# THE WOMAN'S LEADER LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

No. 2.

## FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1921.

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#### MENTAL REVOLUTION.

#### By H. J. LASKI.

Breaking-Point. By Jeffrey E. Jeffrey. (Parsons. 4s. 6d.) The spirit of Mr. Jeffrey's book is entirely admirable. We are living in a crippled and disillusioned world. All the promise and hope seem to have gone out of it. Europe has been transformed into a living corpse; and, as in the last days of the Roman Empire, we can watch the slow erosion of her civilisation with a precision almost as exact as that of a surgeon watching the development of a gangrenous limb. It is Mr. Jeffrey's merit that he insists upon the one thing alone likely to arrest this degeneration. A change in the spirit of men is the only pathway to salvation. Can we hope for that change? Above the spiritual barriers that stand in the way, differences of national temper, antithetic economic relationships, the corroding influence of a wealth which in its misdirection corrupts both art and learning, Mr. Jeffrey retains an optimistic faith. He sees here and there groups of men and women devoted not less to the service of life than to their own service. He insists upon the impressiveness of that effort. He does not believe that the opportunity which even yet remains for this generation to become the master of its own destiny can be ignored.

It is an attractive plea ; but I should venture to urge upon Mr Jeffrey that it is powerful mainly because it insists upon dwelling in the realm of spirit. It is wise and timely to insist upon the effectiveness of effort. But an effort that subsists in a vacuum is sterile and ineffective unless it can develop the institutions that enable it to impinge directly upon the immediate consciousness of the mass of men. Let us agree that every cause that is noble ennobles those who serve it, even if the effort be Jane Addams is not one whit the less splendid because the futile. brutality of war triumphed over defence of peace. Captain courage in the silence of those Antarctic spaces has dignified every man who has caught the sense of its magnificence. But Mr. Jeffrey must go beyond individual lives to those vague, dumb masses who are the creatures of custom and habit. Men with property to defend, statesmen with power to retain, untrained men and women at the mercy of every manufactured breeze of false sentiment and deliberate falsehood—how will Mr. Jeffrey deal with them? How, to take a concrete instance, will he teach the meagre England of Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Bottomley that the re-establishment of Europe depends upon the cultivation of a sense of fraternity with Germany? His opponents have the most powerful weapons men can have at their disposal, have the most powerful weapons mer can have at their dispositi, hate and anger and revenge. Rational analysis of events is a weak and puny thing beside them. He can trust, in some sort, to education. But under a capitalist system, an adequate educational system is impossible. Equally, if I interpret the experience of Russia aright, the catastrophic destruction of capitalism is fatal to the emergence of that milieu in which men have either the energy or the leisure for liberal tasks. Europe, as I think, has impaled itself upon the horns of a dilemma. If, as Mr. Jeffrey asks, there were a revolution in the spirit of its peoples, escape might be had ; but I do not see evidence in his book, beyond the expression of his own desire, that there is general emergence of the revolutionary ardour he himself displays.

Oases in the desert do, I admit, exist; but one does not measure the fertility of a desert by its cases. That upon which Mr. Jeffrey seems to me to lay too little emphasis is the breakdown of our political institutions in the face of unparalleled economic complexity. A century ago, the scale of life was small enough to admit of solutions ; to-day the impersonal forces of the world are too gigantic for statesmen to deal with them. One gets the sense of an outworn system that no physician can any longer patch up to further use. Representative institutions have ceased to attract the mind of the people. Political democracy is a source of growing disillusion. The functionalism for which very able and ardent minds like Mr. Cole stand sponsor, seems to me a theory of administration not a theory of the State; and I do not think it has faced most of the difficulties that confront it. The Churches have utterly failed not merely to realise their powers, but even to attempt the fulfilment of their purposes, and if I were to search for Christianity at its most constructive, I should look among the trade unions and the service they command. Frankly, that is to say, Mr. Jeffrey's enthusiasm seems to me rather a wan ghost, unless he indicates the manner in which he proposes to clothe it in institutional form.

That, indeed, is where I think his book breaks down. At the point where he should become definite and detailed, he is in fact simply eloquent; and eloquence in a political thinker is one of the seven deadly sins. If he had attempted less, he would have built more securely. There have been written in the last few years half-a-dozen volumes which, dealing with a more limited field than that covered by Mr. Jeffrey, go deeper than he. Mr. Tawney, Mr. Cole, Mr. and Mrs. Webb, seem to me the real pioneers in our problems. They move towards the solutions Mr. Jeffrey demands, and, so far, their effort is common. But it is a vital part of their work to present a coherent institutional scheme. They may be too late; but at least they will have indicated contingent foundations.

#### ECONOMIC SOPHISMS.

## Economic Sophisms: Fallacies of Protection. By Frederic

Bastiat. New impression. (T. Fisher Unwin. 7s. 6d.) With the republication of Bastiat's series of anti-protectionist essays a voice from the eighteen-forties sounds amidst the clamour of twentieth-century economic argument, and regretfully we are forced to acknowledge that it has something to say to us. The author is attacking the crude protectionism of a corrupt monarchy on the eve of its collapse ; he wrote at a time when England was only at the beginning of her world-shaking experiment in free trade ; when Napoleon III. was still a political exile, flirting with economic Liberalism in the political salons of Mayfair. Nevertheless, the particular form of pestilential fallacy, against which Bastiat tilted with all the force of his caustic wit and clean, cool reason in those far-off days, soils the political thought of Europe to-day. Again and again his shafts strike home to us, and the intervening years, with their wealth of experience, illusion, and disillusion, seem to fade away. It is, we repeat, a crude protectionism which Bastiat is attacking. He does not so much as touch the case for economic nationalism which his great contemporary, Friedrich List, constructed out of his

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experiences in the infant Federal Republic of North America. We cannot, therefore, oppose his reasoning to the modern-version of that case as expounded by the disciples of the late Professor Wagner of Berlin. Nor did Bastiat's version embrace the menace of trustified industry ; less prophetic than another great contemporary writer, Karl Marx, he did not visualise the development of any greater threat to the consumer than the restrictive policies of Governments. It is this which gives to his work whatever flavour of remoteness it may possess.

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But alas, in 1921 as in 1848, his dialogue, "The Taxgather," hits its mark. The economist can still point to countries where you will see with your own eyes Roadmakers and Obstructives working together on the most friendly terms possible, under the orders of the same legislative assembly, and at the expense of the same taxpayers, the one set endeavouring to clear the road, and the other set doing their utmost to render it mpassable," And his final exhortation, because it has gone unheeded all these years, deserves quotation. " Let us banish," he pleads, "from political economy all terms borrowed from the military vocabulary : to fight with equal weapons, to conquer, to crush, to stifle, to be beaten, invasion, tribute, &c. What do such phrases mean? . . . from such words proceed absurd errors, and fatal and pestilent prejudices. Such phrases tend to arrest the fusion of nations, are inimical to their peaceful, universal, and indissoluble alliance, and retard the progress of the human race."

Sadly we turn for comfort to the first chapter of Wells's "History of Mankind." That, at least, gives us some sense of a changing world; and with a renewed sense of proportion we can see the nineteenth century as the little pin-prick on the roll of time that it is-and seeing it so, hope for a higher intellectual development in the twentieth, or the thirtieth, or the fortieth. . . .

#### DRINK.

#### True Temperance Monographs. (True Temperance Association, Donington House, Norfolk Street, W.C. 2. 5s.)

This collection of monographs, published under the auspices of the True Temperance Association, comprises twelve essays in praise of alcohol by as many eminent writers. Now the contents of this book set us wondering as to the aims and methods of that body. It is not, of course, a temperance association in the ordinary conversational sense of the word. Indeed, the use of the word "true" rather suggests that it is not a temperance association at all, but an association for encouraging the more general consumption of alcoholic beverages. should be interested to know who are the members of the T.T.A., and what is the extent of their financial interest in "the trade.

