THE

WOMAN'S LEADER

AND THE COMMON CAUSE

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CONTENTS.	PAGE
WOMEN AND THE CHURCH	79
THE MODERN ADULT EDUCATION MOVEMENT.	
By Basil A. Yeaxlee	
WESTERN WOMEN IN CHINA	80
JOSEPHINE BUTLER. By Dr. Jane Walker .	81
LOCAL GOVERNMENT NEWS. By Bertha Mason.	82
A LETTER FROM DAME MILLICENT	82

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NOTES AND NEWS.

After the Recess.-Franchise; Edinburgh Corporation

The Franchise Bill will be considered in a committee of the whole House on Wednesday, 18th April. In addition to amendments to which we have referred previously in these columns, an amendment has been put down providing that the minimum voting age for both sexes should be fixed at 25 years. The Edinburgh Corporation Bill has been given 19th April for a second reading debate. It will be interesting to have its principles debated, but as the Government is opposed, its chances of being carried are virtually nil.

The Edinburgh Corporation have decided to press for a second reading debate on their Bill dealing with the compulsory notification of venereal disease in spite of the fact that the Government intends to put on the whips against the second reading. This is an unusual proceeding, but is not without precedent in the history of Corporation Bills in Parliament. The Local Government Journal points out that the decision of the Corporation is a mere gesture of indication, for the fate of the Bill is sealed. But a debate is something more than a gesture if it enables Members of Parliament, and through *Hansard* and the Press the public, to hear the case on both sides. It may convince the Corporation that the thwarting of their measure is due not to "English interference" but to a convinced and well informed opposition from those who have studied the subject

National Health Insurance Bill.

The full report of the debate on this Bill reached us too late for last week's issue. A striking point was the way in which speaker after speaker from all sides of the House deplored the fact that no provision had been made for an improved maternity service. Several of the Labour speakers deprecated also the omission of the other points we strongly feel should have been included in any big amending Bill—points all of which were among the recommendations of the Report of the Royal Commission on National Health Insurance—such as the making statutory benefits to give dependents' allowances and medical benefits to wives and children of insured men. Dr. Drummond Shiels advocated also the grading of benefits and contributions according to earnings.

The Health of the People.

Parliamentary criticism during the second reading of the National Health Insurance Amendment Bill was identical with the criticism we made on its introduction, viz. that the Bill is "such a little one"—good as far as it goes, but not going anything

like far enough. What need to set the mountain of a Royal Commission in labour, if only to issue in this legislative mouse. Of course, the Royal Commission is not to blame. Even its majority report, though obviously produced in fear of the miratory fingers of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and recom-mending therefore no extensions involving "substantial mending therefore no extensions involving "substantial additional expenditure," contemplates as possible out of existing financial resources the extension of medical treatment to include specialist advice and a modest dependent's allowance. But the overnment stands in awe not only of its own Chancellor, but also of the voting power of the Approved Societies. Hence it has lacked courage to grasp the thorny subject of the "partial pooling of surpluses"—the device by which the Commission hoped to provide the funds for these two extensions, the former described by it as "urgently desirable," and the latter as "very desirable." In view of its political complexion and advanced age, it would perhaps have been vain to hope for a really big measure of health insurance from the present Parliament. But the present bantling disappoints even reasonable expectations. The approaching deputation from the N.U.S.E.C. to the Minister of Health will be able to express to him something of what women feel about "economy" in the health services. Probably they will be speaking to the converted, so far as that Minister and his officials are concerned. But it will be left, we fear, to the next Parliament, representing as it will several additional millions of actual and potential mothers, to secure for themselves and for the rising generation a real share in a really national scheme of health

Dangerous Occupations.

The national campaign against maternal mortality continues to focus medical interest, and the latest move in its grand offensive is the forcible letter in The Times of 3rd April, bearing the signatures of twenty-three eminent medical men and women, emphasizing the necessity for further research into the causes of puerperal fever, which is, of course, the largest single item in the maternal mortality figures. Much of this research must, they point out, involve laboratory work, and the close co-operation between clinical medicine, bio-chemistry, and bacteriology. And this of course needs money—additional money to that already required for the adequate provision of maternity beds in hospitals. With such a plea all persons interested in the attempt to cope with this unnecessary blot upon our civilization will be in hearty sympathy. We would, however, venture to lay coincident stress upon a demand which the above-mentioned signatories somewhat decry: that all maternal deaths shall be made the subject of special investigation by the local health authorities. From the medical point of view this may be, as they suggest, "unlikely to offer any solution of the problem." From the administrative and political point of view, however, it may prove of incalculable value in continuously stressing the existence of the problem. We have always, in this particular connection, been tempted to recall the nineteenth century history of another dangerous occupation: coal mining. The series of inquiries held into all fatal accidents underground, and the endless importunity of the miners' representatives in Parliament in making such occurrences the subject of question and debate, were largely responsible for creating a favourable background of public opinion impatient for safety legislation. The growing volume of such legislation embodied in successive coal mines acts, and the readiness of the mining industry to face its technical and administrative exactions were a tribute to the method of propaganda above mentioned. The medical profession like the engineering profession is capable within very elastic limits of providing what the public wants. We must leave no stone unturned to convince public opinion that it wants a steep decline of the maternal mortality rate.

APRIL 13, 1928.

An Advisory Committee for Probation Problems.

The Home Secretary has decided to reconstitute an Advisory Committee to assist him in the development of the probation system in England and Wales, and to advise him in the administration of the Probation of Offenders Act, 1907. There are two women members, Mrs. Barrow Cadbury and Mrs. Hensley, who is herself a probation officer at Stockton-on-Tees. This Committee will also consider the after care of girls and boys leaving Home Office schools and Borstal institutions. This, we think, is a good move. There are already indications that the muchhailed extension of probation work, brought about by the Criminal Justice Act, 1925, has not yet at all events fulfilled the hopes which social workers built on it. Various difficulties, some of which have been discussed in these columns, have revealed themselves and the new committee is exactly the right place for their full consideration and solution.

