

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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CORRESPONDENCE should reach the Editor not later than the first post on Monday. The Editor's decision is final.

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NOTES AND NEWS

Women Delegates at Geneva.

Other nations have been less reluctant than our own to recognise that women might represent them as efficiently as men. In the World Parliament now assembled at Geneva, Scandinavian women have the first honour of being seated as official delegates. Sweden has chosen a woman, Mrs. Anna Wickzell, as one of three; Denmark has sent Miss Henri Forchhammer; and Norway has sent Miss Bonnevie in addition to three men. Several powers have sent additional delegates to take the place of any who may have to be recalled, or who may fall out through illness. With the exception of Dame Rachel Crowdy, who is the head of the International Health Commission, no Englishwoman has been selected by our Government to take charge of any department, in spite of the provision that all offices under the League of Nations are open to men and women alike, and capacity is the only test. Are we, then, to assume that Englishwomen have not been found capable? We think this would hardly be the answer if election and not selection had been the method of appointment. And in the choice of candidates for the secretarial posts that have and will continue to become vacant, examination ought to be made the only test of efficiency, not influence or nomination. Is it felt that women are less able to acquire the international outlook, to enter into the spirit of world-citizenship, than men? Yet there are several women on the staff of the Secretariat of the League, and already it is said that ability to lose individuality in *esprit de corps*, and to forget nationality in view of world-service, is remarkable. The women must be playing their part in this as well as the men. Service in the League of Nations should, indeed, provide a fine training-ground for statesmanship, and women may well be a little jealous if the ground is railed off and kept as a close preserve, especially when this is distinctly "against the rules."

The Turn of the Wheel.

It was a matter of sincere regret to many that Lord Robert Cecil was not appointed to represent Great Britain. To him, more than to anyone else, is due the creation of League-spirit if not the League itself. When South Africa rectified the omission there was unbounded satisfaction here as well as at the Cape. But the wheel of fortune was destined to make a still completer revolution. As delegates are seated in alphabetical

order according to States, and in French the noun comes first, "Africa of the South" heads the list, and Lord Robert Cecil has the first seat to the right of the President of the Assembly! Had he represented the "Empire Britannique" he would have been two or three rows down.

A Women's International Chamber of Commerce.

Mrs. Catherine Clemmens Gould has described in a recent article in a Scandinavian paper how she first became inspired with the idea of founding a Chamber of Commerce for women. As a member of the United States Chamber of Commerce and of other commercial organisations, she realised that men were often lacking in understanding of the social and economic problems which specially affect women, or had not the time to devote to their consideration. Women might be present at the Conferences at which such questions were discussed, but were not allowed to speak, and therefore had no opportunity of explaining their point of view to their men colleagues, however desirable such an explanation might obviously be. Two years ago, therefore, the head office of the Women's Chamber of Commerce was opened in Washington, with a branch office in New York. Since then branches have been opened in China, India, Turkey, and Mexico, and these, it is hoped, will be added to in every country and will knit together women in every department of commerce, industrial and agricultural. Everything that is manufactured for women—for their homes and for their children—has hitherto been planned and, so to speak, forced upon them by men. This Mrs. Gould considers especially deplorable in the case of clothes and toys. She would urge manufacturers to abandon the construction of toys which foster a military spirit. She would have each branch include a "Young People's Department," where young girls could be trained to take responsible positions in the many industrial occupations, such as the manufacture of silk and lace, for which women are peculiarly fitted. A committee should be formed, from which delegates should be sent to all the Trade Congresses which deal, either directly or indirectly, with the position of women in trade. Films and exhibitions are to serve as propaganda, and inquiries are to be made into local industries in all parts of the world, with a view to the opening up of a world trade in articles manufactured by women. Mrs. Gould is now touring in Scandinavia, and is hoping to found a Women's Chamber of Commerce in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark.

Italian Women's Suffrage.

The Italian Chamber has passed the first reading of the Bill conferring the municipal Suffrage on women, and the measure has very favourable prospects of success. We congratulate Italian women on what will, no doubt, be a first step to full citizenship.

Women Councillors.

A few more names of newly-elected women councillors have come to hand and can be added to our list, which now numbers fifty-six. Cheltenham has returned Miss Clara Winterbotham, who, although a Liberal and backed by the Liberal organisation, asked for, and received, a great deal of non-party support. She was co-opted during the war as Cheltenham's first woman councillor, but fought her first contest this November, when she was returned at the head of the poll by a big majority. Dartmouth has returned Mrs. Maude Edgecombe, and Miss Carrie Whitehead was returned unopposed as the first woman councillor for Rawtenstall. Aylesbury elected Mrs. Whitechurch and Dr. Janet Horwood, both candidates being put forward by the Women Citizens' Association, and Ruthin returned Miss Anna Rowlands, B.A.

Conference of Women Magistrates.

The important Conference of Women Magistrates to be held at the Mansion House on November 30th and December 1st, will elect representatives to the recently formed Association of Magistrates, and will discuss the general procedure and powers of a magistrate's court, probation work, the Birmingham scheme for the examination of prisoners, juvenile delinquency, maintenance orders, punishment in theory and practice, and other questions. Miss Eleanor Rathbone and Mrs. Creighton will preside. The members of the Conference are fortunate in having Sir Edgar Sanders, formerly Clerk to the Liverpool Justices, to open the subject of the magistrate's powers and the usual court procedure. He has great powers of concise and lucid exposition, and a talent for answering questions that are asked and those, often more important, that are implied by the questioner. It is almost as important that decisions and sentences in a magistrate's court should be reasonably uniform as that they should be just; the general public, even delinquents, have a right to know what they may expect in the way of punishment or restraint if they infringe the law, and no uniformity is possible unless full use is made of conferences and all other means of exchanging information between the Justices of different districts.

The Juvenile Courts Bill.

Sir John Rees is indefatigable in his endeavours to economise, especially when at the same time he can oppose progressive legislation or the upholders of equal status for women. One of his recent questions in the House attacked the Juvenile Courts Bill on the ground that some London magistrates were opposed to admitting women justices to any share in the proceedings of the Children's Courts, and he asked the Home Secretary whether he did not think there was a great deal more gallantry than economy in the whole proposal. Mr. Shortt replied that the Chief Magistrate had assured him that the proposals in the Bill meet the views of the majority of the magistrates. Undaunted, Sir J. D. Rees drew Mr. Shortt's attention to a letter from certain women probation officers, who urged that the appointment of women assessors in Children's Courts is entirely unnecessary, since in every juvenile Court there is an experienced woman probation officer. The Home Secretary, in testifying to the valuable work done by these women, very rightly said it could hardly be expected that their views should be taken as deciding the question whether women should share as justices in the work of the Children's Courts. Sir J. D. Rees then fell back on his old economy appeal, and said that, since the numbers of juvenile offenders have dropped to a pre-war basis, there will be insufficient work for existing Courts at existing costs. Mr. Shortt said that, but for the necessity of having Courts within easy reach of all parts of London, the number of Courts might be reduced. Such reduction would not, however, effect any appreciable saving in cost, as the magistrates and staff of the Metropolitan Police Courts will take all the work of the Children's Courts. We hope this will be the end of these reactionary criticisms.

Incest Trials in Camera.

Mr. Justice Darling's repeated protests against the hearing of incest trials *in camera* have hitherto been based on the undoubted influence of publicity in securing justice, and the fact that public disapproval is part of the punishment of every person

justly found guilty. He has now added a third reason, very weighty in itself, which is astonishing to those who have little experience of the police courts. He states that people do not know that incest is a crime, nor are they aware of the punishment entailed by conviction. If this is so, not only do the trials which take place *in camera* fail of their deterrent effect, but private persons, who might help in protecting threatened children, are deprived of most useful weapons, and cases where neighbours are aware of danger or injury to children from this cause, are hidden with the best motives from those who might bring the offenders to justice. But if these trials should be held in open court, the greatest discretion should be exercised by the Press in alluding to them, and a considered recommendation by the judges should be issued as to the form to be taken by such reports.

The Factory Inspector's Task.

Miss Constance Smith, addressing the Society of Civil Servants, said that the work of the Home Office Inspectors of Factories was becoming less and less negative and prohibitive; it was developing from its early status of police work, and becoming advisory and administrative. The newer side of the inspector's duty demands initiative, and women are as successful here as in the earlier days of the department. Miss Smith went to Washington as Government representative to the Labour branch of the League of Nations, where she presided over the important committee meeting which drafted the Conventions. This personal detail she did not disclose to her audience, though she mentioned that the members of the committee consisted almost equally of men and women.

Income-Tax Problems.

Some misapprehension exists as to the meaning of a provision in the Finance Act, 1920, which allows a husband an abatement of £225 for himself and his wife if they are living together, and £135 if they are living apart. There is no inequity in the arrangement; if the wife is living on her own means she receives the same personal allowance as her husband, namely, £135, and if he maintains her during their separation he is entitled to £225, exactly as though she were living with him. To allow him twice £135 would be to put a premium on separation. Local collectors are not very well informed as to the meaning of the provisions which govern income-tax assessment; some of them are quite helpless when asked to advise on the way to calculate a three-years' average when the tax-payer who has been receiving a salary passes to the class who return their incomes as profits on a business or profession.

Cambridge Opponents Oppose Each Other.

The anti-equality party in Cambridge are beginning to complain that they have a bad Press. If they have, it is largely their own fault, for they have so little to say, and they say that little so inconsistently. Not only are they divided against each other—some being pseudo-progressive, and others frankly of the old school—but some of the leaders have parted company to-day with their former selves of only a few months ago. Out of the six members of the Cambridge Syndicate who put forward their Report B, three of the party last week set their names to a flysheet, in the course of which they told their amazed and amused readers that Report B was not altogether satisfactory, and that their other scheme (their so-called "compromise") was also not quite to their fancy.

The "Gogs."

The "compromise," it may be remembered, was a fantastic project for evading real equality, by fobbing off on women a pretended equality. Thus, there was to be a "Men's House" and a "Women's House"—equal, yet not the same—and there were to be two Vice-Chancellors, male and female, equal, yet dissimilar, seated, like Gog and Madam Gog, upon their thrones. But Cambridge is not a congenial home for Athanasian mysticism; and it dismisses the party of Gog and Madam Gog with laughter to the Gogmagogs. Meanwhile, members of the Senate are beginning to see more and more clearly that to prolong the present anomalies would not only be intolerable, but extremely discreditable, to a University with the high renown of Cambridge. Cambridge cannot act as a pioneer, as the liberal sharer of its good things with persons of all races and all creeds, and then leave its splendid programme unfinished in the case of British women. Women, if forced to carry the war into the Parliamentary field, would certainly conquer. They possess the University vote for Parliament, though they are not yet voters *within* the University. And from the University they cannot be dislodged.

To Vote for Report A.

Those M.A. voters who intend coming to Cambridge on the 8th, may like to know that they will be members of a distinguished company. Already a long list of pledged supporters has been printed; and, although it runs to well over a thousand names, it is necessarily far from complete. Those who are in favour of admitting women to degrees and membership on the terms set forth in Report A are the Masters of Downing, Peterhouse, Selwyn, Sidney, and Trinity Hall, and the Provost of King's. The Master of Gonville and Caius (Dr. Anderson) being a member of the Universities' Commission, has not added his name to the list, but it is well known that his sympathies are on the same side. Others who have enrolled themselves in the Report A party are Mr. Justice Warrington, Mr. Runciman, the Bishop of Barking, the Dean of Durham, Sir Clifford Allbutt, Sir H. P. Allen, Sir C. A. M. Barlow, M.P., the Earl of Belmore, Rev. Prof. Bethune Baker, Prof. Bevan, Prof. Bosanquet, Rev. J. Carnegie Brown, Prof. Bullock, Canon A. E. Burn, Dr. Burton-Fanning, Mr. J. R. M. Butler, Right Hon. Lord J. T. B. J. Butler, Dr. P. A. Buxton, Sir William Chance, Col. E. Kitson Clark, Prof. Conway, Sir Martin Conway, Sir T. Cope, Mr. F. M. Cornford, Mr. G. G. Coulton, Sir Alfred Dale, Sir Francis Darwin, Mr. Lewis Dickinson, Mr. J. D. Duff, Sir H. Morley Fletcher, the Rev. L. G. B. J. Ford (Headmaster of Harrow), Mr. S. Garrett, Mr. T. R. Glover (Public Orator), Right Hon. Sir Ellis Griffith, Sir Sidney Harmer, Prof. Gowland Hopkins, Sir Arthur Hort, Archdeacon Howson, Prof. Henry Jackson, Dr. Keynes (University Registrar), Mr. Maynard Keynes, the Hon. and Rev. Dean Leigh, Dr. Liveing, Mr. W. H. Macaulay, Hon. Malcolm Macnaghten, Canon Masterman, Canon Parry, Prof. Pigou, Sir Frederick Pollock, Mr. H. Rackham, Mr. A. S. Ramsey, Mr. Donald Robertson, Major-General Sir F. S. W. Robb, Prof. Reid, Sir Humphry Rolleston, Sir Ernest Rutherford, Sir H. Babington Smith, Mr. E. O. Vulliamy, and Mr. Whetham. These names are sufficiently representative to indicate the large body of opinion in favour of the present proposal. It is pretty clear that the opponents are abandoning all pretence of having an alternative scheme to bring forward, and will appear on the 8th as sheer opponents of women's progress. Their actual number is large; what their number may be at the poll we have no means of knowing. No true friend of our cause will leave anything to chance.

"Well Played, Varsity!"

An amusing little incident occurred last week at Cambridge. A hockey team from Girton and Newnham played a match against the American ladies who are on a visit to this country. A crowd of undergraduates assembled to watch the game, and whenever the home team made a good stroke there went up an encouraging roar from the young men of, "Well played, Varsity! Well played, Report A!" The game did not end as it should have done for figurative completeness, seeing that the visitors won; but the Newnhamites and Girtonians will be well content next month if they can echo the undergraduates' cry, "Well played, Varsity!"

Married Women Workers in Holland.

Both married women teachers and married factory women are to be dismissed on marriage in Holland, but the case of the woman teacher is more favourable than that of the industrial woman, in the matter of sick benefit. It has been foreshadowed in the speech from the Throne, and repeatedly stated by the Minister of Labour, that there will be legal prohibition of work by married women. An amendment to the law regulating the work of civil servants is very probable, by which a woman teacher will be dismissed on contracting marriage. While the women of both classes are still at work they are obliged, during pregnancy, to take five months leave of absence, *viz.*, two months before and three months after confinement. The factory woman, however, seems to be specially penalised; for she contributes to a fund out of her wages, from which, during her compulsory absence, she receives 70 per cent. of her wages, and the State only adds 30 per cent. The teacher, however, pays nothing out of her wages and receives her full 100 per cent. from the State during her five months absence. The teacher can, out of her ordinary salary, save and supply herself with her ordinary wants; but the industrial woman cannot be expected to do so, more especially in the early months before her enforced absence, while during confinement, of course, her expenses are heavy.