Ostensibly, the demand put forward by the T.T.A. through the mouths of its twelve supporters, is for something which those of us who are not prohibitionists would probably regard as wholly desirable. They ask for "improved public-houses," in which light meals and non-alcoholic drinks are supplied-bright, well-furnished public-houses, where perhaps music and entertainments may be enjoyed en famille by men, women, and children, sipping their respective drinks and reading the papers as soberly as the members of a Piccadilly club. So far so good. We would welcome the coming of "improved public-houses. But why? Is it not in part because we believe that, on the whole, less alcohol would be consumed in them, because we suspect that the social life of the public-house attracts people as forcibly as the alcohol which, under present arrangements, gives them the only possible excuse for going there? And at first sight it might seem possible to ascribe just such a view-point to the T.T.A. Yet how can it be squared with the tone of these twelve essays which are written unbrokenly in praise of alcohol? Alcohol, we are told, makes us happy, brings us domestic peace, mitigates our anxieties, and keeps the working classes happy. As for its effect upon social amenities, there are no two opinions among our twelve writers. Teetotallers are sour and priggish fellows one and all. At dinner parties they are self-absorbed and silent

Doubtless we all of us have friends whom we should find less tedious if we could succeed in making them a little drunk. But surely the propagandists of "true temperance" overstate their case? If they do not, then in truth we are prepared to believe that champagne is worth 25s. a bottle-a fact which we have hitherto doubted.

M. D. S.

## THE ENGLISH PRISON SYSTEM.

#### The English Prison System. By Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise, K.C.B. (Macmillan. 7s. 6d.)

This is the book of an enlightened Civil Servant who believes in a system which he has done much to improve and which he desires to see still further amended. It is a reasoned, a fair, and a dispassionate vindication of our existing penal system-for which, indeed, much could be said if only offenders would obligingly fit into it and get themselves reformed in the process. Unfortunately, it is those who know most about the results of prison life on individuals who are its sternest critics. It will be very interesting to compare this book with one shortly to be issued by an unofficial body called the Prison System Enquiry Committee (of which Sir Sydney Olivier is the chairman and Stephen Hobbouse and Fenner Brockway the joint secretaries), which has recently made a close investigation of the whole subject. Their book, " English Prisons," will cover much the same ground, and by enabling us to compare the view of prison life as it works out in practice for people who suffer imprisonment with the view of the chairman of the Prison Commission, who sees it as an official from the outside, it will place us in a position to form a very fair estimate of the pros and cons of our existing methods of dealing with offenders.

Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise's book contains a mass of information which raises questions of profound interest to the student of social conditions and of economics. The rate of reconvicted men and women in our local prisons is appallingly high, being 61 and 77 per cent. respectively; but why is it higher in the case of women than of men? Why is it that of those committed to Inebriate Reformatories 80 per cent. are women? What is the significance of the fact that "every other married female criminal is the wife of a criminal husband, and that four out of every five alcoholic wives have alcoholic husbands"? The author's explanation of crime is that it arises from " a tendency on the part of persons living on a low economic scale to fail, on account of physical or mental defectiveness, to conform to the restraints of the Criminal Law The criminal is, to a large extent, a 'defective,' either physically or mentally." That is exactly the contention of those who urge that offenders are more in need of treatment than of punishment, and that effective treatment should be the dominant note of our prison system.

The author brings forward a mass of evidence in support of his demand that effort should be concentrated on the young. The age when the majority of criminals are made lies between 16 and 21. Something has been done: the Borstal system, for instance, is giving hopeful results. But we are told that ' the worst penal records are of those who have passed through Reformatory and Industrial Schools." Here is a field, surely, for the trained woman to work in.

In urging that a much greater use should be made of the Probation system (in 1918 only 11.8 per cent. of the total number of young offenders proceeded against were placed on probation) Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise declares that he does not think "so long as the institution of this valuable machinery is permissive and left to the discretion of the Court, that a full effect will ever be given to the admirable principles of the Probation system as a handmaid of justice." How many a woman justice, reviewing her work for the past year, will dolefully cry, "Agreed," to this bit of official plain speaking !

The chapter on female offenders deserves careful study. Nearly two-thirds of them are sent to prison for drunkenness or prostitution, about one in every five having incurred over twenty previous convictions, some as many as 100 or 200. The problem of the female recidivist remains unsolved, which is not surprising, since it has been little studied and is extremely complex, closely allied as it is to those of feeblemindedness and mental deficiency. In conclusion, one would like to know the exact meaning which the writer attaches to his statement that ' the heavy roll of commitments to prison and re-commitments will only cease when the State boldly recognises the essential difference between the instincts and motives leading to criminal acts in the two sexes, and adapts its methods of punishment and reformation accordingly.'

A WOMAN JUSTICE.

## SOME NOVELS.

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7s. 6d.)

Rose and Rose. By E. V. Lucas. (Methuen. 6s.) Lovers and Friends. By E. F. Benson. (T. Fisher Unwin.

The Narrow House. By Evelyn Scott. (Duckworth. 7s. 6d.) Tony Sant. By Mrs. C. S. Peel. (John Lane. 8s. 6d.) The Other Cate. By Sophie Cole. (Mills & Boon. 8s. 6d.) David, the Son of Jesse. By M. C. Strachey. (Jonathan Cape.

The Red Knight. By F. Brett Young. (Collins. 7s. 6d.) The Dark Ceraldine. By John Ferguson. (John Lane. 8s. 6d.) Garth, By Mrs. I. O. Arnold, (Parsons, 8s, 6d.) Antonia. By Viola Meynell. (Martin Secker. 8s. 6d.)

'Rose and Rose '' describes how a bachelor doctor devoted his life to bringing up two little girls, one after the other. It begins fifty years ago and comes down to the present day. Although there is plenty of story in it, it reads more like a book of reminiscences and reflections than a novel. The characterisation in it does not go very deep, the two Roses are presented mainly as girls and as products of their respective periods. no doubt would have been the point of view of the good doctor, who, although he loved his wards as much as any parent, and probably did better for them than most parents, never at any time deluded himself with the idea that he could understand them. His attitude towards the younger Rose and her contemporaries is one of affectionate tolerance; he does not approve of the "hedonism "which prevails among so many of the most modern young people, but neither does he condemn it ; he accepts it as an inevitable reaction, and for life in general he is inclined to "trust the kindly gods." The vein of sentiment in this book will please many people and do no one any harm.

The same cannot be said of Mr. Benson's sentimentality (in his case the last three syllables must be added). Mr. Lucas sees what is before him, he sometimes sees it through rose-coloured spectacles, and he certainly never attempts to look at it through a microscope, but he sees a good deal of it. Mr. Benson sees nothing but a kind of fantasmagoria of his own previous creations. As Wordsworth is supposed to have been discovered by a friend sitting on his own lawn reading "The Excursion," so Mr. Benson might be supposed to be found sitting in his comfortable smoking-room reading "Dodo." His characters are faint reproductions or caricatures of those in his earlier books. If one wants to see how much more Mr. Lucas knows of the youth of 1921, at least superficially, than Mr. Benson, one has only to compare the youthful D.S.O. in purple socks who wanted to marry Rose Holt, and the quite unreal wounded heroes who flit through the aristocratic surroundings of "Lovers and Friends

It is perhaps a wholesome shock to turn from the sentimentality of Mr. Benson to modern American realism. "The Narrow House " appears to be a novel about hell expressed in terms of family life. The little group of people in it are ravaged by the sex-instinct, and consumed by self-interest. Their material surroundings, their physical characteristics, their thoughts and their feelings, are so ugly that one would think it impossible to put them into words if the author had not successfully done it. Yet the book has a fascination which I do not think is altogether a morbid one. It arises partly from the concentration and directness with which Evelyn Scott has achieved her effect. She has considerable artistic force, and the one-word sentence has, if I may put it so, seldom been better expressed. But there is something besides this. Although, judging from the words of the book, the characters appear to be presented to us merely as unpleasant animals, or pathological specimens, one very soon begins to think of them as human beings, and as such they become interesting, pathetic, even sympathetic. I cannot make out whether the author has meant this to happen or not. Does our own experience of human beings come in, in spite of Evelyn Scott, and assure us that in most human beings lustful cravings are balanced by kindly feelings and self-interest by a ceaseless effort after some kind of ideal? Or has she deliberately suggested these associations? Anyway, her book is remarkable, though whether it is " real realism " remains a matter of doubt.

Perhaps the most real books to the reader are those which deal with the kind of life he knows, and look at it more or less in the way he looks at it himself. From this point of view I have found "Tony Sant" very refreshing. Stories of middle-class.

