales" is a misfortune.

MARGARET CLARE.

REVIEWS.

SOME NOVELS BY WOMEN.

Dangerous Ages. By Rose Macaulay. (Collins. 7s. 6d.)

The Death of Society. By Romer Wilson. (Collins. 7s. 6d.)

Love's Anvil. By V. I. Dmitrieva. (Stanley Paul & Co. 8s. 6d.)

Intrusion. By Beatrice Kean Seymour. (Chapman & Hall. 8s. 6d.)

Many women must have noticed the remarkable fact that a woman is never the right age. For years she is too young to do any of the things she most wants to do and then suddenly she is too old to be interesting to anybody, even herself. This is largely a matter of suggestion and comes from the outside; Miss Rose Macaulay, in her latest novel, expounds the thesis that, looked at from the inside, almost every age that a woman can be is a dangerous age. She sketches the ways of life and states of mind of four generations of women. Of these, the only ones who have attained any peace are the great grandmother of eighty-four, and one of the granddaughters, a single woman of about forty. The sketch of old Mrs. Lennox and of Pamela seems to indicate that although Miss Macaulay thinks every age a dangerous age, none is necessarily a fatal one. It depends on character and temperament and a little on luck. Mrs. Hilary, "Grandmama's" daughter and Pamela's mother, is a woman who could not have been happy for long in any circumstances, or at any age. On the other hand, Neville, Pamela's elder sister, was unhappy at the time of which the story tells, because she was going through a difficult bit. Her children were grown up and out in the world, so that her work in the home was more or less finished, while the professional work she had begun in her youth had been so long laid by that she could not take it up again. Neville only wanted a little luck to be happy once more. Nan, her youngest sister, was thirty-three, a good age in itself, but she had a stormy and passionate temperament of the kind that lays traps for itself and agonises in them. Gerda, Neville's daughter, was still feeling her way in the world, terribly young and ignorant, and, therefore, terribly vulnerable, especially as she had the kind of character that, by its very goodness, exposed the owner to wounds. Gerda, however, like Pamela, had a kind of instinct of happiness, only it had not yet, like Pamela's, worked itself out in a philosophy and a way of life.

All these different women are described by Miss Macaulay with that combination of sympathy and wit which makes her such an extraordinarily attractive writer. She is amused by her characters and amuses us with them, but she also loves them, and she makes us want to know more of them than is contained in this too short book. The only one she obviously hates is the odious Rosalind, an "in-law" of the family, and she is made so hateful that one can hardly believe in her. In the description of her and in the account of Mrs. Hilary's dealings with the psycho-analyst, Miss Macaulay uses the sharp edge of her wit. It is very sharp indeed, and the result of its use is both amusing and thought-provoking. It seems almost a pity that Rosalind herself is made to be a professor of "psycho." There can be no necessary connection between it and Rosalind's vices—she was one of those who would have sucked the maximum of evil out of any fashionable craze. On the other hand, the harm that it did to poor Mrs. Hilary in comforting and nourishing diseased egotism is perhaps inseparable from it. We are not told firmly and definitely what Miss Macaulay thinks about this, nor about any of the other problems touched on in the book. She does not indicate them and suggests that there are some women who seem to have found solutions. As for the men, they are very slightly sketched indeed, and are, in fact, only used as pegs for the women to hang their problems on. "Dangerous Ages" is a woman's book, if there is such a thing; but even a male psycho-analyst may find it amusing.

The description of "The Death of Society" on the title-page as a "Conte de fée" fits it better than its rather Ibsenish title. It is like a fairy tale in more respects than one. In the first place, it combines remote mysterious beauty with delicate material prettiness. Miss Wilson makes us feel the dark forests and hear the hidden waters, and, at the same time, she brings the bright flowers painted on the woodwork of the house and embroidered on the silken curtains so vividly before our eyes, that it is almost as pleasant as looking at a fresco by Benozzo Gozzoli.

The story of the "solitary rider" who penetrates the forest and finds the lovely house, as beautiful in the description as a fairy palace, is very like the tales of our childhood. A kind of child-feeling in us rejoices in the details given about the bedroom and bathroom, and delicious food prepared for the unannounced, but not unexpected, travelling prince, as much as in the more than earthly loveliness of the lady that awaited him. It is quite according to precedent that she should be one of three, but not that she should be over forty, the mother of the other two, and the wife of an elderly and unprepossessing critic. These departures from convention do not, however, trouble the reader much. Surrendering his imagination to the author's guidance, he realises at once that Rosa Ingman is one of the ageless fair ones, like the Sleeping Beauty, or Helen of Troy, and that Karl Ingman is an old magician whose spells are powerless before those of the fairy prince.