NEWS FROM WESTMINSTER.

BY OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT.

The House had a busy week. On Monday, November 15th, came the climax of the attack on the Health (Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill, when Mr. Bonar Law threw half of it overboard, and allowed it to be seen that he was not particularly enamoured of the other half. He dropped thirteen clauses outright, and said that if Grand Committee liked to drop the rest, why then he would accept their decision with resignation. So Dr. Addison has now taken his hapless measure to a Committee, where it is having a stormy time. He himself remains on the ship. He has improved on the record of Jonah; the ship, the storm, the patriarch himself, and the whale have all been present; but he has managed to satisfy the whale with other provender.

The debate was illumined by one of those flashes of political philosophy from Mr. Bonar Law, which explain the secret of a hold over the House unequalled since the days of Sir Robert Peel. Before the war, he said, a leader was always backed by his party, and the more completely he was in the wrong the more thoroughly he could rely on them. Now all is changed. The Coalition Government can only get Parliament to support it when it is right. Members, knowing that its immense majority makes it safe, decide for themselves. Therefore, the stronger a Government is, the less it can drag on Parliament.

The paradox is profoundly true. The independence of the present House, contrary to received opinion, has been pointed out in these notes more than once. More and more it is asserting its authority against the Government of the day. Closure by guillotine has ceased to exist. Last spring Mr. Bonar Law tried to revive it. The occasion was favourable for its resurrection. Large arrears of financial business had to be completed by March 1st, time was short, and it was plain that if debates were allowed to run on as usual the business could not be got through. He therefore had an unanswerable case for curtailing discussion; but when he tried to do so, the House rebelled. It compelled him, against his will, to accept an alternative proposed by Major Hills that the House itself, not the Government, should settle what time should be allotted to each discussion. This was done, and proved completely successful. So much so that, when the Home Rule Bill was introduced, the system of "closure by compartments," which would have been a matter of course before the war, was dropped, and once again time for the debate was allocated by an independent Committee. As a matter of fact, the whole time given was not required, and this complex and controversial measure got through without the closure being used once. It is difficult for those outside Parliament to realise the magnitude of this victory.

Agriculture occupied most of the rest of the week. The Report Stage of the Bill was continued on half of Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, November 15th, 16th and 17th, and the whole of Thursday and Friday. The Government steered a successful course through currents more than usually conflicting. The Bill is being attacked from no less than four angles. There is the Labour Party, who dislike landowners and like Government control; the tenant farmers, who want security but hate control; the moderate landowners, typified by men like Mr. Lane Fox and Mr. Fitzroy, who generally support the Government; and the extreme landowners, led by Mr. Pretymann and Colonel Roysds, who generally oppose it.

The two most important points decided during the week have been Government control of cultivation and compensation for disturbance. The Prime Minister made a remarkable speech in favour of the first. Incidentally he repeated his "never again" watchword. Never again is agriculture to be neglected, and this country left entirely dependent on foreign supplies. Government control was the corollary of guaranteed prices, he said, and in addition was necessary. It might have been thought that the agriculturists, having got so powerful a recruit as the Prime Minister, would have fallen on his neck. He was preaching what they had preached unheeded for fifty years. But they did nothing of the sort. In spite of this, however, the clause obtained a comfortable majority. The other controversy, compensation for disturbance, raged for more than one day. The Bill gives a tenant who is turned out compensation running from one year's rent to as many as four, and Sir Arthur Boscawen resisted any modification. The debate will be continued this week, and the Bill passed before these notes are read.

The Unemployment Bill got a Second Reading on Wednesday. Mr. Monro, Secretary for Scotland, introduced it, and Mr. Neal, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Transport, wound up the debate. Neither speech was quite adequate, and the Bill was coldly received.

A WELCOME TO THE I.W.S.A.

By MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT.

The National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship gives a cordial and joyous welcome to the Board of Officers of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance, now on the point of arriving in London. It is not without real emotion that we remember that the last meeting of the Board in London was held in July, 1914. It had barely separated, several of its members being on their way to their respective countries, when the great war was sprung upon a dismayed and horrified world.

The Board of Officers elected at Geneva last June comprises representatives from the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, and Switzerland. The N.U.S.E.C. welcomes them all, but perhaps most heartily those from America. And this for two reasons. They have had the most difficult task of any of the recently enfranchised countries; for they have had to convince not one Parliament, but at least thirty-six Parliaments, and to procure the amendment of a constitution so framed as to make any alteration in it approach the region of the miraculous. But it is not only because of the immense difficulties that they have overcome that we offer them a special welcome, but because, during their own seventy years' struggle for their own enfranchisement, they have been unboundedly generous in helping the Suffrage cause in other countries. There is hardly a country in which their witty and eloquent speakers have not sown the seed of the Suffrage word. Again and again in this country we have enjoyed their aid, and we can recall the immense impression made by such speakers as Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, Mrs. Ernestine Rose, Mrs. Gilman, and Dr. Anna Shaw. They helped us to win our battle, and even more than that they have implanted in us the principles of internationalism which needed some careful nursing in our insular soil.

In 1914 the Headquarters Committee of the I.W.S.A. had lately been established in London. On its members, therefore, fell the main responsibility for directing the immediate work of the Alliance after the outbreak of the war. They retained, and used freely, the right of consultation with Mrs. Chapman Catt and other officers, notably Madame Schlumberger, of Paris. At that time only four countries had granted Parliamentary Suffrage to women. These were New Zealand, Australia, Finland, and Norway. Women in the other twenty-four countries affiliated to the Alliance were entirely without political power. It was at once realised in all of them that the war had made direct work for women's enfranchisement an impossibility; but in each country the women who had organised themselves for Suffrage were earliest in the field of useful and, indeed, indispensable national work, and they betook themselves to it accordingly. The Headquarters Committee of the I.W.S.A. undertook in the first instance, as the only piece of international work then within their reach, to extend help of various kinds to the great numbers of foreign women left stranded in this country (principally in London) in consequence of the war. The officers were working at this all day and every day, and the work increased so much that they gathered together to help them a large band of willing volunteers. They co-operated with other societies with similar objects and formed a large representative committee, on which numbers of these societies were represented. It is a matter on which Headquarters Committee may be congratulated that they were not only able to hold together all through the four and a

quarter years of the war, but to do international work of real service to more than one of the countries affiliated to the Alliance, in such a way and in such a spirit that it did not alienate the sympathy of the other affiliated countries. The aid to the Belgian refugees may be cited as a case in point. That the Headquarters Committee were able to do this was mainly due to their firm adherence, in their organ *Jus Suffragii*; or, *The International Women's Suffrage News*, to two principles. First, that the Alliance should stand only for one political object, namely, the enfranchisement of women, and secondly, that it should remain pledged to neutrality on all questions which are strictly national. It was not always quite easy to maintain these two principles, but it is clear that they saved the Alliance from disruption, and gave clear guidance as to the inclusion or exclusion in the paper of various doubtful subjects. Some objected that the exclusion of topics other than Suffrage would make the paper dull. The reply was that it was better to be dull than dead, and that nothing could hold the paper or the Alliance together, except the nailing of these principles to the mast. The rules adopted did not preclude giving information on allied movements, such as the growing professional and industrial freedom of women in the various countries, and the advance towards the principle of equal pay for equal work.

As a matter of fact, the *International Suffrage News* entered upon an extremely interesting part of its career when it succeeded in collecting, during the war, news concerning the activities of women in every part of the world. It became, no doubt, suspect to the Pacifist, but it had the consolation of becoming at the same time suspect also to the Chauvinist and Jingo. A Press representative of this latter spirit, on getting hold of a list of the 1913 Board of Officers and seeing that it included, besides English, French, Belgian, and American names, those of two German ladies, indignantly called upon me either to retire myself or to expel the Germans. This was, of course, both an impertinence and an absurdity. The Board of Officers had been elected at the last International Congress in 1913; none of them were subject to dismissal, and voluntary retirement served no useful purpose. So we all held on hoping for happier times to come, and we are justified now in claiming that they have come. The four Women's Suffrage countries of 1913 have become the twenty-five of 1920, and of these twenty-five twenty-one enfranchised their women during the war. Early in 1919 I decided, for personal reasons, not to offer myself for re-election on the Board of Officers; and in writing Mrs. Catt to tell her this, and to promise to go on with my share of Headquarters' work until my successor could be elected at the next Congress, I had some pride in pointing to the list of the affiliated societies and in saying to my chief, "Of them that thou gavest me have I lost none."

The greatness of the Women's Suffrage victory may be measured by two facts, first, that the twenty-one nations include some of the most powerful countries in the world, Great Britain and Canada, the United States and Germany. Secondly, the new States brought into existence by the Treaty of Paris adopted Women's Suffrage as a matter of course, and as part and parcel of their new constitution. There is now a girdle of Suffrage nations half round the world. When will the other half come in? The chief work which the future holds for the I.W.S.A. is to make the answer to this question a cheerful one.

BURNING QUESTIONS.

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

THE AGRICULTURE BILL.

THE GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE. I.

The necessity for the introduction of this Bill arose out of a situation which the war accentuated, when the country became painfully aware that, owing to former neglect, it was reduced to a condition in which starvation of its population presented no overwhelming difficulties to its enemies. We realised then that if our harvests were good we only produced enough food in the country for three months out of every twelve; and that we were utterly dependent on imported food, which was at the mercy of the attacks of our enemies.

Another discovery as a result of the war was that there was in Great Britain a smaller percentage of able-bodied men fit to defend their country than in other belligerent nations. The question now is one, not of defence alone, but of the health and fitness of the population. Hundreds of men have left the healthiest of all occupations and have gone into trades which depress their physical vitality, and are working under conditions that wear out nerve, heart, and soul.

It is essential in the interests of national prosperity and safety that a strong step should be taken to increase the productivity of land, and in order to obtain the requisite production it will be necessary to increase the area of land devoted to arable cultivation.

Continual pressure has been brought to bear on the Government for guaranteed prices based on the cost of production. No farmer will do his best unless he has a sense of security, and for that reason farmers are to be given guarantees with respect to their cereal crops; but if the State guarantees prices, it must have a *quid pro quo*, and the Government is bound to see that farming is carried on with the best possible advantage to the nation, and that, where necessary, it must have the right to insist on improved methods of cultivation.

It is, therefore, proposed that action shall be taken if it is found that the production of food on any land can, in the national interest and without injuriously affecting the persons interested in the land, be maintained or increased by the occupier by means of an improvement in the existing method of cultivation, or by the use of the land for arable cultivation; or that the occupier of land, or the owner of land in the occupation of a tenant, have unreasonably neglected to execute thereon the necessary works of maintenance. There is no proposal to empower the Ministry to prescribe the actual crops to be grown; there are ample safeguards and the proposal is to be carried out by the local county agricultural committees, and interested persons are to have a right of appeal.

The Bill proposes to give the tenant farmer, if not absolute security of tenure, at least compensation for unreasonable disturbance. This compensation is one of the main inducements to the farmer to put more energy and capital into his land. For many years, in England at all events, tenant farmers have enjoyed what amounts, in most cases, to perfect security of tenure, but new circumstances are arising. England is changing hands; high taxation and the enormous cost of repairs and other causes have led to extensive sales of land, and in many parts of the country there is almost a panic among the farmers, who fear that they will be turned out of their holdings. A new class of landlord has to be dealt with, and many of them have not the old idea of their obligations which their predecessors had. "Security is the best fertiliser of the soil." If increased production is to be obtained, greater security than now exists must be given, and the Bill proposes to give security to tenant farmers for the capital which they have invested in the soil and compensation for disturbance when they are evicted.

In spite of protests, the country must realise that something must be done. Protection we cannot have; persuasion might prove a broken reed, since the temptation to pursue that form of agriculture which would make the farmer less dependent on labour, is overwhelming. In view of our adverse exchanges, something must be done to stop the importation of £500,000,000 worth of food which the country is capable of producing.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE AGRICULTURE BILL. II.

By PROFESSOR ROBERT WALLACE.

In the urgent interest of the great mass of the people the Agricultural Bill should not be passed. It is a highly objectionable measure, which cannot fail to lessen food production and check agricultural progress. It is the Charter of the Non-Progressive Farmer, stamped as such by allowing "compensation for continuous good farming"—compensation, forsooth, to every farmer who only does what it is his bounden duty to do!

The non-progressives are more numerous than the good and the bad farmers put together. These men farm as their fathers farmed: they know no science and cannot read a scientific article intelligently, but have to go to their cake, manure, and seed merchants for (disinterested?) information and advice. Thus, it is the very class that have been and will remain the greatest drawback to progressive agriculture who are to be protected from stimulating economic competition by the provisions of this Bill.

In place of checking profiteering the Bill plays into the hands of profiteers by forcing needy proprietors to sell to them at ruinous prices, or to sell to their tenants, who are unwilling buyers, cannot always pay cash, and who will certainly suffer later when produce prices fall and guaranteed wages remain. While proprietors have been financially crippled during the war, the tenants have done very well—some of the best of them say too well for their public reputation, even to the extent of profiteering—many, especially on good land, having made as much money as their farms are worth. Nevertheless, it is proposed, in the name of a "security of tenure" that would be the absolute ruin of progressive agriculture, to deprive the impoverished landlords of an amount variously estimated at 1-20th to 1-5th of the value of the farms, to further enrich the prosperous tenants with a view to bribe them to sacrifice their liberty of action in the management of their farms, by submitting to unskilled Government control and direction that would make successful agriculture impossible and rural life unendurable.

The vast majority of tenant farmers have no sympathy with the Bill and have given it no support and very little consideration. It is surely a fateful and futile policy to attempt to cure an abuse by creating a greater. Legislation on the lines proposed would be a national calamity.

The National Farmers' Union, whose ultimate object is "fixity of tenure," in its support of the Bill proposes to secure its political aspirations at the expense of an objecting third party—the landlords. It has (1) begun to upset the goodwill and harmony between landlords and tenants—the great cornerstone of the success of British agriculture; (2) it has made it impossible for many landlords to continue to hold landed property, and led, and will continue to lead, to forced sales, sometimes at ruinous prices to land profiteers, and other times to the sitting tenants, who have been driven to accept the serious growing responsibilities of landlords as an alternative to ejection, which would never, in many cases, have been thought of but for the palpable injustice of this proposed legislation; (3) it has lost the golden opportunity of uniting the farming with the landed interest, and conceivably even with labour, to make the only political landward combination that can ever secure effective legislative force in the House of Commons; (4) it has rendered a still greater disservice to the State by adding fuel to the fire of Socialism, which is out to destroy civilisation in an uncontrollable world conflagration. Nothing has been done more to inflame the passions of the poor and the needy and create social unrest than the success with which the war profiteers, the new rich, have escaped the efforts to transfer a proper proportion of their ill-gotten gear to the coffers of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and yet we have in the Agriculture Bill an attempt to spread the bases of profiteering by an insidious socialistic system of robbery by legislation, intended, like so much recent futile legislative effort, to placate the implacable.