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girls, brought up in "sheltered " conditions and then cast into the midst of the struggle for life in modern London, have not been uncommon in late years. Amongst all those I have read, however, Mrs. Peel's strikes me as the most convincing. She ivas knowledge of conditions and power of sympathy, and a gift of characterisation. She writes in sincere and unexaggerated fashion; describes young love without sentimentality, and the life of a shop girl without sordidness. " Tony " is very attractive, and really grows in the book. Perhaps one of the best things in it is the description of her seventeen-year-old love affair with Gerard Clowes. Her light-hearted exquisite happiness, and the black agony of shame into which she is cast by the opinion of others, are both very true to life at that age. On the other hand, I find it difficult to believe that a girl of her temperament and tradition would have consented to the subsequent relation with Jantoine. If one thinks she could have done it in any circumstances, then those described were probably sufficient but could she? Her life during this sham marriage, and afterwards, carries conviction, and so does the conclusion of the story, which is really a happy ending, though Tony is left without a husband, without the child for which she had longed, and with an income of only two hundred a year.

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"The Other Gate" is another interesting and wellconstructed novel of life in modern London. It is a love story, and the chief characters move in musical and literary circles. I cannot criticise it at any length because it is necessary to turn to some other novels, which take one out of London and away from the surroundings of our own daily lives. If one can put the Old Testament story of David out of one's

mind, or at least forget all the details, remembering only as much about him as one remembers about King Alfred, then one can read Miss Strachey's latest book with unmixed enjoyment. It is an excellent historical novel. But there are things that it is too difficult to forget. To the members of two of the world's chief religions, David has stood as a type of the human soul striving against its own passions and those of the flesh, and, with many set-backs and downfalls, still endeavouring to seek for righteousness. But even if we put aside the religious associations, his story remains one of the five or six greatest stories of the world. To retell it is as rash an attempt as it would be to retell the stories of Œdipus or of Lear. For dramatic intensity in the drawing of characters and situations the author of the Book of Samuel has hardly been surpassed in literature, and his narrative has come down to us in some of the grandest English that has ever been written. As it stands in the authorised version it could not be improved upon, and it is very difficult for those who love it not to resent an attempt to rewrite it. This is, however, a mistaken feeling, for if nothing can improve it, nothing can spoil it either, and Miss Strachey's rendering does in some ways help us to understand it. In translating it into modern English she has, I think, let a good deal of the emotion escape. Her David, speaking like ourselves, and described in words we might use about our own friends and enemies, is more remote than the one who lives in the timeless phrases of the Hebrew writer. Deliberately, or unconsciously, she has stressed the political aspect of his character, his opportunism and astuteness, rather than his impulses and his passion. While doing this, she gives us a very lucid account of his career as a warrior and a statesman. It is illustrated with a map, and if we take it as a history lesson it is enthrallingly interesting. As far as the actual events go she has, for the most part, closely followed the Old Testament writer, but somehow she contrives to make them clearer, if less pic turesque. An example of the loss of picturesqueness, and an exception to the close following of the original narrative, is her treatment of the Goliath episode. She uses it to show how the David legend grew, and how he helped to build it up himself. I regret this kind of explaining away, but find that the political history of the period is much clearer to me than it ever was before.

In "The Red Knight" Mr. Brett Young, who is remarkable among modern writers for his wide imaginative range, introduces us to quite different scenes from those he has described in his previous novels. "Trinacria" is a Mediterranean country which seems to resemble Sicily in its history and physical characteristics. Unlike the Sicily we know, however, it has already had its revolution. Robert Bryden, an artist of mixed English and Trinacrian descent, makes his way there in order to offer his services to Massa, the Communist dictator, whom he had already known and admired in London. He finds, however, that Massa has changed from a kind of Mazzini to a kind of Trotsky, and

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that the conditions in Trinacria are such as to shock every English instinct in his liberty-loving, law-abiding nature. The very difficult position in which he finds himself is soon complicated by love for the daughter of a Trinacrian noble family. The romance that follows is worked up to a passionate climax which quite carries the reader away. Mr. Brett Young has a which quite carries the reader away. sure construction and a great power of description. Perhaps the weak spot in the book is Massa ; we do not see enough of him in the earlier and nobler phase to understand Bryden's passion for him. Apart from this " The Red Knight " is a very good story and very well written.

The night had closed in unusually early for a March evening." This is the first sentence of "The Dark Geraldine," and it goes on to describe how, as darkness gathered and the snowstorm descended on a remote little Scottish town, the narrator, a lawyer's clerk, sat cold and mystified in the outer office, while his principal and "the Colonel," an old client, discussed in lowered tones an affair so exciting and terrifying as to make them forget the time and the weather :-

"A wild night it promised to be, and heartily I wished myself in my cosy rooms in the white house at the far end of the bridge, with a bright fire at my toes, my pipe drawing well, and Boswell's Johnson again in

It is a good beginning, the reader's spirits go up, and his anticipations are confirmed by a murder before the first chapter is out. Nor is he disappointed for many chapters to come. The atmosphere is very good, the mystery is well worked up, the characters promise interesting developments. During the first eight out of the thirteen chapters in the book one's hopes are at once gratified and stimulated. The evening at the Brigadier's, with the amusing episode of Allan's disillusionment, and the breathless climax of the chase on the common, raises them to fever height, and the cipher picture seems to promise them complete satisfaction. But alas, for the promises of detective story writers! Which of them can unwind his mystery in a way which really satisfies the imagination of the reader? Which of them at the present day gives himself a chance of doing so by taking time over the matter and working up the discoveries with the same care as he worked up the mystification? Perhaps modern writers know that if they proceed by the Wilkie Collins method, indolent readers who do not want to exercise their imaginations will simply turn over to the last chapter ; perhaps they know that while paper and printing cost so much, it is no use adding pages which the publishers will reject. Perhaps it is not really their fault-but oh ! they should not raise our hopes so high and then baulk them after all by such confused happenings, such inadequate explanations, such rapidly disappearing characters as those that perplex us in the last chapters of Dark Geraldine." It begins like a really good story and ends like a cinema film.

"Garth" is much more satisfactory. It does not raise our hopes so high at the beginning as "The Dark Geraldine." We feel that the fact that Henry Cloudsdale secured an old house for a mere song and went to live in it with a house-party, may or may not lead to a good mystery. It does so however. This house, which was in the North-West of England and not very far from the sea, had, in former days, belonged to a dealer in West African slaves. Dark deeds had been done in it. Something had been left behind. Mrs. Arnold does not let us down. The atmosphere gets darker and darker, till all is cleared up at the end.

Antonia " is the story of a young woman's relations with two men. We are told that Antonia gave her soul to Prince Mitrany, and we infer that she gave all the rest to Captain Brook. Unfortunately, there is nothing at all in the book to make us believe that she had a soul. Her appearance, and her dark, tragic beauty are exquisitely suggested, but we never get beyond or behind that. As for Captain Brook, who had known only pleasure and easeful power till he loved Antonia, his feelings for her, or rather his feelings about seeing and not seeing her, are well described, but apart from these he does not live at all. Prince Mitrany, with his great sins and his passion for con-fession, is the most phantom-like of all. These strange appearances move in a luxurious cosmopolitan world as ghostly as they are themselves. If they were not presented to us in sentences full of the most delicate colour and rhythm, they would not be worth noticing at all. As it is, one can only wish that Miss Meynell would employ her beautiful prose for some better purpose.

I. B. O'MALLEY.

### PASTICHE AND PREJUDICE.

Pastiche and Prejudice. By A. B. Walkley. (Heinemann. 7s. 6d.)

This book is a collection of Mr. Walkley's articles which are so complete a justification of The Times every Wednesday. As indicated by the title, the articles are of two kinds-pastiche, which are little essays in the manner of other authors ; prejudice, which is Mr. Walkley's own label for his criticisms.

The pastiche are good but not superlative. Since the publication of this book Mr. Walkley has expounded his view of pastiche and parody. Pastiche should be as nearly as possible as the author would have written, and then he offers a series of words as the imitation goes further from the original : parody, caricature, burlesque, travesty. This is Mr. Walkley's answer to the critics who say that his pastiche do not carry in them a criticism of the author imitated, which is the mark of good parody.

