

# 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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# THE WOMAN'S LEADER

AND  
COMMON CAUSE.

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

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## NOTES AND NEWS

### The Assembly of the League.

Seldom in the history of the world has there been a time so full of possibilities, nor has any body of men been loaded with such a weight of responsibility as that which rests on the shoulders of the delegates at present assembled at Geneva for the great World Parliament. There can be no doubt that each member must realise the importance of the trust which his nation has imposed on him, and the overwhelming gravity of his decisions, the results of which will effect, not only the people of his own country, but the people of all the world. The League, in spite of all the difficulties with which its path is strewn, is the only instrument which can heal a broken world, and the ideals which gave it birth are too big and too fundamental to be crushed and killed by the cynicism or pessimism of little men whose lack of imagination refuses to allow them to consider any alteration in conditions they have known, and who cannot believe in a time when war will cease. And yet each one of us longs intensely for permanent peace, and the League is the outcome of this longing, the machinery devised by the best intellects and the highest ideals of the old and the new world. Women with their eyes on the future of the race, with an intense conviction and a desperate desire to save the next generation from the trials, the horrors, and the calamities which the present generation has had to bear, must face the cynicism of the men and insist that life and vigour and hope and an intense faith in its adequacy shall vitalise the machinery of the League and make it competent for the vast tasks which lie before it.

### The Town Council Elections.

Since we went to press last week several more names of newly elected women town councillors have been sent to us. Woodstock elected Mrs. Brungate, who stood as an Independent; Auchterarder returned Mrs. E. Gardner; Crieff returned Mrs. Wilkie Brown (unopposed); Haddington, Mrs. A. Mularkie; Kirkcudbright, Mrs. MacMyn, Miss Montgomery, and Mrs. Stuart; Dumbarton, Mrs. Armstrong; Greenock, Miss I. Kerr; Largs, Mrs. Morris; Stranraer, Miss M. Gibbon. Mrs. A. M. Perrett (Conservative) has been elected by Godston-on-Sea, while the Deputy Lady Mayoress, Mrs. Harboed (Liberal) has been returned by Great Yarmouth, Lowestoft has elected Mrs. Smith (Labour) to its Town Council, and Liskeard has returned Mrs. Hedley Collings. We congratulate them all heartily, and rejoice that the list is less disappointing than we at first thought. The re-election of Alderman Whitaker as Mayor of Scarborough was of especial interest, since it was

the first time in England that the appointment of Mayor was proposed and seconded by women Councillors, the proposer and seconder being Councillor Agnes Brown, M.B.E., and Councillor Emily Catt.

### The Ministry of Health Bill.

The Government has done wisely in abandoning thirteen clauses of the Miscellaneous Ministry of Health Bill. The various parts of the Bill are not interdependent, and debate in Committee spread over so wide a field exasperates without informing. Further sacrifices may be made in Committee, but as the matter now stands at the moment, the Housing clauses remain, with the sole exception of the provision allowing local authorities to build houses for their employees. All the clauses relating to the treatment of mental disorder are to be proceeded with. Dr. Addison expressed himself as anxious to accept amendments to the clause permitting local authorities to hire compulsorily houses suitable for working class dwellings which have stood empty for three months, and also that permitting the prohibition of building operations which hinder the construction of dwelling houses. Clause 18, dealing with the borrowing of money to finance housing schemes, goes to Committee, where it will have to meet again the very damaging criticism that if £1,000 is borrowed for a term of sixty years at six per cent., the whole sum to be repaid will be £3,712, an enormous burden to lay on posterity. The House of Commons is at last turning its attention to economy, but Mr. Bonar Law bluntly told the ratepayers that they can get no real protection from the House of Commons, they must protect themselves. The debate in Committee made it quite clear that the Government has no idea, and could have no idea, of the cost of their proposals.

### Hospital Finance.

Grave objections are being raised to the proposal that County Councils shall have power to levy a rate in aid of voluntary hospitals within their areas. The voluntary system has failed, but only temporarily failed, to maintain the great central hospitals, and they must have assistance from the taxpayer or the ratepayer to tide them over a long, unforeseen crisis. But if subsidies are to be given to hospitals it must be quite clear that they are earned, and they should be granted for specific purposes. Hospitals at present are schools of medicine, schools of nursing, institutions for research, refuges during sickness for the destitute, for the well-to-do industrial classes, as well as emergency ambulance stations for accidents to all classes of the community. It is obvious that not all these functions of the

hospital can fairly be subsidized by the ratepayer. The three first are plainly national affairs, the three last fall within the province of the local authorities, with the limitation that patients of some kind are necessities to the hospitals as educational institutions. The fact that the hospitals are overcrowded while thirty thousand beds are vacant in Poor Law Infirmaries suggests faults in the organisation of these services which should be easily remediable. Sir Arthur Stanley's statement that weekly hospital contributions from workmen in one large country town have risen during the past year from £18,000 to £30,000 shows that some hospitals, at least, may be self-supporting, without charitable or rate aid. And if insured patients were not admitted to hospitals free, another large source of revenue would be tapped. It is clear that the first requisite is a serious enquiry into hospital finance.

### Public Health Union.

There is a movement afoot for the closer working of organisations catering for workers employed in the public and general health services. The National Asylum Workers' Union, the Poor Law Workers' Trade Union, the Professional Union of Trained Nurses, and the Medico-Political Union have been holding conferences and are urging the formation of a Federation of Health Services. It is the first time that any section of the medical profession has publicly suggested an alliance with other organised workers outside the profession, and further steps in the formation of the Federation will be watched with interest.

### Assistant Female Relieving Officer.

The Cardiff Guardians recently advertised for an Assistant Female Relieving Officer and offered £176 5s. for a woman, aged 30-40 with some experience of similar work elsewhere, and stated that "some nursing experience was desirable." This is the first time a woman has been proposed for a Welsh appointment, and it is a pity that the pay offered is unlikely to attract the sort of woman who is most needed there. What is wanted is a capable woman with experience in dealing with difficult situations, and, above all, one who is able to hold her own. At Brighton, two assistants, recently appointed, receive £250, and, in addition, do the work and receive the salary for the local Infant Welfare work. This amalgamation is found to work well and to be very acceptable to the mothers, who are thus visited and inspected by one official instead of two.

### School for Women Jurors.

A branch of the Women Citizens' Association has been formed in Acton, and Miss S. M. Smece, the chairman of Acton District Council, and a magistrate, is anxious that one of its first activities should be the instruction of members in their duties as jurors. Lectures imparting general information on the rights and obligations of jurors will be given, and later on mock trials will be held, so that when the women are called on to act as jurors, Court procedure will not be entirely unfamiliar to them. We recommend this idea to other Women Citizens' Associations.

### Unemployment Among Women.

The Sub-Committee of the Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organisations has issued an interim report on the question of unemployment among women, due to the substitution of men. The Association of Women Clerks and Secretaries gave most of the information on which the report is based, and the Committee declares that the Government cannot get rid of its responsibility to ex-Service men by creating hardships for individual men and women, or by lowering the standard of work in its own departments. The Committee draws attention to the all-too-well-known fact that many independent women of pre-war days are independent no longer, and that the number of "pin-money" girls is exaggerated. The lower standard of qualifying examination for ex-service men, although it places these men in a favoured position compared to other Civil Servants, must mean a decrease of efficiency in the public service which is exceedingly undesirable. The Committee feels that although the Government is under an obligation to find employment for ex-Service men, yet its obligation to see that the women thrown out of employment are not destitute is no less.

### Teachers' Pay.

Sir H. Brittain asked the President of the Board of Education whether, in the matter of the payment of salaries to the teaching profession in the elementary schools, the principle of equal pay for equal work is adhered to? Mr. Fisher came boldly to the point when he asked whether the question meant "Were the scales of salary identical for men and for women?" The answer to that question, he said, and everyone knows, is in the negative. We are surprised that not an expostulation was heard in a House that we know includes many supporters of the Equal Pay principle; but so it was. There still seems a lot of hard work in front of us before we can rouse our apathetic representatives to the state of watchful excitement that lets nothing slip.

### The Civil Service Examination.

Mr. T. Griffiths drew the attention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the fact that the recent examinations of women for the Civil Service at the Crystal Palace were held under very trying conditions, and asked him whether he would consider the possibility of having this examination re-held at a more suitable time and under equal conditions to those carried out in other parts of the county. Press photographs, said Mr. Griffiths, were taken of the girls at work, the general public were moving about the galleries, and bands were playing in the near vicinity. Mr. Baldwin replied that no complaints had been made to superintendents while the examination was in progress, and no serious distraction to the candidates was caused. Still, being "filmed" for the first time is not conducive to the clear thinking necessary for a general knowledge paper, where two minutes are allowed for each question, or for any other paper, for that matter.

### Army Canteens.

Mr. Gilbert asked the Secretary of State for War if women are still employed in army canteens, and, if so, why they were employed when this kind of work could be given to disabled ex-Service men. Sir A. Williamson answered that the latest figures of employees of the Navy and Army Canteen Board showed that 2,644 women, 1,479 civilian men, and 1,815 ex-Service men were employed. The corresponding figures for April 1st were: Women, 3,118; civilian men, 1,978; ex-Service men, 1,649. The policy of giving preference to ex-Service men, he said, is being pursued by the Board, but in certain departments, and as waitresses in the coffee bar trade, the work is more suitable for women. Sir A. Williamson added that the service of women in the work has markedly raised the standards of tone and comfort in the canteens.

### The Unequal Marriage Laws.

There is an inequality in the marriage laws which, while it concerns only a limited number of people, is, nevertheless, a very burning question, and that is the fact that, in spite of the Deceased Wife's Sister's Bill, it is still illegal for a woman to marry her deceased husband's brother. Lady Astor has several times raised the question in Parliament, and last week Mr. Waterson attacked the Prime Minister on the subject, and Mr. Hogge pointed out that a great many widows of soldiers who were killed are now living with their husbands' brothers, which is permitted under the law in the opposite case of a man and his deceased wife's sister. But neither the arguments of Mr. Waterson and of Mr. Hogge, nor the gibe of Mr. J. Jones about the promised equality of the sexes, could get anything but a refusal to consider such a Bill from the adamant Prime Minister, who said that, from long experience, he knew the dangers of interference with the law in this respect. It is time he had experience of the dangers of not righting these august laws.

### Reaction in Greece.

British friends of Greece will regret the astonishing result of the elections which were virtually a plebiscite on the Venizelos régime. M. Venizelos, a democrat who has not so much by war as by the prestige of his good faith, added province to

province and honour to honour for the country of his adoption, who, Cretan by birth, was more Greek than the Athenians, has challenged the Constantinists and has been defeated. We cannot believe that this madness is more than a temporary reaction, but while it lasts Greece is under a cloud and Europe is deprived of one of her greatest statesmen.

#### Women to be Disfranchised in Hungary.

A Bill regulating municipal elections has been submitted to the Hungarian National Assembly by which women are to be deprived of the electoral qualification for municipal and county councils. The new legislation arranges that half of the municipal councillors must be taken from the ranks of the highest ratepayers, so that there is a distinct limitation of choice for the proletariat. Reaction does not end there, for the Hungarian Premier is reported to have declared that universal suffrage will be abolished, and that the House of Magnates will be reinstated in its former rights preparatory to the election of a king. If this comes off it will be the only instance on record of voluntary disenfranchisement following enfranchisement.

