

THE
WOMAN'S LEADER

IN POLITICS
IN THE HOME
IN INDUSTRY

IN LITERATURE AND ART
IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT
IN THE PROFESSIONS

AND
THE COMMON CAUSE

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

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THE WOMAN'S LEADER

AND
COMMON CAUSE.

NOTES AND NEWS

Fru Wicksell.

One of the first urgency resolutions passed by the N.U.S.E.C. was one welcoming the appointment by the League of Nations of Fru Anna Wicksell to the Permanent Mandates Commission. We congratulate the Commission, Sweden, and Fru Wicksell, and are glad to think that this distinguished woman lawyer received part of her education in England.

Substitution.

On March 2nd, the House of Commons, in discussing the Civil Service Estimates, gave vent to some plain speaking on the subject of our bureaucracy. Among other points, the present policy of the substitution of ex-Service men for women in temporary posts came in for a great deal of criticism from Viscount Curzon, partly on the ground of the cost involved (since, apart from the increased cost of employing new workers who have to learn their jobs, each man costs much more than each woman), and partly because of the very severe hardships involved, which the temporary Civil Servants have in the last few weeks been bringing to the attention of their Members. Even Sir J. D. Rees and Sir Frederick Banbury joined in the outcry—a most unusual pair of champions. The words of the Member for the City of London are worth recording: "I have always been a very strong opponent of female suffrage," he truly remarked; "I have fought it to the best of my ability for a great number of years, and I shall fight it still, and I am sorry it was ever introduced, and still more sorry that we have another sex in this House. I only instance that to show my prejudice . . . but, on the other hand, we ought to draw the line somewhere."

Unemployed Women and Domestic Service.

The commotion about domestic service in connection with unemployed women continues. The House of Commons spent agitated moments upon the subject, both during the discussion of the Lords' Amendments to the Bill for increasing the out-of-work benefits and in consequence of questions asked by Mr. Forrest, Sir F. Hall, Sir F. Flannery, and Mr. Inskip. We have, of course, the greatest sympathy with the wives of these gentlemen and all other women who fail to procure the domestic help they need, but we cannot help feeling that it is largely their own fault. As Dr. Macnamara said, the vast majority of the unemployed women require daily work. Why cannot domestic work be so arranged as to be done daily? It needs a little thought and consideration on the part of the households: but why should that be lacking? We know, of course, that many people regret the disinclination of girls to "live in," and consider that they are wantonly exchanging comfort and security for the excitements of the cinema. But there again we are sure the case is exaggerated. It is natural enough (especially for the young) to prefer liberty and the cinema with one's friends, to a basement kitchen and the enforced companionship of strangers. We do not insist on this point, however. In a time of serious unemployment preferences may have to be foregone, and those who wish to refuse out-of-work pay on this ground have a case, although to compel people into domestic service by destitution has a very unpleasant flavour of domestic slavery about it. But what we should like to point out is that the demand for daily work instead of living in is based far more on sheer human necessity than on any choice or preference in the world. It is not only in the middle classes that domestic pressure has increased since the war. Everything is more difficult and costly for everybody: every family has its greater burden of the aged and the sick and the young to care for, and the vast majority of the women asking for daily domestic work are doing so because they literally cannot leave their homes altogether. They are asking for a double portion: the paid portion they wish to do for strangers, and the unpaid portion they wish to try to fit in in those early mornings and late evenings and "after-

noons off" which they are so much abused for desiring. We commend these considerations to all those who are talking hastily and heatedly about this matter. Let them see to it that domestic service is made sufficiently bearable for those who live in for it to be freely chosen as the essential and honourable work it is, and let them have consideration for the needs of the daily worker. This is a woman's problem on both sides—and a most important one.

Unemployed Juveniles.

The Minister of Labour has stated that 107,600 juveniles are registered as unemployed, which is one of the strongest possible arguments in favour of establishing continuation schools everywhere. Many of the juvenile employment committees, remembering the grave dangers attending the presence of numbers of unemployed juveniles in the streets in the days after the Armistice, are trying to provide educational and recreation centres to mitigate the danger. Dr. Macnamara has issued regulations by which attendance at approved courses of instruction may be made a condition for the receipt of unemployment benefit. Local Authorities have been informed that where instruction centres are established with the approval of the Board of Education, half the cost will be borne by the Board. A simpler and less expensive way would seem to be to carry out the Fisher Act in its entirety as soon as possible. Why create fresh legislation when the legislation already provided would meet the case?

Trade Board Rates.

