WOMAN'S LEADER

AND THE COMMON CAUSE

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NOTES AND NEWS.

The Interpretation of the Guardianship of Infants Act.

On 17th February Lord Raglan asked the Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords whether his attention had been drawn to the criticism Mr. Bingley had made on the Guardianship of Infants Act. Readers of this paper will remember that the only part of Mr. Bingley's criticism which had any justification was that which pointed out that under the Act a father did not appear to be able to apply in a Court of Summary Jurisdiction. This was due to the fact that the 1925 Act in this respect only amended the 1886 Guardianship of Infants Act, which in its turn only referred to cases being brought by the mother. The Lord Chancellor, in the course of his remarks, stated: "We have had only a very short experience of the Act. I have not myself heard of any practical difficulty which has arisen; indeed, in the case which was before the learned Magistrate he found no difficulty in disposing of the father's application. I am disposed to think that if it turns out that there is a real practical difficulty, it would be wise to legislate on the matter and to give the father a similar summary right. Of course the purpose of the Act of last year was not to extend the father's rights; it dealt with the mother's rights." We are glad to find that the Lord Chancellor's interpretation on the Part of the Government or of the original promoters of the Guardianship of Infants Bill that this new, if slight, inequality should be set up between fathers and mothers.

Criminal Justice (Increase of Penalties) Bill.

On Friday, 19th February, the above Bill was introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. Greaves-Lord. It is a one clause Bill providing, "Where a person is convicted on indictment of two or more offences punishable only by imprisonment in respect of which he is liable to be sentenced to terms of imprisonment amounting in the aggregate to a period of not less than three years, the court may instead of sentencing him to imprisonment, sentence him to penal servitude for any term not exceeding the aggregate period for which he might have been sentenced to imprisonment." This Bill, it will be remembered, was drafted in accordance with the wish of the Lord Chief Justice expressed in passing sentence on Hayley Morris but is applicable not only in sexual offences against young people, but in other offences such as the fraudulent obtaining

of credit. The only opposition came from those who were against extending any kind of punishment. The Home Secretary pointed out that the change would merely reaffirm an existing discretion, for cumulative sentences of hard labour and penal servitude were to-day largely formal. We should ourselves have liked to have seen this Bill with certain additional sections. We feel ourselves that a case was made out for the Bill, but would have liked to have seen it dealing also with other cognate reforms such as a prohibition to impose fines in cases of indecent assault against young persons.

Our Daily Bread.

The report of the National Food Council, prepared under the chairmanship of Lord Bradbury, appeared at the end of last week. The Council advocates immediate legislation for the prevention of short weight, which, we understand the Government is disposed to facilitate with a good grace. Such legislation would presumably take the form of a very drastic stiffening up of the existing Weights and Measures Acts. The Council recommends that oral misrepresentation or the giving of short weight or measure in the sale of foodstuffs shall be made statutory offences; that a large number of specified foodstuffs including meat, butter, and cereals should be sold by net weight; that all figures exhibited on foodstuffs offered for sale must be clear and conspicuous. Space forbids us to quote the recommendations in detail, or in full, nor is such repetition necessary, for they have been clearly outlined in the daily Press. But taken collectively they may be said to provide the consumer with a kind of corporate discrimination: a substitute, though possibly a somewhat unwieldly substitute, for the individual discrimination which has revealed itself as conspicuously absent in the relation between specialized producer and general consumer. Meanwhile, whatever may be the practical value of such intricate legislation, there can be no question as to the value of one aspect of the Council's work—the publicity with which it illuminates from week to week the devious processes of our economic system. The milk trade is a peculiar sufferer by such publicity—the practice of short measure being "astonishingly prevalent." Indeed one firm is calculated to have derived a profit of £1,400 a year from short measure alone!

The Grocers.

Nor do the organized grocers emerge from the Council's survey with undiminished public confidence. The report complains that the Federation of Grocer's Associations covering between 50 to 60 per cent. of the grocers in England and Wales, played, to say the least of it, a very unhelpful part in the Council's deliberations. They advocated, for instance, sale of tea by weight, a practice which they had strongly opposed before a Parliamentary Select Committee in 1914. They pressed for further investigation of the present matter by Select Committee, although in 1914, when a Select Committee was actually in being, they protested that this was the one type of inquiry which they considered unsuitable. They lauded the full publicity of a Parliamentary inquiry, while demanding from the Food Council a private meeting on the ground that there was much which could not be said in public. Finally, they protested the general desirability of legislative protection for the consumer, while withholding their approval from all concrete suggestions made by other witnesses for giving effect to this principle. In fine, they appear to have pursured a policy which is sometimes described in Parliamentary circles as "obstruction" and which has its reflection in the industrial world under the name of "ca' canny."

And the Builders.

But lest we should be accused of peculiar animus against the harmless necessary grocer, let us add a word in dispraise of another vocational organization: the builders. It is not easy

to reconcile with any principle of social ethics the appeal (quoted by Lord Weir in *The Times* of 17th February) to members of the building trade workers, issued by their general secretary in a circular to trade union branches: "You must watch any attempt at dilution; you should keep a keen control on overtime; adopt a militant policy against all forms of piecework; be watchful and limit apprentices; remember the power you now occupy is conditioned by the scarcity of your labour." We have placed this extract side by side with an analogous appeal to master bakers (quoted in our issue of a fortnight ago) in a private collection which we are accumulating in illustration of the assertion that mankind is not at its best, when organized for the protection or promotion of its sectional economic interest.

Housing in London.

We have received some interesting communications on the subject of housing as the result of our invitation in a leading article earlier in the year on Housing in 1926. Two recent developments in London call for notice in our columns. The President of the Westminster Housing Association recently reported at a conference of Westminster Societies, held at Denison House, that a deputation from that Association had been invited to meet the new Chairman of the Housing Committee of the Westminster City Council. This invitation was accepted, and the deputation laid before the Chairman a concrete scheme of housing development which was prepared in co-operation with the officials of the Grosvenor Estate with a promise of support from the Duke of Westminster. The Chelsea Housing Association has just issued a valuable report of housing in the Metropolitan Borough of Chelsea, which presents some startling facts. Two-thirds of the families of this celebrated Borough live in from one- to three-roomed houses, and it is estimated that 15,000 persons are victims of overcrowding, or to express it differently from 20 to 25 per cent. of the population live at the rate of two, three, or four persons to a single room. Such associations of voters and rate-payers by reports and still more by practical suggestions, should do much to accelerate progress.

A Housewives' Exhibition.

So much interest is focussed on science in the home at the present time that it is not surprising to hear of a housewives' exhibition organized by the Hornsey Borough Council with the object of teaching housewives by practical demonstrations how to shop economically and use food to the best advantage. The importance of cleanliness in displaying and distributing food will be emphasized and every aspect of the Nation's food supply will be explained by means of object lessons. The exhibition which will be held at Christ Church Parish Hall, Edison Road, Crouch End, will be opened on Tuesday, 2nd March, by the Minister of Health. Many similar exhibitions were organized in the interests of national economy and the public health during the war. They are hardly less necessary to-day. In a memorandum on Public Education in Health by Sir George Newman, Chief Medical Officer to the Ministry of Health, which has been recently revised and re-issued, the importance of the education of the public in matters relating to healthy home life is set forth in a most convincing way, and the duty of the initiation and co-ordination of such efforts assigned to the local authority. Hornsey has given a lead which will undoubtedly be followed by other public bodies.

Silly Sayings of the Week.

1. Judge Crawford: "If I had my way I should not allow women to walk on pavements with perambulators," said Judge Crawford recently, in the Southend County Court. He does not add the recommendation that roof-gardens should be constructed on all houses containing children, that underground passages should be constructed between all such houses and their neighbouring public parks, that mothers and childrenshould be intermingled with the wheeled traffic in the roadway, or that the practice of birth control should be made universal and compulsory. Perhaps he has some other alternative suggestion by which his interesting proposal could be expedited.

2. Major Hore-Belisha, M.P.: "In the present century female labour is being substituted for male labour... there are a million and a half of unemployed persons, because there has been an incursion into industry of women." But Major Hore-Belisha does not explain which of the industrial processes at present largely tenanted by women he considers specially suitable for the absorbtion of our present body of unemployed which is so largely recruited from the relatively overpopulated mining and metal industries. Nor does he give us any indication of whether he has sounded the Miners Federation or the A.E.U. with a view

to the conditions of such absorption. And on second thoughts is the industrial employment of women a modern growth? We commend him to the study of eighteenth and nineteenth century industrial history. From there he can proceed to the more intricate study of the causes of unemployment.