It is necessary to look at the book in this way, because it has this further resemblance to folklore, that for those who do not take it with the right kind of childlike seriousness, its beauty quickly passes into something grotesque and, at times, revolting, at least to the "civilised" mind. Folklore was conceived when civilisation, or as Miss Wilson calls it, "Society," was hardly born, and it is to this age that Rosa Ingman, who talks of the death of society, really belongs. She is a fairy princess or she is nothing at all. Her lover is thus described at the beginning of the book:—

"His figure was that of a man close on thirty years of age, and yet his air belonged to one who has seen all that the world can show, and his handsome dark face, with its calm eyes, expressive mouth, and long clean-shaven chin, was open and simple, as if he had long been immortal and had watched the accumulation of circumstances upon the earth during several ages. His simplicity, his fine demeanour, his air of experience were such as to make men say, 'There rides a man!' but by very reason of his dignity he had passed through life in a somewhat solitary fashion, and had pursued his way alone, in his own company, much as he did this quiet afternoon."

This description, and the subsequent incidents and conversations in which he takes part, are all very well if we think of him as a type of the mythical, adventurous hero, going to seek for his fortune, but if we try to think of him as "Major Rayne Smith," a modern Englishman, he and the whole story appear fantastic. Old Karl Ingman and his daughters are rather more human, but we almost wish they were not.

All this is perhaps deliberate: the author pictures a few people living for a few days in the heart of the forest, as if "Society" were dead. Her poetic imagination and the beautiful patterns she weaves with her words make us enjoy her book in much the same kind of way in which we enjoy a Russian ballet, but when she reminds us, for a moment, of our real human emotions, our pleasure is spoiled. Many of us, no doubt, have a "repressed wish" that Society should die, but it is only in dreams or in fairy tales that we can indulge it. When we consider the matter with our waking mind, we know that Society in this sense is the development of humanity in us, and that if it could really die we should lose that and be a little lower than the beasts. In the meanwhile we have, so far, the advantage of angels that, while living in a real world, we can find pleasure heightened by contrast in the world of dreams and fairy tales into which we are skilfully guided by the author of this book.

"Love's Anvil," on the other hand, is very human, and appeals chiefly through the humanity in it. It is the work of Valentina Ionovna Dmitrieva, a Russian woman doctor, who was born towards the end of the 'sixties, and was last heard of alive in 1916. Since then she has disappeared into the chaos left by the revolution. This is the first of her books to be translated into English, and is doubly interesting, because we are told in the introduction that it is largely autobiographical. It is a study of life among Russian women students, and of the character of one typically Russian girl. I say "typically Russian" because, although the intense love of humanity which expresses itself in unremitting, joyful self-sacrifice, belongs to saints everywhere, it sometimes seems to be more common among Russians than among the peoples of the West. At any rate, this tender, passionate, unreasoning altruism has never been more revered or better understood than by some of the great writers of Russia. The story of Gomotchka's great love for her motherless little sisters and brothers, for her fellow-students, and for all the struggling and suffering creatures with whom she came in contact, is beautifully and simply told. In spite of the

background of poverty and vulgarity, dirt and wet snow, this is very far from being a sordid or a depressing book.

From the point of view of the hopeful but unsatisfied reviewer, first and second novels by clever new authors often resemble the spring and summer of the English year—one is full of promises which the other fails to fulfil. This comparison cannot, however, be applied to Beatrice Kean Seymour's two books. "Invisible Tides" was received by most critics not as an indication of what might be expected from the author in the future, but as an accomplishment in itself, and "Intrusion" is not a disappointment. To the present reviewer it has been the reverse. The little introduction is slightly irritating and there is a certain jerkiness about the style which appears to be deliberate, and might easily grow into a mannerism. But either this vanishes as the book goes on, or the story is so well told that one altogether forgets it. "Intrusion" is well conceived and well named. It is the story of the emotional disturbance created among a little group of people, by the breaking in of an alien and powerfully attractive element. Roberta had nothing in common with the young Suffields and their friends, except, indeed, with Jan. They were, in greater or less degree, conscientious, affectionate, intellectual, introspective, oppressed by the sorrows of the world and torn in different directions by their desire to keep their own freedom and to give freedom to those around, to be happy and not to interfere with competing demands for happiness. Roberta was without conscience or affections, without education or intelligence, but she was irresistibly beautiful and full of sex attraction, which she exercised with the more freedom because she had not, in this direction, even a sensual

desire. The success of the story turns on making Roberta credible and in conveying her charm. The difficulty of presenting pure physical attractiveness in fiction so that readers can imagine it vividly enough to believe in its effect is one which has baffled many novelists. Mrs. Seymour has met it with extraordinary success. She has not yielded to the temptation of giving Roberta one redeeming quality, and yet we believe in her devastating effect. The story is well worked out. It is, indeed, impossible not to suspect that the way in which it ends is partly accounted for by the author's growing love for her other characters, who had to be given a chance of happiness; but there is nothing jarring in this, because she makes it easy for one to share her affection, at any rate for Caryl, and because, in spite of what some realists say, these violent dénouements do constantly happen in real life. They are never complete solutions in life, and nor is the one in this book. We are left in doubt as to the subsequent relations of Caryl and Dick, though hardly as to those of Allan and Madeleine. We are left in doubt, too, as to the final effect of the intrusion on all of them: did it destroy anything in them or for them, or only reveal them to themselves? The questions with which the story ends are like those which often present themselves at the end of similar episodes in our own lives. It is the part of a psychological novelist to focus these episodes and questions so that we may look at them with a pleasurable detachment quite absent when we are up against them. Mrs. Kean Seymour has done this successfully, and in its own sphere "Intrusion" is quite an illuminating book.