#### A Central Office for the Care of the Young.

In 1918 Vienna established the Central Office for the Care of the Young, and since then branches have been opened all over the country. The office is the legal guardian of illegitimate and of necessitous children. In Vienna alone, 100 welfare sisters are employed solely in visiting the homes of poor children, who, if home conditions are bad, are taken away and sent to hospitals or to special homes to be cared for. If the mother of the family is ill, her children are cared for in special asylums during her illness. Instruction and advice are given to mothers in the care of their offspring, food is given to them at cost price, and special food kitchens have been provided by the American Mission for children attending the Kindergarten attached to each branch. The Central Office supervised the arrangements for the children who were invited to England and other countries, but its more important work was to deal with the 28,000 children who remained behind, many suffering from tuberculosis and other diseases.

#### "Dispensation" Marriages.

The validity of "dispensation" marriages on the part of divorced people of the Roman Catholic religion is a burning question in Austria. As far back as 1811 the Austrian Civil Code laid down that dispensation might be granted after close investigation and Catholic divorcees might remarry. The right to grant dispensation was placed in the hands of the Governor of the Provinces of Austria. For a hundred and nine years this article has been in abeyance, but the Social Democratic Government of Lower Austria has resuscitated it, with the result that large numbers of people have availed themselves of the dispensation. The clericals are, naturally, disputing the legality of such marriages, but, apparently, since the Governor has the right to grant dispensations, not even the Church can upset the technical legality of his decision.

#### Marriage under Twenty-four Forbidden.

Housing difficulties are so acute in some parts of Germany that extraordinary steps are being taken to solve the problem. In Lübeck the Housing Authorities have decided not to permit young couples to marry until they are 24 years old and can prove they have lodgings or a house to live in. Since the cessation of compulsory military service, German men are marrying much earlier, and the harassed authorities found the housing question almost insurmountable.

#### Middle-class Women in Austria.

A new movement has been set on foot in Austria for the purpose of helping middle-class women and girls to earn their living by teaching them all kinds of skilled needlework. Free courses are being held in the schools and the result is very encouraging, for numbers of trained women are being given work in the big linen drapery establishments, though the shortage of raw material is a great hindrance to trade. If the Allied Governments would stretch out a helping hand in the form of granting credit for raw materials, not only would the starving women of Austria be set on the path of independence and self-respect, but the export of the beautiful Austrian embroidery could start once more.

## NEWS FROM WESTMINSTER.

BY OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT.

Another week of Ireland, with the skies not less dark. Of the four days on which the House sat, three were given up to Home Rule, and in addition there was the Prime Minister's speech at the Mansion House. A good deal has happened. On Monday, November 8th, the Committee stage of the Bill was continued and concluded. The most important discussion was on the Senate. Last summer the Government promised to set up Second Chambers for northern and southern Ireland. Whether northern Ireland has a Second Chamber or not is not a matter of great importance, but for southern Ireland it is vital; for the Unionist minority is so scattered that under no conceivable system of voting could they return members to Parliament in sufficient numbers to make their weight felt. Therefore, the Government had agreed to work out a scheme for a Senate. However, when the scheme appeared, it was seen that all it did was to empower the Council of Ireland to set up such a Senate. Now this Council will, as Colonel Guinness said, be composed half of Orangemen and half of Sinn Feiners, and it is hardly likely that the Sinn Feiners would go out of their way to set up a Senate whose only justification would be to act as a curb on the Lower Chamber which they themselves controlled. This was so clear that Colonel Guinness and his friends had no difficulty in making mincemeat of the Government suggestion. However, argument does not always win, and the big battalions of the Coalition gave the Government their usual majority.

On Tuesday, November 9th, the Prime Minister spoke at the Mansion House and defended reprisals. Apparently he thinks that England and Scotland want them; and, if the House of Commons is an indication, they most abundantly do. Lord Hugh Cecil, taking up the middle position that murders of police and indiscriminate reprisals are equally abominable, has, it must sorrowfully be admitted, little support in the House. The vast majority of Members want reprisals, and believing, whether rightly or wrongly, that Sir Hamar Greenwood encourages them, they give him unwavering support. Possibly the country is of the same opinion. At any rate, after the Mansion House speech no one can have any doubt what the Government are doing. We are at war. War involves vicarious punishment, and therefore the Black and Tans are to be supported. There is not the slightest doubt that the Prime Minister has the vast majority of the House behind him. Whether such a policy is justifiable, whether it is wise, and whether it has the least chance of success, are not for the moment under consideration. The House has come definitely over to support Sir Hamar Greenwood.

On Wednesday, November 10th, the Report stage of the Bill was completed. The day was notable for the complete yielding of the Government to Sir Edward Carson. Whatever he asked for he got, and he was not at pains to veil the dictatorial tone of his orders. For the moment, the Government ceased to exist except as a machine for registering his decision.

Thursday brought Armistice Day, and the Debate concluded on a higher level than it had hitherto occupied. A word of warning, however, must be uttered against the facile optimism of the London Press. They seem to think that a new spirit was shown in the debate, and that settlement is nearer. Would that it were! To most observers it seems further off than ever.

The Ministry of Health (Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill was interpolated on Tuesday, November 9th, and the attack on Dr. Addison was kept up. The Bill has no friends except the doctors who like the hospital clauses, and even they are not unanimous. In the end, the Labour-Party and Liberal Opposition supported the Bill, and therefore it received a comfortable majority; but Division lists should be analysed as well as counted, and the seventy-six who voted against it include the solidest of the solid supporters of the Coalition. Dr. Addison made a rambling and petulant defence. He did not touch the heart of the dispute. He is attempting to alter in one Bill three great codes of Law—Local Government, Public Health, and Housing—and to alter them in an acutely controversial spirit. No wonder then that the House objects to having to swallow such a measure whole. Most members support one or more of its provisions, and they resent being put in the position of having to vote for something which they detest in order to obtain something else for which they may have fought for years. Perhaps this feeling, the sense of intentional juggling, is the one which causes the most bitterness. The measure is possibly the most difficult to defend of any which the Government have introduced, and it is handled by the Minister least capable of defending it.

## THE UNEMPLOYMENT OF PROFESSIONAL WOMEN.

The winter which is now upon us is going to be a harder one for wage-earning women than any they have yet faced, and it is no use to talk complacently about Government schemes and unemployment insurances and all such methods, for it is a plain and certain fact that, even in spite of votes, the Government is not caring at all about unemployment among women.

In the summer of this year, when the problems of the winter were plainly foreseen, an Unemployment Insurance Act was passed, extending the State scheme to all workers (with the exceptions of agricultural workers and domestic servants) whose yearly wage is less than £250. This extension, while fairly manageable and probably advantageous for men, is likely to prove a serious disaster for women, because of the way in which it will be administered. In the case of men all the workers now covered by the Act are likely to be in well-defined trades or occupations. They will insure through their Trade Unions, or through the Friendly Societies to which they belong, and there will be plenty of strong organisations to see that they get their benefits.

The case of women is sadly different. In the first place, the upper limit of £250 will, unfortunately, include a large number of professional workers, whose organisation is, to say the least of it, incomplete. It will include the great mass of women clerical workers (with the exception, of course, of those who are "established" and on a pensionable basis in the Government service). It will include far too many teachers, nurses, midwives, and workers in clubs, banks, and hotels. (We say too many, not because these women ought not to receive out of work pay, but because they ought not to be below the wage limit of £250 a year.) Now all these workers—numbering many thousands—are not organised in Trade Unions, and are insured under the National Health Insurance Act through Friendly Societies or through the Post Office. These people are offered the choice of unemployment insurance through the same Friendly Societies or through the Employment Exchanges, and we wish to point out that it is a deplorable choice.

It would not be so if unemployment insurance was like other forms of insurance. We do not wish to criticize the Friendly Societies—or even the Government—for their insurance work. Much of it is magnificent, and it has been of great benefit to many women. But this matter is on a different footing, and for the following reasons.

When the Act was passing through the House it was the occasion of a three-cornered struggle between the Government and the Trade Unions and the Friendly Societies over the matter of administration. All three wanted to get it into their own hands, as we pointed out at the time in these columns, and none of them appeared to remember the insured persons at all. At the last moment the Trade Unions scored a point, and inserted a clause into the Bill which they thought would knock out the Friendly Societies. It has not done so, but it has knocked out the women—as so often happens. It is to this effect, that no one may be approved under the Act who does not possess the means of investigating the state of wages of the industries in all the occupations to which its insured members belong, and who is not in a position to offer them work when they are unemployed.

The effect of this provision is that every body administering this money must itself become an employment exchange, and, moreover, an employment exchange competent to decide on rates of pay and fair conditions of employment.

Now, who can say that either the Friendly Societies, the Trade Unions, or the Employment Exchanges are in a position to do this for professional women? What will happen—in all three cases—is that the unemployed professional women will be forgotten altogether. The most that can be hoped for (and it is optimistic, indeed, to hope it) is that these bodies will really attend to the industrial women, and will be able to find them new work. The professional ones will go by the board. This,

perhaps, would not be so fatal if it stood alone. After all, professional women have had to deal with their employment problems without the aid of large numbers of centres of information up to now, and it might be thought that they will be, at any rate, no worse off in the future, and, at least, this much the better, that they will now get unemployment payment for a time. But this will not be so. Unemployment is going to be so bad all round that all the agencies (and particularly, we expect, the Government agencies) will be wanting to lighten the ship. The Act very naturally provides that anyone refusing work when offered will lose the benefit; the obvious consequence will be that the unfortunate out of work professional woman will be offered industrial work, and, if she refuses, will lose her benefit. As it was in the time after the Armistice so it will be again, and the harsh treatment of unemployed women will result in their getting only the very slightest benefit, if any, from the Act. They will pay their contributions, because they must; they will enroll at one or other of these unsympathetic places, because there is nothing else; and they will soon find their benefits cut off, and their money—hardly enough earned, and badly enough wanted—will go to make up the deficit on someone else.

If this were the only trouble it would be had enough. But the case is even worse when looked at from the financial point of view. Under the Act men contribute 4d. a week, women 3d. a week, employers 4d. for men and 3½d. for women, the State 2d. for men and 1½d. for women. In return, men get 15s. a week and women 12s. The effort made in the House to secure equal benefits and equal payments for men and women was resisted by the Government, on all sorts of specious pleas, and failed. For less payments, therefore, women get less benefit; in its general unfairness there is, at least, a spice of equity. But in the case of the additional Friendly Society benefits this comfort vanishes. For they have agreed to give unequal results for equal contributions.

Roughly speaking, their joint scheme (elaborated at a series of conferences at which Miss Florence, of the Clerical and Professional Women's Insurance Society, was the only woman present) is as follows: Every insured member is to pay them 4d. a week, additional to their State payments through stamps on the cards held by employers, and for this extra 4d. the men insured are to get a supplementary 5s. a week and the women 4s. They justify this on the ground that there will be greater unemployment of women than of men—which is certainly true—although they did not give even approximate figures to explain their calculations. From an actuarial standpoint, which is theirs, they may be right, though we should like to know what makes them think there is just a shilling's worth of difference. But from the woman's point of view it is decidedly unfair. Why should she, and she alone, have to bear the burden of other women's unemployment? Why, because more men are safe, should she get less? Why not share out unemployment benefits (and work, too) between all the unemployed? Why, indeed?