DRIVING FORCE FOR THE LEAGUE.

By B. L. HUTCHINS.

If, through the intervention of some benevolent genie or magician, such as we used to read of in the "Arabian Nights," I were to have the power of giving a considerable impulse to politics, and could choose the direction the move should take, I should unhesitatingly make it the "intention" of the spell that women should take much more interest in the League of Nations. It may be asked, why women especially? Is it not equally desirable that men should interest themselves in the civilising of international relations? Of course it is; but there are reasons which, in my view, make it especially important just now that women should take up this fundamental question. Women are a new factor in politics; they are not as yet politically stale or cynical; they are not so much committed to party ties and shibboleths as are men. Women also (and this is a point which seems to be somewhat overlooked) are not physically so exhausted by the ravages of war as are men. The sufferings of women through bereavement, anxiety, and economic strain have been enormous, but the fact remains that women have not been mown down, depleted of their best members at the best age, nor have they been invalidated and disabled to anything like the same extent as men. They are less weary. This is one reason, therefore, among others, why women should exercise a considerable influence in working an almost virgin field of incalculable importance.

In point of fact, however, most women have not yet begun to take much interest in the subject, and it is quite possible to be asked, as I was the other day: "How can you care anything for the League of Nations? Is it not a fraud, an illusion, a meaningless pretence?" And, so far, I am at one with the lady who thus spoke. No one can feel that the League of Nations, as at present constituted, can have much value or significance for the future of the world. But here occurs a point which is somewhat obscure and difficult, but which seems to me so important that I must try and make it clear. Do we not need, in many ways, a re-statement of our ideas on duty and ethics? We are so accustomed, we have all been brought up to think that duty is a loyalty we owe to a norm or tradition from the past, something quite clearly understood, about which there can be no doubt, as when a man is told: "Your country needs you to fight." I do not mean to question that duty may come in that form. But duty also is the obligation to shape, create for the future, and it may appear as something not easy to visualise, something that is dim, impalpable, and yet draws us on to work and strive to bring it into existence. It is in that way we have to conceive of the League of Nations. It is not consecrated to us by the traditions and associations of centuries, as are the loyalties of patriotism; it has no halo, little sentiment; it is not bound up with the inmost fibres of our being. I suppose most of us felt, when we passed the Abbey and the Tower at Westminster in war-time, and thought of what air-raids might do, an inarticulate clutch at the heart, an almost sick recoil, "No, no, these, at least, must not, should not, be harmed." We do not feel about the League of Nations like that. It has, by the way, already done some quite useful work in regard to public health and the settlement of international disputes, but there is nothing as yet to make an emotional appeal. But it is just because of its present pettiness, its utter inadequacy for the great task waiting to be done, that it demands our support and effort. Unconsciously, we show when we find fault with it on these lines that our religious ideas are vitiated by the old idol-worship of our ancestors, which most of us still have in our bones. We want a fine, handsome ideal (or idol) ready-made, worthy of our devotion, and then we will make efforts and sacrifices for it. But, in point of fact, this ideal lies in the future, not in the past; it is futile to complain that it is unworthy of our devotion, for it will only become better when we make it so.

If once this point were grasped by women, I believe they would not be slow to develop its meaning and possibilities. Women, through the fundamental facts of biology, are more

vitaly bound to the future than are men. How can a woman look at young children of her own, how can any woman look at any children, and not turn sick at heart to think of the fate that lies before them under the present conditions of competitive armaments and military preparedness? There are those who tell us that wars always have been, and therefore, always must be. It is, however, a simple fact of history, that no war like that of 1914-18 ever happened before. The growth of capital, the development of industry and mechanics made possible a collection of war material and a systematised slaughter of men on a scale hitherto unknown, and this very fact, combined with political and other causes, drove the nations (or their Governments) to form into large combinations or alliances. The old sanction for war, that it is "to defend one's country," becomes out of date; no nation can defend itself. Eventually, as we know, nearly all the civilised world and part of the barbaric, or semi-civilised, was drawn in. Another point is that under these conditions the victor may suffer as much as the vanquished. France, for instance, has suffered infinitely more in loss of life and treasure in this war than she did in 1870-71, when she was beaten. To ensure victory is no guarantee against national disaster. It is certain that if military science exploits chemistry and physics, as it can and may, any future war will be as much more hideous than the last, as the last was more hideous than any previous war. War in the future, therefore, may easily involve a complete collapse of civilisation.

It is not necessary that this should be. Mankind has an instinct for self-preservation and a wonderful resourcefulness in finding the remedy for his ills. The present difficulty is that hitherto the instinct for collective self-preservation has acted chiefly through the old national loyalties. It has now got to function in new channels and create new political forms. We have to transfer our loyalty and enthusiasm from the past to the future. There is no other way. Some kind of League of Nations, or international arrangement to avoid war, has to be evolved, and, as far as one can see now, it has to be done through the initiative, the impulse, the driving power of quite common, ordinary people. As yet Governments seem to care little for it. But for my part, I cannot but believe that the necessary impetus will be found (the issues at stake being so great), and in all probability will be largely derived from women, the new factor in politics. It is for them to will and create the new organ in society that only can protect the children. We cannot expect that the new movement will come all at once, in a rush, like conversion at a revivalist meeting. A great deal of prosaic spade-work has to be done; women have enormous patience in accumulating effort for a future result, and all sorts of humble efforts are needed all over the country. For instance, a better knowledge of foreign affairs and foreign politics is needed. This is often difficult for the individual to acquire, but can be achieved by combined effort. Why should not little groups, such as the study circles now attached to so many chapels, join together, read and discuss the foreign news in such papers as the *Manchester Guardian*, *The Round Table*, or *Foreign Affairs*? Or they might arrange to take in a foreign newspaper, or, better still, two foreign newspapers of diverse views, and get any members who understand the language to study the political contents of the paper, describe and discuss them with the other members of the group. Needless to say, such groups, when once at work, would quickly find new channels of activity and new methods of work; they could bombard their M.P.'s with resolutions, demand information on foreign affairs, and help to break up the mischievous veil of diplomatic secrecy, and arrange public meetings.

Such efforts, small as they may appear, would help to make an informed public opinion, to bring us in touch with foreign views, to see things in perspective, and not be deluded by the biased news presented to us in the Press, which often has a sinister interest in distorting the foreign news. The new world of thought and aspiration, of mutual help and international co-operation is there, in the minds and hearts of men and women, waiting to be born. But we must create and shape it and bring it to life. It was the unknown soldier, the undistinguished man, who won the war; peace also can only be won by the united efforts of unknown, commonplace, undistinguished men and women.

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.

CO-EDUCATION.

By J. BRUCE BULLOCK.

The enfranchisement of women and their entry into almost every field of activity, political, social, and industrial, are welcomed by the majority of people. But it is not unlikely that at first these developments will fail to justify the arguments of their advocates, and the reason will be the absence in the sexes of the necessary capacity to act together and work together. Indeed, I fear that that capacity is absent from modern society, and I do not believe it can be produced by any other means than a wide extension of co-education.

It is not claimed for co-education that it will lead the sexes to a complete mutual understanding. For one thing, the girls at a mixed school naturally differ in some degree from the average girl, and the boys similarly. But the study of the normal makes the safest introduction to the study of the abnormal; and, of course, it is the boy and girl educated together who are normal, so, if you understand them, you have gone a long way towards understanding the public schoolboy and the product of that most iniquitous institution on the whole face of God's earth, the high class boarding school "for young ladies."

What can be claimed, however, is that, although a girl and a boy at a co-educational school may not get to understand each other, they do not get to *misunderstand* each other. And surely the most impressive thing which a boy thus educated meets in after-life, is the astounding misconception concerning female character held by his acquaintances who have attended orthodox schools—or, more correctly, the erroneous idea that there is a *female character*. By that I do not mean to imply either that co-education tends to eliminate sex characteristics and to approximate male to female or *vice versa* (as asserted by critics), nor that it obscures differences; what I do mean is that no boy who has been at a school with girls could possibly entertain the idea, which in its extreme may be stated thus: that women are subject to very few of the same emotions as men, that they will see every conceivable thing from a distinct point of view, which it would not be possible for a man to comprehend, that their mental range, as compared with that of the male, not only is different in degree, but hardly coincides in direction, and (of course) that their interests are confined, personal, and petty. It will be said that that idea is not common nowadays. In its extreme, it is not; but in various parts, in various forms—or, to get nearer the truth, in its basic *reason*—it is held by the majority of men who have been to the average boys' school. The consequences of this have a social and moral importance which ought not to be minimised. It prevents a more than superficial intercourse between the sexes. It encourages a degrading view of womanhood. I use the word, degrading, deliberately, but, of course, I mean by it nothing conventionally dishonourable; I mean a view which any girl of spirit, if she understood it, would resent, and would rightly resent. Above all, it puts a stop to any thought of united effort, of co-operative endeavour, and, in so doing, is reactionary, restrictive, and destructive.

Sometimes I have been asked by acquaintances, on their learning that I had been to King Alfred School, "What are the girls like?" And the question was solemn and genuine. You see how frankly ludicrous it is; but consider also its pathos!

I know that I shall be accused, in this comparison of the outlook of the co-educated and the ordinary boy, of exag-

gerating differences, and of mistaking divergences in forms of speech and conventions of thought for divergences in substance and in feeling. But I believe I have guarded against that, and I think, as a matter of fact, that the difficulty works the other way; there is less divergence in form than in substance. We are afflicted in these days with what I may term a cant of *camaraderie* in sex relations, and in too many cases it has invaded our phraseology and conventions without affecting our basic spiritual and intellectual conceptions.

A short time ago I put this whole argument to a public school man. He admitted it, but he said that by the time a man reached twenty-five his misunderstanding would have been removed, whether he had been educated with girls or not. That is not true; but admitting it, for the sake of argument, the evil is no less. For this ignorance, this lack of appreciation—ultimately, this absence of sympathy—is present in those years (say, eighteen to twenty-five) when a man is forming ideas on social relationships, on ethics, and on citizenship, which are of transcendent importance for the rest of his life. My friend advanced another point; he granted the evil of segregating boys for three-quarters of the year, but he said that an ordinary boys' day-school had no objections, and that the influence of the home and casual intercourse with female acquaintances would do all that I claimed for a co-educational school.

This might be true if co-education consisted only in girls and boys being in one classroom and doing the same work; but no co-education worth the name does consist only in that. It is a great experience of corporate life, in which girls and boys share equally, an adjustment and a fusion of efforts, a clash and a blending of diverse personalities, male and female, and therein lies its essential efficiency for good. The girl and boy emerge from all this, not only without misconceptions about each other, and with much mutual respect and sympathy, but with a capacity for useful co-operation, free from misunderstanding and friction.

At this moment there is no other gain from co-education which I think needs to be so much emphasised and urged as this one. We return to where we started; the "co-education" of the outside world may fail, and certainly will not be able to effect that which it should—which it only can effect—without the help of co-education within the schools.

I was asked in writing this article to try to put the point of view of the man who has been at a mixed school, and to say why he values it. Reasons will vary; and there are always what I call the negative reasons. You can say, if you like, that he values it because it will have helped him, if he marries in after life, not to quarrel with his wife, nor suddenly to discover that celibacy is his idea of happiness; because it will have trained him to see instinctively the fallacy in the various immoral ideas on sex questions which still are held, whether by bishops or by libertines, and will have given him a basis on which to build a theory of female psychology. You can say so, if you will, but the real, positive gain for which, I believe, he values it is something more than all that. He will be grateful for the lesson how to work and how to live with female companions, how to co-operate with them in every kind of task, and how to break down the barrier of the ages and unite for an end, which, because it is agreed upon in common, will be fuller and better.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAW.

I. CHILDREN'S COURTS.

By W. CLARKE HALL, J.P.

The appointment of women justices throughout the country must, of necessity, tend to increase the interest in the practice and procedure of the Children's Courts. While the presence of women upon the Bench at the hearing of these cases should prove of great value, there is an undoubted danger that want of knowledge and experience may lead, at first at all events, to unwise decisions. Instinct and intuition, important and even essential as they are, must not supersede that knowledge and experience. Lay justices, whether men or women, cannot properly decide what it is best to do with a delinquent child unless they possess a full knowledge of the powers which the law confers upon them, and some experience of the effect upon the child of the exercise of those particular powers.

It is to be regretted that the Children Act of 1908 did not establish a special practice applicable to Children's Courts, and that the procedure in these Courts is still regulated by the Summary Jurisdiction Acts, many of the provisions of which are, it is submitted, wholly inappropriate to children's cases. The first duty of justices sitting in a Children's Court is to endeavour to formulate for themselves a course of procedure which, while not infringing the law, will as far as possible render such procedure intelligible to the mind of a child. Sections 10 and 11 of the Act of 1879 should be carefully studied, as these are the sections upon which the powers of the Courts are based. A perusal of them will make it obvious that no attempt whatever can have been made by those who framed the Act to understand the mentality of a child. If, or as long as, it is really necessary to comply in detail with the cumbrous provisions of these sections, the phrases used in them should be supplemented by questions put in the simplest possible form as, for instance, "They say, John, that you stole a tin of sardines from a shop on Friday last, is that true?" Before the question is put the child should be asked to stand beside the magistrate so that he can answer naturally. Under such circumstances it will be found that in nineteen cases out of twenty the child will answer "Yes." In that event the next question should be, "Now tell me all about it—why did you do it?" Again, it will be found that in the great majority of cases a fairly truthful account will be given. This should, of course, be tested by the statement of the police officer in charge of the case. If the child denies the charge, he should be invited quietly to give his version of the occurrence in order that the magistrate may assist him by putting such questions to the witnesses for the prosecution as are necessary to bring out the defence.

If the child pleads guilty, or is found guilty, the Court has next to consider the causes which contributed to the commission of the offence. In this consideration it is essential that all the circumstances and conditions should be known and understood.

(1) What has been the child's previous character (a) at home, and (b) at school? The statement of the parents on the former point should, as far as possible, be verified and supplemented; on the latter, a written statement by the schoolmaster should be produced. If the master takes a real interest in the boys under his charge, this statement is of the utmost value and should rarely be dispensed with.