I. B. O'MALLEY.

CORRESPONDENCE.

PUBLIC HEALTH.

MADAM.—In the WOMAN'S LEADER published on June 10th there appears, under the heading "Public Health," a criticism of Circular 202 recently issued by the Ministry of Health to borough and other councils, in which the position of the Ministry towards the venereal diseases problem is clearly defined. Your article welcomes the appearance of this statement, and expresses the hope that the local authorities to whom it is addressed will act upon it to the fullest extent of their powers. This criticism is, I venture to think, likely to prove somewhat misleading to those of your readers who, without themselves referring to the circular, will accept this as an assurance that the Ministry is in entire accord with the policy adopted by this paper—*i.e.*, "to oppose both the State regulation of vice and the State distribution of self-disinfectants."

It is true that the circular states very clearly that "the Government cannot give official support to self-disinfection as a policy," and their reasons for this decision are entirely satisfactory ones, *i.e.*, "that there is not unanimity of opinion on the medical side as to the practicability and likelihood of success of self-disinfection for the civil population, whereas on the moral and social side most weighty objections are advanced against it. It is clear that this question is one which cannot be decided solely by reference to medical opinion; moral and social considerations of very great importance are involved in it." So far, good. The crux of the matter is, however, reached in para. 8, and here it seems to me that there arises a discrepancy between the circular itself and the criticism on it in the LEADER. Your article states: "The circular does not, however, stop at this negative position, but recommends the increase of centres for early treatment." A careful reading of the circular shows that the words "early treatment centres" are not mentioned in it at all, and that no reference is made to them in the true sense of the term, which should signify the ordinary venereal disease clinic, where those who have contracted the disease are urged to go for treatment at the earliest appearance of the symptoms. It is, unfortunately, true that the term has been adopted—whether intentionally or not, with misleading results—to denote what are in reality merely ablation or disinfecting centres for preventive treatment (*i.e.*, for the use of those (*men* only) who have incurred the risk of infection). It is with these latter centres, which he calls quite frankly by their correct name, that the Minister deals in para. 8, which runs as follows: "The Minister is of opinion that the arguments which have influenced H.M. Government in deciding against any official advocacy of self-disinfection do not apply to the provision of ablation centres where facilities are provided, with proper safeguards, for disinfection by skilled attendants acting under medical supervision. The experience so far obtained is not sufficient to enable any final conclusions to be drawn as to whether such ablation centres should be established permanently in large towns; but the evidence available as to the results obtained in different armies from the provision of these centres justifies further experiments of the same kind for the civilian population, and the Minister is accordingly prepared to consider applications for his approval of the experimental provision of further ablation centres."

It is not my intention to go into the various special objections to the ablation centres, but it is difficult to believe that if this system is once established in the country the knowledge and practice of self-disinfection will not follow as an inevitable result. Considered broadly, the ethical objections to self-disinfection apply equally, though perhaps in a different degree, to ablation centres. Both policies appear to give official sanction and recognition to a vice which is the root cause of the disease they are aiming at combating, and by lowering the national standard of morality will almost inevitably lead ultimately to a heavy increase in the disease itself. It has been urged that the centres are being conducted as an experiment only from which statistics may

be gained to show whether such centres are a useful means of fighting the disease or no. Up to the present no such results have been adduced, and it might well be urged that some evidence as to the results should be forthcoming before further "experiments" of the kind are launched.

At any rate, now is the time, while the circular is fresh in the hands of our city, borough, and county councils, for the thinking public to form its own conclusions on this new proposal (put forward quite honestly in the supposed interests of public health), and to decide whether it is in the interests of public health and public morality (which, in this case, go hand in hand) that ablation centres should be opened and maintained at the public expense. If the decision is in the negative, then it becomes the duty of the individual ratepayer, as well as of the various organisations concerned, to oppose, each in their own locality, the acceptance of any proposal to apply for permission, under Circular 202, to open one or more of these ablation centres in the district.

With the value of that part of the circular which emphasises the importance of educating public opinion as to the dangers and disastrous consequences to the nation of the spread of venereal disease there can be no two opinions, and it is indeed earnestly to be hoped that the local authorities will respond to the Ministry's suggestion, that they will in this respect "call to their aid every available agency . . . which exists for the moral and social betterment of the people."

WINIFRED RATHBONE.

MORAL ENVIRONMENT OF HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES.