The reason why it is not done is because everyone still thinks that women, whether employed or unemployed, are a detail of the working world, a quiet, passive, unimportant detail, easily exploited, easily oppressed, and not worth bothering about.

This, however, is not our view, nor that of our readers, and we trust that they will give this matter serious consideration. The only remedy we can see to this particular difficulty is for women to back up the Women's Insurance Society which already exists, and to enable it to do for women what other societies will not do. It seems to be the only way out, and we shall welcome correspondence on this subject.

And meantime let us remember that the remedy for the whole thing lies in our own hands. We must force public opinion to take full account of the problems of the employed woman, and to take them on their modern merits, and not on the outworn prejudices that have lasted from pre-enfranchised days.

## BURNING QUESTIONS.

We call the attention of our readers to the fact that in the heading of "Burning Questions" we endeavour to present the political thinkers. We do not ourselves express an editorial to be well-informed and then to come to her own opinion.

### THE ADVANTAGES OF TRUSTS. FROM A CORRESPONDENT.

Neither those who approve the movement nor those who deplore it would deny that there is a world-wide tendency towards amalgamation and centralisation. Unification of interests is the order of the day. Hardly a week passes that the newspapers do not record some notable instance. And the tendency is by no means confined—as many worthy people are still inclined to believe—to capitalistic enterprises. Witness the constant effort, in the Trades Union world, to fuse into one great body the smaller unions in, or connected with, a given industry. The recent formation of the Amalgamated Engineering Union is a case in point. The linking-up process, too, is developing rapidly in the Co-operative movement. The merging of smaller concerns in greater is a universal phenomenon that would doubtless have made great progress—war or no war—but the events of the last six years have inevitably favoured its growth.

But the question arises: Admitting that such consolidation is natural, is inevitable, is it also desirable? Particularly in the case of trading associations?

A very cursory enquiry into the history of trusts and combinations discloses the fact that many of them were formed at a time when the fortunes of the individual units composing them were singularly low—when disaster in fact threatened the particular trade. So it is probably a fair conclusion that combination has often been vital to the conservation of an industry, and the one and only means of reviving its drooping fortunes.

But even in cases where no such imperative necessity exists, many general considerations can be brought forward in favour of centralised organisation. In those trades where an association of firms has been brought about, the elimination of the unfit, in a merciful manner, has at once become possible. The unsuccessful manufacturer has either been helped on to his feet, or pensioned off (according as he was found to be unduly handicapped or else inefficient), to his own advantage and to that of his fellow manufacturers and the community at large. In maintaining the export trade and in meeting foreign competition, it is evident that a far better fight can be put up if the home forces present a united front. Individual firms, acting independently and often in total ignorance of the proceedings of their neighbours, have little chance in the fierce struggle to secure the markets of the world. Then, too, from the point of view of the general administration of the country, trade problems become more manageable when the firms in a given line of business are united in some form of society or combine. During the war the Government found it far easier to deal in this way with groups of firms rather than with isolated units, and, in this respect, what was proved to be convenient during the war will be no less so in the days of peace.

Keeping in mind such combinations as have already been effected in, e.g., the soap and tobacco trades, very brief consideration of its more detailed effects brings conviction that such fusion is distinctly beneficial to industry and tends to economy, efficiency, and a general raising of the standards of

topical and controversial matters which we treat under the principal views on each question held by differing groups of opinion, beyond this, that it is each woman's business first

manufacture. Concerted control of production and distribution means improved organisation. Buying can be more advantageously carried on when it is on a great scale. Standardisation of products becomes possible and there is far greater opportunity for specialisation. Competition, instead of centring round price, centres round quality—which is all to the good of the consumer. Work can be more evenly distributed. Middlemen can be largely dispensed with. Stability and uniformity of prices come within the range of practical politics when buying and selling are under central regulation, and this is a matter of some importance to those who make tenders and contracts. And last, but by no means least, real progress on the scientific side of industry is at last assured, for interchange of ideas promotes and facilitates research.

Combines are a very favourite object of attack in certain circles. The charge most frequently levelled at them being that once a monopoly is established it will be abused, i.e., the public will be charged an exorbitant rate and will have no redress. In this connection it is worth remembering that the (Ministry of Reconstruction) Committee on Trusts reported that no definite evidence had been brought before them that, up to the present, excessive charges had been made by these combinations. Even if such a contingency arose, the recommendations of the Committee—that machinery should be set up for the investigation of Trusts, and a special tribunal created to deal with any unwarrantable practices—should go far to allay any fears of this kind. Indeed, quite apart from legislative safeguards there are certain factors which would definitely militate against such transgressions. If directors of any big concerns are so deficient in wisdom and a sense of justice, as to wish to profiteer unduly, it is generally admitted that there are substantial difficulties in the way. In the first place, unless and until about 80 per cent. of the output of the particular article is under control, there is ordinary trade competition to contend with. When regulation of that percentage is acquired, there is still the actual rivalry of co-operative societies and the potential rivalry of municipalities to be guarded against. Foreign competition has to be reckoned with—so has the fact that combinations in contributory or subsidiary industries are in a position to exert influence or price. Finally, there is the knowledge that abnormally inflated prices, by exasperating the public, lead, in the long run, to reduction of demand and consequent diminution of sales.

Other provision can evidently be made against the abuse of monopoly, such as limitation of profits, price control, and, in the last resort, the threat of nationalisation, i.e., entry of the State into the field as competitor.

The real risks in connection with the creation of Trusts are of another order. There is the loss of the personal touch—the tendency to adopt bureaucratic methods. These can be met and overcome as long as an industry remains in the hands of those with really expert knowledge of it, but were the process carried a stage further, by the substitution of State for expert control, disaster would be inevitable.

## THE CHANGING WORLD OF EDUCATION.

In no department of life are movements of change at present more marked than in education; and in scarcely any other can such movements be of so much interest to women. On the whole, the tendency of the experiments now being made in every part of the world is towards replacing command and inhibition by freedom, spontaneity, and self-government. To some observers these experiments seem to offer the greatest possible promise for the world's future; to others they appear deplorable examples of "soft pedagogy." Here, as always, the only sure plan is to read, examine, ponder, and judge for oneself.

### GERMANY TO-DAY.

By MARGARET MINNA GREEN.

In spite of the sufferings of the German people, the physical and moral evils arising from the war, and the universal lowering of physique, one of the most striking circumstances to the observant visitor is the great mental and spiritual vitality of the people. Deprived of her material prosperity, Germany is nursing passionately her inner national life. The *Wandervögel*—boys and girls who spend their Sundays, and often their holidays, in country walks and expeditions—are rediscovering old national peasant dances and songs. I saw one such dance performed at the annual display arranged by the Girls' Grammar School (*Lyzeum*) of a Rhineland town; the main industry of the town was weaving and lace-making, and this dance represented the movements of the shuttle in weaving.

Perhaps the most striking manifestation of newly evolving mental life is that of the People's High Schools (*Volkshochschulen*). The idea was borrowed from Denmark, but Germany is rapidly making it her own. Most of the schools have been founded since the Revolution, many have just completed their first session. The aim of these schools is to give education which may be of value to all classes, alike to the manual worker and the brain worker, thus uniting the people, in spite of differences of creed and politics. Needless to say the task is far from easy; indeed, many schools fail in it and confine themselves to one class alone. Nevertheless, it is always kept in view. Attendance is voluntary. The schools are run by People's High School Associations, membership of which is open to all. Each town has its own Association, and the regulations differ considerably. In some, politics are rigidly excluded and I am told that in Schwerin, Social Democrats prevented a course being held on the history of English Imperialism. The method most favoured is rather that of the study circle, the lecturer leading discussion, and actually opening with an address; but his real skill is tested in his capacity for stimulating thought and discussion. In one case, a class of some four hundred students was studying the Second Part of Faust; a large proportion were manual workers. Discussion was keen and ready, though far from verbose. I also visited quite small economic classes attended by members of Works' Councils. The subject under discussion was prices; discussion was not fluent, but very much to the point, and the lecturer was careful to be sure of the assent of the students to each statement of fact before proceeding to argue further from it.

Another manifestation of this marvellous mental vitality consists in the various developments in connection with schools. The older pupils (on an average from fifteen upwards) in many schools now elect class committees or class delegates, who are in part responsible for discipline, and who also discuss matters affecting the school, and make representations to the staff; thus, in one school they discussed whether longer hours should be worked in the morning or whether there should be an earlier dinner and some afternoon work; they preferred the former, and the school authorities agreed. Sometimes suggestions may be made as to the studies pursued, though there are obviously narrow limits to what is possible in this direction. In the Grammar School already mentioned this system of class representatives has been in use for some seven years. But the developments of the last two years, and decrees issued by the present Prussian Government have caused it to spread rapidly in recent months. Further, the parents are required to elect Councils (*Elternbeiräte*), whose duty it is to consider and pass on suggestions and representations brought forward by parents. At long intervals they are required to call full meetings of the parents of all children in the school. Where many matters arise for discussion, these meetings may be called more often. At one such meeting which I attended two resolutions were under discussion, both arising from the low physique of the children, resulting from war and blockade. The first proposed raising the school attendance age from six to seven, the second, the reduction of hours for children in their first school year. These

resolutions, if passed, were to be handed on to a meeting representative of all Parents' Councils in the district, and thence, as recommendations, to the Board of Education. The question was discussed with much practical insight as to how far a general raising of the school age was desirable, and how far the case could be met by medical certificates for special children, and, finally, the latter view prevailed.

That I was enabled to be present at such meetings was due to the unflinching kindness and courtesy of all concerned. To some it was clearly an effort to receive an Englishwoman; but the general impression left behind is that of spontaneous, sometimes eager, kindness. During my four weeks in Germany I never heard a single discourteous word. But this does not mean that national feeling is not deep and strong. It was probably never stronger. National feeling such as this, however, has little in common with Chauvinism. I remarked to one friend on the wealth of mental treasure which the new Germany is creating in her People's High Schools, and elsewhere, and she replied: "We feel that we have so much to give; and as things are, we cannot give it."

Hitherto the German people have succeeded in transforming material poverty into mental wealth and vitality. But they cannot continue to do so indefinitely. Unemployment, hunger among the poorer people, the hostility of the outer world, must, in time, break the most indomitable spirit. Yet they are right; they have so much to give, if only the Entente democracies will help to create a world in which they can give it, and will help before it is too late.

### A SCHOOL FOR CHIEFS' DAUGHTERS.

By L. A. CHAPMAN.

In 1816 the people of Kandy deposed their king and came of their own will under the British flag. William Greville, who escorted the dethroned king to Madras, describes in his journal how the ladies of the royal family and suite crept together in a corner, crouching under their veils, and went down to their quarters in his ship by a covered way lest they should be seen from the deck. These were the manners of the time and of the next three quarters of a century, but the chiefs of the Central Province of Ceylon agreed together about thirty years ago to choose a different life for their daughters. They still preserved many ancestral and patriarchal customs; they had something of the East and something of the West in their outlook, and their sons had received their education in Christian schools, though they lived on their own lands in a kind of feudal state, counting their wealth in rice fields, elephants, and jewellery. They asked for a girls' school, and the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society was the more willing to establish one because the heads of the boys' schools were already recognising the futility of Christian education which touched one sex only.