Mr. Walkley is, of course, our most delightful critic of the drama. His method is one of insinuation : "t'ain't so much wot 'e says, but the way 'e says it." He has a talent for delicate naughtiness. The critical essays exhibit him in all his moods, but do not give away any trick of writing. We must conclude that he is mischievous and fanciful by birth. But with all his airiness, wisdom and knowledge is there behind it. His foundations are sure ; he has definite standards in spite of his je-m'enfichism, and Croce is his master among the moderns. In the novel he has fallen a victim to the charm of M. Marcel Proust. He has a soft corner in his heart for the French genius in the theatre. But the final words to be said of Mr. Walkley is that he is himself : a writer whom it is always a joy to read.

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# WOMAN'S

IN POLITICS IN THE HOME

HE WOMAN'S LEADER, NOVEMBER 4, 1921.

IN INDUSTRY IN LITERATURE AND ART

# THE COMMON CAUSE

AND

VOL. XIII. No. 40.

UNEMPLOYMENT THE POSITION OF THE MIDWIFE AND HER VALUE TO THE NATION

Working Women and Disarmament. The International Working Women's Congress has adopted a resolution on disarmament which Miss Kate Manicom, of the Workers' Union of Great Britain, is to take to Washington to submit to the Disarmament Conference. The resolution expresses the conviction that the deliberations at Washington should be held in open session, so that the opinion and the will of all the peoples of the world may be fully recorded. The Powers taking part in the Conference are urged to abolish all conditions which make for hatred and fear, and the resolution ends with the words : " From our homes come the armies of the world. We speak as women who suffered the loss of husbands, sons, fathers, and brothers through the Great War, and who, with our children, experienced hunger and misery following upon its tragedy. We declare ourselves in favour of total disarmament." The Municipal Elections. The number of women candidates for the municipal elections this year was larger than ever, and we know of eighty-one women candidates for England and Wales, of whom about twenty are

seeking re-election, and of seventeen women candidates in Scotland. As we go to press all the results are not known, but we are glad to learn that Miss Clinton Holm, run by the W.C.A., has been returned for All Saints Ward, Hastings.

More Women Barristers. The results of the Michaelmas Bar examination have been published, and they are remarkable for the success of the women indidates. Twenty-nine women have gained places in the class lists, four in Roman Law, five in Constitutional History, ten in Criminal Law, six in Real Property and Conveyancing, and four n the final examination. Of the four new women barristers, Miss Ivy Williams, of the Inner Temple, is the first woman to gain a first-class in the finals, which carries with it a studentship of honour. This may mean that Miss Williams will be the first woman called to the Bar, for "the Inn of Court to which a student who has obtained a studentship or certificate of honour belongs may, if desired, dispense with any terms not exceeding two that may remain to be kept by such student previous to his being called to the Bar." If this remission of terms is obtained, Miss Williams will be "called" next May, six months before any of the others. Miss Monica Geikie Cobb was placed in the second class, and Miss Ethel Ashford and Miss Helena Normanton in the third class in the finals. The special prize of  $\pounds_{50}$  for the best

# WITH LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

#### THE

# LEADER

IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN THE PROFESSIONS

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## NOTES AND NEWS

examination in Constitutional Law and Legal History was awarded to Miss Evelyn P. Hope, and no fewer than five women were placed in the first class in Criminal Law, of whom one was Dr. Letitia Fairfield. Miss Chrystal Macmillan, who is so wellknown to readers of THE WOMAN'S LEADER, was placed in class two in Roman Law and in Criminal Law and Procedure.

#### The Magistrates' Association.

Lord Haldane presided over the opening meeting of the Magistrates' Association last week, which was attended by over five hundred magistrates, men and women. Lord Birkenhead, who also spoke, said that he hoped very much the formation of the Association would lead to a co-ordination and standardisation of treatment. His advice was excellent—as was to be expected from a lawyer of long and distinguished experience—a fair audience to any advocate, and a patient sifting of the facts. The new Association will be invaluable to women magistrates, who will be sure of helpful advice and will be able to benefit by the experience of magistrates of long standing.

#### The Mentally Defective Criminal.

The problem of the mentally defective criminal is a burning one, and Mr. Justice McCardie, at Chester Assizes last week, found it difficult to solve. Society has not yet made provision for this class. The prison doctor said that some kind of intermediate detention was the only solution. There are a great many prisoners who, though mentally defective, cannot be certified as nsane ; they come into prison, go out, and return innumerable times. More than 30 per cent. of the prisoners are either mentally or physically defective. Even penal servitude-Dartmoor with its discipline-is considered better for this class of criminal than wandering about with the risk of the police on their minds ; but penal servitude and imprisonment are inadequate; a home of detention, with discipline, regular food and good conditions is the only solution, and the advent of women to the Courts should do much to speed up its adoption.

#### Advancing Women.

It is always encouraging to hear of the appointment of women to important positions, and we can congratulate Mrs. Coombe-Tennant, J.P., very heartily on her latest achievement. She has been made Chairman of the Advisory Committee for West Wales of the Welsh National Liberal Council, which is a very important position indeed.

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#### A Welsh Board of Health.

Mrs. Coombe-Tennant, J.P., has received the following letter from the Minister of Health with regard to the appointment of a woman to the Welsh Board of Health :—" May I say at once that there is nothing in the constitution of the Board to exclude women from membership? It merely happens that at the present time no woman is included. When, under the Ministry of Health Act, it became necessary for my predecessor to set up a Board, he decided after mature consideration that it should be composed of members who should be the heads of administrative departments in the Cardiff office. As you are aware, the framework on which the Welsh Board of Health was constructed was the Welsh Insurance Commission, and it happened that there were gentlemen obviously marked out for control of the various administrative departments of the new Board by their work under the Insurance Commission. As you probably know, the position of women in the Civil Service is no longer as it was before the war, and I myself see no reason why, in the ordinary course of events, one or more women should not rise to the head of administrative departments in Wales, and so become ex-offici members of the Board. It is, of course, a matter for consideration from time to time whether the existing arrangements may not need some modification to suit changes in circumstances ; but 1 am sure that the present moment (when the extension of health services is, at any rate for the time being, suspended) is not the right time for any alteration of the existing constitution of the Welsh Board of Health, which is without doubt working quite satisfactorily.

#### British Federation of University Women.

A matinée performance is being given on Tuesday, November 15th, at the Palace Theatre, in aid of the International Scholarships Fund of the British Federation of University Women. It is intended to help British graduates to go abroad for study at foreign universities, and to enable foreign students to come to the universities of Great Britain. The practical value of such opportunities of enriching educational experience can hardly be overestimated, but there are at present very few scholarships available to meet the great and increasing demand. British university women are applying in considerable numbers for assistance to enable them to finish their studies abroad, while foreign women wishing to come to this country are in many cases at a peculiar disadvantage financially, owing to the disastrous depreciation in the rate of exchange of the currency of their country. Yet it is important and often essential to their future careers that they should be able to study wherever there may be the best facilities for work in their special subjects. The policy of the Federation looks even beyond these obvious and immediate advantages to the promise international exchange holds or the future. Believing that true friendship and understanding between the nations can grow only out of friendship and under-standing between individuals, the members of the Federation are convinced that the provision of more adequate opportunities for\_ educated women to live and work in other countries than their own will be a factor of incalculable value to the peace of the world.

#### The Attack on Newnham.

The apology which the undergraduates have tendered to the Newnham authorities for the damage done has been accepted, and it is learned that six of those concerned in the outrage have been sent down. There has been a universal desire on the part of the bulk of the undergraduates to dissociate themselves from the deplorable conduct of the few, and steps are being taken to repair the damage done. On November 5th the Senate will be asked to take the formal steps for putting Grace II, on the statute book. But whatever the University may do about its disgraceful grace, there is no doubt that the matter will now go forward. It is out of the hands of the University, and goes first to the Commission and then to Parliament.

#### Glasgow Corporation and Women.

An extraordinary scene occurred in Glasgow recently after the Council had refused to receive a deputation of women who asked to be heard regarding threatened evictions of unemployed tenants. The Labour members made repeated attempts to overturn the Lord Provost's decision, but without success, and finally, led by Mr. Kirkwood, a Labour member, the deputation entered the Council Chamber. It may have been unorthodox and unconstitutional, but men will have to learn that women are not negligible, and that their deputations on important subjects cannot be ignored.