MADAM.—In reference to your report under this heading, I beg to state that I voted against the first resolution mentioned, as, although I was in favour of sections A and B of this resolution, I considered the inclusion of section C as in direct opposition to both morality and social hygiene. The three dissentients who voted against this resolution voted against the inclusion of Clause C in the resolution.

Your report might be read as inferring that the first resolution was passed without opposition, and that the second resolution was only objected to by three dissentients as regards the wording. As this will give a false impression to your readers, I am confident that you will, in their interest, forgive me trespassing on your space.

H. WANSLEY BAYLY, Hon. Sec., S.P.V.D.

CONSTRUCTIVE BIRTH CONTROL AND RACIAL PROCESS.

MADAM.—Your pages have been so finely open to the discussion of this most important and fundamental of all social subjects at present that I feel sure your readers will like to know that we are now definitely forming a Society for Constructive Birth Control, and shall shortly hold a preliminary meeting formally to constitute a committee in preparation for the autumn session's work, which will begin in October.

The main object of this society will be the advocacy of birth control (quite apart from any rigid economic, denominational, socialistic, or other tenets) on sound physiological lines as the one and only foundation for racial progress and social betterment. Our activities will be manifold, and there will be room for every type of worker and members of every shade of opinion in other matters.

I am intending to ask for a minimum subscription of one shilling only so that membership will be open to the very poorest. All prospective members who would like to be at the preliminary meeting or are interested in the society should communicate direct with me at "The Mothers' Clinic," 61, Marlborough-road, Holloway, London, N.

MARIE CARMICHAEL STOPES.

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

President: MISS ELEANOR F. RATHBONE.

Hon. Secretary: Miss Macadam.

Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Soddy.

Parliamentary Secretary: Mrs. Hubback.

Offices: Evelyn House, 62, Oxford Street, London, W. 1.

Telegraphic Address: Voiceless, Phone, London.

Telephone: Museum 6910.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS DEMONSTRATION.

It may not be too late to remind our readers of the Procession and Demonstration in Hyde Park on Saturday, June 25th. Mrs. Fawcett and Miss Eleanor Rathbone will lead our Procession, and we hope that we shall muster a good contingent to follow them under our banner. Those joining in the Procession should be at the starting-point on the Embankment, close to Charing Cross Station, not later than 1.30 p.m. The N.U.S.E.C. platform in Hyde Park will be platform 9, and the meeting will begin at 3 o'clock. The speakers include Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Mrs. Fawcett, Mrs. Rackham, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Mrs. Philip Snowden, Mrs. Stooks, Mrs. Oliver Strachey, Miss Helen Ward, &c.

SPECIAL COMMITTEES.

The following chairmen have been elected for special committees appointed by the Executive Committee:—

Equal Franchise Committee—Miss Chrystal Macmillan.

Elections Committee—Miss Evelyn Deakin.

League of Nations Committee—Miss Helen Ward.

Equal Moral Standard Committee—Mrs. Bethune Baker.

Status of Wives and Mothers Committee—Miss Merrifield.

THE LIVERPOOL WEEK-END SCHOOL.

A most successful "Week-end Summer School" has just been held in Liverpool. Representatives were present from associations in Ashton-under-Lyne, Bebington, Birkenhead, Bolton, Chester, Chinley, Preston, Lancaster, Rochdale, Waterloo, Warrington, and Liverpool, with Miss Macadam and Mrs. Hubback from headquarters. On the opening evening there was a large and interested audience, when Mrs. Hubback described the fortunes of the Guardianship of Infants and other Bills promoted by the N.U.S.E.C. Other conferences dealt with Equal Pay and Equal Opportunities, Family Endowment, and practical applications of the Equal Moral Standard. All the meetings of the School were well attended. It was unanimously decided to form an area group of societies affiliated to the National Union for the purpose of co-ordinating Parliamentary work in the constituencies covered. The School took place in delightful surroundings. Meetings were held in a large airy army hut, with wide-open doors and windows, situated in a field adjoining the beautiful gardens of Greenbank. The Liverpool Society generously provided hospitality for all its guests, and the strenuous programme of lectures and conferences was varied by social functions, which included a motor drive to the charming garden of Mrs. Raffles Bulley at New Brighton. This little gathering gave an opportunity for much interchange of ideas and plans for future co-operation in the work of the Union between the officers of the Union, including Miss Rathbone in her dual capacity of President and hostess, and the workers of our Lancashire and Cheshire Societies.

GUARDIANSHIP, MAINTENANCE, AND CUSTODY OF INFANTS BILL.

Our Societies will be delighted to hear of the rapid passage of the above Bill through Committee on Wednesday morning last week. Those of us who were present could scarcely believe our good fortune when clause after clause was accepted with little or no opposition. It was interesting to find that the principle that the mother's work in the home should be deemed a contribution on her part towards the maintenance of the child, was warmly appreciated by the Committee. Those sections dealing with the attachment of wages and income in cases of non-compliance with a maintenance order were, it is true, opposed by Members of the Labour Party; they generously, however, demonstrated their support of the main principle of the Bill by consenting to postpone discussion on these clauses until a later stage. In spite of this continued success, we are not yet out of the wood, and our Societies must hold themselves in readiness to take urgency action at any time if required.

CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

We apologise for a typing error in the Monthly Letter sent out to our Societies on the 17th, referring to the above Bill. Point No. 5 should read: "provides that incest cases shall not necessarily be heard in camera."

SUMMER LECTURES.

Parliamentary Work

Miss Eleanor Rathbone presided at the second lecture of this course, when Mrs. Oliver Strachey gave an account of the various methods of bringing pressure on Parliament, which was at the same time instructive and amusing. Mrs. Strachey pressed home the point which cannot be too often reiterated, that the pressure which counts comes from the constituencies, not from headquarters of societies. This subject will be further discussed at the forthcoming Officers' Conference, at which Mrs. Strachey will speak.

The third and last of the course of lectures on Parliamentary and Election Work will be held on Tuesday, June 28th, at 5.30 p.m. The lecturers will be Mrs. Corbett Ashby, prospective Parliamentary candidate for Richmond, and Mr. F. C. Rivers, Secretary to the London Liberal Federation. The lecture will deal with Parliamentary work in the constituencies; Election Law; canvassing, and other methods of election work. In view of the near approach of a General Election, this lecture should attract many prospective workers who wish to equip themselves with the necessary technical knowledge.

NEWS FROM SOCIETIES.

EALING W.C.A.

The Ealing Women Citizens' Association closed its session on Saturday afternoon by holding a tea and meeting, by the kind invitation of Mrs. Sharp, in the vicarage garden, the subject of the meeting being the League of Nations and the coming campaign of the Union. The chair was taken by the Rev. J. C. Sharp.

Councillor J. C. Fuller spoke on the need for active, not merely mental, support of the League, and dwelt on the disastrous results of war, especially as they affect women. He said that two candidates for Parliament had lately found their women constituents unanimous on the subject of peace, though disinclined to commit themselves to opinions on other subjects.

Miss M. Chick explained the arrangements for the coming campaign. There would be a rally of members from branches in the West of London at Holland Park Avenue on Saturday afternoon, June 25th, to march to Hyde Park for the great meeting to be held there. A meeting would be held on Wednesday evening, June 22nd, on Ealing Common, and a service on Sunday afternoon, June 19th, in St. Mary's Church, for young people.

CHESTER W.C.A.

On Wednesday, May 25th, the Chester Women Citizens held a most successful mock trial at the Queen's School, on the murder of Prince Sardinia, adapted from Mr. G. K. Chesterton. A large audience was present, and a most highly entertaining and profitable evening was spent.

NEWPORT (MON.) W.C.A.

The Newport Society has recently formed a Parliamentary sub-committee, with Miss Pratt as Hon. Secretary. This Society has been the first to respond to our appeal to "adopt" a town in the neighbourhood, in which no Society exists, in the hope of forming one there.

COMING EVENTS.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

JUNE 25.
League of Nations Day, Hyde Park Rally, 3 p.m. Speakers include: Rt. Hon. G. N. Barnes, M.P., Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, M.P., Gen. Sir Hubert de la Poer Gough, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., Maj-Gen. Sir Frederick Maule, K.C.M.G., Sir George Paish, Lord Eustace Percy, M.P., Mrs. Philip Snowden, Mrs. Oliver Strachey, &c.
At Birmingham. Open-Air Demonstration.

JUNE 26.
At Islington, Finsbury Park. Speaker: Henry Vivian, Esq. 3 p.m.
At Camberwell, Peckham Eye. Speaker: J. H. Harris, Esq. 3 p.m.
At Chester, Open-Air Demonstration, or Town Hall. Evening.
Speaker: Capt. G. Murray Wilson.

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

JUNE 28.
At the Parish Hall, Poplar. Subject: "State Purchase of the Liquor Trade." 3 p.m.
Speaker: Miss M. Cotterell.

EDINBURGH W.C.A.

JUNE 30.
Annual and Social Meeting, in St. Cuthbert's Hall, King's Stables Road. Chair: Mrs. Chalmers Watson, C.B.E., M.D. 7 p.m.

THE PIONEER CLUB.

JUNE 28.
Subject: "That our Political Cleavage will be according to Temperament and Not Sex." 8.15 p.m.
Speaker: Mrs. Nettieford.
Chair: Mrs. Coulson Cade.

NATIONAL BABY WEEK.

The Second English Speaking Conference on Infant Welfare takes place at the Central Hall, Westminster, on July 5th, 6th, and 7th. Fees, from £1 1s. to 2s. 6d. A Special Course of six lectures on Infant Care will be given in the Hall every evening. Fees, 3s. 6d. for the Course, 1s. each. A Child Welfare Exhibition will also be open daily from July 5th-9th inclusive. Admission 1s.

INTERNATIONAL FRANCHISE CLUB.