The school founded in Kandy in 1889 has now 129 scholars. They come at four years old or later, but the earlier the better. They wear their customary native dress and eat the native food of curry and rice, plantains and rice cakes. There is no attempt to Westernise them, and the tennis and net-ball at which the girls excel are played barefoot and in Eastern dress. But what is worth learning from the West they learn. They take long walks in the hills, though never in the streets of Kandy, as this would be contrary to Sinhalese etiquette. They take the Cambridge Local Examinations, learn domestic science, and incidentally forget to despise manual labour. Even nursing is slowly acquiring a status lacking ten years ago, though even now the better classes seldom choose it as a profession.

The Cambridge Local Examinations have had a great effect both in and out of school, since the first candidate in 1902 gained her father's permission to sit for it on condition she was never left. I spent the dreariest week of my life in a little room next to the examination hall, watching my ewe lamb write her

papers. She knew no word of English when she came to school, yet not only did she pass, but her brother, eighteen months older, failed. What more convincing proof that a woman might have brains and be worthy of the respect of her men folk! A boy cousin wrote: "I as a Kandyan and a relative share in her honours."

The immediate effect of this first success was that girls were left at school longer to work for examinations; the remoter effects were not only a more adequate education but, more important still to the race, a deferring of the age of marriage. During the last two years our pupils have gained distinctions in English, hygiene, religious knowledge, and history, though the examination is set in a tongue foreign to them. Nor is their education confined to examination subjects. Most of the girls look forward to marriage and motherhood, and their schooling must fit them for the future. The Government has appointed an Inspectress in Domestic Science for the first time this year, and hopes to start a training college for Sinhalese teachers in this subject. Nor is the instruction merely theoretical; the girls sweep and dust their rooms and wash their spoons and forks, and the chiefs, their fathers, welcome their performance of these duties, for their servants at home—lifelong retainers who are born and die on the estate—have no training but what their mistress can give them.

Twenty years ago the girls went home only once a year. I was horrified at the idea, but soon recognised its wisdom. When once a girl went home it was doubtful whether we should ever see her again. The conservative older folk opposed her return; the announcement of the school's re-opening might never arrive; there was the Eastern unwillingness to make a start; no railways, no motors, and few roads; the start might be delayed till the monsoon made it impossible. In those days of marriage at twelve or thirteen repeated delays might mean the end of school altogether. The coming of new pupils was as precarious; a lucky day must be chosen and was unlikely to be the first day of term. I have known it to be the last! And then, perhaps, the whole family would accompany the pupil. And their stay at school was another reminder that time in the East is no object.

This was long ago. The fathers of our present pupils were college boys themselves, and their sons at college like their sisters' holidays to coincide with their own. We are not likely again to have a telegram, "Missed the train, unlucky omen! Bring the children next week." If so, it will be from a grandfather, for our girls are already of the second generation.

The girls sometimes leave at thirteen, but frequently stay till sixteen or seventeen. If they gain their parents' consent to become Christians they are baptised after several years' probation, and join our teaching staff until their marriage. The parents have learned that the school is a happy and safe place for girls, and do not now insist on marriage as a safeguard for a grown-up girl, though the dangers to which an orphaned or fatherless chief's daughter may be exposed if she returns to her own people make the need for a Court of Wards a crying one in Ceylon.

We have naturally but little influence with regard to the marriage of such girls as remain Bhuddist, though I have remonstrated where there was question of a notorious evil-liver as a husband for one of my pupils. But in the case of Christian girls it is a duty to do our very best to promote a suitable marriage, both from a religious and social point of view. In every case, the parents have welcomed a Christian marriage when they have seen it is for their daughters' happiness.

Is it quite vain to try and attract recruits from England for educational work which has so many possibilities? Or is it possible that a few words about the progress made during the twenty years that I have been principal of this school may throw a light upon what trained and eager workers could do for Sinhalese girls and women in other fields? We have one district nurse, a fully trained Sinhalese woman speaking English and Tamil besides her own language, but we have no Institute to train more, and no Englishwomen to staff one. We have only just begun medical inspection of schools. We have millions of women in the East who can never call in the help of a medical man, and whom a medical woman or even the holder of a C.M.B. certificate like myself may save from untold suffering. Sometimes guardianship of ex-pupils is thrust upon us because there is no Court of Wards or Public Trustee to watch over their interests or their safety. It seems incredible that Englishwomen with education and capacity should resign themselves to a cramped life when the East calls them and offers as well as asks so much. "If the Brotherhood of Man means anything it means that each has need of all the rest."

## INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE AT MILAN.

By LADY GLADSTONE.

Last month the fourth International Conference of Voluntary Societies for the League of Nations met at Milan, the delegates representing twenty of the countries which form the International Federation of Associations. The English League of Nations Union sent as their delegates: Sir Willoughby Dickinson, Mr. George Barnes, Mrs. Walter Runciman, Major Gen. Sir Frederick Maurice, Mr. Stuart Bunning, Mr. Treseder Griffin, Col. Borden Turner (Secretary to the delegation), and myself.

The Conference at Milan had been summoned to consider various matters of importance connected with the League of Nations. It was a most interesting experience to find oneself discussing international problems with men and women from other countries, instead of merely reading about them in the newspapers, or talking them over with one's own countrymen at home. It all became far more real, and I felt within myself the growing pains of a new and more truly international point of view. If the League of Nations is ever to achieve the great ends it was founded to establish, it can only be because the peoples of the earth have willed it. This means a definite departure from the old, narrow national point of view. Other nations must not be regarded as dangerous rivals and potential enemies. Perfect justice and fair dealing between nations are the avowed ideals of the League of Nations. To transform these ideals into practical deeds, the Governments and statesmen of the world must be inspired by the knowledge that behind them there is the impetus of a great public opinion, based on belief in the Brotherhood of Nations, and the highest form of patriotism, the patriotism of Humanity.

All arrangements for the Conference were in the hands of the Italian Society, and nothing could have exceeded their thoughtful kindness in providing for our comfort. The meetings of the Conference all took place in the beautiful Royal Palace. At the opening of the meeting the delegates were welcomed by Count Sforza, the Italian Foreign Minister, and Signor Tittoni, President of the Senate. Signor Ruffini, Member of the Senate, presided over the Conference. Count Sforza gave a banquet in our honour that night. The following day the real labour of the Conference began. The delegates were divided into six Commissions dealing with special subjects. The Reports of these Commissions were debated by the Assembly during the following days of the Conference. Col. Borden Turner and myself were placed upon the second Commission which was to consider the question of propaganda. Many suggestions were made, and an agreed report was submitted to the Assembly. Amongst the most important recommendations were those suggested by the French delegates dealing with education. All League of Nations Societies were asked to take the necessary steps to ensure that teaching on the League of Nations should be given in all Schools and Colleges of every grade. In the French Universities, courses on the League of Nations have already been established. It was also agreed that every effort should be made to remove from all school books anything calculated to instil feelings of hatred between one nation and another, and that all teaching should be inspired by the ideals of the League of Nations.

The British suggestion that there should be a Universal League of Nations day to be observed throughout the world once a year was adopted. It was recommended by the Chinese that a journal should be established giving full information about the League, and publishing articles in various languages. Finally, the Federated Societies were urged to enlist the help of all existing organisations in sympathy with the principles of the League of Nations, to hold meetings in town and country, and, through the medium of speeches, pamphlets, the Press, pictures, theatres, and cinemas, to teach and preach the League of Nations to the world.

The first Commission was concerned with the framing of a Constitution for the Federation of the Voluntary Societies, and the most interesting debate of the Assembly took place on its report. The admission of Estonia, Finland, Georgia, Lithuania, and Ukraine into the Federation was agreed to without difficulty. The Italians then proposed that the request of Austria and Hungary to be allowed to join the Associated Societies should be granted. The British delegation supported the Italian motion. There was electricity in the air, and one was aware of some movement in the hearts around one of the old hates and fears left by the war. In miniature, and without

the authority to bind the policy of our Governments, we were, in fact, considering some of the very same questions that the great World Parliament, the Assembly of the League of Nations, will be called upon to decide at Geneva this month. Some of the delegates were in a delicate position. They represented, it is true, Societies formed to support the League of Nations and inspired by its ideals, yet in many cases these Societies are, no doubt, in advance of the public opinion of their countrymen. On the other hand, might it not be that what this Conference decided to-day would point the way to that greater Assembly to-morrow? Who shall gauge the conflict in the minds of men between idealism and expediency? In the Italian delegation were some of the finest brains in Italy. The eloquence and passion with which they pleaded the cause of their hereditary enemies won the day—Austria and Hungary were admitted. The case of Germany was on a different footing, for she had not asked to be allowed to join the Federation.

The Reports from the other Commissions on the International Court of Justice, the Economic Situation, and an International Police Force for carrying out the decisions of the League, were also considered by the Assembly and gave rise to interesting discussions. The speeches were almost all delivered in French, and were translated into English, excepting in the cases of the English and Chinese delegates, who spoke in English, and whose speeches were rendered into French. Amongst the delegates were a large number of distinguished men, professors, philosophers, and men of letters. Altogether, it was an extraordinarily interesting gathering. It was a little disappointing to find that women delegates had only been sent from England, France, Holland, and Italy. Surely the cause of the League of Nations is one that concerns women, and there can be no task for which women are better fitted than to be the peacemakers of the world.

## ASSAULTS ON CHILDREN.

By E. M. GOODMAN.

In 1919, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children published a pamphlet dealing with criminal and indecent assaults upon children, quoting figures showing a marked decline in the case of the more serious offence and a very material improvement altogether since 1905. These statistics take account only of cases reported to the Society, and these, though they include some crimes whose perpetrators escaped punishment, must have been fewer than the whole terrible list of undetected, hushed-up iniquities of which neither the Society nor the Courts of Justice had cognisance. There are many reasons why outrages of this kind should never reach the public ear; conviction of the criminal brings with it no redress, but rather an added torture to his victim; publicity may seem to entail a smirching of the child's moral character, witnesses are unwilling to appear in such cases. But above and beyond all these inherent difficulties in punishing these black crimes is another reason for which the whole community is responsible. The law is not in intention merciful to the offender, but the administration of that law so tempers the wind to the murderers of innocence that the child victims will not break their silence to bring their torturers to a mockery of justice.

The women of Edinburgh, believing that these crimes are on the increase, and justly convinced that they will not cease until they are sternly punished, approached the Lord Advocate on the 15th October with a deputation representing twenty-nine organisations demanding such amendments of the law as will protect children from outrage, and until new legislation can be obtained such instruction from the Crown Office as will secure the effective administration of the law now in existence.

The Lord Advocate was sympathetic. He stated that crimes against women and young girls had always been recognised as among the most serious breaches of the law; he admitted that the secrecy which is intended to shield the victim of an outrage should not be stretched to conceal the identity of the criminal. He showed that in three years the High Court had inflicted forty

sentences of penal servitude for offences against girls under sixteen, and that some of those were for long terms. Replying to the suggestions that women doctors, women police, women magistrates, and women jurors should assist in the preparation for and conduct of cases of assault upon children, he held out hope that this means of obtaining impartial justice and lessening the ordeal to the injured child would be increasingly employed.