3. Dr. J. S. Risieu Russell: "Girls not long from school are to be seen drinking cocktails, champagne, and liqueurs, while in time whiskies and sodas are added to the list of stimulants required to keep them going. Scarcely has the age of twenty been reached before the lines that rightly belong to the woman of middle-age have become evident in such girls." Such is Dr. Russell's indictment, given to the Institute of Hygiene of "the girl of the present day." We suggest that Dr. Russell would develop a healthier and more accurate capacity for generalization were he to draw his material from a wider area than the immediate neighbourhood of Leicester Square, and that his power of chronological comparison would be developed by a study of Victorian female biographies and the novels of Jane

Our Who's Who.

Many of those who have contributed to this special issue are among our regular contributors, and require no introduction. No fewer than four former editors of this paper appear in this week's issue, Miss Maude Royden, Mrs. Swanwick, Miss O'Malley, and Mrs. Oliver Strachey. Lady Strachey, whose son Oliver and daughter Philippa have for so many years been closely associated with our cause, is herself a writer of some distinction, and, as her charming message shows, a link with the beginning of the movement. Miss Mary Lowndes, founder and manager of the Englishwoman and still managing director of the English woman's Exhibition, gives a delightful account of the celebrated banners of the historic pilgrimages. Many of their designs and most of the decorations of those great demonstrations were her work. Mrs. Sidney Webb and Major Hills represent the views of former opponents, now to be numbered among our very good friends. Madame Malaterre-Sellier is President of the Paris branch of the Union Française pour la Suffrage des femmes Dame Helen Gwynne-Vaughan, it will be remembered, was hon. secretary of the Consultative Committee of Women's Suffrage Societies, and is well known as a scientist as well as in public work. Lord Cecil, Mr. H. N. Brailsford, Sir Willoughby Dickinson, Viscount Haldane, Mr. Arthur Henderson, Mr. Pethick Lawrence, who have sent messages, are among the men who have stood by us in season and out of season.

Questions in Parliament.

Thursday, 18th February.

WOMEN IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.—Lieutenant-Commander Kenworthy asked the Prime Minister whether His Majesty's Government intend to introduce legislation to enable peeresses in their own right to sit and vote in another place. The reply was that no such proposal is at present before the Government.

Monday, 22nd February.

Legal Age of Marriage.—Mr. Pethick Lawrence asked the Prime Minister whether it is the intention of the Government to introduce legislation to raise the legal age of marriage in this country. Sir William Joynson-Hicks replied that he had the matter under consideration.

Women Police. I—Sir C. Cayzer asked the Home Secretary whether Women Police are employed in Juvenile Courts in recording evidence which women or young people might hesitate to give to men and what functions women police generally carry out. The Home Secretary replied "that women police were not employed for recording evidence but that whenever a girl appears in a juvenile court in London, some other woman—a police matron—is present. The duties of women police are similar to those of constables generally, but they are employed more especially in dealing with women of immoral character and young girls who appear to be drifting towards an immoral life or are homeless or destitute or in some other way in need of assistance or advice.

Tuesday, 23rd February,

THE LEGITIMACY BILL.—Mr. T. Thomson asked the Prime Minister when and where the Legitimacy Bill would be introduced this session. The Prime Minister said this Bill would be introduced in another place as soon as possible.

OUR OUTSTANDING DEBT.

The last lap of the suffrage movement—and by the suffrage movement we mean that unforgettable campaign which united women in the years before the war in a concentrated effort for a single reform—was marked by the most hopeful characteristic that any movement can boast. It was marked by the burning enthusiasm of the young women. Young women stewarded the meetings and carried the banners. Young women surrounded the militant leaders, and followed them to prison. Still younger women hoisted the standard of revolt, red, white, and green, or purple, white, and green as the case might be, in school and college. A girls' public school seethed with the question of whether suffrage badges might be worn in class. London college was convulsed to its foundations over the election of the greatest of all Suffrage leaders to the honorary presidency of its union. "Suffrage work" loomed ahead of ducational preoccupations. If every woman over thirty had been swept off the political board by an exasperated Government and dropped into some inviolable oubliette, then with a roar of fury and a cheer of confidence the young women would have leapt to the breach and the movement would have swept forward ultimately to its same inevitable end. Where are those young women now

The platitudinous answer is that they are approaching middle age in the dignified odour of incomplete enfranchisement. Their paths have diverged greatly since the days when their public and political interest was focussed upon a demand which could be summarized in two words. Party feeling has in many. cases acquired for them a greater significance; new cleavages of interest have come to divide them. But for the most part they have kept the faith: and one element in their mental storehouse which will never tarnish nor grow stale, is the memory of that transcendental comradeship and that white-hot enthusiasm which it was their privilege to share with the pioneers of the suffrage movement in the years before the war. when the old battle cry of "the vote for women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men" sounds again as it is sounding to-day, their response is very ready. They are determined to round off the victory of 1918, and "make a job" of Women's Suffrage. Precisely the same reasons, and they were very profound reasons, which led them to put suffrage first in their public activities before the war, lead them now to desire the speedy completion of that old task, and induce in them a certain political restlessness so long as a large body of morally responsible citizens remain without the legal responsibility of citizenship.

But the fact remains that these young women of pre-war days are not the young women of 1926. They are, we repeat, approaching middle age. Where are the young women of to-day? What response are they making to this renewed demand for "the vote on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men."

At first sight one is inclined to say: a comparatively poor response. They are not banded, as were their aunts and their elder sisters, in loyalty to a common cause. They are not talking much about it or thinking much about it. It is not,

of course, that they are more self-absorbed than their immediate predecessors or less disposed to react proudly to any challenge to the dignity or freedom of their sex. But there is no doubt that the demand for a complete equalization of the franchise does not and cannot make the same appeal to the imagination as a demand for the first elemental recognition of woman citizenship. And if they are to be moved en masse it is by an appeal to the imagination that they must be moved. For they are. the majority of them at least, too young to be moved by an appeal to experience. That motive power comes later. Moreover, in their case, experience is even less of a motive power than it was in the case of their predecessors. For they have already secured so much. First and foremost they have a freedom of physical movement which was denied to women in the days of long skirts, crownless hats, and tortured headdresses. There is no doubt that the constant daily inconvenience of women's pre-war dress was a more practical and continuous reminder of the disadvantage of being born a woman than any extraneous suffrage badge pinned to the lappet of the coat. But they have more than that: they have the entry to professions hitherto barred to them; and they have the potentiality of a political, even a ministerial career. It is only a few young women who, emerging into the dubious equity of the labour market, find themselves, in fact, up against that which their predecessors were up against all the time in imagination. The teachers in our national schools very quickly run their heads against the obstacle of unequal pay and the penalization of marriage. Nor do the junior civil servants and the clerks and secretaries take long to temper their outlook to the winds of a world in which it is inadvisable to be born a woman. Therefore it is among such young women that we meet to-day with a sturdy feminism altogether reminiscent of the good-and-bad old

But the rest-well, if comparisons are sometimes odious they are sometimes comforting. And the young women of to-day derive perhaps a little too much comfort from the contemplation of things as they were-too little discomfort from the contemplation of things as they might be. Their time of realization will come, and with it new stimuli to sex-loyalty. It will be for them, for instance, to reconstruct the economic life of this country, making a world safe and tolerable for mothers and their children. There are a host of big and interesting jobs ahead of them. And we may trust them to make their response. Meanwhile perhaps the least that we, who are no longer the young women, can do for them is to arm them with a readypolitical weapon—the complete and equal franchise. It would be a dull job for them, this tidying up of our 1918 omissions. Indeed, it would seem a dull job for some of us if it were not possible to conjure up in a flash of memory and rejuvenation the force and splendour of our old campaign, the invincibility of our case, and the fervency of our belief in government by consent under the inspiration of a leader who was sustained by a most peculiarly dogged faith in the ultimate triumph of reason and equity.

NEWS FROM WESTMINSTER.

FROM OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT.

Last week the House of Commons spent three days on finance, but the most important subject was possibly one which was not discussed openly. The proposal to grant £200,000 for sports grounds for the Civil Service has met with a storm of opposition, strongest among Conservatives. It is felt that the Government cannot cut down essential services and at the same time spend money on what is a luxury. A deputation from his own party waited on the Chancellor of the Exchequer on Thursday, 18th February, and there was some plain speaking. It is difficult to see how the grant can go through.

Next in importance, and far greater in amount, is the grant to the Unemployment Fund of Northern Ireland. Owing to depression in shipbuilding and linen, Northern Ireland has excessive unemployment and she comes to the Imperial Parliament to foot the bill. The matter was before the House on Monday, 22nd February, and Mr. Winston Churchill had considerable difficulty in persuading a reluctant and resentful assembly to agree to the grant. To tell the truth, Parliament is getting tired of demands from Ireland, North or South. No doubt the case made for the present claim was plausible, but what is happening now is that Northern Ireland retains all the benefits of the financial arrangements come to in 1920 and expects

the taxpayers of Great Britain to take over the bad bargains. It is felt that the present state of things cannot go on, and the position was made no easier when Mr. Snowden informed the House that the present demand had been rejected both by Mr. Baldwin and by Mr. Neville Chamberlain, when they were Chancellors of the Exchequer, as well as by himself.