JUNE 29.
9, Grafton Street, Piccadilly, W. Subject: "The Mystics of Islam." 8.15 p.m.
Speaker: Mr. F. M. Sayal, M.A.
Chairman: Mrs. T. Dexter.

SUMMER SCHOOL OF CIVICS. GUILDFORD, SURREY.

Saturday, 30th July, to Saturday, 13th August, 1921.
The School offers a comprehensive course of study suitable for lecturers on citizenship, teachers of civics, social workers, health workers, organizers and social students. The programme includes courses on Geography, Economics, Anthropology, Modern History, Biology, Social Psychology, Social Philosophy, Sociology and Civics, with special Courses on Public Speaking, Civic and Regional Survey, Maternity and Child Welfare, and Art in Social Life. For particulars apply to Miss Margaret Tatton, Secretary, Civic Education League, Lennox House, 65, Belgrave Road, Westminster, S.W. 1.

PROPOSED SOCIETY FOR CONSTRUCTIVE BIRTH CONTROL AND RACIAL PROGRESS.

This Society is now being organised and a number of distinguished men and women have already signified their intention of joining. A Meeting will be held in the Summer to constitute the Society in preparation for the Session's work beginning next October. Those who would like to join the Society, please fill in the following:-

I should like to join a SOCIETY for CONSTRUCTIVE BIRTH CONTROL and RACIAL PROGRESS when it is organised, and would pay a yearly subscription of at least 1s.

Name (in capital letters)
Address
Date

All communications should be addressed to Dr. Marie Stopes at the Mothers' Clinic, 61, Marlborough Road, Holloway, N.

CECILE GUTHRIE,

9, BLENHEIM ST., W.1 (2nd floor) off top of Bond Street.

Sale of High Class Millinery from Monday, July 4th.

Great Reductions. Remodelling undertaken from 15/6, and Ladies' own materials made up from 1 Guinea.

SMART CUT AND PERFECT TAILOR. INGMODERATE PRICES. Ladies' Tailor.

W. Melissen, Ladies' Tailor. PERSONAL ATTENTION. 62, GREAT PORTLAND STREET, LONDON, W.1.

SUPPORT OUR ADVERTISERS and mention THE WOMAN'S LEADER when ordering goods.

ORANGE GROWING IN SOUTH AFRICA

Under the best conditions, Orange Growing in South Africa guarantees alike to the intending Settler and to the Investor advantages probably unsurpassed at the present time in any other direction.

THE AFRICAN REALTY TRUST, LIMITED. (Capital £400,000 fully subscribed) offers the opportunity of participation in their co-operative Orange Growing Estate, now far advanced in development under the best expert advice and supervision in South Africa.

SETTLERS on the Estate (4,000 feet above sea level) will obtain all the advantages of a free, open air and healthy life and congenial society, in probably the best climate in the world, and the

CAPITAL invested—in Freehold land—should be free from all risk of loss, with an assurance of large and continually increasing profits, combined with all the benefits derived from an enterprise conducted on co-operative lines.

Note.—Intending settlers should have available a total capital of not less than £2,000, but payment for the Freehold Land (with Orange Trees in good order and ready for bearing in 5 years from planting) may be made in 5 yearly payments. For full particulars apply:-

AFRICAN REALTY TRUST, LIMITED, 37L, New Broad Street, London, E.C. 2.

THE MALTHUSIAN LEAGUE FOR RATIONAL BIRTH CONTROL

This Society has carried on an educational campaign on this subject for the last forty years.

Since the end of 1913, when it also commenced a practical propaganda among the poor, it has sent out more than 35,000 practical leaflets to struggling parents who have applied for them.

It is now once more starting a campaign on this subject in the poorest districts of London.

Special weekly campaigns are being held in the poorest quarters of S. London during June and July. Free medical aid is being given in special cases, while Clinics for practical instruction will be formed during the autumn.

All particulars of the Society's work can be obtained from The Hon. Secretary, 124, Victoria Street, S.W.1.

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE

144, High Holborn.
"Women's Procession for Peace with Ireland on the only Possible Basis of an agreed Settlement, with friendship and goodwill."

SATURDAY, JULY 2, 1921.
2 p.m. form-up on Embankment
4 p.m. Trafalgar Square Mass Meeting
Many Women and Men Speakers.
COME AND MARCH WITH US.

TOO LATE FOR CLASSIFICATION.

SECRETARY (graduate) with organising and administrative experience. desires temporary work, August and September.—Box 805, WOMAN'S LEADER, 62, Oxford-street, W.

LADY requires small office or would share; moderate rent.—Box 806, WOMAN'S LEADER, 62, Oxford-street, W.

HOLIDAY POSTS.—WOMEN'S SERVICE (Employment Bureau). Permanent workers replaced during holidays. Temporary cooks, outdoor workers, governesses, clerks, housekeepers, &c. — Apply 58, Victoria-street, S.W.1. Vic. 9542. No fees.

MEDICAL, Etc.