But much more than this promise of a slow improvement in administrative processes is needed, if not in Edinburgh, in the remainder of the United Kingdom. And who can say that all is well in Edinburgh when the motive power of the deputation and the six months' campaign which preceded it was the unpunished outrage on a child of ten whose assailant escaped on the ground that he was of weak mind and character?

The Lord Advocate states that these criminals are usually persons of weak mind or men under the influence of drink. That may be so, but the sane and sober criminal does not always get his deserts. The N.S.P.C.C. recites instances of teetotalers, of men of outstanding ability, of others filling positions of trust and apparently in full possession of their senses who have been found guilty of these outrages and condemned to six months in the second division, two months' hard labour, or a fine of forty shillings. There is a deplorable tendency to regard an attempted assault as a trivial matter, though the moral guilt of the man, and the psychological if not the physical effect on the child may be as serious as though the offence were completed. The law prescribes penal servitude for life as a full sentence for defiling a girl under thirteen; the justices who belie their name cannot plead that the law regards such crimes with leniency.

If the law is administered with cynical levity the community is, at bottom, to blame. Incredible as it may seem that there are persons who press for light sentences on proved outragers of children, it is nevertheless true. The N.S.P.C.C. tells of subscriptions withdrawn because it has prosecuted this kind of evildoer; of demands that it shall pay the costs of an accused man whose very counsel thought him lucky to avoid conviction. *Non ragioniam di lor.* But nearly as fatal to the just administration of the law is the confused thinking of humanitarians who believe that a criminal of weak intellect should be given a short sentence when convicted. These mental and moral defectives are of all grades. Most of them feel the deterrent effect of threatened punishment and are cunning enough to plead their instability of mind as an excuse for misdeeds which they well know to be such, and which, under fear of punishment, they will avoid. The same may be said of the criminal whose self-control is weakened by drink. There is no doubt a residue for whom morality has no meaning and punishment no deterrent influence. If maniacs of this type take life they are not set free to murder again. No one suggests that they should be set free because they are insane. Yet we are told that humanity demands that in three or six months' time the imbecile who has outraged one child should be set free to assault others. This notion, common enough in jury boxes, would, one might suppose, be disavowed by the lowest circles in hell, but quite kindly persons cherish it because they will not allow themselves to face the truth, which is that an injured child's moral and physical nature may be blighted till its dying day, and that other children who escape without tangible injury may spend their youth in terror because of the neighbourhood of the humanitarian's protégé.

The Edinburgh deputation demanded that the transmission of venereal disease should always be considered as an aggravation of the crime in the case of child assault. This is a matter of great importance owing to the detestable and groundless superstition that disease is mitigated or cured by contact with a young child. This supplies a motive for many of the hideous outrages upon children, and until it is stamped out no little girl is safe. Here the diffusion of knowledge is more important than alteration of the law.

We have no wish to maintain that assaults on children are common, or even that they are increasing in number. In our own time and country they are comparatively rare. But they are more numerous than statistics would suggest and that they should exist at all makes a nightmare of the sun.

## OVER THE BORDER. II.

By M. FRIDA HARTLEY.

The dreary refuge for the homeless known as the Common Lodging House is generally to be found in the back of beyond of an alley in a slum area. It is usually approached by an archway, and is recognisable by the inevitable glazed windows, the door with the "peep hole," and a powerful odour of damp clothes and stale food. So conscious is the visitor as she enters that glances expressing scorn, as well as the immeasurable pity of the poor, are cast upon her by those who have no need to cross the border, that she cannot fail to know the place for what it is.

The Common Lodging House is not, as is usually supposed, a mere temporary refuge for the flotsam of a great city, the workless and the nameless who come and go and are seen no more. It is, in these days, the last haven of derelicts and a live harbour for the shelter and maintenance of prostitutes, until such time as their trade shall render them unfit to be inmates even of their own hells on earth. Broadly speaking, its tradition and standard is prostitution, not as a rule, alas, an "old, unhappy tale of far-off things" for the old, but the sordid business of a lifetime which has left its mark; and, for the younger women, an existence of which the aim and object is the relief from wage-earning which prostitution brings. Herein lies the overwhelming atmosphere of moral degradation and mental stagnation which invariably pervades these places.

Through the winter and summer of 1919 and 1920, the writer (for a purpose and in disguise) visited the Common Lodging Houses of London, slept in them, and during long nights spent in "Common Kitchens" and crowded dormitories, got into close personal touch with the inmates. Some claim may therefore be made to a first-hand knowledge of a side of life of which, since it touches the fundamental in human character, a real understanding would be the task of years. The original object of the visits was conceived of as the result of the rumour of serious drifting of girls of respectable class, and was to arrive at some idea as to the age, traditions, and intentions of girls admitted to these homes during the unrest of demobilisation. That the local authorities viewed with growing disapproval the fact that girls might legally be admitted into common lodging houses at the age of sixteen, the writer knew very well. She found that the prevailing rumour of the drifting into such places of girls of respectable type was true, and, moreover, the investigations opened out a world of problems touching the needs of young working girls to which public conscience might well be roused. It may emphatically be said that the moral atmosphere of these houses is so evil, and the physical discomforts so great, that every girl remaining for more than a few weeks drifts on to the streets.

The sole living-room in the common lodging house is a kitchen, also known as the "Common" kitchen. In this dreary waiting-room (for being furnished only with deal benches and tables, it is nothing more) the inmates gather nightly, not to enjoy peace and the homely atmosphere after the day's "business," but to endure in physical discomfort a cessation from excitement or from the task of wresting a few pence out of passers-by by the sale of matches or cheap wares, or by means less honourable than these. Here also the women brew tea, cook stale meat (the living counterpart of which is a continual mystery, and off which they usually tear the gristly flesh from the bones with grimy fingers), or boil unspeakable messes of shell-fish and bread. The common kitchen is also used for hair brushing when it is considered necessary, and the immediate results of which are apt to prove disconcerting to the uninitiated; for dressing and undressing, if the condition of clothes has become such as to attract attention; and for the drying of these clothes when the hasty washing is over. Usually the evening passes in monotonous discomfort; occasionally a brawl arises, the sound of which is so unbeautiful and of so penetrating a quality that the "deputy" is at pains to quell it before it has become serious. She has not, as a rule, much difficulty, for there is little room for personal ill-feeling in this house of the Nameless, of which the bond is common misery.

A few of the older women (whose lives are wrapped in mystery) are quiet, and "keep themselves to themselves" in a sort of passionate aloofness. For the rest, there is some respect of persons, and a stranger is never spoken to other than kindly, if she be unobtrusive and show herself friendly disposed.

The first evening spent in the common kitchen reveals the

fact that the woman of the lodging house type possesses no other kind of mental outlook upon life than a dead-level, uninspired realisation of hard facts, and a faint curiosity in her neighbours' affairs. If she be old and have nearly done with life she lives and moves and has her being—such as it is—in her physical needs; and if she be young, in her physical desires.

The talk is frequently foul, and consists of tales told of the day's or the previous night's doings. There is a curious hard recklessness in the manner of telling. Never for one moment is it allowed that life in the abstract is worth the living any more than the tale is worth the telling; it is at best to be disposed of as a predestined failure, to be endured with as much physical satisfaction or mental apathy as may be!

Over the threshold of these places of hard realisation and of evil expression, there stumble now-a-days girls of sixteen and seventeen, who are adrift either as the result of one fall or of the shortage of lodging accommodation. The tale usually told is that of seduction, a journey to London with the seducer, and subsequent desertion; of the dire need of a night's refuge and the chance meeting of a bad companion. Sometimes it is a quarrel or ceaseless quarrels in a home which is too cramped and of which the "discipline" is too ill-regulated to admit of such an atmosphere. And at first, those pitiful novices, all bewildered, stumbling on the border-line between a new-felt shame and utter degradation, sometimes rebel, but they are invariably dragged over the line by the relentless hands of the regular prostitutes. A few of the older women would help if they could, but they are themselves too deeply sunk in apathy.

"Fair fed up wiv everyfink," moans a girl of eighteen, huddled up on a bench by the fire. "Gaud, 'ow fed up!" "Nah then, wot's the row wiv you?" asks an old woman going to her. "Want ter git 'ome." "Git 'ome, then." "Can't! Won't 'ave me back. Never, never no more." The voice is the voice of one who has lost her one hold upon life. "St'y and mike th' best of it, then," says the crone. "Wot best? Wants ter be aht of it," persists the girl, with the human look coming back to her haunted eyes. "On'y one w'y nah, dearie, if yer can't git 'ome," says the woman in a matter-of-fact tone. "On'y one w'y nah!" The child twists a rag of a soiled handkerchief round and round her fingers.

"Ave started workin' up and dahn the streets," she volunteers hopelessly, but her eyes are haunted again, pleading as though, in her desperate need of help and good advice, she would if she could, tear the motherliness out of the woman's heart. But that heart is long dead. "Oh you 'ave, 'ave yer? Well, well, yer must keep up yer spirits," says the woman in a tone full of quiet commonsense. "Nah yer are 'ere, it's a lot better ter do as the rest of 'em does! No sort of use being different!" But the girl grits her teeth and turns her head away. Her soul is not yet dead, although it is mortally wounded. "She'll come to in time," comments the woman kindly, as she strolls over to the fire, "as all of 'em does!"

And sometimes they have not the heart to rebel! The writer will not soon lose the recollection of a white, tragic face which she espied at the further end of a long room one bitter winter's night, and with whose owner (the deputy's back being turned) she got into close conversation. The face was so utterly apathetic, so entirely despairing and so pitifully young! It was the old story of seduction and desertion, though the girl had been a domestic servant for four years in a good place. She had drifted into the lodging house after desertion and an ill-timed meeting with a girl in a worse condition than herself; and, once there, all the prostitutes of the house, true to their habits, had rallied round her in that cruel kindness which consoles so little and injures so vitally; and she, utterly lonely, craving for companionship at any cost, had no spirit to hold out! Yet the tradition of decency which belonged to her class was outraged to desperation! "No one to care," was her bitter plaint. "No one to care. Wot does it matter to any living soul if I go down ter the bottom of 'ell! Nuffink to anyone in orl this ugly ole world." Despair in the human heart leads only to a deeper despair, and, disturbed by the warning glances of the returning "deputy," the writer was forced to leave the child, cuddled baby-wise in the arms of a motherly prostitute, who poured into her ears words that were as full of infinite tenderness as they were of rank poison!

Later on that night, when other such pitiful children had

drifted in and were sitting huddled together in wide-eyed uncertainty, an old woman got up and, dramatically waving a large bone from which she had gnawed the meat, she told the history of her life before them all! The story and the manner of telling it is unprintable, but the gist of it so far as we are concerned is that she had been imprisoned for soliciting at the age of sixteen. "Gaud, gels, Gaud, gels, wot blessed bl—dy fools the Righteous is! If I'd only 'ad 'arf a chance then! Silly Billies! Course I wasn't as 'ard-'earted as they took me for! No gel of sixteen is! All bluff! No Ma an' all that! Yer knows. Up against dirt from a child! An' w'en I comes aht o' quod, there it is agine. No one ter know! No one ter care! Nothing between me and it! So, sime old gime agin! etcetera, etcetera—an' for hever an' hever, H'Amen! And nah!"