#### Girl Farmers' Success.

Girls have scored a success over boys at the examinations held at the Young Farmers' Club which was started early this year at Hemyock, East Devon. Three girls headed the list, and all the members have shown the greatest interest in the work of the season, and in the animals entrusted to their care. The members range from ten to eighteen years of age.

#### A New Idea in Cookery Classes.

An interesting experiment has been started in Bradford by some women who realised how little the average factory girl knows of cooking. They have bought an emergency field kitchen and, knowing how hard it is to persuade the girls to come and be taught, they are pursuing them into the very factory yard. After three visits, when well-cooked food is sold at cost price, the girls are told that if they wish the visits to continue, they must arrange to do the cooking themselves under supervision. Several factories are enthusiastic about the scheme, which will undoubtedly develop.

#### The Cost of Living and Women Workers.

Our readers will remember that, in a recent issue, we referred to the women workers of Kansas, to more than half of whom less than a living wage is being paid. The women's division of the Court of Industrial Relations has sent out questionnaires to women in every industry and every commercial establishment in every town in the State. The cost of living budget, which can be compiled when these filled-in questionnaires are received, is to be used as a basis for determining the new minimum wage scales. Some years ago when the Industrial Court started to fix maximum hours and minimum wages for women workers, it was found that few women knew what their living costs were. The Commission then instructed the women to keep books, so that the present inquiry should result in the most accurate information. The idea is that when employers come before the Court endeavouring to show that wages should drop, the women workers can be called upon to show whether the cost of living has come down sufficiently to warrant the employers' demand. This is a very interesting variant of the cost of living index, and being based upon the actual lives of women workers and not upon the supposed needs of families, it is likely to be really accurate for its purpose.

#### Debt to a Wife.

A labourer was charged at Hendon with being £155 in urrears on a maintenance allowance ordered to be made in 1917. His wife, to whom he should have paid 25s. a week, has had nothing since Armistice day, and how she has supported life during this interval does not appear. The man is earning  $\pounds_3$ a week and has now been ordered to pay 30s. a week or go to prison. The drawback to this arrangement is that, having no fixed abode, he will probably prefer to remove rather than contribute to his wife's support. It should be possible to proceed by some method other than that of giving him convenient notice to abscond and leave his debt unpaid for another two years.

#### The Criminal Code in New Zealand.

A determined campaign to amend clauses of the Criminal Code is proceeding in New Zealand. The National Council of Women is circulating a petition to have the age of consent raised from sixteen to eighteen, and to extend the time of laying information regarding criminal assault from six months to twelve months. The Social Hygiene Society is circulating a petition embodying the same demands, but also asking to have the plea of "having reasonable cause to believe " the girl's age to be over sixteen abolished. The Society for the Protection of Women and Children asks that boys also should be protected to the age of eighteen. There is a strong feeling among the women's societies that protection should be accorded up to twenty-one, but they have accepted eighteen rather than lose both. Public feeling is heartily with the petitioners, and short as the session must be, Mr. Massey will have these demands thrust upon him.

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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### **UNEMPLOYMENT.**

The short session of Parliament which is now in progress is devoted mainly to the problems of unemployment, and the three or four palliatives which the Government has brought forward deserve careful consideration. As regards women workers they seem to make no change in the situation whatever (except for concession secured by Lady Astor to which we shall refer later). The Local Authorities (Financial Provisions) Bill, which goes some way towards equalising the London rates, is, of course, the direct outcome of the fight of the Poplar Councillors. This Bill makes no difference to the unemployed worker, male or female, save in so far as it reduces rates in hard-hit areas, and even in this it goes by no means the whole way. But at least it is something. . The Trade Facilities Bill, if it works out as intended, will increase the volume of trade, and will thus have its indirect effect upon men and women workers alike, but it is not probable that any results can show immediately. Both these two relief Bills, in any case, are of a general character with no more bearing upon women than upon men.

The other two forms of alleviation suggested, however, are different in kind. One of these is the provision of new relief works, and the other is the Unemployed Workers (Dependents) Temporary Provision Bill. These two measures deal directly with the worker, and it is therefore possible to consider whether they are well adapted to help the various classes of people out of work.

The first of them, namely, the provision of various kinds of relief work, brings no hope to the out-of-work women at all." Afforestation, drainage, and road-making are not considered women's work," and it is quite inconceivable that any women will be employed on them-the days of the war being passed, and its lessons already so well forgotten. These schemes, therefore, excellent as they may be if they ever materialise, will not help the out-of-work women, and the parallel schemes of relief works which women could do are looked for in vain in the proposals of the Cabinet. Whenever this subject is even remotely approached, the Minister of Labour begins to boast of the aining schemes for domestic servants (which are financed by the Central Committee on Women's Training and Employment and other special funds, and not by the Government), and which now absorb a few hundreds of the women out of work. These training schemes, and all the activities of the Central Committee, are most valuable and excellent. But they have been in existence or two years, and have nothing whatever to do with the exceptional troubles of the moment. They are, moreover, strictly limited to people who are in difficulties owing to the war, and are not even open to the new sufferers from the present economic depression. The boast of Dr. Macnamara is therefore a more than usually empty one. In this direction, obviously, the Government is really proposing nothing at all; and the reason for it probably is that, in spite of the Census, and in spite of the plain acts recorded week by week in the employment exchanges, they cannot yet realise that there are hundreds of thousands of women who are solely dependent on their own exertions.

The remaining Bill, namely the one providing extra allowances for workers' dependents, does indeed make an attempt to help the female part of the population, and, in its way, it introduces a most important new principle into the wage system of the country, since it allows for unemployment payments to be based on family needs.

Looked at from the out-of-work woman's point of view, it does not greatly ease her position, however. If she has dependent children she can get one shilling a week each for them (up to the number of nine), and if she has a wholly dependent husband she can get 5s. a week for him (thanks to the nsistence of Lady Astor upon the point that wives supporting husbands must be in the same position as husbands supporting vives). Otherwise, however, this Bill helps her not at all, and it s impossible to escape the conclusion that the Government has o far cruelly neglected the out-of-work woman.

While we deplore and even denounce this state of affairs, we must not be supposed to be objecting to what has been done for the married man and his dependent family. Meagre and insufficient as one shilling a week per child is, it is certainly better than nothing at all, and, what is more, it may prove to be the beginning of that recognition of payments according to needs which is the basis of a just distribution of wealth.

#### THE WOMAN'S LEADER.

## NEWS FROM WESTMINSTER.

#### By OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT.

The outstanding Parliamentary event of the week has been, of course, the debate and division on Monday. Everyone knew beforehand that the Vote of Censure moved by Colonel Gretton would muster less than fifty supporters, but no one knew quite what line the Prime Minister was going to take, and the alarums and excursions in the Lobby were many and various. In the event, however, Mr. Lloyd George rose, as he so often does, to the height of a great oratorical occasion, and no one save the extreme Unionists in the House, and the readers of the Merning Post outside it, could find a word to criticize. Labour and Liberal Members can, and do, abuse the Government for its previous policy of coercion, and Lord Robert Cecil, from among the Conservatives, showed by his amendment (which was ruled out of order) that some of them take the same view. But, the past being past, the case for negotiations is overwhelming, and t was made out in the House with the dignity and seriousness which such a subject requires.

It is evident, at the time of writing, that things are at a critical stage within the Conference itself, and it may be that it will, after all, break down from within. The House of Commons, at least, has done nothing to jeopardise its success

Apart from this/"full-dress" day, nothing of very great interest has happened in Parliament. The emergency legislation for unemployment is going on its undistinguished way. The attention of Members, while, of course, it must be given to detailed business, is really fixed upon the great World Conference which is now drawing so near. Washington holds the stage, and must do so for many weeks to come, and the expectations and hopes which are forming round it are very high indeed.

If the Prime Minister of Great Britain is kept here because of Ireland, it will undoubtedly be a very great misfortune. We say this not only because his ability and force are so conspicuous (some of our readers may perhaps think we overrate them), but even more because of the Irish situation in America itself. There are forces in America which would be glad to use any cry against us, and to them an Irish breakdown would be meat and drink. This is a plain fact, and must be remembered, although, of course, we all know that these forces are not the American people. But they are there, and it is no use ignoring them ; nor is it impossible that they may now, as so often in the past, be instigating extremist opinion in Ireland itself.