(2) What are the child's home surroundings? The question is again of importance, for, if those surroundings are thoroughly bad, it may be necessary to remove the child even for a first offence. If the parents have been merely careless in looking after him, it may be well to inflict a fine which they should pay. If the father, or mother, are dead, it will probably be desirable to ask an official, or voluntary probation officer, to assist in looking after the child.

(3) Is the child normal (a) mentally, and (b) physically? The

proportion of delinquent children who are mentally defective is large, and many acts of delinquency are attributable almost solely to this defect. The border line between normality and mental deficiency is difficult to determine, and the mere fact that a child did, or did not, attend a "special" school is not of itself a sufficient or satisfactory guide. Where any possible doubt exists, a careful psycho-medical examination is clearly desirable. In this matter the English Courts are unfortunately far behind the American, although Birmingham and Bradford have now taken up the question and are going into it thoroughly. The child's physical condition is also, of course, important in determining the nature of the punishment and the probability of an industrial or reformatory school proving beneficial. A considerable number of delinquent children are physically deficient, or actually diseased, and in many cases it is both cruel and useless to send them to an ordinary school, even if such a school is prepared to take them.

The need for special schools for physically defective children, where they would receive efficient medical treatment and particular care and supervision, is great.

(4) Previous convictions. These should, of course, be carefully considered, but should not form, as they so often do, the dominant motive in the determination of the punishment. A boy charged for the first time may well be a far more hardened misdemeanant than one who has been previously charged, but who has, in spite of peculiar temptations and adverse circumstances, honestly tried to do better. If such a boy has for long periods together done well on probation, the best course, it is submitted, is to extend the probation, rather than send him to a reformatory. It must be borne in mind that a child over twelve who has already been convicted of felony can only be sent to a reformatory, not to an industrial school, for a subsequent felony. This provision is often harsh and unfair, and should be repealed. It is most undesirable that children of twelve should be sent to reformatories if it can possibly be avoided.

It will be obvious that to gain a knowledge of and give full weight to all the considerations which I have indicated will take time. In the great majority of children's cases, therefore, a remand is necessary. If there is a good remand home to which the child can be taken, a remand in custody is generally desirable. It gives the child time to think over and realise the seriousness of his offence, and may ultimately justify the Court in discharging him without further punishment. It is in almost all cases better to exercise this power of remand rather than to make an order of detention under Section 106. The latter counts as a "conviction," the former does not.

It is essential that the actual constitution of a Children's Court should vary as little as possible. To have different justices upon the rota on successive hearings is fatal to any proper dealing with children's cases, and the justices who desire to undertake this work should therefore be prepared to give up their time on one day a week for months in succession.

By the time the child comes up on remand all the necessary information should be forthcoming, and the Court will then have to consider what should be done. The various methods of punishment are briefly set out in Section 107. I have dealt with these at some length in my book on "The State and the Child," and space here will only permit of a few short observations. The five years which have elapsed since I wrote have strengthened and confirmed the views I then expressed in all respects save one. At that time I entertained some doubt as to the effectiveness of the use of the birch in police cells as a deterrent to juvenile crime. That doubt has been removed. In 1916 over one thousand children were charged at Old Street Police Court. Birching was then a not unusual sentence, but it was gradually

decreased in frequency and has now ceased, as far as I am concerned. In 1918 the number of children charged had fallen to a little over five hundred. It was said, no doubt with much truth, that the high level of juvenile delinquency was due to the absence of the fathers on military service. There were, however, more fathers absent in 1918 than in 1916. The disuse of the birch did not then, as I had feared it might, increase delinquency, though I do not, of course, suggest that it decreased it. That decrease was, I believe, mainly attributable to a wider use of the probation system. My own experience is entirely borne out by the recent report of the Central Juvenile Organisations' Committee, appointed originally by the Home Office but now under the Board of Education. That report, taking four of the principal towns of England, analyses the statistics. In one town where the use of the birch is especially favoured, 25 per cent. of boys so dealt with are found to have been recharged *within one month* of the infliction of the sentence, and over 80 per cent. within two years of it. The power of these sets of figures would seem to indicate that the birching, so far from having proved a deterrent, had in many cases put daring boys on their mettle and determined them to show that they were not afraid to do the same thing again. An even elementary knowledge of child psychology would seem to bear out this view. It is to be noted that I am writing of birching as actually now administered, but it may, of course, be true that if the punishment were sufficiently severe and the agony endured sufficiently great, this result would not be found. It is hardly likely, however, that the legislature would ever permit such drastic punishment, and it is confidently submitted that it is quite unnecessary that it should.

My own experience has convinced me that in the majority of cases there is no method of treatment so valuable as that of probation. That all the possibilities of probation have never yet been applied, or even realised, I feel certain. The report to which I have referred shows an amazing difference in the use of this method. In one large town in England only 5 per cent. of the children charged are placed upon probation; in East London over 40 per cent. are so placed. That the results obtained in the latter case have been good seems to me to be beyond question.

It is, of course, necessary that many boys and girls should be sent to reformatory and industrial schools, but it is equally certain that a very much larger number are sent than is, in fact, necessary. There are, on an average, about 12,000 boys in industrial schools and over 3,000 in reformatories at one time, while of girls there are about 4,000 in the former and 600 in the latter, making a total of something like 20,000 children, involving a very heavy cost to the State. If a really efficient system of probation were in existence throughout the country, I am satisfied that the number of children in certified schools could be reduced by half with advantage to the children themselves and at a great saving to the State. It is, however, absolutely essential that Probation should be efficient, and to secure this efficiency certain things are fundamentally needful. The probation officers themselves must be the right type, men and women willing to give themselves wholeheartedly to the work and sympathising with and understanding the nature of a child. These paid officers should be assisted by a band of voluntary workers in every district who will each undertake to look after and take an interest in one or two individual delinquents. The paid officer should himself be responsible for and occasionally visit *all* cases, but should leave the more intimate care and help to the volunteer. Where this system has been adopted, as in America, in Birmingham, and in East London, it has worked admirably; its extension throughout England is greatly needed. That the probation system has failed in many places is undeniable, but it has failed because the right persons have not been chosen, and the right system not adopted. It will be found that in the majority of cases the delinquent child is the friendless child, for whom no one cares, in whom no one takes an interest. It is the function of the probation system to supply true friends, and in helping to see that they are supplied the opportunities of the women justices are great. It is earnestly to be hoped that these opportunities will not only be realised, but that the utmost possible use will be made of them.

II. THE OPPORTUNITY OF THE WOMAN MAGISTRATE.

"Those only can have power to whom power is unbearable." Perhaps there is no sounder qualification for the work of a woman J.P. than to feel that the responsibility for interference, critical, forcible interference in other people's lives is all but intolerable. The woman of this generation may be more fitted than her forbears would have been by education and by experience for a seat on the Bench, but we may surmise that women of an earlier time could have taken their seats with less misgiving, just because the problems so complicated to us looked simpler by the light of a more naïve scheme of social ethics.

All her doubts as to the equity of our modern society, all her philosophic questionings about the nature of individual responsibility, all that she has learned, both of the revelations and the obscurities of psychology, rise up to intimidate the woman of to-day as she takes the oath "to do right to all manner of people after the laws and usages of the realm, without fear or favour, affection or ill-will."

The appointment of women as justices, a natural issue of their admission to the Suffrage, has, no doubt, led many of them for perhaps the first time, to study closely the very foundations of our national life. On the Courts of Summary Jurisdiction, planted the country over, like the pillars of some vast crypt, has rested for centuries the fabric of English justice. We should be blind to the difficulties of the past if we failed to recognise its great achievement in that structure; we shall be false to the future if we are not ready frankly to recognise its imperfections and incompleteness.

Those women magistrates who have always been suffragists are, in truth, deeply pledged not to accept uncritically the system as they find it. On a thousand platforms it has been proclaimed that woman has her own special contribution to bring to the administration of justice, and this contention is not one that can be quietly laid aside (as a merely party argument is put away with the favours, till the next election) now that the suffrage is gained.

In fact, the new magistrates will probably find more difficulty in sitting quiet whilst they learn the ropes of the business than in putting their own point of view when the time is ripe!

This is not to say that there is not a powerful movement towards better things amongst men J.P.'s. Such an innovation as the scheme of the Birmingham magistrates for the medical inspection of accused persons, or the enthusiasm with which the ideas of a National Association of Magistrates has been taken up would be enough to disprove any such assertion.

But there are aspects of the system which will certainly seem more salient to women in general than to men, just because they are naturally interested in the training and development of character. The administration of criminal justice falls into two parts—we might call them a science and an art respectively—in answer to the two questions, "What has this person done?" "What shall be done with this person?" It is hardly an exaggeration to say that until recent years attention has been almost wholly concentrated on the first of these questions, whilst the second, in many ways the more difficult, has been answered almost by rule of thumb.

Thus we find an infinity of learning and ingenuity expended upon elaborating the laws of evidence and upon defining the rights of an accused person, in curious contrast with the bald simplicity of our list of possible sentences. If the law of England does not always safeguard the innocent it is not for want of a complicated machinery for doing so, though these safeguards are most in evidence where serious crimes are concerned. In a sense this can be defended; more is *immediately* at stake in these cases, but the difference is seen to be somewhat illusory when we consider how many criminals begin their careers by being convicted, rightly or wrongly, of a small offence; by the

OVER THE BORDER. III.

By M. FRIDA HARTLEY.

The spectacle of the prostitute in the Common Lodging House gazing pitifully at the tear-stained face of the hesitating novice, and then going to pour into her ears a stream of foul advice because she has nothing better to give her, is a symbol of the nearness of disaster which so often drags the slum girl down from the negativeness of her environment to actual misery. The direct causes of the first fall are so incredibly trivial that they should be a warning to those who study cause and effect, of the unsatisfactoriness of this environment as a whole. The fit of temper or "nerves," the result of irregular family discipline, the lack of pocket-money, some small disappointment, all these are but the sign of the irresponsibility of youth struggling against circumstances which are unnatural to its needs. Who, indeed, has worked amongst young girls in clubs or in homes and has not come up against that nervous restlessness, the sure sign of the need for self-expression and a more normal environment? "I cannot tell why it happened," says the girl reclaimed from the Common Lodging House, "I wish I had not done it, but then if I felt like I felt before I did it, Gawd, Miss! I know I'd do it again. 'Cause why? 'Cause there wasn't anything ter make me care whether I did it or not." And this vague state of mind shows the trouble in a nutshell.

But the drifting of the girl of decent intentions into the Common Lodging House is only one phase of the danger and the foulness which are for ever waiting to drag down the girl for whose youth so little provision is made. The question of the Common Lodging House, those "Hells on Earth," as they were aptly described at a meeting in Liverpool a short time ago, should be disposed of, as far as girls are concerned, by a drastic amendment of the bye-laws which govern them. They should become shelters for women, and no girls under twenty-one should be allowed to enter their doors. This would entail a closer system of inspection and an examination of the Deputy's register, at present a very haphazard affair.

The fact that some Boards of Guardians and Rescue Workers have roughly estimated the number of cases of venereal disease amongst the girls dealt with by them out of Common Lodging Houses at fifty per cent., should dispose of any doubts which might be entertained as to their danger to public health. The matter is largely in the hands of the L.C.C., and public opinion when roused, should be directed to this quarter as well as to an amendment of Acts of Parliament. With this reform must go, as a temporary measure, new efforts towards the provision of Clearing Houses, Shelters and Hostels.

But there are a hundred other dangers awaiting the girl who has a bad home, who is homeless, or generally restless. There is the unspeakable "Furnished Apartment," unlicensed, uncontrolled, the ruin of thousands of lonely or weak-minded girls. There are such apartments run at this moment by the ex-deputies of Common Lodging Houses who have forfeited their licence, and the L.C.C., indeed, are forced to realise that it is sometimes better to continue the licence of a doubtful Common Lodging House than to lose control over the unscrupulous owner. There is the avaricious manageress or owner of the tenement house with a game of her own to play, the cheap restaurant, the mysterious "place where my letters are sent," as the drifter naïvely puts it, the sleek owner of the brothel, who accosts the uninitiated girl at the railway stations, and then—there is the ceaseless blarney lure of the streets!

The slum girl wanders in the streets at nights for four principal reasons:

1. That there is not room for her at home until the younger children are put to bed.
2. That there is no possibility of an attraction in the way of recreation or of mental occupation, or of bringing home as man friend and imbuing him with a sense of a social standard.
3. That she has had a long day's monotonous work, and her nerves are on edge with the natural craving for outlet and self-expression—and not one day only, but days and months in succession.
4. That her parents, already overburdened, have no authority to prevent her from going out, nor the energy to provide distraction. A slum mother, tired out with the burden of a large family, will often entirely disclaim all responsibility concerning her daughters over fourteen.

The girl then, being insufficiently provided for by natural means, is clearly in as much need of the protection and educational facilities of the State as she was in childhood, and the first remedy for her present troubles is legislation which will even then

time they reach a superior court their reclamation is often a much more difficult matter.

The *ultimate* effects of the trial of a case in a petty court may thus be all-important, and the true lover of justice will hold it as essential to get at the truth in a small matter as in a large one. The right sort of magistrate will never consent simply to register convictions according to the views of the police; he or she will remember always that the liberties of England lie in the safe keeping of her judges and magistrates. But though a constant vigilance is demanded of justices in their examination into the facts of a case, it is, as we have intimated, on the question of sentence that the greatest difficulties arise. For we are here up against the whole problem of punishment, and the complexities of cause and motive.

To say that all crime is a disease is a tempting generalisation. Like most short cuts, however, it leads one far astray. "All crime" is not, as *classified by cause*, anything. Crimes and misdemeanours are simply acts which are contrary to the law; their causes are infinite. Their inconvenience (real or supposed) to society is their common quality. This inconvenience is not affected by their origin, except so far as that origin makes their repetition probable; it is equally painful to be knocked down by a lunatic, a "hero" suffering from shell-shock, or a normal man. But to say that the assault needs a similar sentence in every case is obviously absurd. The first need for a scientific treatment of crime is a scientific study of its causes. Probably the world will be aghast, as this is gradually undertaken, to discover how much crime is disease pure and simple. We may hope before many years are over to see the special cells for epileptics disappear from our prisons. We may hope to see the effects of other diseases upon the action of the sufferer traced; we may even hope to see the obscure injuries to the mind not only probed but healed. But it would be absurd to pretend that all crime can be laid on the back of "Brother Ass." The diseased body and brain are responsible for much, but that larger body of which each of us forms part is responsible for more. As the babe in its mother's womb may from her sickness take the fatal seeds of a ruined life, so does the sickness of our greedy, negligent civilisation, reckoning its wealth in terms of money and not of souls, poison thousands of young lives before even the child takes its place as a citizen. It is wonderful that so many people live lives of loyal obedience to a State which shows so little care how they live. Abnormal and sick in body or mind, victims of a society which has never given them a chance, deliberate wrongdoers who prefer crime to work, at present we still treat them, in far too many cases, just alike. But there are signs of a new way of thinking, and the woman magistrate comes at the right moment for constructive work. In answer to the reiterated question, "how can this delinquent be restored to normal citizenship?" a new art of treatment is springing up. But an enormous amount of experiment is needed before we can hope dogmatically to pronounce the answer. One thing becomes daily clearer, the purely repressive treatment of prison, with its lowering of initiative and will power, its low standard of work, its attempt to substitute a machine for a human being, quite definitely diminishes, in most cases, the chance of a person's making good.