The story ended in a shriek of wrath.

The woman was drink-sodden and melodramatic, but the story rang true. It is an old tale enough! And yet, for all the pitiful reiteration of it in the daily papers, and for all the years of effort which have been made by a small community of workers, the significance of it has not touched the hearts of the nation. It is a story for mothers, and yet it has not penetrated into the region of that narrow carefulness which leisured women cherish so convincingly for their own daughters; and of which conviction they have, it would seem, so little to spare for those outside their own experience! What is there, of interest, of education, of carefully supervised pleasure that we do not lavish upon our own daughters at the period when they need aids to development? But the girl of the poorer working-class is a wage-earner at fourteen, and economically independent. She faces life as she finds it, in the factory, the cheap shop, the cheap restaurant, and it is not frequently as we would have our own daughters find it! Upon her young shoulders she bears two burdens, strangely ill-balanced—one the temperament of youth, all expectant, all accepting, and the other, the dragging weight of her own moral and temperamental responsibility. Only those who have worked with her, lived with her, sorrowed with her when temptation has dragged her down, can realise to what extent she is "up against dirt from childhood."

What and where is the remedy?—for a remedy there is!

## A GOOSE GIRL.

By EVELYN MILLER.

"Welcome, dearest of friends!" cried Pamela, as I entered her tiny service flat down Baker Street way a few weeks ago. "Come and help me in the great migration. I am going to be "A Goose Girl," or, as they call it out in Vancouver, "A Chicken Girl."

"A Goose Girl! Vancouver!" I gasped. "But why?" Pamela shook her small, bright head. "I cannot explain. No reasons, really, except that I am out of hinge with the old life; I cannot take up all the petty routine. I want space and air—I feel I shall simply suffocate in this confined surrounding. As an ex-Service woman, I shall have a free ship-rate, third class, but I shall travel second class, paying the difference in fare myself. The Government only gives the ship fare; the railway fares emigrants must pay themselves. From Montreal to Victoria it costs, second class, £19 12s., or £21 1s. 6d. first class, present rates; roughly it works out at about £44, I am told. Of course, I shall be able to pay for extra comforts, as I am not exactly a pauper. I remember you told me once how comfortable second class was on the American liners when you went with some girls."

"Yes, it was wonderfully so; but before the war that was, of course. I do not know now."

"Oh, well, it will be all right, I am sure," said Pamela, gaily. "During the winter months steamers go to St. John, New Brunswick, instead of Montreal. For ordinary travellers the fares by the Canadian Pacific Ocean Services Ltd., are, first class, from £49, second class, from £29, third class, from £18 5s., from port to port. The railway fares for ordinary travellers from St. John to Victoria, Vancouver, are, first class, £28 1s., second class, £26 5s., and third class, £14 9s. 3d., without food. Think," added Pamela, "of all that glorious scenery I shall go through. I am looking forward to it; I have always longed to see Canada; the "wanderlust" is in my blood. I am simply craving for change and a wider outlook. I am going for a year to be thoroughly initiated into Vancouver methods; one must be trained on their lines if one wants to succeed. I shall do a little bit of everything as well as goose

girling. I know I am adaptable, so I hope to have absorbed most things in a year's time and then I shall buy a small general farm and start on my own, for I have a little capital. I shall get girls out from home to work under me and start a sort of settlement. It is just what is wanted and Vancouver is an ideal place, though I shall not advise any girl who contemplates farming to come out to Vancouver, or, indeed, to any other part of Canada, without some definite private income of her own. But Vancouver has a splendid climate, with long summer days of eighteen sunlight hours. With a mild winter and fertile soil, it is accessible, and has a ready market for your produce, for Victoria has a season for tourists all the year. I feel in my bones there are huge opportunities for women out there under the most favourable conditions. No strenuous winters or very hot summers which sap your strength. I met such an interesting woman the other day—a Miss Bainbridge Smith; she has been in England for some time, but is returning to Victoria in January, and girls who thought of going out might be glad to travel with her and get the benefit of her experience and advice. She told me all about her training college close to Victoria, which was doing such good work when the war came and upset her apple cart. Her place is called Haliburton College, Royal Oak, Victoria, British Columbia.\* Her farm consists of seventeen acres and is a mixed one. Cows are kept and dairy work is taught in all its branches, pig-keeping, bacon-curing, bee-keeping and poultry (she has an incubator house). Tree-felling, fruit and flower farming, baking, washing, cooking, and general house management on a Vancouver basis are all taught by experienced teachers. I saw lots of photographs of the place. There is a rose garden, a bulb farm; violets and other flowers are cultivated, and a small conservatory is used to raise early seeds. It is most beautifully situated, overlooking Cordova Bay, with a distant view of the United States, and the snow-covered peak of Mount Baker standing out high against the deep blue sky line; the forest is all round, and a trail cut through the wood winds down to the sea where the students bathe and camp out sometimes."

"How delightful it all sounds," I said.

"Yes, and Miss Bainbridge Smith is so practical. She told me, for instance, that girls out from England expect to use coal ranges, but in Victoria they must use wood, and that wood has to be cut just as it would have to be done on a farm of their own, and the water must be drawn from the well for household use, as well as for laundry purposes. The strawberry beds at the College are a valuable asset and are specially remunerative. For the first year after planting strawberries cannot be picked, and every flower has to be most carefully plucked off; but they come in the second year, and last for three years, and a fourth year for jam berries. One acre of strawberries brings in quite £100 after paying all expenses. So that one or two women renting a small farm of five to ten acres could, in a few years, make a good income; the strawberry picking season lasts about six weeks, and women and girls can earn 10s. a day picking. The industry is, however, comparatively new out there, and experience is showing that situation (the choice of which is sometimes limited) on each holding is all-important, and the plants do not, of course, invariably thrive. Insect pests of the wire worm species, too, play havoc with strawberries in many parts. Of course, the price of things has gone up in Vancouver as everywhere else, but Miss Bainbridge-Smith tells me that the profits work out about the same, taking all things into consideration. There is a good chance for women out in British Columbia, and people with £400 to £500 a year could live there in great comfort, and have no worry for the future, and there are splendid openings for their boys and girls. You know how inadequate such incomes are here with a family to bring up." "Yes, it is a splendid outlook," I responded, slowly.

"And this is where I shall come in," cried Pamela. "I can assist our own people when I have learnt the various ropes that have to be pulled—I shall feel I am helping others as well as myself. Education is excellent. There are very good public and high schools in the cities of Vancouver, as well as many private colleges and boarding schools; and the University at Vancouver started its career in 1915 most successfully. It is a jolly sociable life and Miss Bainbridge-Smith said, "Bring some evening dresses as well as your usual wardrobe—pretty clothes are appreciated." I am taking out tan linen coats and short skirts for my goose-girl work, as well as a thicker kind for winter and knickerbockers to wear with them."

There must be hundreds of girls like Pamela to-day, who would be glad to secure a happy, contented home life in the ever-green land of Vancouver.

\* English address: 5, East Cliff, Dover.

## THE VILLAGE.

By ARTHUR FRANKS.

"It took a bloody world-war to make The Village prosperous and happy, but that did it," said the old schoolmaster as he looked out of a rather grubby window on to the long rows of mean houses, the factory chimneys, the woodyards, and the stretch of canal and marsh forming the characteristic features of that curious corner of London to which its inhabitants give the name of The Village. "Yes, that did it; but it's slipping back again. The men are home once more and the women and children are worse off.

"It isn't that the men are a bad lot—at any rate, they aren't wanting in pluck. They didn't wait to be fetched. They joined up like a shot before 1914 was out. Yes, and they earned a good few Military Crosses and one V.C. among them, and many of them will never come back again to the picturesque scenes of their youth. I daresay there were plenty of wet eyes when Dad went marching off to the war; but the women weren't long in realising their happiness. 'My Gawd! Mr. Franks,' said the mother of four of my pupils to me, 'it's 'eaven. I drors my old man's money without 'im bein' there to spend it, I earns a bit more at the factory, and me and the kids aren't 'arf well off. I wish the war would go on for ever!'

"There's plenty of employment for women round here, in the match factories over there to the south, or the jam factories here in the foreground, or the toilet-paper works just beyond them. And well the husbands know it in peace time! Now, during the war, the women with small families could rub along on their separation allowance, and those who had several children added to that by their usual toil; but when they drew their pay there was no one at home to claim the lion's share of it. The women spent it on their families—or good food and decent clothes and strong boots. Make no mistake about it—the mothers were splendid! I don't say they never had a glass of beer or a bottle of whiskey; but, in general, the children got the benefit. And, you know, our Villagers are generous souls; they didn't spend all the money on themselves. Whenever there was an appeal for prisoners of war or wounded soldiers, or for this or that flag-day, why the coppers—yes, and the sixpences and shillings—came rolling in. The girls down in the school below knitted thousands of pairs of socks, and the boys in my department sent out 50,000 'fags' to the men of our regiment. We weren't so great at buying War Certificates; that's one thing you can't make these people—provident. But we've got some three or four hundred of them. And, after all, which is finest—to give for others or save for yourself? Ah! the war was a happy time. Never were the kiddies so bonny and so smart as during those terrible years when the only thing that worried their mothers was the thought of murder suddenly dropping on them from the sky—that, and the other black thought, that some day the war would come to an end, and with it the time of household peace and plenty.

"And now it's all over, and slowly, surely, The Village is dropping back into its old slough of misery. Father's back; and if father's got work then he expects to keep half his pay and have the lion's share of the food. Mother and the kids live on the crumbs that fall from my lord's table. But often father won't work. He hasn't been used to regular toil for the last five years and doesn't want to learn bad habits again. Mother can go off to the factory and earn the living. Ah! the life of some of these women! Do people realise what slavery it is? They bring the children into the world—and mark my words, it isn't they that ask to have eight, ten, or a dozen inflicted on them—they slave to bring them up, they have to

slave to get them food. They kill themselves for the children. I don't say they're without vice; but their vices and their vulgarities are those that life has stamped on them; their virtues are their own, and God alone knows how they can put up with the existence that falls to their lot.

"I met one of my old boys in the street a few weeks back; he's a man of thirty-odd now, and a waterside jobber when he feels so disposed. 'Good morning, Jack,' I said. 'What are you doing now?' 'I'm not doing nothing, Mr. Franks,' he replied, with a total disregard for my former grammar lessons. 'How's that, Jack? Who's going to keep the kids, if you don't work?' 'Listen to me, Mr. Franks,' he said. 'I fought for my blessed country for five years. I was wounded twice and I might 'a been killed. I risked my blessed life while others stopped at home in cushy jobs. Now I'm going to take five years' rest and my grateful country's going to keep me.' 'Rubbish, Jack,' I told him. 'It can't be done. You won't draw your unemployment pay for ever. If you don't find a job, the Committee will cut the money off.' 'Well, if they do,' he answered, as he took his briar (not clay) pipe from his mouth and spat emphatically, 'if they do, I'll raise bloody 'ell—and I'm not the only one.'

"Meantime, his missus does the work and his three children come to school half-fed and dressed in what are fast becoming rags."