Apart from this altogether, however, we do not want to enter a Conference on Far Eastern disarmament with our hands filled with weapons of war. If our own Western Island will not treat reasonably with the British Empire, how can we hope for much from that other island in the Pacific?

And yet, unless the Powers at Washington meet together for reasonable dealing with a fair trust and an honest purpose, what hope will there be for the world?

We have wandered far from Westminster in these speculations, but it is so that political minds are moving to-day. Great issues govern small ones, and no serious politicians (such as are still to be found at Westminster, despite anti-wasters and the like) can watch the happenings of the day without great anxiety. There is a great hope in the international temper of the whole world, but there is a great danger too. And no one can tell what will happen.

In more domestic things, the outstanding tendency, in spite of the practical unanimity about Irish negotiations, is the revival of party activity. The chance of an instantaneous general election appears not to be very great (though on this matter prophecy is more than usually hazardous), but campaigns of all kinds in the country are getting under way. The Liberals, both of the Coalition and Independent groups, are distinctly active, and Labour is hard at work in the constituencies. The Conservatives have been, of course, rather shaken by the "die-hard" revolt, but they are always inclined to rely on the passive attitude in this as in other matters. The straight fight at Hornsey between Liberal and Conservative comes at an opportune moment, from the wirepuller's point of view. It may show how the wind is blowing, or if it is blowing at all.

[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.]

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# BURNING QUESTIONS.

We call the attention of our readers to the fact that in the topical and controversial matters which we treat under the heading of "Burning Questions" we endeavour to present the principal views on each question held by differing groups of political thinkers. We do not ourselves express an editorial opinion, beyond this, that it is each woman's business first to be well-informed and then to come to her own opinion.

# THE POSITION OF THE MIDWIFE AND HER VALUE TO THE NATION.

The position that the midwife holds to-day has been won after a long, uphill fight. The fact that she has had prejudice to live down, as well as a name to build up, combined with the strange apathy of the public about her, has made the struggle the harder and has hindered progress, professionally and socially. There are those who blame Dickens for the stigma that, to this day, is attached to the word "midwife"; but he was right in bringing to light the evil as it then existed. The responsibility lay with the public, who having been shown it, was content to condemn it, instead of attempting to rectify the system. Yet the fact nains, that for nearly fifty years after the historic picture of Mrs. Gamp was painted, practically no action was taken to improve the midwifery service.

Want of appreciation of the essential needs of a mother in confinement resulted in a deadly apathy on the part of the public, and this enabled a certain section of the medical profession, who feared confusion between the rôles of doctor and midwife, to resist successfully for many years all efforts at improvement. At last, however, the forces of reaction were overcome. Thanks to the efforts of the Midwives' Institute and its friends, a Parliamentary Committee was appointed in 1892 to study the question ; their report proved the value of the work of the trained midwife, and declared a midwifery service to be essential for the industrial classes. This finding strengthened public opinion, and in 1902 the passing of the Midwives Act crowned the efforts of its promoters with success. The midwife, from being a nobody became a somebody, holding a certificate which proved past experience or past training; her position as a member of a profession was assured as the value of her services was progressively recognised.

The lack of a trained woman's attendance and care at childbirth has probably been the cause of much loss of life and suffering to the mother and child. This can be gauged by a comparison of the maternal mortality rate in midwives' practice as compared with those for the national returns. The general rates are 4.12 per thousand, whilst those amongst trained midwives are under two per thousand.

The industrial mother needs the same skilled nursing in confinement as that considered essential for her richer sister. The trained midwife looks upon the nursing as being as important a part of her work as the actual delivery, and the midwife will often give this necessary nursing care by acting as a monthly nurse in conjunction with the doctor. This friendly co-operation has proved the value of a combined midwifery and medical service, assuring as it does to the doctor skilled nursing for his patients, and to the midwife medical and surgical aid when necessary in her practice. Unfortunately, there are still some districts in which the doctors deny this skill to their patients by discouraging the employment of the midwife and encouraging that of the handy woman (or nurse, as she is often called in spite of her lack of all qualifications)

The midwife by her training is able, and by the rules under which she works is obliged, to undertake the care and supervision of the mother during pregnancy. Moreover, because she is a woman living in their midst, and "one with them," the mothers will book with her earlier than with a doctor, and will confide in her all the minor ailments and discomforts of pregnancy, for the alleviation of which so much can now be done. At the same time, the midwife can watch over them and detect any serious sign or abnormality, necessitating medical advice. Thus, for her patients, the midwife is the most efficient of all out-workers of the ante-natal clinic, but, be it mentioned, without the cost of a penny to the ratepayers. Economically this is a consideration.

The work of the midwife is such as to attract the most highly skilled and qualified women, yet at the present time there is a shortage. As recorded-March, 1920-there were nearly 46,000 on the roll, but of these only 11,488 were practising. What are the causes?

The first reason, the low status of the midwife professionally and socially, is in part due to historic causes. At the time of the passing of the Act, the shortage of trained women and the need for experienced help at confinements necessitated the inclusion en bloc of all those who had been in practice for one year prior to the passing of the Act. Among these were many really competent women, but there were also some who, owing to a defect in character or knowledge, should not (had immediate discrimination been possible) have been permitted to continue in practice. The number of these is diminishing through death or resignation, and, in the case of the incompetent, through removal from the roll. But their inclusion certainly tended to fan the flame of prejudice and keep the standard of midwifery low in the public eve.

The remuneration is so low as to provide no prospect of making provision for old age, or of supporting dependents, and the arduous nature of the work deters many. A midwife is " on duty " day and night. She can never leave her district without arranging for a substitute, and the actual work is made all the heavier by the low fees, which necessitate the taking of a large number of cases to make a living.

There is, too, always great responsibility, but it is especially great in the rural areas, where the doctor lives far away, or in those districts where there is not friendly co-operation between the two professions

Inferior inspection is (where it exists) perhaps the greatest The midwife works under rules, laid down by the governing body-the Central Midwives' Board ; failure to obey them may bring penalties upon her, e.g., censure or removal from the Roll of Midwives. The duty of seeing that the rules are complied with rests wth an inspector appointed by the Local Superising Authority, but when the Act was passed, no stipulation was made as to qualifications, and no standard exists to-day. Consequently they have varied from the possession of a medical degree with real experience of the work of the practising midwife to the possession of no qualification at all. It is only those who have had the privilege of a sympathetic and competent Inspector who can realise the value of such help and sympathise with those who are less fortunate.

The midwife is an integral part of any maternity and child welfare scheme, and should be accorded her rightful place in its working. Unfortunately, there is a tendency to fail to do this, and instead (contrary to the wishes of the Ministry of Health), to take from her the care of her patients during pregnancy. This removes a most important part of her work, and deprives the mother of that unbroken observation throughout pregnancy which is so essential to the midwife who is responsible, under law, for the safe conduct of the confinement, and does away with that personal touch which tends to encourage confidence.

Where there is want of harmony between doctor and midwife, not only is sympathetic co-operation cut off, but there is the great additional strain coming from the sense of dependence on one unwilling to give help when medical or surgical skill is required. Such are probably the main reasons of the present shortage. What are the remedies? A greater recognition of the value of her services by the public, the medical profession, and the centres, and better remuneration. In those cases where the fees paid are insufficient to ensure a living wage, they should be made up by some form of subsidy by the local authority, or by giving the midwife some other paid duty which must, of course, be compatible with her work as a midwife.

There should be greater facilities for obtaining medical aid, and some arrangement for its payment as will not press unduly either on the midwife or patient. Skilled, competent, and sympathetic inspection by one who is the midwife's superior in knowledge and experience should be the rule, and there should be recognition of the midwife's place in the health scheme, so that she can loyally co-operate with all other social or health agencies.

EXPERIENCE.

## THE WOMAN'S VOTE IN OPERATION.

Canvassing on behalf of one of the candidates at a recent by-election afforded an excellent opportunity of observing the attitude of the ordinary stay-at-home woman towards the vote in general, and her individual responsibility with regard to it in particular.

Take a hundred houses forming an insignificant street on the straggling outskirts of a small market town. Some thirty of these are small semi-detached villas-their occupant's clerks, small tradesmen or shop assistants. A row of self-contained bungalows houses some twenty widows and elderly spinsters and a sprinkling of septuagenarian benedicts, all of strictly limited means and of proven respectability; the remaining fifty odd dwellings are mostly cottages of the parlour and three bedroom type, and occupied by working-class people.