Probation, with its vast possibilities of adaptation to individual needs, offers a far more hopeful means of reclamation, especially when it is used at once, on the first appearance in court. But probation, though undoubtedly a word to conjure with, covers at present everything, from the most skilled care to the purest formality, and the woman magistrate will need to assure herself what exactly it means in her district.

Many American States are ahead of us in the creation of a scientific penology—in England the woman magistrate has arrived just in time to take her share in its development.

She may not join the enthusiastic Coke in his statement that "the whole Christian world hath not the like office as Justice of the Peace if duly executed," but she will at least find that it opens to her as a duty the exploration of a region where all that she can bring of wisdom, of statesmanship, and of love are sorely needed.

S. M. F.

An article by Cecil Leeson, of special interest to Women Magistrates, will appear in our next issue.

acknowledge her as a citizen who has not yet reached the age of responsibility. Is this period, between childhood and womanhood, the period of part irresponsibility, with its freedom from the burden of its own temperament, not considered the right and the glory of the girl in another class? And even then legislation can only constitute a background to that personal attention which the natural egotism of youth demands, which makes for her safety and happiness and which must be given to her by individuals. She is in the position at present of giving all in her capacity of wage-earner and of receiving nothing. And what, after all, is the preparation received by the slum child, the girl of the East-End tenement or the North London back street, for a life so curiously beset with danger? She has been provided with elementary education, has been taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, with a good smattering of other subjects; she has had some religious education, and she has been taught that it is her duty to be well mannered and truthful. This much has been provided by the State as preparation for useful citizenship, and in recognition of the fact that the girl's parents are not in a position to afford these benefits themselves. So far so good up to the age of fourteen. But school is not the only influence, even then. Though there are homes which constitute an adequate background to this preparation, there are a large number of homes which contribute nothing towards the benefit gained by the child at school, and there are many which actually detract from it. It is a marvellous thing that even in these enlightened days it is actually discredited by those who do not concern themselves much in such matters, that there are slums as unspeakable as ever existed in the days when "slumming first became a craze amongst fashionable men and women and opened their eyes to facts which they would, after all, have preferred to ignore." A few visits of inspection might well give the twentieth-century woman the same unwelcome insight.

The slum girl, then, has returned daily from school to the foul tenement with the inevitable two crowded rooms, to the greasy malodorous staircase with the inevitable foul lavatory devoid of all privacy, has returned, too, to the streets for playground or to the "open spaces" without supervision, where all sorts of things gather and where she meets with children of weak moral tendencies even then. This same child sits on the doorstep with the premature responsibility of a child even younger than herself, and listens with eager ears to tales of the hard and often the ugly facts of life which, indeed, she has seen only too frequently, by reason of the cramped space in which she sleeps. We have but to turn from this picture (and whilst we are about it, for Heaven's sake let us make the comparison fairly and in the simplicity of common humanity) to that of our own cosy nurseries with our children's books and games and ceaseless individual care for health of imagination and of knowledge. But perhaps it will be said that this is already an acknowledged social evil, which we are striving against great odds to remedy by means of our Care Committees, Play Centres, Welfare Centres, and our tentative efforts to touch the housing problem. It is useless to emphasise it overmuch. Pass on, then, to another stage of that girl's life, the stage when childhood has become girlhood. It is within the four walls of certain years of a girl's life, those years between fourteen and eighteen, wherein so much of future good or ill is gathered, that this article would look, for it is the very stage in which the nation is failing in its provision for youth, and failing so badly that it is wasting much of the good seed which it sows in the girl's childhood.

What is behind all this miserable drifting of young people in Whitechapel, in Bermondsey, in Blackfriars, in Islington, and other slum areas, to the extent that shelters, desirable and otherwise, are overflowing, and girls expecting confinement have nowhere to lay their heads? So blind are we, indeed, to our own failure that we have not even the perception to view with insight the significance of these things nor of the rapid filling up of our ever-growing and impoverished Preventive, Rescue, and Maternity Homes. Those of us who make such things our business are only now beginning to take conscious alarm at the appalling drifting of our youth which takes place before ever it is brought to these hospitable doors! It has not yet dawned upon the hearts of the nation's mothers, full of the wise thoughts and plans for their own daughters, that the ranks of the youth of another class are being mown down by the sickle of the world's evil which their own youth will never have to feel! But which of these mothers could leave their comfortable homes and watch without a rending of the heart the state of our streets, where young girls parade nightly, shiftless, uncertain of themselves or their own intentions, unequipped for the danger which awaits them at every turn, save by that hard knowledge of evil which

is no protection in the hour of temptation? Let there be no mistake on that score! The crude knowledge of the evil of this world, unclad by any of that idealism, that mysticism which is to the sheltered girl as her religion and as a guide to the truth of her own heart, could not be protection against sin, for it lacks the ingredients necessary for a deterrent: inspiration and consolation. During the critical period between fourteen and eighteen the daughter of the leisured man is still receiving; the poor wage-earner is giving, and of herself rather than of her faculties, which spells nerve strain. At the age of eighteen the rich man's daughter is but starting upon her safe journey, well equipped, spiritually, mentally, and physically. The slum girl is a woman of the world—and of her own world, at that; but she has had to buy her knowledge. The one has learnt of life as it should be taught, by the gradual acquisition of the knowledge of things beautiful and wise; the other has perforce learned life as God forgive us, youth should never have to learn it, by foolishness and by experience which is only too often ugly and foul.

What are we to say, then? That the conditions which make up the life of the working girl of the poorer class are unsatisfactory and regrettable, but that any comprehensive scheme for extended education and more direct protection would entail too heavy a burden upon our impoverished country, and that the best we can do is to mitigate the evil by means of our Girls' Clubs, our Associations, our Charitable Institutions? But these efforts, fine as they are, cannot keep pace with the needs of the rougher class of girl, and, indeed, many of them are in such dire straits for lack of funds, that grants from Government Departments have been suggested as the only possible means of carrying them on. The Preventive and Rescue Homes, constituting in themselves a sure sign of the abnormal state of affairs, are struggling nobly to raise sufficient funds to avoid the necessity of turning their young refugees from their doors, and here, again, Departmental aid is, perforce, coming to the fore. The working girl needs a surer foundation than all this and the very fact that she has her feet placed upon ever-shifting sands in the ordinary conditions of her life works ceaselessly against the success of outside agencies, such as Clubs and Associations.

We have now two measures which are, at least, a step in the right direction, even though they are but short steps: the Education Act of 1918, and the Criminal Law Amendment Bills. The Education Act (of which one of the most promising features is the clause relating to medical inspection) has still the elasticity of an untried measure, and it is for us who know the slum girl as she is, to adapt it, as far as possible, to her needs. It is a doubtful matter to those who know the working girl personally as to how much concentration and willingness she is going to put into her two hours of extended education, and it remains to be seen whether the unemployment of young girls will not prove the immediate result of the loss of time to employers. If such should be the case, restlessness will ensue, which will nullify the benefits of the short educational facilities, from the value of which bad home conditions already detract. Then we have the Criminal Law Amendment Bills, with their aim at extended protection and their acknowledgment of the girl's irresponsibility until she shall, at least, have reached the age of seventeen years. Round the clauses of these two Bills, to be reintroduced into the House of Commons as one, there has raged a storm of objections and of contrary opinions, some of which appear to the Rescue Worker as strangely theoretical. The clause in Lord Sandhurst's Bill for the compulsory detention until she is nineteen of the girl who has been arrested for soliciting, and, indeed, the matter of the arrest itself, has been opposed from the first, and by some on the grounds of the liberty of the subject argument!! To some of us who have literally fought for the soul and the body of the girl in the depths, it can but appear absurd to talk of liberty in connection with the unhappy child who understands so little how to use her liberty that she is drifting on to the streets, and whose first and most urgent need is to be saved from herself! That all arrests should be in the hands of women police, whose numbers should be doubled and trebled, and that the "Homes" should be Homes indeed, and not in any sense of the word reformatories, is obvious. That such a clause is not ideal in any way, and that there will be infinite disagreeableness and difficulty in the carrying out of it, the writer agrees, but maintains that since for every Drifter in this generation we shall have to pay with heavy interest for many generations to come, the clause is necessary to meet the appallingness of the present situation.

Finally, at the root of the working girl's troubles is the need to receive education in closer proportion to that which we acknowledge to be normal and wholesome in the case of our own daughters. She needs, whether we are actually in a position to give it or not, complete education until she is sixteen, and

after that age part time and, when possible, definitely technical education which shall prepare her for skilled labour. There is no space in one article to go into such possibilities as strengthened and extended powers for School After Care Committees, of the benefits of regular consultation on the part of such Committees with parents, or upon the inauguration, to meet the evils of bad homes, of Schools which shall answer to the Boarding Schools to which nine wealthy families out of ten think it advisable to send their own daughters. That habit of ours is answer enough to the cry that it is iniquitous to take the slum girl away from home; and it can only be asked which is likely to afford the greater ultimate satisfaction to parents, the knowledge that their daughter is doing well, is in good hands and has a safe future before her, or the bitter realisation that they have lost control and that she has drifted beyond possibility of their help.

Much more serious is the economic change caused by delayed wage earning, but it must be remembered that few girls between sixteen and eighteen are able (particularly with the modern substantial notions as to pocket-money!) to pay more than a part of the cost of her keep at home, and that if she is put into a skilled trade she will be in the better position to help her parents when the need comes.

There are a thousand obstacles at the present time to a scheme of extended "full-time education" and there are a thousand reasons why we should work steadily towards such a consummation. We touch the bedrock of the difficulty, perhaps, when we realise that it is impossible that the ordinary citizen should

THE END.

REVIEWS.

Women of India. By Otto Rothfeld. (Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co. 30s.)

Men are apt to pay women generously—in compliments. They have made many women famous—in song. They have ever glorified the fascinating women; those with a dramatic gift, whether their drama was that of mystery, magnetism, or magnificence. The veil which hides many millions of Indian women enchants the imagination because of its suggestion of secret lives. The feminine multitudes of vast Hindustan present many problems, but the theme of marriage and motherhood runs through them all. The women pass one by one into relationship with man; to each the gift of a son is the supreme good in life. The child-widow, condemned to perpetual austerity and widowhood, the childless wife supplanted by a younger spouse, the girl-bride of an old man: there is drama in such tragedies. In his book on Indian women, Mr. Otto Rothfeld has dwelt on the charm that exists where women marry young, regard their wifehood as the shrine of their religious life, welcome the advent of babies, tune their whole existence to the ceremonial and ritual of their sex-relations with man; nor has he too rigidly ignored the women who are out of purdah and work for hire, but through all their unguarded ways have no harsh attitude towards love, no scorn for men, no indifference to religion. The author knows the laws, customs, and psychology of many races, and all who read this book will learn much of the environment, influence, and ideals of contrasting types. They will do well, perhaps, to hesitate before they accept the author's point of view that all is well. Behind the glamour there remain in India, as in Europe, a thousand unsolved perplexities. It is not so many years since well-bred English girls entered wedded life knowing the husband but ignorant as to the facts of marriage, while in India the bride knows full well what marriage is, but does not behold the bridegroom till her wedding day. None who came into contact with Indian martial races during the years of war could fail to find great misery in the problem that faced the parents of a girl whose betrothed husband was wounded in battle. Here was a mere child bound to become the wife of a man whose maimed condition would possibly fill her with horror, condemned to share his limited pittance of a wound pension, his limited physical strength where water has to be drawn, and wood cut, and the harsh land robustly cultivated, perhaps doomed very soon to be his widow. It is hard

to find glamour in that. The book suffers, as it needs must, from its wide field. No one person can know all types to be found among three hundred million people, and no male author can know certain classes of Indian women, save by report, or by inference to be drawn from the code, religion, and tradition of their race, and from guessing what the females of a people will be like after meeting the males. The author contends that the dancing women of India are those who possess most knowledge of art, public affairs, the imagination and vivacity of human intercourse, and there is much truth in this, much wisdom, too, in his assertion, "the remedy in any country lies not in their repression and degradation," but "in the freedom and education of the married women." Unlike many who prescribe social remedies, Mr. Otto Rothfeld is not a blind leader of the blind; he sees very clearly that the emancipation of the women of India is an experiment that its millions will be slow to make, and that the risks are terrible. He notes the controversy that rages round the question of education for Indian women. It seems plain that there is but one reply to those who condemn change—in time the women must be educated. That does not guarantee that they will be happier, or more contented. I shall not forget the purdah-woman* who said to me, "If you show me a map you must show me the world." The world resents all change in women—change from youth to age, from dependence to independence—yet, "you do not educate a man by telling him what he knew not, but by making him what he was not. . . ." When educated the women will most certainly change. I have seen the tragedy of martial races in war, when years and miles separated husbands and wives who were unable to write a letter to each other, and again and again I could have murdered those who glibly cried, "What is the use of education to these people?" To all who seek to know something of Indian women Otto Rothfeld has given a book to be valued; to those who already know something he has given a book to be read and studied carefully; to those who quote glibly and superficially he provides a trap, since the very next page will confute their generalisation, for Mr. Rothfeld has a wealth of knowledge, and those who select only a trifle from his store may find that trifle a dangerous thing.

"JOHN TRAVERS."

* Veiled and secluded woman.

DRAMA.

"Columbine" at the Prince's Theatre.

However much money one has it is always nice to have more. Mr. Compton Mackenzie must have made a considerable fortune from his novels. But it is well known that a successful play brings in more money to its author than a successful novel. Mr. Compton Mackenzie has therefore turned one of his most successful novels into a play—whether a successful play remains to be seen. There is, of course, no harm in wanting money. There are a thousand excellent uses to which it may be put. But it is difficult to conceive that the author was moved by any other motive than that of making money when he dramatised "Carnival" as "Columbine." It cannot have been ambition, for Mr. Mackenzie is far too clever not to see that this play must do more harm than good to an established reputation. It cannot have been love of his art. Mr. Mackenzie is far too much of an artist not to see what an exceedingly bad play it is.