He stopped and looked out again on the rows of mean houses which his young ragamuffins called home. Afternoon school was over, and a babble of voices arose from the playground. A precocious spring was stirring in the branches of the poplars along the canal—the canal that, in this one spot at least, set a boundary to the spreading ulcer of London. The great factories rose up square and black, modern representatives of old-time baronial strongholds, with the serfs' hovels clustering at their feet. It was an interesting landscape, packed with tragic possibilities beneath the spring sunshine that seemed to pour floods of hope and peace. But the lowering clouds of war had brought more happiness to The Village.

## NOVEMBER WIND.

By DOROTHY UNA RATCLIFFE.

O! Wind, you are a spendthrift,  
To scatter so much gold;  
You've squandered all my savings  
Amassed from wood and wold.

The garnets of the rowan,  
The copper of the beech,  
The amber of the maple  
Are now beyond my reach.

You crept into the valley  
With silent, slinking stealth,  
And then with wild extravagance  
You wasted all my wealth.

Then finding so much treasure,  
You raised your voice in glee,  
And now no leaf remaineth  
Upon each naked tree.

O! Wind, my spendthrift playmate,  
'Twas wrong to take my gold,  
For now, my lovely valley  
Is very bare and cold.

## DRAMA.

## "Macbeth" at the Aldwych.

"Oh, it offends me to the very soul," says Hamlet, "to hear a robustious periwig-pated fellow tear a passion to tatters—to the very rags—to split the ears of the groundlings." He beseeches them to make "this special observance that you overstep not the modesty of nature, for anything overdone is from the purpose of playing whose end, both at the present and now, was, and is, to hold, as 'twere, the mirror up to nature. . . . O, these be players that I have seen play and heard others praise, and that highly, not to speak profanely, that having neither the accent of Christians nor the gait of Christian, pagan, nor man, have so strutted and bellowed that I thought some of nature's journeymen had made man and not made him well, they imitated humanity so abominably." The first player: "I hope we have reformed that indifferently with us." Hamlet: "Oh, reform it altogether."

It was not reformed in Shakespeare's day. The other dramatists were always complaining of it. Marston makes one of his heroes exclaim: "Wouldn't have me turn rank mad, stamp, curse, weep, rage, and then my bosom strike? Away! 'tis asplish action, player like."

What is more serious, it has not been reformed yet. Belated attempts have been made from time to time by the Elizabethan Stage Society, by Granville Barker, but, on the whole, the old, bad tradition remains, and actors continue to "stamp, curse, weep, rage, and then their bosom strike" from one end of the play to the other.

The second scene at the Aldwych showed all too clearly that this new production of "Macbeth" has all the old faults. One had merely to listen to Malcolm and Duncan questioning the "bleeding sergeant," to say nothing of the conduct of the "bleeding sergeant" himself, to know that "ear-splitting" was to be the order of the day. If this was done in the green twig, what would be done in the dry? If three strong men were almost having a fit at the beginning of the first act, what would Macbeth do when he saw the dagger before him? Macbeth did not belie the promise of his subordinates.

Mr. James K. Hackett has come, as they say at public meetings, "all the way from America to act Macbeth for us." He was the champion high jump and short distance runner at his local university. That was in his younger days, of course. He would stand a good chance as a heavy weight boxer now. He is a man of splendid physique, very tall, massive, in excellent condition, except for a slight cough, and with a magnificent voice, deep, resonant as a bass at the opera. He has every qualification for a Macbeth of the old school. He may tear a passion to rags, but he cannot tear himself. Mr. Hackett was as fresh after two and a half hours of almost incessant strutting and bellowing as at the beginning. During the last scene he skipped round with that agility which won him his laurels on the playing fields of his native land. One felt that it was only out of deference to Shakespeare that he did not pick up Macduff (Mr. Leslie Faber) and hurl him into the middle of the pit. It would have been the work of a moment.

There were one or two moments when he calmed down and gave his splendid physique and voice a chance. Macbeth's reception of Macduff and Lennox was excellent. His calm dignity was almost regal. "The labour we delight in physics pain" was given its full effect, and heard without an effort. This was an exception, however. On the whole, in spite of, or, rather because of, all the noise he made, it was difficult to hear what Mr. Hackett said. Almost all the poetry with which the play is crammed is put into the mouth of Macbeth. As delivered by Mr. Hackett one would hardly know it was poetry. By listening very hard one could distinguish here and there the wonderful familiar phrases, "After life's fitful fever he sleeps

well," "the multitudinous seas incarnadine," "Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased, pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow?" But one recognised their beauty from having read them before. To one hearing the play for the first time it would have been very difficult to distinguish from the ordinary gag of the melodramatic villain. This, of course, was not the case with Lady Macbeth. There is never any fear of missing a word uttered by Mrs. Patrick Campbell. Her articulation was clear and perfect as ever. Like the rest of the actors she was not particularly happy in dealing with the blank verse, and she was, perhaps, a trifle melodramatic on her first appearance. But she is one of those magnetic actresses whose entrance alters the whole stage, and whose exit gives a blank feeling of disappointment. One can never help watching and listening to her. Except in the sleep-walking scene she does not work very hard in this play. She looks very beautiful and majestic. Her majesty and repose during the banquet scene seemed to border on indifference. Perhaps she found it difficult to take Macbeth seriously, or perhaps she was anxious not to distract our attention from his agonies. It was only in the sleep-walking scene, alone with the nurse and doctor, that Mrs. Patrick Campbell's talent really shone out. It was one of the few things seen on the stage that one will never forget. Her Lady Macbeth was not mad; she was not even delirious or in a nightmare. She was simply asleep, troubled by thoughts which would not let her rest. Great fatigue rather than great horror was the key note of the scene. She longs for real sleep, but its current is continually broken by that dreadful past through which she went so boldly at the time, but which she now has to go through again, endlessly, wearily, in her sleep. She goes through it now as she went through it then, simply, blindly, without insight or imagination. For Lady Macbeth, with all her determination, fine courage, quick wits, self-control and physical sensitiveness, is a singularly unimaginative, almost a stupid woman. She lives in the present. Nothing exists for her but the simplest, most obvious facts. "What's done is done." "If we should fail?" says Macbeth, "We fail." The other world does not exist for her. The weird sisters who hold the thread of the destinies of Macbeth have no message for her. They are a means of bringing her husband to her own point of view. That is all. Banquo's ghost and the dim lines of future kings do not appear to her. Even in her sleep, thinking on the murdered Duncan, her only comment is, "Who would have thought the old man had so much blood in him?" She loves, but does not understand, her husband. She thinks him soft, too full of the milk of human kindness—undecided and inconsistent. He "would not play false, and yet would wrongly win"—"cowardly, too, and infirm of purpose." Cowardice, softness, and indecision, this is how imagination, intellect, and exquisite sensibility appear to her. She loves her husband in spite of them, and linking her hand in his, would share his fate gladly as she would have shared his glory. She suffers to the utmost of her capacity. The delicate female organisation breaks beneath the strain. But the pain which kills his wife is as nothing to the storms of agony which sweep over Macbeth and leave him still alive, his capacity for suffering undiminished. His vitality is as stupendous as his intellect, his imagination, and his sensibility; and, like them, is part of his capacity for suffering. On this splendid instrument all the fiends of death and hell play their dreadful music. The most terrible music, perhaps, that has ever shaken and purified the minds of men. But perhaps Mr. James K. Hackett would not agree with all this. Perhaps he holds that Macbeth was one of those "attractive brutes whom men call heroes."

D. H.

## REVIEWS.

CHRISTIAN AND OTHERS  
SOCIALISTS.

By LEONARD WOOLF.

**Christian Socialism, 1848—1854.** By C. E. Raven. (Macmillan. 17s. net.)**A Policy for the Labour Party.** By J. Ramsay Macdonald. (Parsons. 4s. 6d. net.)

These two books read together show what an immense difference the last half century has made to Labour and Socialism, both to their principles and ideals and to their position in the political and social life of the country. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald has given in his little book an admirably clear and concise statement of the programme of the Labour Party. The author's views—he belongs pre-eminently to the Centre—are naturally reflected in the interpretation of this programme, but, on the whole, the general principles for which the British Socialist stands and for which a Labour Government would probably stand, could hardly be stated with greater skill and moderation. To compare them with the extraordinary mist or haze which envelopes Mr. Raven's book, and the chief actors in it, is an amusing and not unprofitable occupation. It involves, however, a certain amount of discomfort. We tried to read Mr. Raven's book in the quiet of our study; we tried to read it in an armchair before the fire, with our feet upon the mantelpiece; we tried to read it in the tube and on the top of an omnibus. We did succeed in reading it, but we never succeeded in reading it with comfort. This is not to say that it is a bad book. It has the universal fault of books in being just about twice as long as it should be; but the author has a real interest in his subject and writes with conviction, and he, therefore, gives us a more accurate and illuminating picture of the Christian Socialists and the world of Socialism and Labour in the middle of last century than can be obtained in most of the standard works dealing with the subject. Nevertheless, his book leaves us uncomfortable. This feeling of discomfort can be traced partly to the Christian Socialists themselves; to enter the presence of Maurice and his friends, even when the introduction is only to their memories under the auspices of Mr. Raven, is very like an unaccustomed visit to church, or the unexpected immersion of a layman in the atmosphere of a Church Congress. The moral atmosphere is so rarified that it produces in a twentieth century Socialist a sensation of asphyxia and dizziness, if not nausea. But our discomfort can also partly be traced to Mr. Raven. His book is not only a history of Christian Socialism; it is a brief for Christian Socialists. If Maurice makes us feel as if we were in church, Mr. Raven makes us feel as if we were in court. But when we open a book on sociological history, we have the right to expect to find ourselves, not in church or court, but in the scientist's laboratory. When Mr. Raven sticks to his facts and describes what his heroes did, and said, and thought, his book is admirable, but when he becomes their advocate he cannot conceal the badness of his case. What he wants to prove is that Christian Socialism was not a failure and that it had a very great influence upon the evolution of Socialism and Labour in this country. This argument, or thesis, forms an undercurrent throughout his book; it finally comes to the surface in a whole chapter, entitled, "The 'Failure' of Christian Socialism," in which he tries to combat the verdict passed by Mrs. Sidney Webb and many other writers upon the teaching of Maurice and his disciples. But read Mr. Macdonald's statement of where Socialism and Labour stand in 1920, and you will see that Mr. Raven really has not a leg to stand on. There is no question, of course, that Maurice, Ludlow, Kingsley, and Neale were individually and collectively remarkable. Individually and collectively, too, they had a considerable influence upon Labour during their lifetime, and upon certain developments in the Co-operative Movement. They were mainly responsible for the

passing of the Industrial and Provident Societies' Act of 1852, and for the founding of the Working Men's College. But all this is not enough for Mr. Raven; he must have it that Christian Socialism was not a failure. Unfortunately for Mr. Raven, the fact remains un concealable that though some Christian Socialists did extremely useful work for Labour, Christian Socialism was a complete failure. It failed for two reasons. Maurice and his group set out to relate Socialism with Christianity; their doctrine implied that Christianity was a living faith; if it were not, their failure was certain. But between 1850 and 1920 Christianity was not a living faith in any real sense of the words. The result is that religion and Christian Socialism have contributed nothing to the solution of the economic and industrial problems that have cursed society during the last half century. But that is not all. Maurice and his group failed not only because they were good Christians, but also because they were bad Socialists. Neale was the only one of them who had any kind of understanding of the position of Labour in modern industry, and those aspirations of it which have developed and materialised in the programme of Mr. Macdonald's book. Despite his sneers at Mrs. Webb, Mr. Raven makes no adequate reply to her criticism; the economic philosophy of Christian Socialism never got further than a belief in the unsound principle of the self-governing workshop. How blind they were to the facts and the spirit of their age is shown by the opposition among them to Neale's attitude towards the consumers' co-operative movement. In the critical years of the Co-operative Movement they backed the self-governing workshop against the consumers' form of co-operation. They put their money with considerable precision upon the wrong horse. That does not prove, of course, that their doctrines were wrong, but it does explain why they lost.