Offices

On 20th March Miss Ellen Wilkinson reintroduced the Offices Regulation Bill, and secured for it a formal first reading. The Bill attempts to secure for office workers some medium of legislative protection on the lines of the existing Factory Acts relating to industry. At present, of course, in the matter of hours, ventilation, heating, and sanitation, office life is wholly unregulated and in many cases excessively uncomfortable and unhealthy. It is true that in the matter of heat, noise, dust, and danger the life of the office even at its worst does not approximate to the life of industry at its worst. Nevertheless, an office at its worst, dark, dusty, tedious, unventilated, perhaps underground, is infinitely worse than a factory at its best, and among those who know the life of the office intimately from firsthand evidence, the Bill finds keen supporters. Mrs. Hoster, well known as a trainer of office workers, is a keen supporter of legislative regulation. And the Civil Service Confederation, during the period of its affiliation to the National Federation of Professional Workers, played a prominent part in the champion-ship of an Offices Regulation Bill. The Government departments themselves, it would seem, are not without reproach in the matter of office accommodation. There seems, however, little prospect that the Government will afford facilities for the further progress of Miss Wilkinson's Bill.

Women as News.

Miss Winifred Holtby, in an address recently to the Hull Women's Luncheon Club, complained that the Press was too apt to reflect the frivolous and the ephemeral when dealing with women's life. Women, she said, were still "news in themselves." Almost contemporaneously her complaints have been adequately illustrated by the results of a competition instituted by the Paris Quotidien for the arrangement of a list of sixty-one famous women submitted to its readers. Some of the women on the Quotidien's list really are famous by reason of their works. One cannot complain of the presence of Mme Curie, Sarah Bernhardt, and Georges Sand, nor of the fact that the Quotidien's readers voted them high places. But what of Suzanne Lenglen and Ruth Elder in the ninth and tenth places respectively? They are women, and thanks to our modern methods of wide and rapid communications, their names are familiar to the civilized world. They are women, and people have heard about them; they are, therefore, famous women. How long oh Lord! How long!

Should Men be Sailors.

An Easter vacation affords opportunity for frivolous and indeterminate speculation, and the particular Easter vacation which has now drawn to a close has been enlivened by the intriguing thought of what the Press would have said had women been the protagonists of the recent deplorable controversy on board H.M.S. Royal Oak. We are inclined to believe that all women in all women's occupations and in political life would have felt the reverberations of the episode, which would have been hailed throughout the Press as an essential and typical manifestation of feline amenities resulting from the presence of women in spheres for which their capacities by nature and training were unsuitable. Well—we are not prepared to revisit upon men the treatment which for generations they have meted out to us. Nor do we share their reliance upon sex generalizations drawn from peculiar cases. We are not prepared to suggest that in future all men should be debarred from entry to the senior service, nor do we recommend any narrowing of the male franchise on the ground that men are a highly temperamental sex.

Miss Maxse.

Coming events cast their shadows before, and the coming accession to the franchise of a large new section of women voters has already reflected itself in the advancing status of women in the Conservative Party. Last week an important step forward was taken with the appointment of Miss Maxse, who for some years has been chief administrator of the women's organizations, to the post of deputy principal agent of the party. Thus she becomes, together with Mr. Davidson and Mr. Robert Tapping, one of the three active heads of the largest political party in the country. It may be added that the post which Miss Maxse now fills is a new one, created to express the growing importance of women in the party structure. For our part, we hail the new move as in general an important pioneer development in the political advancement of women. But in addition we hail it in particular as a step which bestows new power and prestige upon a woman who has done much, within the ranks of her own party, to kindle the energies and ambitions of her own sex. Miss Maxse has been a staunch friend to the cause for which we stand.

A Woman Teachers' Representative as Parliamentary Candidate.

Miss E. R. Conway, C.B.E., M.A., of Liverpool, chairman of the Parliamentary and Superannuation Committee of the National Union of Teachers, has been chosen by the Executive Committee as the woman candidate for a seat in the House of Commons. Miss Conway was president of the Union in 1918, and now gives all her time to public work and the Parliamentary work of the Union. We believe that she is a Conservative in politics, which undoubtedly makes the chance of her success more probable. Her long experience of teaching and of administration cannot fail to bring freshness and personal contact to Parliamentary debates on subjects connected with the educational system of the country, and we hope she will be one of the greatly augmented group of women who will take their places in Parliament after the next General Election.

A New Woman Candidate.

The North Kensington Liberal Association at a meeting held on 30th March, decided unanimously to adopt Lady Stewart as prospective Liberal candidate for the next General Election. Lady Stewart is an active Liberal, the moving spirit of the Liberal Women's Club, and the mother of seven children. She has a hard fight before her, as the seat was not contested by a Liberal at the last General Election, and Kensington is a recognized Conservative stronghold. Whether feminism, as we understand it, is part of the faith which she brings to the prosecution of her task, we do not yet know.

Linlithgow

Miss Kidd, who fought a sporting fight at Linlithgow, has been beaten by a tangle of circumstances. We do not think that her sex was one of them. The division of the anti-Labour vote, and the unpopularity of the present Government in a mining constituency were perhaps her most formidable obstacles. Miss Kidd is a very young candidate and a very keen candidate. Therefore she will live to fight again. But before she does we venture to hope that she may add to her valuable legal training a more adequate knowledge of applied economics. She is reported to have said in reply to a question that the present plight of the coal industry is attributable to Socialist interference with industry. But perhaps in the heat of the campaign she has been misreported? The capitalist Mining Association itself would hardly assent to such a statement.

New Women's Club.