In spite of all the actor's talent which he must hold in solution in his blood, Mr. Mackenzie's own gifts are singularly undramatic. His skill lies in representing atmosphere rather than situations, and he is leisurely where the dramatist is concentrated. His method depends for its effect on this deliberation. He has altered the ending of "Carnival" in fitting it for the stage, and where he has not altered the general drift of the story, he has adapted, omitted, re-arranged. But he has not altered his method. He is slow and deliberate when writing for the stage as when writing for the garden or the fireside. It does all very well there, but on the stage it will not do. We seem to spend the whole of our time at this play in watching elaborate preparations for something which does not come off. The result is a tedium on the stage and an impatience in the audience rare in these days of brisk professional dramatists.

The first act is laid in the Raeburns' kitchen in the early morning. Jenny Pearl and her friends come in from the Covent Garden Ball. The friends go away, and the family comes down to breakfast. Jenny quarrels with the family and decides to leave home. There are some good things in this act. The vulgarity and dreary Puritanism of the family at Hagworth Street, Islington, is very well caught. So is the contrast and yet the likeness of Jenny to her family. The father, acted by Mr. Frank Bertram, is a very good and well acted little character sketch. Yet with all this the scene, after the first few minutes, is almost intolerably tedious. One can see what it is all like in the first five minutes. Nothing particular happens, yet the scene drags on for at least twenty minutes. It is true that there is a crisis at the end in the shape of a family row. But it might just as well, in fact infinitely better, have happened at the end of the first five minutes. For the rest one gets very tired of Miss Ellen Compton as Jenny Pearl flicking up her gauze skirt, standing on tip-toe and sitting down on each of the kitchen chairs in turn. One gets even more tired of Mrs. Raeburn's bustling round with the breakfast things, and of the whole family telling Jenny to go up to bed. If they tell her once they tell her twenty times—yet still she does not go, for the obvious reason that if she did the whole scene would crumble to pieces. Even Mr. Mackenzie has not the courage to leave us alone with the Raeburn family eating their breakfast.

The same thing happens in every scene, almost interminable tedium suddenly ended by a hastily got up crisis at the end. The second act is a tea-party in Maurice's rooms ended by the arrival of a telegram summoning Maurice to Spain. For the first few minutes the party was amusing. The atmosphere of youth and high spirits tinted with falling in love was very attractive.

But again, as in the first act, it all appeared to be leading to nowhere in particular and one very soon got tired of it. The audience began to feel like a middle-aged person who had strayed into a party of noisy and rather stupid young people, none of whom he had ever seen before or particularly wished to see again. The only thing to do was to wait until it was not too early to say good-bye.

The next scene, where Maurice's friend Carlton announces to Jenny that Maurice has practically thrown her over is not much better, nor, in spite of the original and piquant setting, is the following scene in the dressing-room of the first line of girls in the Orient Ballet. After a good deal of quarrelling and back-biting Jenny decides to go off with the first man who asks her.

It is the last act, however, which is the real grievance. Here Mr. Compton Mackenzie wantonly destroys his novel in order to create a happy ending for the play. The whole point of "Carnival" is that it does not, cannot end happily. Maurice and Jenny, though they are obviously the sort of people to attract and fall in love with each other, are emphatically not the sort of people who would be able to live together or make each other permanently happy. Maurice tells Jenny at the beginning that he does not ask her to marry him because she would not be happy if she did. When it comes to living with her he suddenly turns tail and runs away at the last moment. He does not himself know why he has done so. The action is as instinctive as his love-making. In some ways Jenny is too good for him; in others not good enough. Though he breaks her heart by going away, he would certainly have broken it had he stayed.

In the play, however, all this is altered. The author appears to have felt that nothing would satisfy his audience but a happy ending. So he sacrifices his whole conception to what Mr. Doolittle would call "middle-class morality," and makes them marry. In the last act, Maurice returns from Spain on the evening of the funeral of Jenny's mother, and asks Jenny to marry him. He has changed from an impulsive, open-hearted dilettante to a condescending prig of the worst order. His conversation has become stilted and pompous to the last degree. When Jenny shows him a letter which she had found in her dead mother's desk, he asks "What connection has that poor little scrap of paper with the terrible tragedy you have just related?" He says that he has come to ask Jenny "quite humbly" to marry him. "Quite humbly" is a curious way in which to propose to a girl of the inflammable pride of Jenny Pearl. A curious proposal for her to accept. But she does accept, and the author appears to expect to hoodwink us into believing that it all turns out for the best.

The most interesting acting was that of some of the minor characters. Mr. Frank Bertram as the father was really amusing and gave life to scenes which without him would have been intolerably tedious. Miss Joan Hay as Maudie of the Orient Ballet was excellent. Her high spirits, her humour, her kind heart and sharp tongue were convincingly cockney and perfectly delightful. The young men's parts were quite adequately taken, especially that of Maurice Avery by Bobbie Andrews. He went to pieces in the last act, as Compton Mackenzie had done before him, but until then he was very good. Miss Ellen Compton as Columbine was not, I think, satisfactory. She had none of the radiant youth which should belong to Jenny Pearl. In spite of her gay dress, her prouetting, there was something constrained, almost grim about her. It was very clear that whatever else nature may have intended her for, it was certainly not a ballet girl.

D. H.

CORRESPONDENCE AND REPORTS.

EQUAL PAY AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

MADAM,—Thank you for the marked copy of your issue of November 5th. I note with pleasure the commendation with which you quote my advertisement from *The Times*.

May I take this opportunity to call your attention to the fact that under Article 427 of the Peace Treaty the signatories laid down the principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value as one of the principles regulating labour conditions which all industrial communities should endeavour to apply? May I further point out that special provision is made in the Labour section of the Treaty for the utilisation of the special knowledge possessed by women when questions affecting women are under consideration at our International Labour Conference, that it is required that a certain number of members of the staff of the International Labour Office shall be women, and that the standing orders of our Conference expressly provide that women delegates may be appointed to any of the offices of the Conference, including the presidency, in exactly the same way as men?

You are at liberty to make what use you care of this letter.

J. E. HERBERT.

London Correspondent, International Labour Office.

WASHINGTON CONVENTIONS AND WOMEN'S RIGHT TO WORK.

MADAM,—I was surprised to read in your recent issue the paragraph dealing with the Washington Conventions on women's work when as a rule you are such a valiant champion of equal opportunities for women. I should have expected your paper to have urged the amendment of the Bills now before the House on the lines of the resolutions on the subject which have been adopted by the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship from which the following are quoted:—

"That regulation concerning wages, hours of labour, night work, &c., should be based on the type of the work and not on the sex of the worker." (1919.)

and "That this Council urges that legislation with regard to pregnancy should be on the lines not of forbidding women to select their own work but of providing for them such economic conditions as should make it possible for them to give birth to their children without facing either ill-health or starvation." (1920.)

Surely the Bills at present before the House dealing with lead poisoning and night work are based not on the type of work but on the sex of the worker; and does the Bill on pregnancy not proceed on the lines of forbidding the woman to choose her own work rather than of providing adequately for her economically?

It is surely not the case that "the Regulations under the Peace Treaty . . . insist that the signatory Powers are bound to put the Washington Conventions in practice." The Powers are not required by the Treaty to do more than bring the Conventions before their Parliaments. Your further suggestion that this country should ratify such conventions automatically without amending what they think needs amendment or rejecting what they consider ought to be rejected is most dangerous. To accept this point of view would mean the resigning by Parliament of its legislative rights on such questions in favour of the International Labour Conference.

Night work and lead poisoning are bad for both men and women. It is for us to urge our legislature to forbid it to both under the same conditions and not to allow any extension of the insidiously dangerous practice of making special regulations for the work of women. Our legislation could then become the model on which other Governments could, through the International Labour Conference, be urged to act. To legislate by the ratification of Conventions means that under the Peace Treaty we shall have no power to amend this legislation for ten years. We shall have lost our power to give a lead to other nations on this subject of women's right to work.

The subject of legislation dealing with pregnancy is of a somewhat different character. Here the process should be to provide a sufficient allowance to the woman before and after childbirth to make it practical for her to give up work for such time as she considers right.

CHRISTAL MACMILLAN.

A DAY CONTINUATION SCHOOL AT WORK.

MADAM,—Your correspondent, D. A. Finch, has misunderstood me; and, after carefully re-reading my review of "A Day Continuation School at Work," I must think not by my fault. I nowhere condemned the teachers in elementary schools; they, like the children, are victims of a system under which, as my critic truly says: "real education is impossible." Happily, the system is already being broken down in many quarters; the business of those who desire to see it disappear entirely is to go on denouncing its defects—as your correspondent and I have both done.

THE REVIEWER OF *A Day Continuation School at Work*.

A SCHOOL FOR CHIEFS' DAUGHTERS.

MADAM,—I was glad to see in your last issue Miss Chapman's appeal for educated women workers for Ceylon, where their services might be indeed most valuable.

The climate of Kandy—I have lived there—is considered unusually

healthy for Europeans; it is situated among hills and near a lake. I visited the school for chiefs' daughters, and well recollect the large grounds and lovely situation of the buildings, and, no less clearly, the charming manners and silken garments of the girls.

GRACE HUMAN.

"AFTER AMRITSAR."

MADAM,—The writer of the article on page 658 of your issue of August 27th, is entitled to hold what opinions she pleases, amazing though these appear to an Englishman who has spent over twenty years in India, and with all deference to your correspondent claims the power and the habit of "thinking democratically." I should like, however, to utter a protest against her more glaring misconceptions and false deductions.

"When the British press, with only one notable exception, had declared that India must be ruled with the consent of the governed and not by force, still the whole British community in India and the press with almost one voice furiously asserted the innocence and heroism of General Dyer." Thus your correspondent, repeating the specious dialectic of Mr. Montagu. The antithesis is an entirely false one. Nobody in India claims to rule India by force, and the protest against the treatment of General Dyer implies no such monstrous theory. It was Mr. Montagu's attempt to impose this artificial dilemma on the House of Commons that roused such indignation. In repeating his attempt your correspondent shows herself not merely foolish but disingenuous.

Again, "The Indian-edited press is written in such a babel of tongues that only a super-linguist could attempt to form any all-Indian impressions." The most important part of the Indian-edited press is written in English, not in the vernacular. Your correspondent has a full share of that gross ignorance of Indian affairs which is admitted in England but which does not prevent the stay-at-home Englishman from condemning wholesale his countrymen in India and from forming the most definite opinions on questions which have puzzled all who study them at first hand.

Finally, the sentence at the opening of the article, in which your correspondent couples the name of General Dyer with the name of Nana Sahib, is nothing short of monstrous. I think that your editorial discretion might have been judiciously exercised in the excision of that offensive passage. It has a value, however, in enabling your readers to gauge the mental honesty of the writer.

Rangoon.

S. W. C.

SOCIETIES FOR TRAINING SERBIAN WOMEN.

MADAM,—The paragraph in your issue of October 29th about the meeting in London on October 21st of the Societies for Training Serbian Women suggested to me that a note about this Anglo-Serb Hospital in Belgrade would be of interest. Dr. Katherine Macphail started this Children's Hospital in January, 1919, because she was so deeply impressed by the need for medical attention among the children of Serbia. Dr. Macphail and the British nurses who helped her to get the hospital into working order had all worked in Serbia and Macedonia during the war. There have been great difficulties to be overcome, in the way of getting a suitable building to house patients and staff, in working the hospital with a very meagre water supply, &c. Dr. Macphail started with a small fund raised by herself at home, chiefly by the sale of photographs taken by her of Serbian children; she has since had subscriptions from friends interested in the hospital, and dressings, clothing, and other supplies from Societies working for Serbian relief; all the organising and arranging of the hospital, securing British nurses and doctors, &c., has been carried out by herself. The hospital is now a State Hospital, being taken over, in November, 1919, by the Serbian Government (Ministry of Social Politics, Child Welfare Department). There are Serbian girls (five) acting as probationers in the hospital under the British nurses in charge, and the hospital thus unofficially provides training in nursing for Serbian women. Dr. Macphail considers that these Serbian girls are doing exceedingly well, and are learning very quickly under the trained nurses.

At Topchider, about five miles from Belgrade, Dr. Macphail secured a wooden pavilion, which she has equipped as a convalescent department for the hospital, with forty-five beds; the staff sleep in tents. Owing to the difficulties in the way of getting this pavilion made water-tight and warm enough for the children, it has been closed for the winter. At Dulsrovnik, on the shores of the Adriatic, there is a villa with fifty beds, to which chronic cases from the hospital here, such as those with tuberculous bone conditions, are sent; at Dulsrovnik the cases are given sun treatment for long periods, and this department of the hospital has been very valuable. There is an appalling amount of tuberculous disease among the children of Jugo-Slavia, and this, the first Children's Hospital in Serbia, is crying out for extension. A larger building has been bought in Belgrade and it is hoped that the patients will be transferred to it in about two months, when the building is completed.

An American Society interested in helping the Serbs has put forward a proposal to provide funds for the upkeep of ten Serbian women, who will receive their practical training in nursing in the new hospital; the lectures, &c., would be given by Serb doctors in Belgrade. This proposal is at present under consideration.

AGNES P. SALMON, M.B.

THE "MADNESS" OF GREECE.

MADAM.—I have recently returned from Greece, where I have worked and talked with men and women of all shades of opinion, and I consequently regret deeply the remarks in last week's WOMAN'S LEADER on the present political situation there.

King Constantine stated in an interview last week that England had been badly informed, and he is right. As late as last spring the *Times* correspondent in Athens sent a telegram saying there was no Constantine question in Greece, and the big majority of the supporters of Venizelos adopted this ostrich-like attitude. Evidently English opinion has been led to believe this, hence the "astonishment" at the election result.

Secondly, many people would question the use of the word "democrat" as relating to Venizelos. His attitude to his opponents, to free speech and the freedom of the Press, to the Socialists and the Labour Party, proved him to be very little, if any, greater a democrat than the man who preceded him as ruler of Greece. Venizelos is a great man, and has done much for Greece. He is undoubtedly one of the strongest and most dependable characters they have. His weaknesses lay in two directions: first, in keeping on the throne the son of the exiled king. The position was absurd from every point of view. The second and greater weakness lay in the lesson which Venizelos doubtless learnt at Versailles, namely: that imperial possession is of more value than peace at home.

It is unnecessary here to go into details as to the recent political history of Greece.

My point is that the woman's movement is international, that many of the finest Greek Suffragists are Royalist, that the pioneer Feminist was and is a pro-Constantinist, and that THE WOMAN'S LEADER is sent regularly to Greece and read by women of all political sections.