## MORE OR LESS DRASTIC.

By SIR LEO CHIOZZA MONEY.

**The Inequality of Incomes.** By Hugh Dalton, M.A. (George Routledge & Sons, Ltd. 10s. 6d. net.)**England and the New Era.** By Brougham Villiers. (T. Fisher Unwin. 12s. 6d. net.)**The Voice of the People.** By J. L. Stocks. (Wells, Gardner, Darton & Co., Ltd. 5s. net.)

One of the nicest millionaires I know, a man who earned distinction in war administration, confided to me not long ago that, if he had his way, he would abolish inheritance and let the State step into dead men's shoes, making a certain provision for near relatives only. This amounts to very much the proposal made in America by Mr. H. E. Read in his "Abolition of Inheritance." Mr. Read would extinguish inheritance by taxation, with due regard for widows and for the maintenance of children up to the age of twenty-five. Further, he would allow, for the present, bequests of a "reasonable sum" not exceeding 100,000 dollars, this to be "gradually reduced" as the public mind became capable of understanding the injustice of permitting inheritances at all.

Mr. Hugh Dalton, in his invaluable study of "The Inequality of Incomes," while not going as far as Mr. Read, makes a number of suggestions for the reform of the law of inheritance which may well engage the attention of our Chancellors of the Exchequer. He would strictly limit the range of relatives entitled to share in an intestacy, and the amounts to be taken by them. He would make considerable restrictions upon freedom of bequest. As to inheritance taxation, he favours a combination of the principle propounded by the Italian economist Rignano, with a graduated tax on individual inheritances.

The Rignano principle is that an inheritance tax should be "progressive in time," i.e., it should increase with each passage of inherited property. Thus an inheritance might be wiped out at three transmissions, the State taking at the first passing one-third, at the second passing two-thirds, and at the third passing the whole. This, it is claimed, "affords the only practical method of nationalising capital, while at the same time

## CORRESPONDENCE AND REPORTS.

## IRELAND REVISITED.

MADAM,—I regret that, owing to absence from home, I was not able to answer your anonymous correspondent last week. Perhaps it may reassure her to know that I am the daughter of an Irish Protestant Clergyman who is a member of a well-known County Antrim family, and that I have lived for over twenty years in Ireland, so I think I stand absolved from her charge of having studied only one side of the question.

Your correspondent says that "loyal" people in Ireland are murdered, boycotted and driven from the country, and that only a few rebels, whom she feels to have richly deserved it, have been put to some inconvenience by retaliation. All arguments about the present state of Ireland are equally faulty and inconclusive, unless one begins a little further back. Murders on both sides are the outcome of a state of affairs which began in 1917 and 1918. In those two years there were 1,500 political arrests, and all the fairs, markets and civilian gatherings in the country were broken up by armed forces of the crown.

At the General Election of 1918, the present political representatives of Ireland were returned in strict accordance with constitutional procedure, many of them being elected unopposed, and most of the others with overwhelming majorities, in support of the principle that the right of self-determination should apply to Ireland. Most of these Irish Members of Parliament were forthwith imprisoned or hunted as fugitives by the British Government. Is it not really surprising that during those two years only one policeman was murdered?

The concentrated attacks by Sinn Fein upon the troops and the R.I.C., and in recent months upon the Black and Tans, are a direct result of these earlier raids upon private houses, and wholesale arrests of untried civilians, which nowadays constitute the whole duty of the armed forces of the Crown in Ireland. Your anonymous correspondent must be aware that the "Irish Police" have long ceased to play any part in the maintenance of order in the country, and are employed solely in acts of aggression, provocation, and intimidation against the Irish people. In any other country governed in the same way the results would be exactly similar, and have been, as all students of history know.

My point is, that the very people who formerly held to the union are now foremost in demanding that the troops shall be withdrawn, for they realise that to smash all the windows in Cork, burn Mallow, and reduce Fermoy to a condition of stagnant ruin does not encourage the majority of the Irish people to believe in the beneficent results of British rule. I do not justify murder in Ireland any more than I justify it in England, where it is quite a common offence, as all who read the newspapers are aware, though the motive inspiring the murders over here is not of the same nature and cannot be justly compared with political attacks upon armed members of the R.I.C. Still, it would be admittedly absurd to suggest burning down English villages because a defenceless woman had been murdered in the vicinity, on the pretext that the escape of the criminal proved their "connivance at murder." Yet this is exactly what the policy of reprisals means in practice, in Ireland.

My own life-long connection with the army makes me despair the more profound, because I understand what a grave danger it is for troops to lose discipline to the extent to which it has been sacrificed for purposes of revenge.

The alarm and indignation which people who can think clearly all feel rises far above personal or party questions, and if such acts as the casual murder of Ellen Quin, a woman about to become a mother, are to be lightly described as "unpleasant and regrettable incidents" by another Irish woman, one would be better satisfied if the writer of the letter would pluck up sufficient courage to state her name frankly, and stand openly by her convictions.

L. RICKARD.

## STATE ENDOWMENT OF MATERNITY.

MADAM,—At a Council Meeting, held in March, 1919, it was resolved that the N.U.S.E.C. should "work for the endowment of maternity and childhood by the State." As I was absent from the greater part of the meeting owing to being occupied with a municipal contest, I cannot say whether or no there was a full discussion in the room on the resolution but I cannot remember that there was ever less discussion beforehand on such an important subject.

At the following Council Meeting, in March, 1920, another resolution on the subject was passed, but as the Union was still uncommitted to any definite scheme, and the question was not on the immediate programme, there has been, to some extent, a truce which permitted those who are opposed to "State Endowment" to remain in the Union and to work for the "equality" subjects. The chief drawback to their position has been that owing to the adoption of "State Endowment" by the Council it has not been possible for the opposition to find any opportunity of stating their case. Three minutes in which to reply to a speech of three-quarters of an hour is a chance not worth seizing.

The truce is about to be concluded. At the approaching Council Meeting of March, 1921, Societies will be asked to decide on a concrete scheme. The chances appear to be that something in the nature of a split will occur, for when and if the Union is committed to working actively for a definite system of "endowment" it is not very probable that those who regard these proposals as thoroughly anti-feminist will wish to take any share in their propagation, especially as some of the ablest women in the Union are evidently determined to make "endowment" the most prominent object for work. On the other hand, the latter will inevitably be chilled in their enthusiasm for the Union and all its works if the Council goes back (or refuses to go forward) on its previous record.

The conflict cannot be avoided and it certainly behoves every Society to consider the matter very closely and to take council not only among the local executive, but among the rank and file. There was an occasion in the past when the leading members of Societies were found to be strangely at variance with the members who had elected them as leaders, and it may be so again. Provided that there is ample discussion no one can feel aggrieved at the result, whatever it may be. It will be, even

stimulating, rather than discouraging, work and saving by private individuals." Mr. Dalton would apply this principle, and tax the net estate remaining on a graduated scale, taking 100 per cent. above a certain amount, "thus fixing a maximum individual inheritance, as proposed by Mill."

Mr. Dalton would also set up Public Assets Commissioners, in whom would be vested not only intestacies but any inheritance taxes paid in securities. The Commissioners, it is suggested, should have power to reinvest income on behalf of the nation, thus making "a serious beginning in collective saving as a means of accumulating material capital."

These exceedingly interesting suggestions follow a careful examination of the inequality of incomes in its ethical, historical, and economic aspects for which we are greatly indebted to the author, who has brought both industry and insight to a difficult task.

Mr. Brougham Villiers, in "England and the New Era," makes short work of capitalism:—

"I propose," he says, "that the whole land of the country, with the buildings, railways, and plant upon it, as they were in 1914, shall be taken over by the nation at the gross valuation recorded in the books of the Land Valuation Department, and the owners compensated by Government five per cent. stock to the amount of the valuation."

Thus the nation would take over a great going concern, subject to a mortgage of, say, £20,000,000,000. The country would be nationalised *en bloc*, and a single class of fund-holders substituted for miscellaneous property and share-owning. In effect, it would be a levy on capital, because compensation would be made at pre-war values. A revolution "without anarchy and bloodshed," the author calls it, and he points out to the capitalist that his choice is "between a lingering or a sudden death." We are quite sure that the capitalist will prefer to go on dying slowly.

Mr. Villiers, as usual, has much of interest to say, and we like especially his chapter on "The New Patriotism." He is one with Mr. Wells in visualising a future in which self-determination and world-wide federation will take the place of bastard Imperialism.

In "The Voice of the People" Mr. J. L. Stocks has collected some thoughtful lectures given by him to the Workers' Educational Association. He, too, has much to say of the relation of Democracy to Nationalism. "The chief hope," he thinks, "of a more real society of nations rests on the general realisation of a fuller democracy." Democracy is friendly at once to nationality, as the basis and inspiration of political organisation, and to the co-operation of nations. Indeed, it is vitally important for all peoples to realise that the best cannot be made of the world's resources until there is world-wide union for production and exchange.

**The Autobiography of Margot Asquith.** (Thornton Butterworth. 25s.)

I believe it is quite common for reviewers to review books which they have not read. They don't often confess the fact—even inadvertently—because they are wary and practiced deceivers. But they will let it out in private sometimes, and the second-hand dealers who buy their cast-off copies can tell a tale of uncut pages when they choose.

In the case of Mrs. Asquith's book, however, it doesn't much matter whether one has read it or not. The thing has been so blatantly before the public for so long, and its reviews in daily and weekly papers have been so copious, and sometimes so acrimonious, that few people can have escaped knowing a good deal about the private life and love affairs of Margot, and the vision that she has of herself and the world in which she moves. It is a disappointing vision in many ways, considering her opportunities. She was, no doubt, a vital and a vivid young thing, daring, attractive, clever, charitable, and kind-hearted in her own fashion, and vulgar with the vulgarity of the smart. Her personality and her sayings and doings, if they don't quite come up to the advertised level, do, at least, stick well above the average for unconventionality and "go." But what a pity it is she was in the set she was! She would have been so much more at home on the music hall stage—or, at least, if not more at home (she being clearly one of those who feel at home anywhere), she would have been so much more appropriate. With the best will in the world we cannot think her sort of temperament the best sort for a political hostess. She really was out of place in Downing Street, however little she thought it. It takes all sorts to make a world, of course, and, no doubt, there are worse sorts than this; but we do not wonder that Mr. Asquith was for so long a time so obdurate an anti-suffragist.







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