To go back to events in their order, Tuesday, 16th February, saw a discussion on the sugar bounties. The general criticism of the scheme was not altogether hostile, though the point was taken by the opposition that not sufficient of the benefits had gone to the wage-earner. The debate was interesting, and not unimportant, and while the opposition divided the House against the vote, it was not a case of uncompromising enmity.

At 8.15 Sir Herbert Cunliffe proposed a motion making it compulsory on the Government to ensure the employment of the fullest number of disabled ex-Service men in all contracts that they placed. There was no disagreement on any side of the House, and the motion was agreed to without a division. On Wednesday, 17th February, another day was spent upon estimates and nothing very important emerged. At 8.15, however, Mr. Dixey proposed his motion on the Road Fund.

(Continued on page 36.)

¹ A statement of the duties of women police approved by a recent conference attended by representatives of a large number of the leading women's societies and forwarded to the Prime Minister will appear in this paper next week.

APOLOGIA PRO VITA NOSTRA.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS given at the ANNUAL MEETING of the NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP, 24th February, 1926, by MISS ELEANOR RATHBONE.

It is good to meet again for our annual stocktaking and to have something better this time to report than disappointed hopes and frustrated endeavours. On previous occasions, I have found myself comparing the National Union's year to a fisherman's day of great expectations but no fish, and again to the labours of Sisyphus. This year I have no need to search for a fresh metaphor to express the old unpleasant truth; for this year there are fish in the basket and some of the stones have been dragged safely to the top of Constitution Hill. I prophesied a year ago that we should soon be able to wipe three reforms off our Immediate Programme—Widows' Pensions, Equal Franchise, and reform of the Separation and Maintenance Orders Law. The prophecy has come true, for although none of the three have been secured quite in the form or to the full extent we desired, yet they are substantial achievements, and we may well let these subjects rest for a time and turn to

Incidentally, the year's record has strikingly justified the policy and methods of the N.U.S.E.C. There have been some critics who have thought our Parliamentary methods tame, who have scoffed at our laborious way of drafting and initiating private members' Bills and pushing them through the same stages year by year, and accumulating evidence of the support behind them, until the Government was convinced not only of the demand but that it was possible to satisfy it and so made our reforms its own. These critics would have thought better of us if we had been more spectacular, had spent our time blaring trumpets before the walls of Jericho, and ordering them to fall down instead of patiently tunnelling underneath them. In other words they would have had us fling our reforms in their most doctrinaire shape at the heads of the Government, "demanding" and "claiming" them in the name of "the women of the country" and leaving the Government to find out how to carry them out. That is not the way to get things done. It may have served in the days of the Suffrage agitation, when we were asking for a big, elemental, simple reform, which a schoolgirl could have formulated into a bill. Most of our reforms to-day require difficult readjustments of a complicated antiquated structure of Case law and Statute law. We were backwoodsmen in pre-war days; now we need to be skilled artisans. If we go to the Government saying merely, "This or that is wrong; put it right for us," they can bluff us as a lazy builder bluffs an ignorant housewife who asks him to cure her smoky chimney, saying, "Madam, what you want is impossible; if we did it the house would tumble down." Our method is to study the faulty structure for ourselves, and make our plans. Though they may not be exactly the plans which the builder carries out, yet he sees we know too much to be pacified

Even when, as in last year's Widows' and Old Age Contributory Pensions Act, we are dealing with a subject which does not lend itself to procedure by private members' Bills, our habit of trying to be good Parliamentarians, practical and realistic, which to our critics seems opportunism, gave us the power of amending the Bill in many unshowy but beneficent ways. There are thousands and there soon will be tens of thousands of womenunhappy wives, widows, tired old working spinsters—who have cause to bless the name of the N.U.S.E.C. for the work it has done on behalf of these three bills, two of them (Equal Guardianship and Separation Orders) actually its own children, the third (Widows' Pensions) brought to the front by an agitation which we were. I think, the first to stir into activity. What does it matter that most of them have never heard our unwieldy name and would not understand it if they heard it. It never perturbs me when our members complain, as some of them do, that the N.U.S.E.C. is bad at publicity and that other societies are better. Let them be better. They serve the cause in their way and we in ours. There is room for all sorts of talent in the women's movement and the special function of the N.U.S.E.C. has never been that of a publicity agent.

Yet it must be admitted that the difficulty of our problems and the unspectacular methods suited to them have some disadvantages. The majority of menkind, including womenkind, have lazy, unimaginative, preoccupied minds and to such our work makes little appeal. Even now, when we have gone back to the old, crude, simple issue, "Votes for women on the same terms as men," we have not the old public with us. It took years before to kindle the sluggish mass mind into enthusiasm. But

even then it was not-it never is in moral causes-the great battalions of followers who brought victory, but the thinking, organizing, indomitable few. Now the opposition is infinitely weaker and the obstacles fewer. Indeed, there are, I think, only two serious obstacles. One is the belief that there are no obstacles, that the thing will come of itself. That is indeed a mistake, for no Parliamentary reform comes without hard work. The other is to rest the case for Equal Franchise too much on the pure theory of equality. The watchword of Equality has lost much of its potency for the younger generation, which has never known the harsher forms of inequality. We shall be equally in accord with facts, and will obtain more response from this disillusioned, realistic generation, if we claim the vote as a necessary measure of protection for the women workers over as well as under 30, whose interests are not at all represented by married women who regard female competition with nearly as jealous an eye as their husbands and sons. When we have put the defensive weapon of the vote into the hands of the women workers, we shall have done nearly all that can be done by legislation to break down sex disabilities. Sex disabilities will still exist-social and economic-but they must be attacked by subtler methods, by the study and removal of causes. This will be part of our task; the other part will be the movement which I called last year "the new feminism," its formula not equality but self-determination. Already one sees among our societies a growing preoccupation with the new issues, with Family Endowment, Birth Control, Social Insurance, International Peace-reforms which come within the second half of our formula as "necessary to enable women adequately to discharge their functions as citizens." The same tendency is observable among the other organizations of women, political and non-political, but I believe a little study of dates would show that our consideration of these new issues has not seldom preceded that of others by at least a year or two. If the societies of the N.U.S.E.C. do not shine as publicity agents they are pretty good pioneers, and I hope that will always be our rôle

NEWS FROM WESTMINSTER.

It was of an uncompromising and, indeed, full-blooded character, calling for the allocation of the whole fund for road construction or repair. Since the fund, which originally was £8,000,000, is now nearly £17,000,000 and may eventually reach 30 or 40 millions, it is obvious that the Government in such distressful times could not spend the whole upon roads and would be unthrifty to do so. The debate was ultimately talked out, but there was a strong expression of opinion that Mr. Winston Churchill was right in his suggestion that, though more had to be spent on roads, especially in country districts, the government would take some of the surplus. Mr. William Graham made one of his admirable speeches against any interference, and this was perhaps the best in the debate.

Thursday, 18th February, was devoted to the Iraq Treaty and a debate of first-class importance was held. To put a complicated matter shortly, our obligations to Iraq were intended to come to an end in March, 1928. Then, when the Council of the League of Nations finally gave their decision on the boundary, they attached to it a condition that the Treaty should be renewed for 25 years, or until Iraq was admitted member of the League. Mr. Amery spoke forcibly and well. Mr. MacDonald was placed in a grave difficulty, for he had to support the decision of the League, and, at the same time, to object to our staying in Iraq beyond 1928. He contended that while we were bound to accept the Council's decision upon the boundary, we were not bound to the 25 years' Treaty. This argument, difficult to maintain, was severely handled by subsequent speakers and, indeed, was dropped; and the discussion ran out into the advantages or evils of staying in Iraq or abandoning it. It revealed a sharp conflict of opinion. best speeches for remaining were undoubtedly those of Commander Hilton Young and Mr. Duff-Cooper and, on the other side, of Mr. Thurtle. Sir Austen Chamberlain, winding up for the Government, had little to do, but did it well, and Major Attlee, for the opposition, made the best of a bad case. In the end the Government secured a large majority.

Friday, 19th February, was private member's day, and two bills passed second reading. Mr. Greaves-Lord got through his Criminal Justice (Increase of Penalties) Bill, which enables heavier punishment to be given in certain cases much in the public mind at the moment, and Commander Fanshawe piloted to port his measure dealing with allotments in Scotland. The Town Tenants Bill, moved by Mr. Womersley, had only a short

BENEDICTION TO OUR CAMPAIGN.

THE BAN OF EXCLUSION. By MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT.

FEBRUARY 26, 1026.