Surely, with the present disgraceful conditions in Ireland, it behoves us to cast the beam from our own eye first. And, after all, by voting against Venizelos and for Constantine, the Greek people have merely exercised that right for which the Allies went to war, namely: the right of self-determination.

Why shouldn't they choose their own ruler? It is for a paper like this, with high ideals and an honest mind, to keep before its readers not a portrait of Venizelos but of Justice, and, in this case, of the right of a nation to choose its own form of government and its own ruler.

WINIFRED GILES,

(Member of Greek Women's Suffrage League and of the Lyceum Club of Athens).

CONFERENCE OF WOMEN COUNCILLORS.

On Tuesday, November 16th, at the invitation of the Women's Local Government Society, ninety-six women Councillors sat in conference in the Council Chamber of the Metropolitan Asylums Board. Very many new members made a great effort to attend the Conference, coming from such distant districts as Northumberland, North Wales, and Plymouth. The morning session was devoted to "Economy in Local Government Expenditure." Sir William Glyn Jones, who opened the discussion, said he thought there was not half enough "contrivance" in local government, and firmly believed that women could effect immediate economies in this direction.

The subject of the afternoon—"The Woman Councillor and Committee Work"—was particularly well chosen, since it gave the Women Councillors an opportunity of comparing the work and methods of their various Councils. Miss Snee (Chairman, Acton U.D.C.) gave a comprehensive survey of the scope given to the women on the Councils, and thought there was a tendency to confine them to Child Welfare and Maternity Work, whereas she maintained women were required on every Committee. Women were popular on the Infant and Maternity Welfare Committees, they were tolerated on Education and Library Committees, but it was a difficult matter for them to get on to such Committees as Contracts, Highways, Works, Finance, and Public Health. It was especially important that there should be women on the last mentioned Committee, which had to deal with such matters as the provision of milk, management of the isolation hospital, conditions of the nurses, and so on. It was universally admitted that women had been kindly received and welcomed by the men Councillors.

It was discovered that there was great divergence in the number of Committees a Woman Councillor was given the opportunity of serving on these varied from two to twenty-four! Mrs. How-Martyn (Middlesex), who admitted to serving on twenty-four Committees and Sub-Committees, spoke of the difficulty of getting first hand or expert information on schemes brought forward. Miss Margaret Hodge deplored the apathy of the public in regard to local government work, and thought there would be a greater number of women returned if the public were educated in the work women could do in this direction. The work of the Women's Local Government Society should certainly do much to dispel this ignorance.

CONFERENCE OF SCOTTISH FEDERATION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

An interesting Conference, which recalled to some of those present the Summer School in Oxford, was held in Edinburgh on Thursday and Friday, November 18th and 19th, under the auspices of the above Federation. At the opening meeting, Miss S. E. S. Mair, LL.D., for many years President of the Edinburgh Society, the second President in a history extending over fifty years, occupied the chair and introduced the subject of the economic position of women in industry. She claimed that work had no sex, and that equal pay for equal work for men and women was one of the chief objects of the Women's Movement. Miss Pressly Smith gave the opening address in which she referred to the fact that the bakers in the West of Scotland were beginning to turn women out of the trade, without even the excuse that they had only entered the trade during the war. She deprecated any restrictions on women's work, such as night work. Miss Eleanor F. Rathbone, J.P., President of the N.U.S.E.C., discussed the difference between the occupational and differential rate of pay. Miss Helen Ward, in dealing with women in the Professions, pointed out that many professional women were expected to have two professions—their work outside and the work inside the home. She thought that the payment of women must be based on the fact that if they had a professional career

in the day they must be free from the necessity of attending to their own housework.

On the morning of the second day's Conference, the subject discussed was The Status of Women in the Home. Miss Macadam gave a brief survey of legislation up to the present time, dealing with the position of the married woman, and Miss Eleanor F. Rathbone explained legislation at present before the country or proposed by the N.U.S.E.C. for improving the status of married women. In the course of the afternoon's discussion on Women in Public Life, and, indeed, throughout the whole Conference, the distinction in law and in practice between England and Wales, and Scotland was brought out very clearly.

Two very successful public evening meetings were held. On Thursday evening Mr. J. F. Rees presided, and Miss Rathbone gave a lecture on the State Endowment of the Family, in which she described the scheme which had been brought forward in New South Wales, in which it is proposed that employers should pay into a central fund a *per capita* sum which was shared among the children of employees.

On Friday evening Miss Picton-Turbervill spoke on Women in the Church. It is interesting in this connection to note that Miss Picton-Turbervill is to occupy an Edinburgh pulpit on Sunday morning, and to preach in the Wesleyan Central Hall on Sunday evening, so that the Edinburgh Churchgoing public will have an opportunity of hearing her.

To sum up the impressions of the Conference, I think it may be said that once again it was proved that the subjects on the Programme of the N.U.S.E.C. are arousing great interest. The speaking was on a very high level, and discussion—as should be the case—was given a liberal allowance of time.

EFFICIENCY CLUB EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE.

The Efficiency Club Educational Conference, which was held in the Clothworkers' Hall, E.C., on November 17th, was called in order that leaders of educational reform in the professions, industry, and commerce might be given an opportunity for interchange of views; to emphasise the need for continued education throughout life, and to stimulate employers to take greater interest in the need for cultural education on the part of those whom they employ. Thus it was, in the main, a plea for the Fisher Education Act of 1918, more especially for that part of the Act dealing with the Continuation Schools. As the Chairman, the Right Hon. Herbert Lewis, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, pointed out, the Continuation School classes would mould the citizen of the future, and the better citizen a man is, the more efficient worker will he be. What was blocking the path at present was expenditure—the Education Act must not come into operation because it was too expensive; the public did not realise the money spent on elementary education brought in little or no return because the children were turned adrift at the age of fourteen to fend for themselves. The London authorities saw the folly of this system of false economy, and were opening their Continuation Schools in January next. We must take the large view and think in terms of generations—we must make some sacrifices for the boys and girls to whom we are handing on the lamp, and remember what Kipling said of our fathers:—

"They put aside to-day all the joys of their to-day,
And with toil of their to-day bought for us to-morrow."

Sir Robert Baden Powell spoke of the part the Boy Scout and Girl Guide Movement was taking in training the adolescents of to-day. The Girl Guide Movement is undoubtedly supplying a great need, for during the last three months they had been enrolling girls at the rate of five divisions a day. Their work might be summarised under four main heads:

1. The development of character.
2. The teaching of handicrafts and hobbies.
3. The inculcating of a feeling of responsibility as regards personal health.
4. The fostering of the idea of service.

The training appeals to the poorest as much as to the wealthy girl, and there is no class distinction within the movement. Sir Robert Baden Powell said they were eager to work in co-operation with the new Continuation Schools—for whilst the schools would concentrate more on the vocational and technical training, their movement would concentrate purely on the building up of character, and through fostering a desire for service to others, which, in other words, is happiness, they would get at the essence of good citizenship. Miss Frodsham spoke of the attitude of the teacher and deplored the fact that Oxford and Cambridge graduates for the most part rarely thought of entering the teaching profession—the difficulty of the future would be the dearth of good teachers. Teaching was not a very thrilling piece of work, for the teacher no longer had to dominate and get on top of her class, but worked in co-operation with it.

Mr. E. A. Craddock, M.A., outlined his own scheme of self-government in the school which he had practised for three years with increasing success, and which had practically resulted in the abolition of punishment. Under this system (each class governing itself by its own elected committee) teaching had become a real and intense pleasure, and should be the only type of discipline tolerated in the new Continuation Schools. The Conference should prove of invaluable help to all those (and who of us are not?) interested in education. It clearly showed that a revolution is taking place in the education world, where class distinction will very shortly no longer exist—every child, be he rich or poor, will have equal opportunity for development, equal opportunity of reaching the light.

THE SCOTTISH TRAINING SCHOOL FOR POLICEWOMEN.

The Scottish Training School for Police Women and Patrols has issued its Second Report, which brings its record of work up to August 31st, 1920, and includes a commentary on the Report on the Employment of Women on Police Duties. Since no voluntary organisations are contemplated in the final scheme by the Home Office Committee, the splendid work of the Scottish Training School is nearly at an end. The "transition period" is, however, to be utilised by providing free preliminary training in social work for suitable candidates.

The Scottish Training School has carried through the pioneer work in Scotland in their steady pressure for the recognition of Police Women as an integral part of the Police Force, and their appeal for the funds which are necessary to maintain the School during the period of transition and to bring its activities to a successful close will, we are sure, not be in vain.

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP

President: MISS ELEANOR F. RATHBONE.

Hon. Secretaries: Miss Macadam. Miss Rosamond Smith. Parliamentary and Information Bureau Secretary: Mrs. Hubback.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss H. C. Deneke. General Secretary: Miss Stack.

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

Telegraphic Address: Voiceless, Westcent, London.

Telephone: Museum 6910.

HEADQUARTERS' NOTES.

PARLIAMENTARY.

The Parliamentary Department is at present overwhelmingly busy in dealing, among others, with the following matters:—

EQUAL FRANCHISE.

The following Memorial has been circulated to all Members of Parliament for their signature, and a large response is expected:—

"We, the undersigned Members of the House of Commons, call upon the Government to introduce a Bill next Session to extend the franchise to women on the same terms as it is granted to men.

"The present law, which only enfranchises those women over thirty who are either householders or the wives of men voters, means that the great majority of industrial and professional women, three-quarters of whom are under thirty, are debarred from the chief privilege of citizenship and the protection of the vote.

"We urge you, therefore, to introduce legislation next Session which will remedy this glaring inequality between men and women, an inequality which exists in no other country in which women have been enfranchised."

EQUAL GUARDIANSHIP OF INFANTS BILL.

This Bill is not coming up before the Standing Committee of the House of Commons as soon as was anticipated. This gives all the more time for the consideration of possible improvements. Certain amendments will therefore probably be proposed, to make more effective the clauses relating to Maintenance Orders. Another suggestion which will be put forward is that in computing the ability of a mother to pay for the maintenance of her child, the work she does for the child in the home shall be deemed as part of her contribution.

MAINTENANCE ORDERS BILL.

A Bill is being drafted, which will be balloted for at the beginning of next Session, on the lines of the Council Resolution of 1918:—

"That the machinery for obtaining and enforcing Maintenance Orders from neglectful, cruel, or dissolute husbands be simplified and made more effective, and that it be made possible to make such orders a charge upon wages when the man neglects to pay."

CHILDREN OF UNMARRIED PARENTS BILL.

In view of the fact that the Children of Unmarried Parents Bill is not likely to have time given to it for its future stages this Session, and that in its present form it represents a very inadequate method of dealing with the problem, the N.U.S.E.C. is engaged in preparing a Bill which it will seek to have introduced by a Private Member next Session.

WIDOWS' PENSIONS.

During this autumn, although propaganda in favour of Widows' Pensions has been going on, it is not practicable to forward this reform in Parliament, as it is only the Government who can take steps to introduce legislation on these lines. The N.U.S.E.C. is hoping to take part shortly in a deputation to the Prime Minister asking that this reform shall no longer be delayed.

JOINT COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS AND HOUSE OF COMMONS ON THE CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT BILLS.

The N.U.S.E.C. has prepared evidence on these Bills which will be published in these pages shortly.

STATUS OF MARRIED WOMEN.

The N.U.S.E.C. is preparing a statement on those points which require alteration in the law affecting the status of married women, and at the next Council Meeting will seek powers to introduce a Bill on these lines.

WOMEN, YOUNG PERSONS AND CHILDREN (EMPLOYMENT) BILL.

With reference to this Bill the N.U.S.E.C. is doing what it can to break down the practice of bracketing together "women" and "young persons" where restrictive industrial legislation is concerned, and to try to have the principle accepted that any necessary restrictions should be based on the type of the work and not on the sex of the workers.

OBJECTS.

The object of the N.U.S.E.C. is to work for such reforms as are necessary to secure a real equality of liberties, status, and opportunities between men and women.

Any Society may be accepted by the N.U.S.E.C. that is willing to include the object of the Union within its objects, and to pay an affiliation fee, varying from five shillings to two guineas, according to membership.

The privileges of affiliated Societies include:—

1. That of helping to decide the policy of the Union, which is also that of THE WOMAN'S LEADER, at the Annual Council meeting.

2. Free use of the Information Bureau; use of the Library at reduced charges; admission of members of affiliated Societies to the Summer School at reduced charges.

3. The receipt of our monthly circular letter, including Parliamentary suggestions for the month.

Privileges 2 and 3 are extended also to individual subscribers of one guinea or more per annum to Headquarters.

AUTUMN LECTURES: ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE OF WOMEN IN THE HOME AND IN THE LABOUR MARKET.

Sixth Lecture: Tuesday, November 30th, at 5.30 p.m., at the Women's Institute, 92, Victoria Street, S.W.1.—"National Family Endowment." Speaker: Miss Eleanor F. Rathbone, J.P., C.C. Chairman: Aneurin Williams, Esq., M.P.

This is the second of the lectures on the subject of State Endowment of Motherhood. Our readers will know that the N.U.S.E.C. is by no means unanimous on the question, and it is of the utmost importance that all interested in it should hear both Mrs. Stocks and Miss Rathbone.

The last lecture of the series, on December 7th, will also be given by Miss Rathbone. The Chair will be taken by Sir John Simon, K.C.V.O., K.C.

MASS MEETING, CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 29TH, 8 P.M.

We remind our readers for the last time of this meeting, which will, we hope, bear something of an international character. It will give friends of the Women's movement who were unable to go to Geneva the opportunity of seeing and hearing some of the leading personalities who made the International Congress such a memorable occasion. The speakers include Viscountess Astor, M.P., Mrs. Chapman Catt, Mrs. Fawcett, LL.D., Miss Eleanor F. Rathbone, J.P., C.C., Madame de Witt Schlumberger, Dr. Margherita Ancona, Frau Schreiber-Krieger, M.P., Frau Anna Lindemann, Madame Antoine Girardet-Vielle.

Tickets may be had at Headquarters, price 10s., 5s., 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d. Women, no less than men, feel that nations can no longer preserve their former attitude of aloofness and isolation, and this is a unique opportunity for demonstrating the community of feeling that exists among women of all civilised countries with regard to a full and free citizenship.

INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE.

As was stated last week, a Luncheon, in honour of the visit of the President of the I.W.S.A., Mrs. Chapman Catt, and the Board of Officers, will be held at the Hotel Cecil on Thursday, December 2nd, at 1 o'clock. Miss Eleanor F. Rathbone, J.P., C.C., will preside. Tickets, price 10s. 6d., may be had from Headquarters, and, as accommodation is limited, early application is desirable.

CONFERENCE OF WOMEN MAGISTRATES.