The foundation stone of a new women's club, erected by the United Women's Homes Association, was laid by the Mayor of Westminster recently. The Association, which has during the last few years carried out a number of schemes, including the erection of flats in Hammersmith, Hendon, Acton, etc., caters especially for single women, and is a self-supporting, co-operative organization, which was started without a penny, and now has 4,000 members, of whom Lady Emmott is President. The establishment was mainly due to Mr. Alban Gordon, Chairman of the United Women's Insurance Society. We wish this admirable Association all possible success in its fine pioneer work.

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 woman'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.

WOMEN AND THE CHURCH.

Josephine Butler, whose centenary we celebrate this year, was a lover of the outcast, Francis of Assisi, whose tercentenary we celebrated last year, loved not only his fellow men, but the sun, the wind, the water. Elizabeth Fry loved the prisoner, Ignatius Loyola loved his ideal of education for the child, Mary Slesser loved the heathen, Wilberforce loved the slave, so did the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*; General Booth was a lover of the poor and Mrs. Booth was a lover of the poor. The Rev. Mr. Simpkinson is a successful temperance reformer. Miss Robinson is the able superintendent of the Sunday School and the confidante of every anxious mother in the district. These facts set out in a list seem so self-evident that it may be asked, why take up space by relating them? It is because the facts which are common things of daily occurrence are just those facts of which a certain type of mind remains for ever "invincibly ignorant." The few facts chosen above out of thousands go to prove just one great fact, which is that men and women alike have taken their share in the evangelizing, by deed or by word, of the world. Yet by reason of the survival of ancient evil taboos, deriving from a long dead paganism, official sanction of the ministry of women is still denied throughout the greater part of Christendom, as well as in the non-Christian communities. We are not dealing here with ecclesiastical systems outside Christianity, for this country pays homage, so far as it pays it to any religion, to the Christian religion. The teaching and the practice of Christ recognized human beings with duties to their Creator and their neighbours, but these duties were common to both sexes. Milton's "He for God; she for God in him," lacks any sanction from the Founder of the religion Milton professed. It is interesting to note that on the occasion of the second reading of the Franchise Bill, Mr. Garvin, of the Observer, gave up his stately editorial page, in all its panoply, to a blessing upon the deed. Yet it is but a few years ago that Mr. Garvin was to be ranked among the anti-suffragists. It is easy to sneer at such changes of front, but it is most uncommonly foolish. It is a quality of greatness to be able to grow, and yourself to "broaden out from precedent to precedent." There are some people of genius who learn easily the lessons the ever changing

flow of history has to teach them. Of such in the ecclesiastical sphere is Canon Raven. Dean Inge learns less quickly, but he also learns. Yet, in the main, the ecclesiastical system of this country, with its male leaders and its female followers, remains enmeshed in the bonds of a tradition which is a denial of some of the fundamental truths taught by the Founder of the religion upon which it claims to base itself.

The political status of woman is established. In regard to her economic status many a hard fight has still be to fought. But human society derives its significance not from politics alone, nor even from economics, its very foundation depends also upon the doctor and the priest. The action of certain hospitals in closing their medical schools to women has come as a wholesome shock to those who have too glibly assumed that the granting of the Parliamentary franchise is an outward visible sign of inward grace, that it is in fact a symbol of the complete enfranchisement of women in all spheres. Nothing could be more dangerously untrue. To-day, while organized religion seems to decline, there is a tremendous revolution taking place, and a marvellous revival of interest in spiritual realities. In the old days the priest and the witch doctor told the people what to do and what to avoid on pain of supernatural penalties. To-day there is the physiologist and the public health authority penetrating into the most secret places of the home, while men like Dr. Schweitzer, Dr. Greenfield, or like Mr. Shepherd are re-interpreting the message of Christ in language "understanded of the people." And while all this is going on, so full of almost infinite possibilities for humanity, we are told that young men do not want to enter the ministry and that young women must not! The minister of religion joining hands with the doctor and the psychologist has the future with him. But only if it is not he alone. It is men and women together, be it as priests ("the lovers of souls") or doctors or psychologists who have a chance to build Jerusalem, but neither sex can do it alone. The admission of women to full status in the sphere of religion and of medicine are twin reforms having a most special significance in this second quarter of the twentieth

THE MODERN ADULT EDUCATION MOVEMENT: HOW IT BEGAN IN ENGLAND. By BASIL A. YEAXLEE.

It surprises most people to learn that adult education in England began before the elementary school system. But the first Adult School was founded at the end of the eighteenth century, whereas Bell and Lancaster did not start their campaign for "National" and "British" schools till the nineteenth had dawned. Many schemes for the diffusion of knowledge among men and women (more particularly of the working classes) were launched between 1812 and 1903 and most, after making considerable headway, declined. The pioneer of the twentieth century movement was Albert Mansbridge who, while an enthusiastic advocate of educational work among Co-operative Societies and a keen University Extension student, saw where both were weak. He perceived that while the best teachers that the Universities could provide were needed, adult students must do the work of propaganda and organization themselves if their interest was to be awakened and made vigorously creative.

The note thus struck has remained dominant in all the varied and extensive developments of adult education witnessed by our own generation. F. D. Maurice anticipated it when in 1854 he founded the still flourishing London Working Men's College, but he created an institution not a movement, and he based it upon the co-operation of individual university men and artisans. Albert Mansbridge, now honoured with the degrees of Master of Arts by Oxford, and Doctor of Laws by Manchester, Cambridge and Pittsburg, was himself a clerical worker, and knew that wage-earning folk are reached most readily through the organizations which they have fashioned as instruments for the attainment of more satisfactory conditions in their work and their social life. So he planned his new venture on the principle of joint effort by the Universities and organized Labour. Moreover, while possessed of a passionate faith in the desire of working people for an education which is no mere bread-and-butter business but essentially a thing of the spirit, he saw also that it would appeal to them only if it began with their special problems and aspirations

In 1903, therefore, he and his wife became the foundation members of the Association to promote Higher Education of Working Men. Effective approaches were made to sympathetic

and influential people at Oxford and in the Trade Union and Co-operative movements. Conferences were held, the most notable being between representatives of the working-class bodies and representatives of the University of Oxford in 1906, when the University was asked to appoint seven of its members to meet an equal number from the other side and go fully into the whole question. The Committee was set up and in 1909 produced the now historic report on Oxford and the Education of the Working Classes. Meantime the name of the Association had been changed (in 1905) to The Workers' Educational Association, and official support had been given to it by the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, the Co-operative Union, and the Working Men's Club and Institute Union. Local branches had been established, the first being the one established at Reading in 1904. Action had been taken by the Association to evoke and voice popular demand for increased educational facilities for children—a matter in which the W.E.A. has ever since been prominent.