There is a persistent effort by certain employers to cut down the rate of wages prescribed by Trade Boards. The excuse given is the prevalence of unemployment in these trades, but no evidence is available of any greater degree of unemployment here than elsewhere. The Trade Boards were set up expressly to discourage sweating in trades employing, in the main, women, children and young persons; the wages fixed by the Boards have been paid without detriment to the industries concerned, and, indeed, often with benefit to profits and output, as well as to the welfare of the employed. If there were any shadow of a ground for cutting wages in these industries it should be done by the Boards themselves. We regret to say that in some cases employers have succeeded in cutting wages prescribed by Trade Boards; the practice should be resisted to the utmost by the workers concerned, by organised public opinion and by other employers.

Policewomen.

A year ago the Government appointed a Committee to enquire into the "assistance which can be given by women in the carrying out of police duties." Its report, as we mentioned last week, was very favourable to the employment of trained and qualified women, and Chief Constables in large towns prepared schemes for carrying out the recommendations. Some months after the report was issued, a deputation of the Committee learned from the Home Secretary that his office had circularised Police Authorities advising them not to proceed to attest women as constables, nor to carry out the other provisions of the report. No action whatever was taken in Scotland to carry out the findings of the Committee of Enquiry. In these circumstances, the Home Secretary last month received a deputation representing women's societies, a representative of the Secretary for Scotland being present. Lady Salvesen for the N.C.W., Miss Eleanor Rathbone for the N.U.S.E.C., Mrs. Carden and the three directors of the Federated Training Schools for Policewomen expressed the disappointment of women of the country at the continued delay in the issue of instructions to police authorities to put the findings of the Committee in force. They also emphasised the unanimity of the demand for policewomen as an integral part of the police force to administer the law in its

relation to women and children. Mr. Shortt replied that the pay and allowances of the Metropolitan Police Patrol had been standardised in accordance with the report, and that he and Sir John Baird were about to circularise police authorities, informing them of this fact and advising them that where women were employed it was desirable that they should be an integral part of the force under the control of the Chief Constable. The remainder of his statement was much less satisfactory. He is unconvinced of the desirability of attesting policewomen, but is discussing the matter with Mrs. Stanley, the head of the Metropolitan Policewomen, and others. The deputation felt that they had gained some points; outsiders will continue to regard the progress of the Home Office and the Scottish Office as deplorably slow, and will notice that Mr. Shortt seems to have done a good deal to discourage those who wish to employ women on police duties.

Women Police.

Luke-warm enough about the employment of official policewomen, the Home Office is drastic in discouraging the Women Police. They have taken out thirteen summonses against members of this body for wearing a uniform resembling that of the Metropolitan Police. It is deplorable that things should have come to this pass. The Women Police set a high standard in their pioneer work, to which all women doing similar duties owe much. They combine to a singular degree enthusiasm and rigid attention to detail and discipline. There seems to be a lurking idea that Mr. Shortt does not desire in the police service women whose qualifications and abilities would enable them to rise very high, but we note that he denied in the House an allegation that he was recruiting his force from unemployed persons and domestic servants. Last week we put on record Sir Nevil Macready's commendation of women's help in dealing with the difficult question of prostitution, but we have always held that the scope of women in the police force is much wider than this, and that the interests of justice will never be served until they are employed in sufficient numbers to deal with all outrages upon women and children, and to assist in all other cases where either the aggressor or victim is a woman or child.

The L.C.C. and Married Women.

The L.C.C. is in difficulties over the position of the married women on its staff. Some it wishes to retain, but a principle—if it is worth anything—should be generally applicable. The order prohibiting the employment of married women (with the exception of teachers and others specially exempted) was suspended during the war, but the suspension is now ended. And yet there is still a shortage of charwomen and doctors. The question of employing married charwomen is being reconsidered, and the Council recommends that the temporary employment of married women doctors should be extended to October 31st, 1924. By that time their position should be secure, and their indispensability in school work an established fact. But how much easier it would be to sweep away that antiquated so-called "principle."

Bag Wash.

Our readers will remember that an injunction was recently granted against the Fulham Council, restraining it from carrying on mechanical washing in the public washhouse. Under the Council's scheme the washing of the poorer classes was collected, washed, and distributed. The cost did not fall on the rates, because during the time the scheme was working, quite considerable profits were made each week. At a conference last week, twelve London and Greater London authorities were represented to urge the amendment of the Washhouses Act in order to legalise mechanical washing. No other municipal question has aroused so much feeling among the female population. It is absurd to say, as the lawyers did, that because there were no mechanical appliances in 1847, when the Baths and Washhouses Act was passed, they could not legally be used now. In the interests of the overworked women in the crowded parts of London, the law should be amended.

The Seal of Contentment.

On Friday, March 11th, Oxford University will set a seal upon its recent admission of women by conferring the degree of D.C.L. by Diploma upon Her Majesty the Queen. The ceremony will be performed by the Chancellor, Lord Curzon of Kedleston, in the Sheldonian Theatre at noon, and it is no exaggeration to

say that it will constitute one of the historic ceremonies in the history of Oxford. The University is, so to speak, glorying in its own action, and symbolising its satisfaction therewith by performing an act of homage to the first woman in the land. Let Cambridge note that Oxford is content.