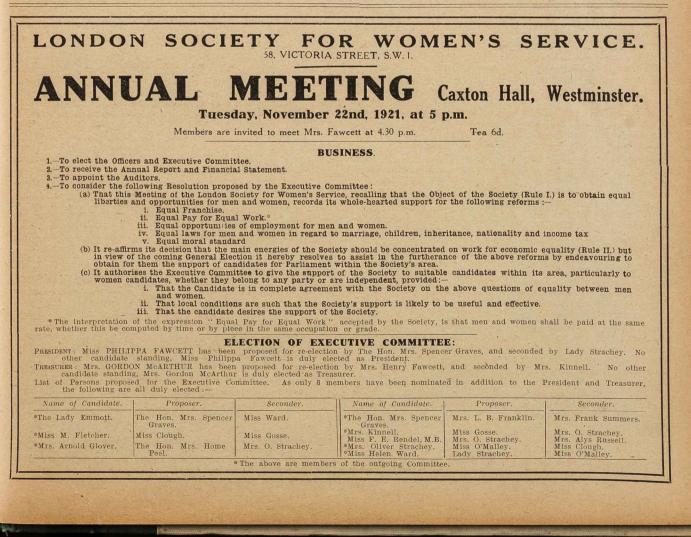
It was soon apparent that though all novelty in connection with the possession of a Parliamentary vote had long since worn off, yet very few women voters had given any serious thought to the subject, and the vagueness of their ideas and the attitude of many of their minds towards it may perhaps best be described in their own words.

"I don't understand about these things," was a common statement; and some, anxious to evade the responsibility of making a decision themselves, would add : "But if you say he's the right one I'll vote for him," one even going so far as to tell her male lodger, whose vote at the moment was under discussion, " If Mrs. A. is working for him, he must be a good man." Being personally unacquainted with the candidate, Mrs. A. was at least made to feel that whatever a woman's responsibility as a voter might be, hers as a canvasser was equally great.

Have you made up your mind who to vote for?" asked Mrs. A. of an elderly spinster who resided in one of the bungalows.

'Oh yes," she replied with alacrity. "For Colonel X. He's a dear! And look at his wife, what a lovely letter she wrote-she's a perfect lady.

In the opinion of some it "didn't matter which way you voted," as no candidate ever kept his election promises ; others



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affirmed that Members of Parliament were too expensive. On asking if the salary of  $\pounds_{400}$  a year was in question, Mrs. A. was met with the exclamation—"Four hundred a year—why it's more like four thousand." It is only fair to state that a like ignorance was exhibited by some of the masculine voters. A timid canvasser, as she stood trembling on his doorstep, was harangued by a burly mechanic as follows :--- " Vote for Colonel X. ! I should think not. Look what he's cost me-look what he's cost the country. Look what I have to pay that I didn't oughter have to pay. Sixpence for my glass of beer that used to be threepence, and fourpence for unemployment and fivepence for Lloyd George ; no, I won't vote for no rotten Governments.

On the whole there would appear to be less apathy on public questions, whether social or political, than in days gone by, but the amount of ignorance to be dissipated is enormous; and the woman whose life's work is centred in the home is appallingly busy. Even those who are better educated, genuinely interested, and anxious to learn the duties of citizenship have either no time to spare or they are too tired from the continual round of housecleaning, clothes-washing, preparing and serving meals, to say nothing of the bearing and rearing of children, to study such questions, and very few were able to attend meetings convened especially for them in the weeks that preceded the election.

The names of seven million women are now on the Parliamentary register ; every time it is compiled afresh more will be added to it

A great force has been set in motion, and seeing that the votes of the uninformed and uneducated women far outnumber those of the women who use the power bestowed upon them by the franchise with discrimination and forethought, it is impossible to predict what its effect on the vital questions and pressing problems that harass the minds of the great statesmen, social reformers, and religious teachers of to-day will be. To quote an elderly female voter who religiously reads the local news-sheet on a Sunday afternoon :-- "As Lord George says, 'We must wait and see.

M. E. B.

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# NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

Offices: Evelyn House, 62, Oxford Street, London, W. 1. Telephone Museum 6910.

#### ARMISTICE DAY-WOMEN'S MEETING.

ARMISTICE DAY—WOMEN'S MEETING. We remind our readers of the great Women's Meeting to be held at Central Hall, Westminster, on November 11th at 8.30 p.m. Speakers : Viscountess Astor, M.P., Miss Margaret Bondfield, Miss Maude Royden, Lady Bonham Carter, Councilor Mrs. Ganley. Admission free. Reserved seats 28. 6d. Unreserved, 1s., may be had on application to Headquarters. A letter has just been issued to all our affiliated societies giving suggestions for meetings on such subjects as "British Women and the Washington Conference," "Equal Citizenship and its International Implications," &c. A list of members of the Executive Committee of the N.U.S.E.C. and others willing to speak on these and similar subjects may be had from Headquarters. he had from Headquarters.

#### WASHINGTON CONFERENCE.

WASHINGTON CONFERENCE. The League of Nations Special Committee, which met last week, agreed to circulate leaflets to our affiliated societies containing a letter signed-by Lady Astor, Mrs. Fawcett, Miss Royden, Mrs. Snowden, and Mrs. Wintringham, proposing that every woman and every girl over fourteen should send a post-card to the Prime Minister on November 3rd, at ro, Downing Street, S.W.1, with the fcllowing message : "God speed you at Washington." It may not be too late for some readers of this page to send such a post-card.

#### EQUAL FRANCHISE.

**EQUAL FRANCHISE.** We are sometimes told that this subject is not considered interesting, but the New South Wales Argus recently devoted nearly a column to the consideration of arguments in favour of removal of the present disabilities under which women suffer, concluding with an interesting account of a meeting held by the Newport W.C.A. at which Dr. J. Lloyd Davies presided and Miss Helen Ward was the speaker. The new Memorials to be signed by organisations, asking for a Government measure on Equal Franchise next Session, are now ready. Any organisations, whether affiliated to the N.U. or not, which can secure signatures from other societies can have copies on application to Headquarters. Copies will be sent shortly to affiliated societies.

#### CONGRATULATIONS.

We are sure that all our Societies will wish to join in congratulations to Miss Chrystal Macmillan, who has successfully passed two of the first Bar Examinations.

#### WOMEN AND DISARMAMENT.

MADAM,—May I avail myself of the courtesy of your columns to thank, on behalf of my colleagues and myself, all those ministers of religion, Bishops, Anglican clergy, and Free Church clergy, who, last Sunday, blessed from their pulpits the Woman's Disarmament Godspeed Move-ment, and to beg those who have not yet done so to express their approval

next Sunday. This movement, initiated by five women, differing on other points, but agreed on this, viz, Lady Astor, M.P., Mrs. Fawcett, Mrs. Philip Snowden, Mrs. Wintringham, M.P., and myself, is calling forth a warm response from thousands of women who have no other effective means of making known their passionate desire that the Washington Conference shall succeed. The proposal is simple enough—sensational, if you will. It is merely that every woman, and every girl of fourteen years of age and upwards shall send a postcard to the Prime Minister, ro, Downing-street, S.W. 1, two days before he sails for Washington (for he will and upwards shall send a postcard to the Prime Minister, io, Downing-street, S.W. 1, two days before he sails for Washington (for he will almost certainly go, sooner or later) with her name and address upon it, and the words, "Godspeed you at Washington," or "Godspeed to the Washington Conference." If millions of women and girls do this simple thing, the women of America will understand that in their enthusiasm for Disarmament they have the sympathy and support of their principal support of

May I add that though all the workers in the movement are volunteers, May 1 and that though at the workers in the movement are volunteers, and the Press is giving us most generous support, nevertheless, the expense of printing, postage, and stationery will probably be about £100. Donations should be sent to the Treasurer, Miss Helen Ward, 34, Marl-borough-hill, N.W. 8. The accounts will be kindly audited by Miss M. S. Clugston, Certified Accountant, 9, Regent-street, S.W. 1. The balance, if any, will be handed to the Russian Famine Relief Fund. A. MAUDE ROYDEN

#### Y.W.C.A. HOSTELS.

Y.W.C.A. HOSTELS. MADAM, — There are numbers of girls to-day wandering about the streets of London who have gone under in the struggle with poverty and sin. And there are hostels where they are welcomed and cared for, helped to make a fresh start, and taught self-control and self-respect. Many have already been helped in this way and are now doing well in honest work. But unless we get more voluntary subscriptions these hostels must shut their doors, for you cannot get money from penniless waifs. Will the readers of this paper send us something, however small, to keep those hostel doors open?