The week beginning November 29th will certainly not be lacking in interest, as it includes both the events connected with the meetings of the International Board of Officers and the first Conference of Women Magistrates for England and Wales which has been arranged by the N.U.S.E.C. This Conference will be held at the Mansion House, by kind permission of the Lord Mayor, on November 30th and December 1st.

DEGREES FOR WOMEN AT CAMBRIDGE.

We regret that, owing to an oversight last week, readers were asked to canvass resident members of the Senate of Cambridge University—this should, of course, have read "non-resident." The voting takes place on December 8th.

HELP AT HEADQUARTERS.

Readers of this page, and of this month's letter issued to our Societies, will realise that there is no lack of work at present. We have on our hands the reorganisation of the Federation system on simpler lines suited to new conditions, the Conference in Edinburgh reported elsewhere, weekly lectures at the Women's Institute, all the various arrangements connected with the meetings of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance Board of Officers, and the Conference of Women Magistrates to be held in the Mansion House, besides the usual provision of speakers for meetings of our affiliated societies. All this necessarily makes a heavy strain on our resources. The regular income derived by the Union from subscriptions and affiliation fees has never been very large, and it is now much smaller than formerly, owing to the reduction of our affiliation fee to an almost nominal figure. We must depend in the future as we have done in the past on donations given in response to special appeals, and we feel that never since the Parliamentary vote was won have we had so strong a case upon which to go to the public as we have at present.

The summary of Parliamentary work upon which we are actually engaged, will show how large a number of urgently needed reforms are receiving our attention. Those who follow our activities as recorded in Headquarters' Notes week by week, must realise what a considerable amount of educational work they represent. The cost of such work is increasing, and only the renewed generosity of our friends will make it possible for us to carry on and to seize the opportunities which every day brings to us.

We are about to issue an appeal for help, but some of our Societies and friends do not wait for the formal appeal. Since last week our Glasgow Society has sent us £100, the amount which it generously thought should be the share allotted to headquarters of a handsome sum raised at the recent Chrysanthemum Fair. We have received donations of £5 from the Kensington Society for Equal Citizenship, and £4 10s. from the Newport Women Citizens' Association.

We find everywhere the same revival of interest in our programme. The most recent proof of this is the remarkable Press given in Edinburgh for the Conference held there last week. Even in this present time of financial difficulty we are convinced that money is forthcoming where there is sufficient interest, and we urge any who appreciate the need for our work to send us help in carrying it out effectively.

LIBRARY AND INFORMATION BUREAU.

The daily routine of the work at Headquarters includes the organisation of the Library and Information Bureau. The Library contains excellent reference books on all economic questions, and every endeavour is made to keep it up-to-date. It is widely used by students of economics as well as by general readers. Book-boxes are supplied for the use of Study Circles, &c. The subscription to the Library is 10s. 6d. per annum for one volume, 7s. 6d. for each book-box (twenty volumes). The fee for book-boxes is reduced to 5s. for members of our affiliated societies. The charge for the answering of a query by the Information Bureau is 1s. Members who subscribe one guinea direct to Headquarters and members of our affiliated societies have free use of the Information Bureau.

SCOTTISH FEDERATION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

We warmly congratulate the Scottish Federation on the first of what we hope may become regular conferences. The N.U.S.E.C. Executive sent four representatives including the President, and Glasgow, Dundee, Kirkcaldy, Melrose, and St. Andrews were also represented. A fuller report appears elsewhere.

CAMBRIDGE AND DISTRICT WOMEN CITIZENS' ASSOCIATION.

A very successful Members' Meeting was held on Tuesday night at the St. Andrew's Hall, St. Andrew's Street, resulting in the enrolling of a number of new members. Mrs. Heitland, Chairman of the Association, presided, and the principal guest of the evening was Mrs. Oliver Strachey, who kindly came direct from Paris to attend the meeting. There was a large attendance, members mustering from all parts of the town.

In her opening remarks the Chairman dwelt on the aims of the Association and the importance and use of meetings for mutual consultation and discussion, whether small Ward meetings, or large gatherings like the present one. Mrs. Strachey, she said, was well known to members of the Association as the Editor of THE WOMAN'S LEADER, the success of which they all had at heart.

An admirable address was then given by Mrs. Strachey on the subject of "Women without Work and Work without Women," and after questions arising from the address had been put by the audience and answered, Mrs. Bethune-Baker, J.P., P.L.C., followed with an account of a recent episode in the history of the Civil Service which illustrated in a remarkable manner the power which the franchise has given to women-electors.

Mrs. Rackham, J.P., T.C., next gave an able summary of the local conditions with regard to women's employment, emphasising the need of openings and training for girls leaving the elementary schools, and the importance of preventing unemployment rather than merely relieving it temporarily.

Hearty votes of thanks were accorded to the speakers, and also to those who had so kindly undertaken the refreshments and floral decorations which contributed in no small degree to the success of the evening.

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

MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE:—
Lady HENRY SOMERSET, *Chairman.*

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Miss LENA ASHWELL, O.B.E. | Mrs. HUDSON LYALL, L.C.C. |
| Viscountess ASTOR, M.P. | Lady ISABEL MARGESSON. |
| Miss THELMA CAZALET. | Miss A. M. MERCER. |
| The LADY EMMOTT. | Lady CYNTHIA MOSLEY. |
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| Lady HOWARD. | Miss ELIZ. H. STURGE. |
| Mrs. H. B. IRVING. | Dr. JANE WALKER. |
| Miss A. M. KINDERSLEY. | |

- The meetings held during October are as follows:—
- Oct. 5th—Harborne Co-operative Guild—Mrs Renton.
 - Oct. 6th—Leominster Women Citizens' Association—Mrs. Renton.
 - Oct. 7th—Chester Women Citizens' Association—Mrs. Renton.
 - Oct. 7th—Ratcliff Settlement, Stepey—Miss Anna Martin, M.A.
 - Oct. 8th—Birkenhead Women Citizens' Association—Mrs. Renton.
 - Oct. 11th—Plaiestow Sisterhood—Miss M. Cotterell.
 - Oct. 12th—Urmston Co-operative Guild—Mrs. Renton.
 - Oct. 12th—Chingford Women Citizens' Association—Miss H. A. Dallas and Miss Hessel.
 - Oct. 12th—Canning Town Women Citizens' Association—Miss M. Cotterell.
 - Oct. 12th—Lewisham Congregational Church Women's Meeting—Miss F. L. Carre.
 - Oct. 13th—Tamworth Mothers' Union—Mrs. Renton.
 - Oct. 21st—Edmonton Debating Society—Mrs. Boyd Dawson.
 - Oct. 25th—Dockland Settlement, E.—Miss M. Cotterell.
 - Oct. 27th—Millwall Women's Meeting—Miss M. Cotterell.
 - Oct. 28th—Women Police Service—Miss M. Cotterell.
 - Oct. 28th—Sidcup Women's Liberal Association—Miss M. Cotterell.

Scotland has been recording its considered opinion on the advisability of closing the public house, and the results of the polling so far are most instructive. Advocates of Pussyfootism must be deeply disappointed. The Trade must be rejoicing in the testimony to its hard fought fight and to the very definite demand prevailing for its wares. This is actually so. There is an overwhelming majority in Scotland, as in this country, to whom a glass in the public house, or a glass at the family dinner table, is a bright spot in the dullness of a day's routine. To them the closing of the public houses would be as unthinkable a calamity as being turned out of house and home.

That, in fact, is very much what the closed doors of the public house will mean to the dwellers in those long rows of poorer streets of overcrowded tenements. When the day's work is over where is the man to go? What places of rest and refreshment, what club-room where friends can meet and talk politics, what change from the fatigue of work and the squalor of home have the Prohibitionists provided? They take away the worker's only place of refuge—what are they giving him instead?

Let us rather set on foot a reform from one end of the land to the other of these public houses where the working men congregate. Let us have them wholesome and clean-aired—furnished after the manner of a club room rather than a place for the mere swallowing of liquid. Let us attract the attention and relax the mind with things other than alcohol, for after all it is mostly warmth, shelter, and change of environment that the majority are seeking. To carry out such a reform is the duty of the State. No mere private traders could do it, nor would they if they could. It would be a direct and very heavy loss to their trade. If one keeps an establishment for selling intoxicants; it is in the sale of intoxicants, not in the provision of counter-attractions, that one puts one's interest and energy.

This is a national question. Since the nation will certainly cling for many years to come to its drinking habits, let us see at all events that undue temptation is removed from the weak, that this sale of alcohol is in disinterested hands, and that the conditions of sale are lifted from the present sordid, degraded level, which is the cause of the greater part of our drunkenness.

Literature on State Purchase, all information, and speakers for meetings provided on application to:—Miss M. Cotterell, O.B.E., Organising Secretary, Parliament Mansions, Victoria Street, S.W. 1.

COMING EVENTS.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

- The following meetings on League of Nations subjects will be held:—
- NOVEMBER 26**
At Salford Technical Institute. 7.30 p.m.
Speaker: Tom Shaw, Esq., M.P.
At Oldham Co-operative Hall.
Speakers: Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, M.P., Sir Arthur Howarth. Evening.
 - NOVEMBER 27**
At Bootham, York, Bootham School.
Speaker: Frederick Whelan, Esq. Evening.
 - NOVEMBER 28**
At Newport, Central Hall. Morning and Evening.
Speaker: Capt. Morgan Thomas, O.B.E., J.P.
 - NOVEMBER 29**
At Tooting, All Saints', Franciscan Road. 2.30 p.m.
Speaker: Alfred Wayment, B.A.
 - NOVEMBER 30**
At Brotherhood of Nations, Mortimer Hall, Mortimer Street. 8 p.m.
Speaker: Lady Gladstone.
 - DECEMBER 1**
At Wolverton.
Speaker: Canon Bickersteth Ottley.
 - DECEMBER 2**
At Patney, County Secondary School. 2.30 p.m.
Speaker: Frederick Whelan, Esq.
At Fellowship Branch. 5 p.m.
Speaker: Miss Curry, O.B.E.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.

- NOVEMBER 26 & 27.**
Green, White and Gold Fair, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster.
Opens: Friday—The Lady Amherst of Hackney; Saturday—Mrs. Chapman Catt. 3-9 p.m.
Admission: Friday, 3-5, 2s. 6d.; after 5, and on Saturday, 1s. 3d.
- DECEMBER 1.**
At the Minerva Café, 144, High Holborn. 3 p.m.
Speaker: Miss E. Picton-Turbervill, O.B.E.
Subject: "Religion and Politics."

BIRMINGHAM WOMEN'S LOCAL GOVERNMENT SOCIETY.

- DECEMBER 6.**
The Annual Meeting will be held at King Edward's High School for Girls, New Street.
Subject: "University Training for Women as a preparation for Public Service."
Speaker: Miss Macadam, M.A.
Chair: The Rev. G. D. Rosenthal, M.A. 5 p.m.

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP AND CATHOLIC WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY.

- NOVEMBER 29.**
At Central Hall, Westminster.
Public Meeting to welcome Mrs. Chapman Catt.
Speakers: Viscountess Astor, Mrs. Fawcett, Mrs. Chapman Catt, Miss Rathbone. 8 p.m.

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

- NOVEMBER 30.**
At the Women's Institute, 92, Victoria Street.
Subject: "National Family Endowment."
Speaker: Miss Rathbone, J.P., C.C.
Chairman: Sir John Simon.

- NOVEMBER 30 & DECEMBER 1.**
At the Mansion House. 10.30-4.30.
Conference of Women Magistrates.

- DECEMBER 2.**
At the Hotel Cecil. 1 p.m.
Luncheon to I.W.S.A. Board of Officers.

- YORKSHIRE COUNCIL FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.**
DECEMBER 6.
At 18, Park Row, Leeds. 5.30 p.m.
Subject: "Guild Socialism."
Speaker: Miss Reynard.

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

- NOVEMBER 26.**
At Holt, Women Citizens' Association. 7 p.m.
Speaker: Miss B. Picton-Turbervill.
Subject: "State Purchase of the Liquor Trade."
- NOVEMBER 27.**
At Norwich, National Council of Women. 3 p.m.
Speakers: Miss B. Picton-Turbervill, Lady Horsley.
Debate: "State Purchase a necessary first step to Temperance Reform."

- NOVEMBER 28.**
At Union Chapel Brotherhood, Manchester. 3 p.m.
Speaker: Miss F. L. Carre.
Subject: "State Purchase the Solution of the Drink Problem."

- NOVEMBER 29.**
At Women's Co-operative Guild, Peel Street, Eccles. 7.30 p.m.
Speaker: Miss F. L. Carre.
Subject: "State Purchase of the Liquor Trade."

INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE.

- NOVEMBER 28.**
In the Ethical Church, 46, Queen's Road, W. 2. 6.30 p.m.
Mrs. Chapman Catt, President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, will speak on "How the Women of America won the Vote."

GUILD OF EDUCATION AS NATIONAL SERVICE.

- DECEMBER 1.**
Speaker: Miss Alice Woods, late Principal, Maria Grey Training College. 5.15 p.m.
Subject: "The Co-operation of Parents and Teachers."

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S FRANCHISE CLUB LTD.

- DECEMBER 1.**
9, Grafton Street, Piccadilly, W. 1. 8.15 p.m.
Speaker: Miss Nina Boyle.
Subject: "Clap-Trap."

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

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

KENSINGTON TOWN HALL.—Fellowship Services. 6.30, Miss Maude Royden. "Christ at the League of Nations Assembly."

On the occasion of the Meeting in London of the Officers of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance,

A MASS MEETING
TO CELEBRATE THE
ENFRANCHISEMENT OF THE WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES, AND TO WELCOME Mrs. CHAPMAN CATT,
Who led Twenty-Six Million American Women to Victory.

Will be held at
The Central Hall, Westminster,
MONDAY, NOV. 29th, at 8 p.m.
Speakers:—Mrs. CHAPMAN CATT, Viscountess ASTOR, M.P., Mrs. FAWCETT, J.P., LL.D., and representatives of the Women's Movement in other countries.
Chair:—Miss E. F. RATHBONE, J.P., C.C., M.A.

TICKETS, Numbered and Reserved, 10/-, 5/-, 2/6. Unreserved, 1/- and 6d. A FEW FREE SEATS. DOORS open 7.30 p.m.
Apply Miss Turner, Orchard House, Great Smith St., S.W.1.

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MISCELLANEOUS.

YORKSHIRE COUNCIL FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP SALE OF WORK, Leeds, December 8th. Please send "White Elephants," i.e., things you do not use but others may highly appreciate—to help the Scarborough, Filey, and Malton Stalls. Parcels should be addressed to Miss Stephens, c/o Lady Lawson Tancred, 18, Park Row, Leeds, before December 6th.

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