It is a curious political fact that Women's Suffrage made its first appearance in Europe in Finland, then a part of the Russian Empire. It followed immediately on the successful struggle of the Finns to regain the Constitutional freedom of their Grand Duchy. This new Constitution for Finland was wrung from an unwilling Czar, and when he looked up in pained surprise on eeing that it embodied the principle of Women's Suffrage M. Michelin, the leader of the Finnish Diet, simply said: "It is absolutely necessary, Sire, the whole feeling of the country It was necessary because everyone in Finland knew how the women had thrown themselves into the struggle with Russian autocracy with unhesitating self-sacrifice. And it was thus that the autocrat of all the Russias was the first European sovereign to sign a new electoral law which gave the vote to women. This was in 1906. In 1907 Women's Suffrage was granted to women in Norway, from a not dissimilar cause: for it was immediately after the great outburst of national feeling which led to the separation from Sweden, and established Norway as an independent kingdom: and everyone in Norway knew that the women had shared in full in all the work and in all the sacrifices that the struggle entailed. Parliamentary Suffrage for women was passed as one of the first Acts of the Norwegian Parliament. The parallel with our own history is obvious, and I hope it may be proved to be prolonged beyond the stage we have reached at the present time.

For in Norway, as in most old countries, the women of the country considerably outnumber the men, and not a few people therefore fell into the fallacy that to give the Suffrage to men and women on equal terms would mean that men would be enslaved by women. So a plan was devised especially to restrict the number of voting women. Men had manhood suffrage but women had a taxpaying suffrage. No woman could vote unless she had paid a certain amount in direct taxation. This was accepted as a pis aller for a time by the men and women of Norway, who had struggled for Women's Suffrage This was in 1907. When after a few years' experience it was proved that men and women did not vote in separate blocks determined by sex, but as rational human beings, the dread of a possible majority of women going to the polls faded away, and in 1913 Norway repealed the restriction on the voting of women, and men and women have since then voted on exactly equal terms. It took six years to show the Norwegians that a few women more or less as compared with the voting men made no appreciable difference except to sooth the feeling of exasperation on the part of those who were formerly shut out. We have now had seven years' experience in our own country of the political working of the Suffrage adopted by Parliament in February, 1918. It is time that the ban of exclusion was removed from the women of under 30. As woman after woman has said to our organizers: "If I am fit to bring up and educate four children I am fit to have a vote." Moreover, is it not a little absurd to see ourselves left behind, and to know that the women of Burmah, not to speak of Australia, New Zealand, and Canada, have the vote on equal terms with men, while our own fine young women to whom the whole country owes so much, are left out in the

PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATIONS.

We print below an important statement from Lord Cecil, which will be read at the Equal Franchise Demonstration at the Central Hall on Friday evening :-

DEAR MRS. HUBBACK,-

With reference to your letter of the 9th February, I have seen the Prime Minister, and he tells me that in the existing state of public business it is impossible for him to make any statement as to the exact date on which the Conference to which you refer can meet. It is, however, evident that it must meet early enough to enable the Government to deal, in the present Parliament, with any legislation which it may decide to propose as a consequence of deliberations of the Conference. In the meantime, departments of the Government are being instructed to make such preliminary investigations as may be necessary for the purposes of the Conference.

Yours very sincerely,

From LADY STRACHEY.

John Stuart Mill's petition of 1866 asked for Votes for Women on the same terms as for men. I signed this-Dame Millicent Fawcett did not because she was not then 21 years of age. To-day Dame Millicent Fawcett and myself, being both of full age and competent understanding are still supporting this claim for equal citizen rights for men and women, J. M. STRACHEY.

From MRS. CORBETT ASHBY.-PRESIDENT I.W.S A.

May I on behalf of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance send cordial greetings to the Annual Conference of our oldest British auxiliary? Your national work is of immense practical value to our international success. Under modern conditions the standard set in one country rapidly affects all other countries, whether it be concerned with scientific research, the status of women, or the length of our skirts and plus fours. Each victory which brings British women near equality helps all other women, just as our bad example of an age of marriage fixed at twelve and our attitude towards the ratification of international Conventions handicaps the progress of women of other lands. As part of the Commonwealth, we might give examples on an international scale of fairer nationality and maintenance laws. The unenfranchised countries watch anxiously if women's votes improve morality and lessen mortality. Finally, by bringing a rich contribution to the store of women's experience and achievement, you are helping on that sure peace which is rooted in mutual sympathy, understanding, and a common purpose.

MARGERY CORBETT ASHBY.

From MADAME MALATERRA-SELLIER.—AN INVITATION.

Pour la dixième fois les femmes du monde entier, à l'appel de l'Alliance Internationale, vont se réunir afin de discuter de leurs droits et de leurs devoirs.

Et c'est Paris, cette année, qui aura la joie et l'honneur de les accueillir et de les recevoir dans la vielle Sorbonne, riche de tant de souvenirs séculaires. Ce dixième Congrès marquera un nouveau pas en avant dans l'histoire de l'affranchissement des femmes et pour nous, Françaises, il sera sans doute un acte décisif. En effet, rien n'influencera davantage notre Parlement que cette réunion de femmes éminentes, dont certaines, Ministres énateurs, Députés, Conseillères Municipales, rendent a leur Pays d'éclatants services. C'est pourquoi je viens dire aux femmes anglaises : "Après des années de luttes et d'efforts, souvent héroiques, vous avez conquis vos droits politiques et cela et bien. Vos soeurs Françaises sont engagées dans la même bataille. Venez au Congrès de Paris et le réconfort de votre présence hâtera pour elles le jour de la Victoire.'

GERMAINE MALATERRE-SELLIER.

From VISCOUNT CECIL OF CHELWOOD.

As far as I am concerned I have long believed that political equality between the sexes is desirable, and I see no reason to think that women of the same age as men are less capable of exercising the franchise. I am, therefore, myself, in favour of granting the Vote to women on the same terms as to men. That, of course, leaves unsettled the time when such a reform should be passed. It is obvious that we cannot always be tinkering with our constitutional machinery: on the other hand it is equally obvious that once it is conceded that a section of our fellow citizens ought to receive the franchise the change necessary in the law for that purpose cannot be indefinitely withheld.. It will be between these two competing principles that the Government, assisted by the all-Party Conference which is to be summoned, will have to make up its mind.

From the RT. HON. SIR WILLOUGHBY DICKINSON, K.B.E.

I shall be very glad to come and take part in your effort to complete the work of justice to women which we strove for when, just twenty years ago, I introduced my Bill for Women's Suffrage. It takes a long time to get anything done in this country; but it gets done in time.

H. W. DICKINSON.

From VISCOUNT HALDANE.

The status of women is to-day recognized as equal with that of men. It follows that the franchise should be enjoyed by the two sexes equally. I do not myself dread the consequences of this. Democracy operates, as experience has shown, justly and temperately, provided always that it has no sense of grievance A genuine Conservative policy will therefore be directed to extending the franchise wherever justice requires this.

From MISS MAUDE ROYDEN.

In those dim days before the war, which seem almost immeasurably distant now, we had to fight for the vote-any vote at all-without weapons in our hands. We had not a single vote among us with which to press our cause, and not one Member of Parliament who was directly responsible to us as he was to his male constituents. Yet we won. Now we realize that we never worked for anything less than complete equality between men and women and our task is not vet finished. The injustice, however, is less glaring; the work, if we choose to do it, much easier; the enthusiasm correspondingly less intense. It should not be so, for the differentiation of franchise between men and women remains a standing challenge to our claim of equality. Not only are the younger women excluded, but all women really are involved in that differentiation. Let us put our backs into the business and end it.

A. MAUDE ROYDEN.

From THE RT. HON. PHILIP SNOWDEN.

I am glad you are starting a vigorous campaign for the equalisation of the suffrage. The reform is urgent as well as just, and I trust your efforts will achieve a speedy success.

PHILIP SNOWDEN.

From THE RT. HON. ARTHUR HENDERSON, M.P.

The full extension of the franchise to all adults is long overdue. and though, as an old supporter of adult suffrage, I cordially welcomed the enfranchisement of over eight millions of women. there can be no complete satisfaction of a sound democratic claim until the five millions of women not now citizens are placed upon an equality with all who by right are entitled to vote at 21 years of age. . . . We must continue to press the claim of equal political and legal rights for men and women, and resist any going back upon the long-recognized age of an adult for this purpose being 21 years.

ARTHUR HENDERSON

From DAME HELEN GWYNNE-VAUGHAN.

Since women under 30 were not too young to serve, and since they served splendidly during the War, I cannot think of them as too young for other duties as citizens. Still more do I think that, in other respects than age, the franchise should be given on the same grounds to men and women.

H. GWYNNE-VAUGHAN.

From CAPTAIN WEDGWOOD BENN, M.P.

The Government is pledged to grant the demand for Equal Franchise, against which no argument that I have ever been able to discover can be advanced.

From MR. H. N. BRAILSFORD.

Since the impulse which gave the franchise to some women in 1918, there has been a dangerous revulsion and women's rights and responsibilities are being constantly questioned where they clash with the apparent interests of men. The disabilities of married women teachers prove that we have a long way to travel yet before equality becomes an actual fact. In order to make it so it is vitally important that women's rights and duties as citizens and electors should no longer depend on papers or work, and that they should receive a vote at the same age as men. H. N. BRAHSFORD

From MR. PETHICK LAWRENCE, M.P.