CHILDREN'S GUEST HOUSE. Fully Trained Nurse. Massage. Remedial Exercises. Special reform diet. Recommended for convalescent, delicate or nervous children. Highest references; any age. — Jeffreys, Stoke Fleming, South Devon.

ISLINGTON DENTAL SURGERY, 69, Upper Street, N. MR. CHODWICK BROWN, Surgeon Dentist. FREDK. G. BOUCHER, Asst. Dental Surgeon. Estd. 35 Years. Gas Administered Daily by Qualified Medical Man. Nurse in Attendance. Mechanical Work in all its Branches. Send Post Card for Pamphlet. N.B.—No show case at door. CONSULTATION FREE. Telephone: North 3795.

TYPEWRITING AND PRINTING.

M. McLACHLAN and N. WHITWHAM—TYPEWRITERS.—4, Chapel Walks, Manchester. Tel.: 3402 City.

TEMPLAR PRINTING WORKS, BIRMINGHAM. ENQUIRIES SOLICITED. R. CROMBLEHOLME, General Manager.

WHERE TO LIVE.

BROOKLYN PRIVATE HOTEL. — Earl's-court-square, S.W. 5 (Warwick-road corner), finest centre all parts; 12 minutes' Piccadilly; quiet, separate tables; write or call for tariff; strictly inclusive terms; unequalled for comfort and attention; own private garage. B. and B., 7s. 6d. Tel.: Western 344.

EXCELLENT RESIDENTIAL HOUSE for Ladies interested in Social and Patriotic work; catering as desired.—Secretary, 17, Harrington-gardens, South Kensington.

ROOMS and breakfast (Gentlewomen only); temporary or permanent; gas stoves.—Miss Kemp, 10, Endeleigh-street, W.C.1.

HOSTEL FOR VISITORS AND WORKERS; terms from 4s. 6d. per night, or 18s. 6d. per week, room and breakfast.—Mrs. K. Wilkinson, 59, Albany-street, Regent's Park, N.W.1.

HOSTEL. — Professional Women. — Miss Broadbent, M.A., Elmhurst, Victoria Park, Manchester.

FOR REST AND HOLIDAYS.

DEAN FOREST, Severn-Wye Valleys. A Beautiful Holiday Home (600 ft. up); Fifty Rooms. Five acres, pretty grounds. Tennis, Croquet, Bowls, Billiards. Motor excursions. Garage. Golf within 3 miles. Board residence, 47s. 6d. to 65s. Prospectus.—Hallam, Littledean House, Littledean, Glos.

LAKE DISTRICT. — Victoria Hotel, Buttermere. (Quiet and unlicensed). Wildest scenery. Best climbing centre. Heart of Lakeland. Trout fishing free. Boating. Sketching. Unconventional bathing. Vegetarians catered for. Guidebook sent gratis. Coaches from Keswick. Motor 'Bus from Cockermouth. Garage. Plenty of coal.—Miss Windsor.

GUESTS received in Country House; lovely holiday centre; historical district; Welsh border fishing; easy distance Hereford, Worcester, Shrewsbury; garage.—Smith, Marsh Court, Leominster.

SILVERDALE, LANCs.—RESTHAVEN. Beautifully Situated. Near Sea and Golf Links. Ideal for Holidays or Rest. Terms moderate. Board Optional.

LOW GREEN HOUSE, Thoraby, Aysgarth, S.O. Yorks. Paying guests received; also furnished cottage to let.—Particulars from Miss Smith.

PROFESSIONAL, GARDENING, ETC.

TO GENTLEWOMEN.—Courses in practical Gardening, Dairywork, and Poultry Management under expert teachers. Beautiful old manor house and grounds in North Devon. Vacancies shortly.—Apply Principal, Lee House, Marwood, Barnstaple.

LADY required to fill vacancy of V.A.D. cook at Children's Hospital, Coldash, nr. Newbury.—Apply for particulars to the Matron.

POLITICAL WOMAN, well known, will coach others desiring to undertake organising as a career or understand municipal, parliamentary, and other work.—Apply Politicus, c/o WOMAN'S LEADER, 62, Oxford-street, W.

MISS GWYNNE-HOWELL, labour-saving specialist, gives advice on all household problems; consultations personal or written.—6, Redcliffe-road, S.W.10.

SECRETARIAL TRAINING combined with practical office work; fees according to subjects taken.—Miss Trotman, 36, Victoria-street, S.W.1.

PREPAID CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS 1d. a WORD, 6d. EXTRA FOR BOX NUMBER.

DOMESTIC HELPER for small Hostel; no late dinner; help for rough work; free time daily.—Mrs. Gwynnell, 34, Barrowgate-road, Chiswick, W. 4.

FOR SALE AND WANTED.

COSTUMES, coats, furs, underwear, gentlemen's and children's clothing, house furnishings, wanted. Specially good prices given.—Helene, 361, New King's-road, Fulham, S.W. 6.