Already the founder's energy had found expression in the development of tutorial classes among members of the W.E.A. branches at Rochdale and Longton, in 1906, Mr. R. H. Tawney being the tutor. The plan followed was to restrict the number of students to 32, who promised to meet for two hours each week during twenty-four weeks in each of three successive years, and to do written work. The principle of the classes was that of discussion, and the standard aimed at was that of university teaching in the subject chosen. Following upon the 1909 Report Oxford formed a joint committee between the University and the W.E.A. for the conduct of such classes, and the other Universities soon followed suit. The Board of Education undertook to make grants amounting to three-quarters of the tutor's salary if upon inspection the attendance and work of students was found to be satisfactory. The students naturally at first chose as a rule the social sciences—economics, industrial history, and political science—but one of the earliest classes was in biology, and other subjects such as history, literature, and psychology soon appeared in the list. The W.E.A. soon found it necessary to start preparatory classes also, lasting for a year only, and financial assistance was forthcoming for these as well as for the tutorial classes, Local Education Authorities co-operating with the Board of Education in providing the necessary money.

To-day the W.E.A. affiliates more than 2,000 bodies interested in adult education, and has some 24,617 students enrolled in classes of various types. It has sent missionaries beyond the seas to Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, with the result that similar work is in progress there. A parallel organization in the United States is the Workers' Education Bureau.

I was asked to describe briefly the origin of the modern adult education movement in this country, and that necessitates this very condensed account of how the W.E.A. came into being. But while the W.E.A. has accomplished so much and can rightly claim to have regenerated the British adult educational movement, its most ardent members would not wish to claim for it more than the position of primus inter pares. The Adult School movement took a new lease of life just before the W.E.A. was founded. From the time of the Rochdale Pioneers the Cooperative Movement has always devoted a precentage of its profits to adult education, and has encouraged its members not only to form classes for the study of Co-operative principles and methods but also to participate in the activities of the W.E.A. and similar bodies. During the War the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. developed altogether new educational activities, and the Women's Institute movement was introduced into this country from Canada. University Settlements, following the lead of Toynbee Hall, which Canon Barnett founded in 1886, gave much encouragement to adult education in their earlier period and some still do a great deal to promote it. Educational Settlements arose during and after the War and have established a new type of non-residential, self-governing, comprehensive centre of adult education where all kinds of work are carried on by the various adult educational organizations and a corporate life among students and tutors becomes possible. The Churches have begun to make important and successful experiments in adult education and the political parties are setting out on a similar course. Residential Colleges for working men and women, of which the first was Ruskin (founded in 1909), are growing in number. The Universities are creating strong Extra-mural Departments, Local Education Authorities are making direct provision for the non-vocational education of adults, whether in single classes or in such notable institutions as the L.C.C. Literary Evening Institutes and Men's and Women's Institutes. The Board of Education has for six years had an Adult Education Committee, and the British Institute of Adult Education exists for the study and advocacy of the work in all its phases.

It will be seen therefore that the adult education movement is perpetually making another beginning somewhere. A series of articles would be needed to trace these developments during the last twenty years. Dr. Mansbridge and Mr. T. W. Price (one of the first tutorial class students and now Warden of the W.E.A. Training Centre at Reading, known as Holybrook House) have told the story of the W.E.A.¹ and other writers have narrated the history of their respective societies.² But throughout all the differences of purpose and method runs one unifying element—a desire, as the Reconstruction Committee's epochmaking Report on Adult Education said in 1919, for the enhancement of personal life and the increase of power to serve the community.

MISS GLEITZE.

So Miss Gleitze has got across at last—from Tarifa to Morocco in 12 hours and 50 minutes. If sheer persistence deserves its reward, Miss Gleitze has earned her crown of fame. Next year, we surmise, the Straits of Gibraltar will be alive with swimmers of all nationalities engaged in the attempt to make the passage in twelve hours and forty-nine minutes—or less. And they will do it, of course, with increasing ease as the vagaries of wind and tide grow familiar. Meanwhile, a young woman holds the record.

WESTERN WOMEN IN CHINA.1

The delegation of three women—from Great Britain, the United States, and France—sent by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in October last on a mission of friendship to the women of China, has met with a warm welcome, and has evidently been well worth while. We give below a few extracts from letters which have come from the British delegate, Miss Pye. It will be remembered that Miss Pye took with her friendly messages of greeting from numbers of women's organizations in Great Britain to women in China.

From Shanghai, where they arrived just after Christmas: "We went to tea with Mrs. Chiang Kaishek in the new house which the General gave her on her wedding a few weeks ago. The General came in and sat down to tea with us for a short time. He does not speak English . . . He was friendly and said he was glad to see us and to hear of the interest that was being taken in China by people in the West."