This reform is overdue, but Parliament will not grant it without pressure both from the voters and the voteless. A long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether will put an end to all silly proposals of a fancy or middle-aged franchise and bring this country into line with our Dominions and the progressive nations of the world. All good luck!

F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

From MRS. WINTRINGHAM.

Every citizen, man and woman, has a right in choosing those who make the laws, in order to prevent as far as possible laws being made which are injurious or unjust to individuals.

In answer to the opponents of Equal Franchise, we say: "Is it just that an educated man who is able independently to earn his own livelihood should have a vote, but that an equally educated woman, equally able independently to earn her own livelihood should not? Is it just that a man owning a certain quantity of property should have a vote in respect of that property, but a woman owning the same quantity of property should have no vote? Is it just that women workers taking their share in the industrial life of the country should not have a vote at the same age as men workers in making the laws of the

History shows that without a voice in legislation there is no direct representation, and the interests of that voiceless section are not guarded. The Government would be well advised to realize that a measure of Equal Franchise is not only one of expedience but one of common justice long overdue.

M. WINTRINGHAM

FEBRUARY 26, 1926.

From MISS WILKINSON, M.P.

I am glad that the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship is devoting itself with such enthusiasm this year to winning the Parliamentary vote for women under 30. disfranchisement, for which there never has been any logical reason, is more than the disfranchisement of women under a certain age. Our present Franchise Law disfranchises a large majority of wage-earning women. Most of the women who earn their living in industry to-day are under 30, and the qualification for the vote rules out women in lodgings and furnished apartments. Yet Parliament is continually interfering with wageearning women, therefore it is vitally important for them to be

Enlightened women will not listen to any suggestion of taking the vote from young men in order to secure uniformity between men and women at 25. On the shoulders of the young to-day much responsibility is thrown, and we demand adult suffrage without any other qualification at 21 years of age. I believe thisreform can be won if some of the old suffrage ardour is put

ELLEN C. WILKINSON.

TWO DISTINGUISHED CONVERTS. From MRS. SIDNEY WERB.

I hope the forthcoming Demonstration will not only be successful, but also only the beginning of a series of meetings and petitions to Members of Parliament. This is the time when pressure for the completion of women's political enfranchisement is likely to be most effective. It is during the present year that the Cabinet and the House of Commons will be making up their minds as to how much popular demand there is for the inevitable adoption of Adult Suffrage. Unless women make their influence felt during the ensuing twelve months, there is danger that a proposal will be made for the adoption of 25 as the age for the Suffrage for men and women alike. This would mean depriving a vast host of already enfranchised men of their right to vote. It would evoke the most embittered resistance among the male wage-earners. If the women showed any signs of willing ness to accept this so-called "compromise," it would gravely damage their cause. They must not be tempted to purchase votes for women of 25 (instead of 30), at the cost of robbing already enfranchised men of their votes. There is as much sense in women of 21 as in men of that age. There is apt to be even more public spirit and patriotism in men and women of 21-25 than in those of 30-40. Votes for all at 21 must be our unvielding demand.

BEATRICE WEBB.

From MAJOR HILLS, M.P.

May I be allowed to send a word of greeting! Perhaps it will come all the more acceptably from one who, in the misty days before the War, opposed Woman's Suffrage, but who has endeavoured, in recent times, to atone for his misdeeds.

The Woman's Leader has every reason to be proud of the support it has given to all the causes in which women are interested. Two great enterprises remain (besides others) one in the political, the other in the economic field. The vote at 21 has not come yet, but we have been assured that the promised inquiry will be set up this year. Nor have we yet got equal pay, nor even the promised inquiry, so in this we are worse off. But the progress already achieved is great, if we look back ten years.

JOHN W. HILLS.

RECOLLECTIONS.

By H. M. SWANWICK (Editor of "Foreign Affairs").

I was the first editor of the Common Cause, and I have been asked to write one column of reminiscences! Good Heavens, Madam, how can you ask anything so unreasonable? I could bear to keep the silence, but once I break it, the garrulity of old age will make it torture to stop.

The paper was started in Manchester with sixteen pages, and its name was intended to suggest, what I have always believed, that the cause of women's freedom was every bit as much men's cause as it was women's. Owing to legal entanglements the National Union could not in 1909 own a paper. So an independent company was formed, Margaret Ashton being by far the largest shareholder. Kathleen Courtney, who was at that time Secretary of the Manchester Women's Suffrage Society, was a Director: I imagine the first directorate she had held, and its emoluments were a minus quantity. Looking back, I marvel at my extraordinary temerity. I had been occupied with free-lance journalism for some years, but I knew nothing whatever about the production or selling of a paper. As, however, Margaret Ashton had compelled me to speak by thrusting me on to a cart during the election (or rather non-election) of Mr. Winston Churchill, so now I gaily undertook, at her bidding, to be editor sub-editor and manager all in one. I began with a staff of one, the book-keeper, for I have always had a reverential horror of accounts.

I had two friends whose help was beyond price. One was the Editor of the Manchester Guardian, who was, I think, immensely tickled by our cockleshell taking the water in the same sea as his noble three-master. The other was the foreman of Mr. Percy's Hotspur Press, who taught me the A, B, C of preparing manuscripts, correcting proofs, and making-up. He was angelically patient, but very firm with me too; one of the methods upon which he insisted was that I must not paste or pin the make-up, but must calculate so well that I could give him the galleys merely clipped in their proper order. Ah, those were days! When I looked in at the office years after, I saw the sub-editor pasting-up! Of all the advice given me by the other friend, that which remains still most useful ran something like this: "You will get disagreeable letters, every editor does; put them all together in a heap, answer them (if they must be answered) at your earliest opportunity, and then dismiss them firmly from your mind." I did get disagreeable letters, every editor does. I have never ceased to wonder why quite decent people so often throw decency to the winds when they write to a paper. I can understand the cranks and lunatics because they naturally want to advertise their views, but why should normally reasonable people foam at the mouth when they write a letter to the Editor? Inferiority complex? Perhaps. One delightful correspondent, I remember, began a violent letter with the touching plea: "You write whatever you like (she little knew!) every week. You might allow me one article.

Mr. Percy also inducted me into the mysteries of sales promotion, of the wholesale trade and its cormorants, of the advertisement side of the business. It was great fun, and it was quite terrific work, when one takes into account all the correspondence and committees, and that there was always speaking to be done as well. It was not long before Miss Courtney made it possible for me to have a secretary, and then there came a manager, and then an office boy and other glories when we came to London and the National Union took over the paper and then, in 1912, I left it, and only did short interim spells after. The circulation had reached 10,000.

It is not easy to produce a paper for a committee or for an organization containing many thousands of active and able persons, and I was often in hot water. We were much divided in our views about "militancy," and I was a very positive person. You see, I was always a Pacifist, although Mrs. Fawcett used to compliment me on being "such a good fighter," Then, my views about cartoons and caricatures were unpopular. I held the opinion that women must be allowed to make fun of each other and that caricature was wholesome. I remember .

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THE VERY EARLY DAYS.1 By RAY STRACHEY.

Many people nowadays think public meetings a bore. A groan escapes many a female mouth when another is announced, and it is quite common to hear people grumble and protest, even as they buy their tickets, saying "Why must there be another meeting?

It was not always so. There was a time, just over 100 years ago, when taking part in a meeting was a great adventure, and it is amusing to look back at those days. It was in 1818 that women for the first time took a real part in such a thing in this country, for that was the year that Samuel Bamford made the daring suggestion that his "female auditors" should put up their hands with the men when the resolution was put Samuel Bamford was one of the Reform Bill agitators, and he reports that "the women were mightily pleased with it, and, the men being nothing dissentient, when the resolution was put the women held up their hands amid much laughter." new idea was evidently popular among the reform circles, for in the same year, "An entirely novel and truly portentous circumstance" took place, in the formation of Female Reform societies in various parts of the country.

This shocking state of affairs came to the ears of the House of Lords, and the Peers of the Realm were terribly upset. Lord Castlereagh, speaking on the Seditious Meeting Bill in 1819, made a desperate effort to restrain them. "He trusted it would be sufficient to restrain women from such conduct in future, to let them know that when the French Republicans were carrying on their bloody orgies they could find no female to join them except by ransacking the bagnios or public brothels. He was happy that no female had attended any public meeting in the Metropolis. Such a drama would, he trusted, be put an end to by the innate decorum and the innate sense of modesty which the women of this country possessed, and which would purge the country of this disgrace.