ATHEENIC Scotch Woven UNDERWEAR. All sizes supplied in finest Wool, Silk and Wool, and Merino. Guaranteed UNSHRINKABLE. Write makers DIRECT for patterns and prices.—Dept. 10, Atheenic Mills, Hawick, Scotland.

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

CORSETS and Blouses made to order, or lady's patterns copied from £1 1s.—Emilie Wiggins, 63, Elizabeth-street, Eaton-square, S.W. 1.

IRISH LINEN HANDKERCHIEFS.—Fine quality, quite perfect. Ladies' size, 11 inches, 7s. 6d.; 12 inches, 12s. 6d.; 14 inches, 11s. 6d. per dozen; or size 11 inches, with any initial, 12s. 9d. Gents' size, 16 inches, 18s. 6d.; 19 inches, 22s. 6d. per dozen. Send for this month's bargain list. Safe delivery of parcels guaranteed.—HUTTON'S, 159, Larne, Ireland.

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

THE FELLOWSHIP SERVICES.—Eccleston Guild House, Eccleston Square, S.W. 6.30, Miss Maude Royden, "Dreams and Realities. II. Realities."

PROFESSIONAL WOMEN, Social Workers, Approved Society. Deposit Contributors; Exemptions; New entrants cordially welcomed.—Secretary, 16, Curzon-road, London, N.10.

THE PIONEER CLUB has re-opened at 12, Cavendish Place, W. Entrance fee 1s. 6d. (pro. tem.). Town Members, 15 5s. Country and Professional, 24 4s.

"MORE MONEY TO SPEND" (Income Tax Recovery and Adjustment).—Send 1s. postcard for this booklet to Mrs. Ayres Purdie, Women Taxpayers' Agency, Hampden House, 3, Kingsway. 'Phone, Central 6049.

LADY'S CAR FOR HIRE: any period or distance at moderate fee.—Miss Lewis, ex-Motor Transport Officer in the French Army, 23, Mount-avenue, Ealing, W. 5. 'Phone: Ealing 158.

"THE VICAR'S DILEMMA." A story which deals with pros and cons of question, "Women and Holy Orders." 1s. 3d. post free.—Athenaeum Press, Bream's Buildings, E.C.

EXHIBITION OF PAINTINGS, PASTELS AND COLOUR-PRINTS. By A. E. HOPE JOSEPH, AT THE MACRAE GALLERY, 35, Regent Street, W.1 (near corner of Swallow Street), on Saturday, June 25th, to Monday, July 8th. Hours, 10.30-5.30. Saturday, 10.30-1. Invitations for the Private View, which will be held on Friday, June 14th, can be obtained from The Little Gallery, Ashted, 14, Great Smith Street, or The Macrae Gallery.

TO LET AND WANTED.

WANTED, Unfurnished Studio or two rooms; Chelsea preferred; failing this, Camden Hill, or near.—Box 796, WOMAN'S LEADER, 62, Oxford-street, W.

PROFESSIONAL WOMEN OR STUDENTS received in married lady's private house, close Gloucester Road Station; own bedroom and use of a sitting-room; partial board; garden; telephone; £3 3s. weekly; references exchanged.—Warburton, 18, Hereford Square, S.W. 7.

FURNISHED BED-SITTING-ROOM: electric light; 1 guinea weekly; suit business lady; view appointment.—H. 46, Stanwick Mansions, close West Kensington Station.

WESTMINSTER EMBANKMENT.—On third floor, overlooking river and garden, to let furnished; sitting-room (sofa-bed), bed room (small single bed), and kitchen; use of bathroom and telephone; no attendance; £2 10s. a week.—Apply, by letter only, Mrs. McArthur, 48, Grosvenor-road, S.W. 1.

TO LET for 3 or 4 weeks from July 19th. Furnished Service Flat; 2 bedrooms (3 beds), sitting-room, bathroom; 4 guineas inclusive; S.W.1 district.—Apply Box 802, WOMAN'S LEADER, 62, Oxford-street W.1.

HAMPSTEAD, near Tube.—Three charming rooms and bathroom unfurnished; gas, electric light; top floor; detached house; £2 weekly.—Apply Box 803, WOMAN'S LEADER, 62, Oxford-street, W.

3 FURNISHED ROOMS, overlooking Heath, to let July 1st; use bath; 45s.; plate and linen.—Write B. C., 28, Southill Park, N.W. 3.

NEAR VICTORIA.—To let for two or three months or longer, small flat, newly furnished and decorated; bath; service; inexpensive.—Write R. H. T., c/o WOMAN'S LEADER, 62, Oxford-street, W.1.

SHOREHAM-BY-SEA.—Board residence or apartments for 2 or 3; pleasant burga- low; open surroundings; one minute sea; bathing; easy access Brighton, Worthing, South Downs; suit quiet people.—"Aurora," Old Fort-road, Shoreham-by-Sea.

OFFICIAL GUIDE TO HYDE PARK RALLY.