"We went to see one of the large cotton mills entirely under Chinese ownership and management. It employs about 3,000 workers, of which four-fifths are women and children, who work twelve hours a day. They take no children under 4 ft. 6 in. high. No one knows their exact ages, but this height is generally 14 or 15"

From Nanking (12th January): "A luncheon party in our honour was arranged in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and about forty women were present, with one man who came to represent the Nationalist Government. The women were representing the Central Kuomintang, the Provincial Government of the Province of Kiangsu, the Nanking Municipal Government, and the Y.W.C.A., which is entirely Chinese. . . . Nearly all could speak English, and nothing could have been more friendly and warm. I gave the greetings and messages and Camille Drevet (the French delegate) also spoke. The representative of the Government then welcomed us and said that to develop China they needed help from us in education if she is to shake herself free from the fetters of the past. A public meeting had been arranged in the Chapel of Nanking College. There were perhaps 100 or so, not including the military brass band that played us in and played us out."

From Pekin: "As far as I was able to ascertain, the nationalist feeling is as strong in Pekin as in the south. I heard no good word for the present regime from anyone. The older people felt that there is not much hope from any of the present leaders, but all said fighting in China would stop if the import of foreign arms and ammunition ceased. . . . We found better feeling on the part of Europeans towards the Chinese than in Shanghai."

From Hankow (24th February): "The ex-British Concession appears perfectly orderly and well kept. I was much interested to see the tablet that has just been put up on the Municipal Building by Dr. Chang: 'Municipal Bureau of 3rd Special Administrative District of Hankow. This stone was laid by Dr. L. N. Chang, Director, in commemoration of the rendition of the British Concession by the British Government as a token of friendship and goodwill to China. Dated Dec. 25th, 1927."

From Canton (4th March): "We saw the College, and its very important agricultural extension work, which is doing so much to reform silk culture in South China. In the afternoon we had a meeting with the wives of the Chinese professors, and in the evening with the women students. I gave the message from the Somerville College students, which pleased them immensely, and the gist of the other messages."

8th March was an "International Women's Day," and Miss Pye and Mme Drevet were invited to speak at the open-air meeting, at which eight nationalities were represented, the audience numbering about 1,500. "The whole meeting lasted three hours—all the audience standing! It ended by the shouting of a series of feminist slogans." "One of the most interesting of our meetings was at the Euro-American Returned Students' Club. . . This was the first time they had met as a women's group, and they determined to continue to meet on the last Saturday in every month and to ask the Kuomintang women's movement representatives to meet with them sometimes."

We look forward to welcoming Miss Pye back early in May. Two meetings have as yet been arranged for her: a reception at Crosby Hall on 10th May, at 3 o'clock (tickets 2s. 6d. each, including tea); a public meeting at Friends' House, on 22nd May, at 8 o'clock (tickets 1s. each). To both a cordial invitation is extended to all who wish to meet Miss Pye and hear of her experiences in China.

JOSEPHINE BUTLER.1 By DR. JANE WALKER.

APRIL 13, 1928.

This book has been specially written for the Josephine Butler Centenary, 1828-1928. It is in small compass, and very readable, and it should have a wide and far-reaching circulation. Living now as we do on the eve of women's suffrage on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men, it is really startling to even attempt to realize the difference that has taken place in this last 100 years. It is really a different world industrially, economically, socially. When Josephine Butler was born, women were not supposed to know anything except how to embroider, to sing a little, to paint a little in water colour, and to model wax flowers to lie under a glass case. No young man now could say as one said about that time, that he would not allow his mother to read such and such a book, or regard it as indecent that she should know and understand the elementary facts of life. Some indeed, might think that the pendulum had swung too far the other way when one hears conversations that even the most modern, and the least shockable of us could wish showed a little much needed reticence. But it is far better so, and not for one moment would we wish to return to the really dark ages when women knew and were supposed to know nothing that was worth

I am in entire agreement with the writer of this book, when she describes Mrs. Josephine Butler as the most distinguished Englishwoman of the nineteenth century, only I would go further, and say she was the most distinguished woman of the nineteenth century. She indeed created a movement which went on during her life, and has gone on steadily since, culminating in the Report on the Traffic in Women and Children, published in 1927 by the League of Nations. She indeed, more than any other person, man or woman, is responsible for the change of attitude of the general public towards women's work, which is gradually altering from a monotonous "No"! to a cheerful "But why Not". Of course, it is not only women but the whole of society that is helped by this optimistic outlook-everyone is the better for it, and there is no doubt that, as Professor Stuart "The world is better because she (Josephine Butler) lived, and we know now even better than did Professor Stuart that the seed she sowed can never die.

What Mrs. Butler did—morally, educationally, and politically—is thrillingly told in this small book.

Though her great contribution to the world is the demonstration of the futility of trying to make women safe for the sexual gratification of men, her work and influence did not end there. She was foremost in all schemes for the higher and better education of women in its widest sense, and she was also a keen supporter of the political enfranchisement of women. Indeed, broadly speaking, everyone who is keen about any one of these things is keen about the other two.

It is impossible to do anything like justice to Mrs. Butler or this book in a small review. Three things seem to me to emerge from it that we can all take hold of:—

1. That every bit of honest work comes in useful at one time or another

or another.
2. That experts are almost always wrong in whatever walk

of life they are engaged.

At the time Mrs. Butler started her great crusade, the system of Regulation of Prostitution was regarded almost without exception by the medical profession and police administrators as the only method of dealing effectively with prostitution, and that, although evidence was piling up as to its being quite ineffectual in stamping out disease.

Medical inquisitorial action in the present age may be just as misguided as was ecclesiastical inquisitorial action in the Middle Ages.

3. History should be rewritten in a really modern spirit. How many of us realize what Wat Tyler really did. We are told in a footnote that he sacked the houses of ill-fame belonging to the Bishop of Winchester who farmed them out to capitalists, as a protest against the licentiousness of the rulers and clergy. Green's History of England even in its large edition, makes no reference whatever to this part of Wat Tyler's rising against the ills of his day.