In spite of his Lordship's hopes, his speech was not enough to restrain the woman's movement. The example of the Reformers spread in other directions, and the practice was "very judiciously no doubt, applied to the promotion of religious and charitable Later, when the Chartist agitation began, the thing spread even further. The original draft of the Charter actually contained a mention of female suffrage, though it was promptly struck out "as several members thought its adoption might retard the suffrage of men." Discussion of the matter did not altogether die down, however, and there was one young agitator, Henry Vincent, who made it a cardinal point of his propaganda. "With the fair sex," writes one of his co-labourers, his slight handsome figure, the merry twinkle of his eye, his incomparable mimicry, his passionate outbursts of enthusiasm, the rich music of his voice, and, above all, his appeals for the elevation of women, rendered him an universal favourite." The old Women's Reform Associations revived under his touch, and "the ladies appeared even more enthusiastic in their attachment to the great movement than the men." In the city of Bath the "female democrats were frequently in the habit of holding meetings. . . . As a proof of the amount of spirit which animated the ladies of that fashionable, beautiful and romantic city, it need but be mentioned that on its being known that Vincent was to honour them with a visit, they engaged the Hartshill Gardens, situate about a mile from the city, in which 4,000 of them assembled to give him welcome, while vast numbers were unable to gain admittance, every available spot being occupied. A somewhat amusing incident occurred it this female gathering. It had been agreed upon by the ladies that with the exception of the favoured Vincent not one of the masculine gender was to be admitted to witness the proceedings. It so happened, however, that notwithstanding this prohibition, a member of the rougher sex, with a curiosity which might have been excused in one of the gentle fair, by ensconsing himself in female attire, gained admission to the gardens. The trick was, however, speedily discovered, and almost as speedily communicated to the female army, who in the best possible humour buffetted the intruder from their presence This must have been about 1838, and the next year the women's

(Continued on page 40.)

1 The quotations in this article are from: Passages in the Life of a Radical, by Samuel Bamford; Life and Struggles of William Lovett in pursuit of Bread, Knowledge and Freedom, by Himself; Chartism, a new organization of the people, written in Warwick Gool by William Lovett, cabinet maker, and John Collins, toolmaker; Lord Castlereagh's speech is to be found in Hansard for 29th November, 1819.

AN ARMY WITH BANNERS.

Who that walked in the Great Procession of 1908 will ever forget it! The serried ranks of the women, come together from all parts of Britain, walking in their thousands, grave and orderly, in ranks six deep, up the strange great streets, bare before us, so crowded, as one glanced back from some slight elevation, with fluttering banners and bannerets, and the gay summer dresses of the marching women. "I have been in many large mass meetings," wrote "A Provincial Man" in *The Nation* "but I have never seen gathered together so great a number of intelligent faces as passed from the ranks into the Albert Hall. It was indeed a picked body of women, brought together by one tie and by the magnetism of character." 1

This was a Saturday procession; on Sunday and Monday we had a wonderful Press; and this, it must be admitted, was undoubtedly in part due to the decorations—appearing in London for the first time. The Artist Suffrage League, recently constituted, had been working eagerly for months on banners and bannerets for the procession—and as a new method of popularising our cause it had a quite surprising and immediate effect.

"The most striking feature of the procession was the beauty and endless variety of the banners, designed with great artistic taste, and made by the deft fingers of the Suffragists," wrote the *Daily Telegraph*.

The Times on Friday had advertised us beforehand, writing of the banners on view at the Caxton Hall:—

"The collection is worthy to rank as one of the art exhibitions of the year. Both in character and in quality the banners are something agreeably new to the eye that has kept watch over the methods of popular demonstration. They are almost too bright and good for agitation's daily food, with their velvet and satin and silk, the delicacy of their design and the richness of their embroidery. . . . The character of the banners may be gathered from the fact that the one dedicated to Elizabeth Fry bears a design showing the light breaking through the bars of a prison cell."—The Times.

From Scotland came a tribute :-

"The most remarkable feature of the procession was the great display of banners and bannerettes. It was said there were as many as 800 of them, and the designs and mottoes which they bore appeared to be almost as numerous. Many of them were effective works of art, and bore striking inscriptions."—The Scotsman.

And Liverpool was not behind in appreciation:

"It was remarked that the procession was characterized by a dignity and picturesqueness never before equalled by a London street demonstration. The beauty was certainly due in a large measure to the artistic excellence of the banners and bannerettes."—Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury.

On Sunday the tired demonstrators read with delight a cordial eulogy in the Sunday Times:—

"The new banners of the movement are wonderful. . . . Many of these emblems of woman's demand for liberty were exceedingly artistic, and put to shame those painfully gaudy devices which are used to emblazon the aims of fellowship merely masculine. . . As the procession moved away it presented a vista made up of wonderful colours, and it reminded one somehow of a picturesquely clad mediæval army, marching out with waving gonfalons to certain victory."

The Daily News next day had its paragraph of appreciation mentioning many individual banners:—

"What was noteworthy also was that the women brought beauty into the demonstration. . . . They brought it by their myriad banners, every one a work of art, so different from the tawdry symbols that have become the commonplace of men's processions. . . In succession came the women of East Anglia, assembled under the flag of St. Edmund that bore the characteristic motto, 'Non Angeli sed Angli'; . . . Haslemere, whence came a magnificent banner, woven by local weavers, the appropriate legend:—

'Weaving fair and weaving free England's web of destiny.'"

And the Westminster Gazette wrote with a like cordiality:—
"Nothing like them for artistic skill, elegance, and emblematic accuracy—to say nothing of their great number—

¹ About 15,000 women walked in the procession.

has ever been seen in a public demonstration of this kind before."—Westminster Gazette.

The Daily Express I quote as referring to the effect of the banners arranged in the Albert Hall:—

"Never had such banners been seen in the London streets. They were works of art. The Florence Nightingale banner which preceded the nurses, received the greatest notice. It bore the word 'Crimea,' and at the sight old soldiers saluted and bared their heads. Every great town in England, some in Scotland, and a few in Ireland, had its banner. . . They were a picture in the Albert Hall when they were ranged artistically round the platform, a striking background to the speakers and leaders of the movement."—The Daily Express.

The possession of all these banners was a great boon to us decorators in the future, when the great halls had to be made beautiful for one of our occasions.

The Albert Hall is indeed an intimidating place, with its mighty spaces and intricacies of construction; yet a method for beautifying it without too much expenditure of time, money and mental strain was devised.

You sit down on the studio floor with a large plan to scale of the Albert Hall before you; and in a box at your side are small sketches of all the Artist League banners, with sizes marked on them, and scraps of silk or velvet or cloth of the colours and textures used, pinned to the sketches. As to colour and size everything, with due deliberation, can be arranged in miniature

On the eventful day all things needed are carted down to the Hall in the early morning, and the various workers spread about among the different galleries and boxes and points of vantage, including, of course, the platform. To each of these stations the objects destined for them are first conveyed; then, standing in the middle of the Hall, the organizer or organizers, with the plan spread out, watches the placing and hanging of all banners and devices: calling out to those above directions as needed for the lowering, raising or alteration if necessary of the objects placed in situ.

It makes a hard day's work; but you know what you are doing. It is everything to have the banners that you remember all about as the basis of the whole decoration.

Later on shields and emblems of various descriptions were added to our stock of decorating materials, and could be counted on beforehand in the matter of colour and form when decorative schemes were to be devised.

"Lift ye up a Banner on the high Mountains. It helps unity, and strength is in its wake." M. LOWNDES.

THE VERY EARLY DAYS.

societies actually sent delegates to the annual radical conference. But soon after this the whole Chartist agitation died away, and with it most of the Female Associations. The one in Sheffield seems to have lived longest, and in 1851 it adopted a resolution or petition in favour of female suffrage, which was presented in the House of Lords by the Earl of Carlisle.

As the Chartist agitation died down, that for the Repeal of the Corn Laws grew up, and in this great movement the attendance of women at meetings, at bazaars, and at functions was taken almost as a matter of course. And with that movement the course of politics in this country became fixed. The success of this unofficial organization, and the demonstration of the fact that public opinion must be attended to, settled the institution of public meetings upon the life of the country; and from that date to this there has been nothing but a development and extension of their use.

It is unavailing, therefore, for women to grumble at public meetings; they should rather regard them as a public duty, the permission to fulfil which was won in the dark ages of the woman's movement. And they ought really to be thankful for the privilege. Whether they are is another matter.

A LECTURE will be given by MR. JOHN BUCHAN (Subject: "The Pen of a ready writer")

18 CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE, S.W. 1

(by kind permission of Lady Violet Astor).

On Thursday, 11th March, at 5 p.m.

In aid of the Holiday Home, North St. Pancras School for Mothers.

TICKETS, £1 1s., 10/6 and 5/-, to be obtained from Countess Grey, 9 Chester Terrace, Regents Park, N.W. I, and Mrs. H. B. Gair, 110 Goldhurst Terrace, N.W. 6.

"SONDRY FOLKE IN FELLAWESCHIP AND PILGRIMES WERE THEY ALLE."