E. D. SMITHETT, Y.W.C.A.

#### HORNSEY BY-ELECTION.

Once again we are in the thick of a London By-Election. Both candi-dates, Lord Ednam, Conservative, and Mr. Burgin, Liberal, have been asked to put Equal Franchise in their election addresses. Educational work in the Division has already been begun, and it is proposed to organise a deputation to candidates and hold a meeting of women voters, in conjunction with other women's organisations, to be addressed by both candidates. Helpers are urgently appealed for; offers of help between now and November 10th should be sent to us at once.

#### OUR THANKS.

We acknowledge with many thanks the generous donation of £5 from our Society at Bury, and the very kind letter with which this gift was accompanied. Such unexpected gifts and encouraging letters go far to lighten our responsibilities at the Head Office. The Bury Society has forestalled an Appeal, which, unfortunately, must be issued in the near future

#### APPEAL FOR FAMINE IN RUSSIA.

APPEAL FOR FAMILE IN RUSSIA. In accordance with the following resolution passed at the Annual. Council Meeting, 1920— "That this Council, holding that women, as the natural custodians of child life, have a special responsibility with regard to the famine-stricken areas of Europe, expresses its sympathy with, and urges its members to assist, the various efforts that are being made to relieve distress in these areas" distress in these areas.

distress in these areas." —the League of Nations Special Committee of the N.U.S.E.C. agreed at a recent meeting to make a special appeal to our Societies to take immediate steps to rouse their members and others to a sense of their responsibility with regard to the terrible suffering prevailing in Russia t the present time. The Committee r

at the present time. The Committee realises that there never has been a time when it is more difficult to raise funds, and that distress exists to a large extent at home and elsewhere, but at the same time it is impossible for a Christian country to allow thousands of innocent men, women, and children to die of starvation in Russia without making some great effort on their behalf.

There can be no doubt that the uncertainty as to whether relief sent Incre can be no doubt that the uncertainty as to whether relief sent might be misappropriated has hitherto prevented an adequate response to the appeals issued, but these fears are now dispelled by the fact that all relief agencies at work in Russia report the entire safety of all goods despatched to Russia, and that they are reaching the actual sufferers with complete security.

#### CORRESPONDENCE.

#### THE NURSING PROFESSION TO-DAY.

MADAM,-With regard to the articles by M. Mears on the "Nursing Profession," may I say that I have a sister a nurse, and from all she has told me I find that the picture Miss Mears draws is *not nearly black* enough. It is time public attention was drawn towards these matters. EK

#### THE WOMEN POLICE MOVEMENT.

The following is a list of signatories who endorse the views expressed The following is a list of signatories who endorse the views expressed in Miss Goldingham's article, which appeared last week : F. E. Abbott, Audrey Addison, M. Braddon, Edith Champneys, Jean M. Campbell, A. Dalziel, S. Fife, L. Fox, H. Guthree, M. P. Grant, A. M. Gardiner, M.B.E., M. A. Hampton, E. F. Harburn, M.B.E., I. Napier Hardy, C. King, N. O'Sullivan, M. Read, W. N. Stark, V. D. Swaisland, L. Simpson, F. Stephings, O. Walton, D. Watson, C. Primrose, W. M. Reinold, M. Beausire, T. E. Sandilands, A. Malpas, G. Moss.

## An Exhibition of . . . . Modern Housecraft (Under the direction of MISS GYWNNE HOWELL)

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NOVEMBER 4. 1021.

#### COMING EVENTS.

#### LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

NOV. 4. Hither Green, St Andrew's Hall, 8 p.m. Speaker: Miss Elizabeth Canterbury, Women's Institutes. Speaker: Col. Maurice Spencer, C.M.G. NOV. 6. Kingsway Hall, W.C. 1, 3.30 p.m. Speaker: J. H. Clynes, Esq., M.P.

NOV. 8. 8.15 p.m. "The Humour of the Cinema." Lecture by Major G. Sinclair Hill, O.B.E. Chair: Miss Priestly.

NOV 8. Forest Gate, Women's Co-operative Guild, 2.30 p.m. "Public Ownership of the Drink Trade." Speaker: Miss M. Cotterell. NOV. 9. Peterborough, Women's Co-operative Guild, 7.30 p.m. "Lantern Lecture on Carlisle Experiment." Speaker: Miss F. L. Carre. Whietstone, Mosthers' Union, 3.30 p.m. "The Future Public House." Speaker: Miss M. Cotterell.

NOV. 11. Annual Meeting at Meng's Café, 7.30 p.m. "The Washington Confer-ence." Speaker: Mrs. J. B Munro. Chair: Mrs. V. A. Mundella.

#### INTERNATIONAL FRANCHISE CLUB.

NOV. 9. 9, Grafton Street, Piccadilly, 8.15 p.m. Subject: "The New Chinese Women." Speaker: Miss E. G. Kemp, F.R.S., G.S. Chairman: Captain Martin.

## College of Ambulance **CLASSES AND LECTURES**

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The College offers every facility for instruction in Ambulance Work in its widest interpretation. The fees are moderate, and Members and Fellows have the use of Anatomical and Pathological Museums, Bandaging Rooms, Ward, Library and Writing Room.

## THE MALTHUSIAN LEAGUE **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 propa-ganda among the poor, it has sent out more than 35,000 practical leallets to struggling parents who have applied for them.

The League is opening a Maternity and Child Welfare Clinic in October under medical and nursing management which will give, in addition to ordinary medical advice, the best advice on and treat-ment for birth control wherever needed. All enquiries and Subscriptions to

The Hon, Secretary,

124, Victoria Street, S.W.1.

(This Society has no paid officials.)

#### TOO LATE FOR CLASSIFICATION.

T RAINED NURSE having 3-roomed flat wishes to share it and living expenses, seaside, 35 minutes' walk from sea.—Box 853, WOMAN'S LEADER, 62, Oxford street, W. 1.

THE HAT DOCTOR, 3a, Little Sussex-place, Hyde Park-square, W.2. Re-blocks and makes hats, toques; own materials used if required; re-covers shoes, satin, thin kid, or canvas; own material if preferred. Furs altered and re-made at lowest possible price. Shoes toecapped, providing satin.

LECTURE ON MEDLEVAL ART, by Professor Percy Dearmer, D.D. (King's College, London), will be given at 45, Pont-street, S.W. 1, by kind permission of Dame Alice Godman, D.B.E., on Thursday, November 10th-5.15 p.m. Collection in aid of the Women's After-care Hostel.

ADY would let 2 furnished rooms, with use of kitchen, to another lady in her cottage; country; one hour from London.—Box 852, WOMAN'S LEADER, c. Oxford.street, W. 1.

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NOV. 9-19. At the Central Hall, Westminster

#### BRITISH FEDERATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN.

NOV. 15. A matinée performance will be given at the Palace Theatre, at 2.30 p.m., in aid of the International Scholarship Fund.

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

#### NEWPORT W.C.A.

NOV. 11. Conference of Women on "The Social Evil"

SUNDERLAND WOMEN CITIZENS' ASSOCIATION.



"QUALITY AND FLAVOUR"

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## THE WOMAN'S LEADER.

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NOVEMBER 4, 1921.

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D EAN 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 § mile. Board residence, 47s. 6d. to 65. Prospectus.-Hallam, Littledean House, Littledean, Glos.

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(<sup>1</sup>HISWICK, W. 4.-Board Residence for Lady Workers or Visitors; stations, trams, buses, 7 minutes; cycle accommodation. - Mrs. Gwinnell, 34. Barrowgate-road.

#### TO LET AND WANTED.

FURNISHED HOUSE, Hampstead; seven bedrooms, dining-room, two sitting-rooms; geyser, bath; telephone; electric light; seven guineas a week.--Apply Mrs. Oilver Strachey, WOMAN'S LEADER, 62, Oxford-street, W. 1.

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

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

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

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