This book has appeared at a psychological moment on other grounds than those to which we have already drawn attention. In many European countries and the United States of America, systems have grown up which are based on compulsory reforma-

tion for women and compulsory treatment of diseased persons. These systems contain within themselves the possibilities of reviving the old evils of the past. They are based on inequality and the acceptance of the double moral standard: the very principles which Josephine Butler challenged.

Indeed at the present time in Scotland, an attempt is being made to make the treatment of venereal disease compulsory, a course of action which will not only press very severely against certain persons, but will deter others from coming for treatment the very essence of which is that treatment should be free, voluntary, and secret. Verily, the price of liberty is eternal vigilance.

Simultaneously with this book comes the Third Edition of Josephine Butler¹ (revised and enlarged), an autobiographical sketch by George M. and Lucy A. Johnson. It is published by Arrowsmiths, and is a cheaper edition (5s.) of the book under the same description and title published in 1909. In the Preface to this third edition it is stated that the former edition is out of print, and that Mrs. Johnson has brought it up to date and includes in it a great many letters from Mr. Butler to Mr. Johnson, who died in 1926. Appendices giving a summary of the developments and results of her work up to date has been added.

These Appendices are of extreme interest and the letters are of great beauty. Josephine Butler had the pen, not only of a ready writer, but a very beautiful writer, as the present reviewer can state from experience, as she is the possessor of two letters

One sentence in one of these to Mr. Johnson pleases me: "Do you remember when the women told the disciples that Jesus Christ was risen, their words 'seemed to them as idle tales.' It has been so ever since whenever the wronged one has been a woman."

Appendix II on Notes on the Movement (1906-28) is deeply interesting, and very cheering, bringing as it does the subject well up to date.

In referring to the Josephine Butler Memorial House, Liverpool, it mentions the fact that Josephine Butler is one of the women Saints commemorated in the Lady Chapel of the Cathedral. The subject scheme of all these windows "is that they shall serve as a chronicle of the deeds of good women," and one of the four chief sections of the Ashman window at the west end of the Chapel is dedicated to "Josephine Butler and all brave champions of purity."

THE JOSEPHINE BUTLER CENTENARY.

The final arrangements for the London celebrations are now practically complete. The Commemoration Service will be held in Westminster Abbey on 24th April, at 7.30 p.m., and a great-public demonstration at the Central Hall on 25th April at 8 p.m. The London celebrations will be followed by a service in Liverpool Cathedral on 26th April, and a public meeting in the Philharmonic Hall

Barnet, Bristol, Birmingham, Bolton, Carlisle, Gloucester, Hampstead, Manchester, Newcastle, Newport (Isle of Wight), Northampton, Oxford, Portsmouth, Sheffield, Sutton Coldfield, Warwick, West Bromwich, Winchester, and York have also arranged great public meetings and special commemoration services. In Scotland, Edinburgh and Glasgow; in Wales, Bangor and Cardiff, Newport and Swansea; in Ireland, similar arrangements are being made. Many meetings have already been held in various parts of the country, and others are being arranged for the early summer or autumn months. On 22nd April special centenary sermons will be preached in many churches throughout the country. The clergy of all denominations are taking part in this.

Abroad meetings are being arranged in Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Germany, Holland, Norway, Italy, Sweden, Switzerland, and Yugo Slavia. A great meeting, at which Dame Rachel Crowdy will speak, is to be held in Geneva on 15th April.

In South Africa the celebrations both in Cape Province and in the Transvaal will be on an extensive scale. The W.C.T.U. and the N.C.W. are mainly responsible for the arrangements. South Africa is sending an official delegate to the Conference. The centenary will be celebrated in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and the United States.

The International Abolitionist Federation, founded by Josephine Butler, will hold its conference in London on 24th and (Continued at foot of next page.)

¹ A. Mansbridge: An Adventure in Working Class Education. (Longmans, 7s. 6d. net, cloth.)

T. W. Price: The Story of the Workers' Educational Association, 1903–1924. (Labour Publishing Co., 1s. net, paper.)

² A general sketch will be found in the present writer's *Spiritual Values in Adult Education*. (Oxford University Press, 2 vols., 10s. 6d. and 15s.) Details of the work now in progress are given in the *Handbook and Directory of Adult Education*. (F. W. Deane and Sons, 2s. 6d. paper, 3d. 6d. cloth.)

¹ Contributed by the Women's International League, 55 Gower Street, W.C.

¹ Her Work and Principles and their Meaning for the Twentieth Century, by Dame Millicent Fawcett, G.B.E., J.P., LL.D., and E. M. Turner. (Published by The Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, 14 Great Smith Street, S.W. 1. 2s. and 3s. 6d.)

¹ Josephine Butler: an Autobiographical Sketch by G. M. and L. A. Johnson. (3rd edition.) (Published by J. W. Arrowsmith, Ltd., Quay Street, Bristol. 5s.)

82

As we write, elections for Urban and Rural District Councils and for Boards of Guardians are taking place.

As Easter is also at hand and holidays are as much required and in demand by printers as by our readers, we have to go to press earlier if our usual article is to appear in the next issue of the LEADER, and therefore we are not in a position to comment fully on the results of the elections now in progress.

It is safe to say, however, from the information before us at the time of writing, that little interest was taken in the elections for Poor Law Guardians in London on 2nd April. A story which has gone the round of the Press may be quoted as typical of the apathy prevailing among the electors. A canvasser is reported to have stated that two local government electors, noticing a constable stationed at the door of a Parish Hall which was used as a polling station, inquired if there had been a fire or a burglary. "No," said the constable, "polling day for Guardians." One of the two went into the hall and was told that his vote was the only one recorded in two hours!

The apathy which was a feature of the polling was apparently an outstanding feature, in regard to the declaration of the results, which in the majority of cases in London were postponed to the following day and are not before us. We propose therefore to deal with the elections in our next article when we hope to place before our readers some interesting facts and figures bearing on all the elections for local authorities which have taken place during the last five weeks.