So sang Geoffrey Chaucer several hundred years ago, and so sings the heart of every right-minded person when they hear anything about pilgrims and pilgrimages. John Bunyan sang about them; there is the joyful hymn, "I'll be a pilgrim," and in our youth some of us were not above shouting that other hymn, "Oh happy band of pilgrims," and thinking (whatever Dr. Percy Dearmer and his critical taste tells us now) that it was indeed a be-au-ti-ful hymn. Why this is so would make a long story.

But, one thing is sure, the Woman Suffrage Pilgrimage organized by the National Union of Societies for Woman Suffrage in the summer of 1913 was wonderful. "No effort made by the Union has ever justified itself more triumphantly," such was the opinion expressed in regard to it by one well fitted to be a judge.

In the hey-day of the movement I remember being at a mass meeting in the Albert Hall at which Dr. Anna Shaw, of America, was a speaker. She spoke with eloquence, but I remember only one sentence of what she said, it was this: "The question which will be asked in the future about the suffrage movement will not be when and where was the victory, but how did they fight?" question is a searching one for any movement. Yet, in spite of failings and mistakes, few would deny that the women of the woman's movement have no cause to be wholly ashamed. Solidarity, loyalty, courage, selfless devotion, a readiness to meet all sorts and conditions of men and women, friends or enemies, a joyousness, a sense of the greatness and the littleness of it all, such as these are some of the qualities that characterized leaders and rank and file alike. And in nothing were such qualities as these more fully displayed than in the Suffrage Pilgrimage. For it was not all quite easy. People were more conventional then, and less fond of the open air. One Suffrage Committee actually dissolved itself in sheer funk when it heard the pilgrims were approaching its town, and there was sufficient organized and unorganized anti-suffrage opposition to create dangerous rioting at some points of the routes. But the response of the good hearted "common people," the vast majority, made it all a thousand times worth while.

Let readers of the Woman's Leader turn up the 1913 volume of its ancestor, The Common Cause, and read, and look at the pictures, and their hearts will burn within them. Here are just a few sample extracts: "Four generations of the Bright family took part in the Pilgrimage. John Bright's great-grandsons took a collection of 12s. between them Stirling walked nearly the whole way from Cornwall, and addressed innumerable meetings all the way along the route and Mrs. Ramsay walked the entire distance from Lands End [and what a reception she got from the crowd in Hyde Park!]. Here is a word about finance: "Each column of pilgrims collected daily at their open-air meetings, many of them as much as £3 or £4 a day, and it must be remembered that the crowds attending these open-air meetings consisted for the most part of members of the working classes The fund collected is now over £8,325, and the daily post is still bringing us belated donations." Then what was thought in foreign lands: "A Spanish paper, commenting on the Pilgrimage, informs its readers that 50,000 non-militant suffragists have arrived in London, availing themselves of every means of transport. It states that some came on foot, others in boats, automobiles, and trains, others by swimming, some in a balloon, and two in an aeroplane." This excerpt is quoted with particular satisfaction, as there is a rooted idea in some minds that all pilgrims go on their feet. It is true that many young and some old do so, but not all. Did Chaucer's elegant Prioress walk? Not a bit of it, she went on the dearest little palfrey imaginable. Not many, it must be admitted, swim, but even that method must not be ruled out as a possibility this year. My readers will exclaim, What does this mean? What has this year to do with it? And now the cat is getting out of its bag. everything to do with it. For this year the record established in 1913 of what women can do in a great cause is going to be broken. This year nearly all the leading women's organizations with the League of Nations Union, the Youth Movement, and other "mixed" bodies co-operating, have resolved to "pilgrim" (if that is the right verb) in support of arbitration, security (true security) and disarmament. This year's Pilgrimage is to be called the Peacemaker's Pilgrimage, and it is to carry the message of "the world," as Miss Royden has expressed it, "the world a household not a barracks." Already a General Council of all co-operating bodies has been formed in London, and a strong working committee appointed, for there is no time to lose, as May, when the distant route marchers start, will soon be upon us. Already leading women of all parties have expressed their sympathy, Miss Maude Royden, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Lady Balfour of Burleigh, Mrs. Francis Acland, Miss Margaret Bondfield are just a few names which spring to the mind. The N.U.S.E.C., the N.C.W., the B.W.T.A., the Women's Co-operative Guild, etc., are all to help, the full list is too long to print here. Suffice it to say that particulars may be obtained from the Pilgrimage Secretary, 55 Gower Street, W.C. 1.

Now that the cat's head has appeared, a word or two more about what was done in 1913 will have an added interest. Here is something about St. Paul's. "Over a thousand pilgrims attended the service in St. Paul's on Sunday afternoon, when the Rev. Canon Simpson [now President of the League of the Church Militant] preached His message to the pilgrims was one of hope. He reminded them that success was not the standard by which work should be measured, and warned them that spiritual depression must be endured by all who had the courage to fight the old opinions of the world." And here a word about critics. "So many letters have reached us from those who disliked the idea of the Pilgrimage at first and were converted to enthusiastic admiration as time went on, that we can only briefly record having received them." Then a few lines about the routes: "At Cromer, on the morning of the 11th, the Pilgrims started on the Eastern Counties central route. The day was perfect for the enterprise. A thick sea mist rolled away and left the sun shining upon us as we planted our banner upon the cliff. An audience of about 200 gathered about in groups and listened with quiet attention." So much for Cromer. Here is the Great North Road. "The Great North Road Pilgrims will be the envy of all the other contingents. Our President has joined them, and is now on the road. We believe she outmarched many more youthful pilgrims, for she is a famous walker. But more precious to all will be the spirit inspired by her presence; and the most timid, the most laggard soul, will surely wish now to come forward and share the honour of walking

Of the grand finale in Hyde Park it is impossible to write more than that "each of the nineteen platforms had as large a crowd as the voices of the speakers could reach."

To close, what can be better than the words of Miss Maude

To close, what can be better than the words of Miss Maude Royden, then editor of *The Common Cause*, and a pilgrim? "The Pilgrimage is over, but its spirit lives on. We are all pilgrims now whether we have been on the road or not. We have dedicated ourselves to the service of humanity Some day men and women, working side by side in the full consciousness of their great responsibility will be able to give to the citizens of the future a fairer world to live in. But we cannot then give back what we have taken from those who suffer now. They had only one life, and we took that. We also have only one life. Let us give it."

A. H. W

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WOMEN AND WITCHES.1

The key to "Lolly Willowes" seems to be in a passage near the end describing the lives of women :-

When I think of witches, I seem to see all over England, all over "When I think of witches, I seem to see all over England, all over Europe, women living and growing old, as common as blackberries and as unregarded. I see them wives and sisters of respectable men, chapel members, and blacksmiths, and small farmers and Puritans. In places like Bedfordshire, the sort of country one sees from the train. You know. Well, there they are, child-rearing, housekeeping, hanging washed dishcloths on currant bushes; and for diversion each other's silly conversation, and listening to men talking together in the way that men talk and women listen. Quite different to the way women talk and men listen, if they listen at all, and all the time being thrust further down into dullness when the one thing all women hate is to be talk and men listen, if they listen at all, and all the time being thrust further down into dullness when the one thing all women hate is to be thought dull. . . It sounds very petty to complain about, but I tell you that sort of thing settles down on one like fine dust, and by and by the dust is age settling down. Settling down! . . . There is a dreadful, dreary kind of immortality about being settled down by one day after another. And they think how they were young once, and they see new young women, just like what they were, and yet as surprising as if it had never happened before, like trees in the spring. But they are like trees towards the end of summer, heavy and dusty, and nobody finds their leaves surprising or notices them till they fall off. If they could be passive and unnoticed it wouldn't matter. But they must be active and still not noticed. Doing, doing, doing, till mere habit scolds at them, like a housewife, and rouses them up—when they might sit in their doorways and think—to be doing still."

The early part of the book is the story of a daughter of an

The early part of the book is the story of a daughter of an old Conservative country family, from 1874 to 1920. For twentyeight years Laura Willowes lived very comfortably at home had nurses and governesses, and well-trained servants to look after her, kept house for her father when her mother died, and knew neither strong feelings, deep conviction, hard work, nor any physical discomfort. On her father's death she went to live with her married brother and his family in London. There her life was much the same, except that she was not quite so important to anyone as she had been to her father. She was Aunt Lolly" to a number of young people, who rather liked her. All her relations were kind, they were also well off. They led regular, ordered, comfortable lives, and dear Lolly was quite a help! Once there was a chance that she might marry, but she disconcerted her prétendent by an odd remark about werewolves.

This remark introduces the latter part of the book. So far it has differed from other stories of frustrated women's lives, only by the surety of its description and the purity of its style. The last part of the book, in which Laura breaks away from her relations, and goes to live in lodgings in a Buckinghamshire village, is different.

It is possible to take it in two ways: the way in which it appeared to Laura, and the way in which the reader suspects that it may have appeared to her friends. It is told entirely from her point of view, and it is only by subtle indications that the reader is led to guess that another view is possible. Seeing through Laura's eyes it appears that the village in the beech woods was a haunt of witches, and that Laura nearly became a witch. It is possible that this is what the author intends us to believe. But I cannot help suspecting that what we have before us is really a very acute and sympathetic description of the oncoming of insanity; the kind of insanity that attacks people who have had nothing in their lives. Be this as it may, the story of Laura's mind is delicately and tenderly told, and not only she herself but all those who surrounded her are presented with a vividness which has no element of caricature. From the young and modern Titus, who came to Great Mop to write his life of Fuseli, but perhaps also to look after "Aunt Lollie," to the kitten, whom she took as an emissary of Satan but received with characteristic kindness, they are all both real and attractive. The description of the village and itself, and the way in which the atmosphere of that particular bit of countryside is conveyed are so good that for those alone it would be worth reading the book. But it has several aspects, and whether it is taken as a psychological study of an individual, as a contribution to the study of witches, as an essay on the woman question, or as a finely written story, it certainly should I. B. O'MALLEY.

(Continued from next column.)

might be that their daughters themselves were prosecuted in their turn. It is far better to deal with children up to the age of 16 under the provisions of their own Act, and certain provisions of the Children's Act could well be extended to enable magistrates to deal with boys and girls who are beyond control or lacking

OFFENCES AGAINST YOUNG PERSONS. By C. D. RACKHAM.

FEBRUARY 26, 1926.

A review of the report of the Departmental Committee dealing with this subject has already appeared in the Woman's Leader, but the points raised in the report are so many that no apology is needed for returning to the subject. A section which was hardly touched upon in the review is that relating to the welfare of young persons, and a few observations on this may be of interest to magistrates and others.

A child who has been the victim of a sexual offence needs to be not only sympathetically but also wisely handled. The effect of the assault will vary very much in different cases. Some children will display all the symptoms of a severe nervous shock; others again may not have suffered from either fear or disgust, and the recollection of what has happened will quickly fade. With girls in their early teens passions may have been prematurely aroused and much moral harm may ensue. It is obvious that home conditions will vary as much as the children; in some cases a member of the household has been the offender; in others a most carefully guarded child may have been attacked while at play in a park or quiet street. It is quite impossible to lay down any general rule as to what ought to be done in the best interests of these children, and one cannot deprecate too strongly any assumption that a child should necessarily be "sent to a home" because it has had an unhappy experience of this kind. To quote the Report, "we have heard of some instances in which children, who had good homes of their own, have been sent away to a special institution for many years because the parents have been induced to believe that such action is necessary where a sexual offence has been committed against a child." Of course there are cases in which a child's own home is not a safe place for it, and it must be removed, but there are grave drawbacks to the "special institution" set apart for these cases, except perhaps for the first few months. Such segregation creates its own difficulties, and the children so treated are without the stimulus they most need, i.e. the bracing and healthy companionship of normal children. Boarding-out may be the best plan in some cases, and an ordinary home or institution in others.

The Report urges more than once that magistrates, probation officers, and social workers should take more pains to ensure that the home to which a child or girl is sent is really a suitable one. It is often assumed that a home must provide a good environment, though it may as a matter of fact contain such a mixture of cases as to render it a very dangerous place for an innocent-minded girl. Again, in many Rescue Homes there is no systematic education, the training is confined to domestic work, for which some girls have no taste, and the supervision is so constant that at the end of her training a girl may have lost her initiative and power to stand on her own feet. A uniform stay of two years is often insisted upon for all girls however much they may differ in progress and temperament. The Report points out that some homes are far more up to date and enlightened in their methods, but it is urged that where a girl is sent to a home under a probation order the period should never exceed six months without careful review by the Court. A girl who has done well in a home for a few months should preferably be transferred to a working girls' hostel, where she could earn her own living under more natural conditions while still continuing under some supervision.

A good many changes in the law are advocated in the interests of child welfare, largely in the shape of amendments to the Children Act. They are chiefly in the direction of facilitating the protection of children who are without proper guardianship, or living in moral danger, or whose father has been convicted of a sexual offence against them. It is impossible to discuss these changes in detail here, and those interested in them are urged to study the Report itself. One subject of particular interest is that of the girl between 14 and 16, "who has begun to lead an undisciplined life and has defied every good influence brought to bear upon her." Some witnesses were of the opinion that there is an increase in the number of such girls, and drastic measures of dealing with them were suggested. It was thought that where a girl could be proved to have incited an offence against herself she should be charged with "aiding and abetting." The Committee, however, came to the conclusion that such a provision (besides other grave objections) would render it more difficult to get cases of defilement of girls between 14 and 16 brought into Court. Parents would not be likely to report to

the police offences committed against their girls if the result (Continued at foot of previous column.)

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REPORT OF ANNUAL COUNCIL MEETINGS.

A report of the Annual Council Meetings containing a list of resolutions passed or lost will be sent to Societies on Friday, 5th March, and a fuller account will be published in THE Woman's Leader next week.

NEWS FROM SOCIETIES.

KENSINGTON AND PADDINGTON SOCIETY FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

The annual general meeting of the K. & P.S.E.C. was held on Friday, 5th February, at 76 Campden Hill Road, by the kind permission of Mrs. Gooch. After the business meeting (presided over by Mrs. Houston, during which Lady Balfour of Burleigh was unanimously re-elected president). Mice Wilder West and the State of Burleigh was unanimously re-elected President), Miss Helen Ward, who received a very warm welcome, gave a most interesting address on Equal Franchise. The meeting was well attended, and after an animated discussion, a resolution was passed urging the Government to give the vote to women on the same terms as granted

CARDIEF W.C.A.

A visit to the demonstration houses on one of the Corporation housing sites took place on the afternoon of 5th February, and following that visit, Alderman A. J. Howell gave an address on "Housing," on 8th February. Miss Pethybridge (President of the Association and ex-Lady Mayoress) presided. Alderman Howell pointed out that to relieve the housing shortage the Corporation had built nearly 2,300 houses, and urged the erection of flats for those people who would not be desirable tenants for the housing estates. A social hour followed the lecture, during which Mrs. J. T. Richards, J.P., welcomed Lady Davies back after her recent world tour. In reply Lady Davies gave a delightful informal talk on her

On Friday, 29th January, a very keen little audience listened with great interest to Mrs. Corbett Ashby as she spoke so ably and comprehensively of the work of the I.W.S.A., reviewing and comparing the status of women in most of those twenty-nine countries which have granted either full, or some measure of political enfranchisement to women. The work and position of women on the committees of the League of Nations, and of the International Labour Office were commented upon, and the great field of opportunities these offered for women's abilities noted. Many questions

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COMING EVENTS.

ELECTRICAL ASSOCIATION FOR WOMEN.

Visit to Ideal Home Exhibition, Olympia

LONDON SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SERVICE.

MAR 2. 5,30 p.m. 35 Marsham Street, S.W. 1. Miss Chave Collisson, M.A., on "The British Commonwealth League Conference, London, June, 1926."

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

ANNUAL COUNCIL MEETING. Last two days, FEB, 26 and 27. At King George's Hall, Y.W.C.A., Tottenham Court Road, W.C. Session: Friday, 10 a.m.—12.45 p.m. and 2 p.m.—4.30 p.m.; Saturday, 10 a.m.—1 p.m.

MASS MEETING ON EQUIAL FRANCHISE. FEB. 20. 8 p.m. Central Hall, Westminster. Speakers: Dame Millicent Fawcett, G.B.E., Miss Maude Royden, Viscountess Astor, M.P., Miss Ellen Wilkinson, M.P., Madame Malaterre-Sellier. Chair: Miss Eleanor Rathbone, J.P.

Edinburgh W.C.A. MAR. 2. 5.15 p.m. Study Circle at 27 Rutland Street. Meeting of Members to discuss Papers and frame Resolutions.

MAR. 11. 3 p.m. Public Meeting at Gartshore Hall, 116 George Street. Mrs. William Fyfe on "The Community and the Child."

West Bromwich S.E.C. MAR. 1. 8 p.m. Meeting at Carnegie Library. Speaker: Miss Eleanor Rathbone. Chair: Mr. R. R. Yates.

SIX POINT GROUP.

MAR. 1. 5 p.m. 92 Victoria Street, S.W. 1. Mrs. H. M. Swanwick on "Civilized International Relations."

WOMEN'S ENGINEERING SOCIETY.

MAR. 12. 6.30 p.m. 26 George Street, Hanover Square, W. Lecture by Mrs. Shaw Scott, B.Sc., on "Women's Contribution to Metallurgy."

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FELLOWSHIP SERVICES, Guildhouse, Eccleston Square, S.W. 1. Sunday, 28th February; 3.30, Music, Professor Julian S. Huxley on "Birth Control." 6.30, Maude Royden on "Vocation."

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