Meanwhile we call attention to a Parliamentary matter which has an important bearing on local government.

GREYHOUND RACING TRACKS.

On 14th March Colonel John Buchan's Bill relating to "the licensing of dog-racing courses" received first reading in the House of Commons. In introducing the subject under the ten minutes rule, Colonel Buchan in an admirable speech pointed out that the Bill took no exception to greyhound racing as a sport. What it laid down was that an activity which had become a very large and commercialized enterprise with still imperfectively understood social implications, should receive a licence from the local authority concerned on such terms as that local authority cared to impose. The Bill contained an elementary principle of democratic government that a locality shall have authority in matters which vitally concern its wellbeing. The principle of the Bill has the cordial support of the County Councils and the Municipal Corporations Associations, as well as of great numbers of individual local authorities, philanthropic and religious bodies. On 28th March the Home Secretary told an important and influential deputation organized by the National Emergency Committee of Christian Citizens, that if it were possible the Government would give facilities for Colonel Buchan's Bill during the present session. "The deputation," he said, "dealt with a matter which went right down to the roots of government in this country. Their case was based on two grounds, (1) the rights of the people in the locality to decide whether or not they should have a greyhound track in their midst, and (2) the fact that in connection with all these tracks there was a considerable element of betting and gambling, and the young people of the country were being encouraged in these habits." "It was," continued the Home Secretary, "the bounden duty of the Government and Parliament to take into consideration any new movement in regard to which there was evidence either that it was opposed by a great majority of the people or that it laid the foundations of harm in the young people of the country.'

Abundant evidence on both these points has been supplied during the last few weeks which has been endorsed by a memorial presented this week to the Prime Minister signed by 300 Members of Parliament, asking that time may be given for the progress of the Bill. In the face of the enormous support given to the Bill, which is a very short Bill, it is difficult to imagine that the facilities asked for can be refused. Local authorities and all people interested in the well-being of young persons should make a point of urging upon the Prime Minister, the Home Secretary, the Minister of Health and their local M.P's, the necessity of granting facilities which will ensure the passage of the Bill into law during the present session.

ELECTION RESULTS.

At the time of going to press only a few of the provincial results for the recent elections for District Councils and Boards of Guardians are available. We are glad to record the return of Mrs. Wright Brown to the Penrith Urban District Council. In Bebington where the local Women Citizens' Association supported Mrs. Ellis, few electors went to the poll and the successful candidate was returned with 187 votes, Mrs. Ellis receiving 132. Women have been elected to the Adwick-le-Street, Bentley, Biddulph, Bolton-on-Deane, Brierley Hill, Carnforth, Cudworth, Eastwood, Gainsborough, Horsham, Kettering, Kirby-in-Ashfield, Melksham, Ottery, Sittingbourne, Street, Wem, and Whitchurch Urban District Councils, but women candidates were defeated at North Darley and Penistone. In the Chipping Sodbury district a woman, Mrs. Marsh, was returned for the first time. Mrs. Marsh, who was elected at Winterbourne, received 361 votes, being second on the poll. The Ilkley N.U.S.E.C. supported the five retiring members of the Wharfedale Board of Guardians, of whom three were women, and all the candidates were elected. In Tynemouth and Wallsend 14 women were returned unopposed, and 16 more were among the candidates for the remaining 39 seats. In Sheffield the poll was a small one for the Board of Guardians, only 19:24 per cent of the electorate voting. Nineteen women were elected, making with the unopposed return in the Hallam ward of the city, 20 women members of the new Board.

FROM DAME MILLICENT FAWCETT.

DEAR EDITOR,—We have been very joyful over the good news received from England of the great success of the Equal Suffrage demonstration on 8th March, and also of the satisfaction expressed by Miss Rathbone in her telegram she and the National Union kindly sent us about the Government Bill for equal suffrage, for she described it as "a perfect Bill". I have therefore assumed that all the fears which were privately expressed in some quarters before the Bill appeared, that our full enfranchisement would be accompanied by disfranchising clauses affecting some classes of existing voters have proved entirely misplaced. I never did think them justified, but it is a great satisfaction to know now definitely that our gain is not purchased by loss to other peopleand they the poorest and most helpless.

It has been my good fortune that my championship of the young women of the present day has been celebrated by verses in Punch, a distinction of which I am very proud. It has encouraged me to go on collecting facts about the young: my friends at home can therefore imagine how pleased I was to discover, since I have been here, that Miss Frankeis, the heroine of the London floods of last January, who declined to be rescued from drowning until all the other inhabitants of the house she was in had been rescued likewise, was only nineteen. She was therefore a flapper! I wonder how many old gentlemen dozing in the arm-chairs of London clubs would have been equally brave and self-sacrificing.

Not that I wish to depreciate what we owe to the old. I am hardly likely to do that, as I stand on the brink of 81 myself, and my thoughts turn to what we have owed for more than half a century to Lady Strachey, who was 88 a few days ago, and has championed our case in a hundred ways all through her long life. Her quickness of repartee and wit have never failed her or us. Do I not remember walking with her at the head of one of our early processions (I think it was the road march), when a London street gamin, in rags and covered with mud, looked up in her face and called out "Wouldn't yer like to get a 'usband?" Without a moment's hesitation Lady Strachey, dignified and stately, replied, "Not wishing to commit bigamy. I should not.

Then she wrote a whole book full of songs to popular tunes for one of our great Albert Hall meetings. I think it was the same meeting at which I sang out of the same hymn book with Mr. Lloyd George and discovered that he had a fine tenor voice. But I must reminis no longer. It is a foible of old age.

Jerusalem. MILLICENT G. FAWCETT.

Jerusalem. March 1928. [We like this particular kind of foible very much, and hope

THE JOSEPHINE BUTLER CENTENARY.—Continued from page 81. 25th April, and a number of distinguished abolitionists from the

Dame Millicent will write to us as often as possible.—ED.]

Continent will attend the Centenary Celebrations. Altogether this will be a unique and historic occasion and Westminster should be thronged with men and women coming from all corners of the world to do honour to Josephine Butler.

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

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SUMMER SCHOOL.

St. Hilda's College, Oxford, 4-11th September, 1928.

The special aim of this Summer School, which is being arranged by the N.U.S.E.C., is to help those about to be enfranchised, particularly the younger women, to realize the full value of the The theme of the School is to be Democracy in its relation to Politics, Industry, and Home. The Lectures will include

The Woman's Movement—Past and Future.

The Meaning of Democracy.

The Ideals of the Three Political Parties.

APRIL 13, 1928.

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and arrangements will be made for groups of students interested in particular subjects to meet together for study.

t. Hilda's College is beautifully situated on the river with delightful gardens. Lectures will be held in the mornings and evenings, the afternoons free for recreation.

The School fees will be according to the following scale:-Members of Societies affiliated to N.U.S.E.C., over 30 years (on 4th September), 15s.

Members of Societies affiliated to N.U.S.E.C., under 30 years (on 4th September), 5s

Non-members of Societies affiliated to N.U.S.E.C., over 30 years (on 4th September), £1.

Non-members of Societies affiliated to N.U.S.E.C., under

30 years (on 4th September), 10s.

The charge for full board and lodging at the College will be £3 10s. As the number of places available will be strictly limited, all who wish to attend the School are urged to apply

All further particulars can be obtained on application to the Secretary, N.U.S.E.C., 15 Dean's Yard, London, S.W. 1.

"OUR YEAR'S WORK."

Those of our Societies and others, who found the pamphlet issued last autumn and entitled "Our Winter's Work" of such use, will be glad to hear that a new pamphlet—"Our Year's Work "-on similar lines will be ready very shortly. We hope that this pamphlet will prove of special use not only to members but in interesting the younger women and others in the woman's movement, and it should certainly remove any idea that with the passing of the Equal Franchise Bill, the work of the N.U.S.E.C. will be finished. Copies of "Our Year's Work" can be obtained from Headquarters free of charge.

NEWS FROM SOCIETIES.

BOLTON W.C.A.

At a well-attended meeting of the Bolton W.C.A. held recently, Miss Cicely Leadley Brown, M.B.E., spoke on "Offences Against Children," and urged the need for women officials in the Courts. The meeting was presided over by Mrs. Hodkinson, J.P. Mrs. Agnew, J.P., in moving a warm vote of thanks to the speaker, urged that, especially now that women were on the eve of receiving the vote on the same terms as men, they should make themselves more conversant with such matters.

GLASGOW S.E.C. AND W.C.A.

GLASGOW S.E.C. AND W.C.A.

A very attractive entertainment illustrative of the progress of the Woman's Movement since 1886, the date of the first petition for Woman's Suffrage, was held under the auspices of the Glasgow S.E.C. and W.C.A. in the Athenæum Hall, Glasgow, on 28th March. The entertainment consisted of two short plays—"Elizabeth Refuses"—a charming and vivacious episode from "Pride and Prejudice," "Five Birds in a Cage," and two series of tableaux vivants descriptive of various phases of the Suffrage Movement, such as the famous concealment of the 1866 petition for Women's Suffrage in the apple-woman's stall. Another effective contrast was between the Suffrage Leaders of 1870 as seen in Punch, and a representation of Ford Madox Brown's portrait of Mr. and Mrs. Fawcett. sentation of Ford Madox Brown's portrait of Mr. and Mrs. Fawcett

CORRESPONDENCE.

"THE FOUR AND A HALF INDIAN COLLEGES FUND."

MADAM,—When we have just celebrated the passage of the Franchise Bill of 1928, which now fully enfranchises the twenty-four million women of Great Britain, our thoughts turn to the women of India, who by the India Act of 1920 were enfranchised by provincial councils. Surely the one thought in our minds is the great discrepancy in the educational status of these women of the British Empire who cannot so potently sway its destiny. Ninety-eight per cent of Indian women are illiterate, a figure which is at once startling and a sad reflection on Great Britain. The educational advance of women is of supreme importance in India and a keynote to our better relationships. We newly enfranchised women of Great Britain should strain every nerve to help Indian women to satisfy their educational demands. As in the early stages of our own advance, Indian women need money to start their Colleges. India is extremely poor, especially so in the lower and middle classes; and their need is our opportunity. A fund has been opened to maintain five University institutions of especial value, which are combating illiteracy and disease, for women in India, and every enfranchised woman should celebrate the assumption of her new powers by sending a donation to the Hon. Treasurer of the "Four and a Half Indian Colleges Fund," 12 Palmer Street, S.W. 1. ISOBEL GODDARD,

12 Palmer Street, S.W. 1.

[We remind our readers that at a recent conference on *Mother India* held by the N.U.S.E.C., the valuable work of the "Four and a Half Indian Colleges," was specially referred to.—Ed.]

OBITUARY.

MISS WINIFRED MOBERLY.

As we go to press we learn with very great regret of the sudden death of Miss Winifred Moberly, late principal of St. Hilda's College, Oxford. An appreciation of Miss Moberly's work will appear in a later issue.

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Miss ALISON NEILANS. Sir MICHAEL SADLER, K.C.S.I., C.B.
The Rev. Dr. JOHANN UDE, Professor of Philosophy, Graz University.

The Rt. Hon. The Lord BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH.

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Further particulars from The Josephine Butler Centenary Committee, Orchard House, Great Smith Street, S.W.1.

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E DUCATED HOME HELPS BUREAU, 190 Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W. 1 (new address), requires and supplies educated women for all domestic work. Registration: Employers, 2s. 6d.; workers, 1s. Suiting fee: Employers, 7s. 6d.; workers, 2s. (Victoria 5940.)

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