The Queen and the Colleges.

Apart from official University ceremonial, Her Majesty has a busy day ahead. Both Somerville and Lady Margaret Hall, the two senior women's colleges, will receive royal visits in the course of the afternoon, and only when these have had their innings will Queen's College be allowed to exercise its age-long claim, and entertain its Patroness to tea in Hall. Much water has flowed beneath the Folly Bridge since the coming of the first "blue-stockings" to Oxford; and if some of our tired readers wish to sun themselves in an oasis of contentment, we suggest that they should turn from their reading of next Saturday's morning paper to the earlier chapters of Josephine Butler's life. They will find themselves transported to an Oxford which differs widely from the Oxford which will turn out in all its glory to welcome its new woman graduate on Friday. Let them not linger for long in that oasis, however. The battle for women's education has been fought to a finish in Oxford University; but it will rage for many years in a thousand homes.

The Matrimonial Causes Bill.

Lord Gorell's Matrimonial Causes Bill, which will come up for its second reading in the House of Commons after we have gone to press, is based on recommendations upon which every member of the Royal Commission on the Divorce Law was in accord. It lays down adultery as the one and only ground for divorce for either husband or wife, thus placing both sexes in a position of equality—a reform for which all those interested in the status of the married woman and in the establishment of an equal moral standard, have been working for years. It increases the grounds for which a decree of nullity can be given, and facilitates proceedings for a decree of presumption of death. It provides for matrimonial cases being tried under a Commission of Assize—that is to say, in County Courts. In this way the hearing of these cases will be simplified and much reduced in cost, so that divorce will no longer be a luxury for the well-to-do. The Bill also contains most useful clauses dealing with separation and maintenance orders. It provides for separation orders being granted by a Court of Summary Jurisdiction on the grounds of cruelty, habitual drunkenness, or the suffering from venereal disease in a communicable form of the defendant. Maintenance orders may be given on any of the above grounds, and also for desertion or failure to maintain. Provision is made for the enforcement of sums payable under maintenance orders by giving the courts the right to order that such sums may be deducted from wages, salaries, or other forms of property. The chief omission in the Bill is, perhaps, that a separation order cannot be given for adultery. A judicial separation can be given on these grounds, and classes who are necessarily accustomed to bring their matrimonial disputes before a Court of Summary Jurisdiction should not have to seek divorce as the only remedy.

Maternity Grants in Czecho-Slovakia.

Further details of the new Bill concerning the industrial employment of women before and after childbirth which the National Assembly of Czecho-Slovakia proposes to pass are now available. The existing system of sickness insurance is to be modified as follows:—(1) Mothers absenting themselves from work during the period of six weeks before and after childbirth, are to receive the assistance given to sick persons; (2) Mothers who nurse their children are to receive, in addition, a further payment at one-half the rate for twelve weeks following childbirth. These provisions are the corollary to the proposed new law, which provides that:—Women in childbirth, working in industrial establishments may not be employed in ordinary paid work during the six weeks following childbirth. A pregnant woman who proves by a medical certificate that childbirth will take place in all likelihood within six weeks, may absent herself from her employment unless this latter be of a seasonal character. An employer may not dismiss a child-bearing woman during the period of six weeks before and after childbirth; nor may he dismiss a woman who proves by a medical certificate that she is suffering from illness as the result of her pregnancy or of childbirth, and that she is in consequence unable to recommence her work. A woman employed in an industrial establishment shall have the right to two rest periods of half-an-hour, during which she may nurse her child.

WOMEN IN COUNCIL.

The Annual Council Meeting of the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, which is in progress as we go to press, differs exceedingly from the Councils which have preceded it in the history of what used to be known as the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. It is impossible for anyone who attended the old Councils to sit through the new ones without making constant comparison of the old spirit and the new, and it is difficult not to be more critical of the new than it deserves. In the old suffrage days the organisation was much tighter, and the interest more concentrated, so that the proceedings seemed to be far more alive. There was an intensity of belief in the cause which made passions run very high on questions of policy and tactics, but which, nevertheless, created an overwhelming spirit of comradeship to bind the whole organisation together. Delegates came, in the old days, to lay in a store of sympathy and encouragement, as well as to settle the policy of their beloved "N.U." They went back to their draughty street corners and their familiar oppositions with renewed courage, and no one who was part of the movement in those days can ever forget how inspiring the gatherings were. The new Councils have to compete with this background of memories, and naturally, along those old lines, they fail.

But it is profitless to compare the new with the old. The new Councils have the thing for the sake of which the old existed—the power of the vote—and they have therefore a wholly different task to perform. They have to deal with facts far more closely than with theories; and it is a harder task. They have to settle not only policies but programmes, and to gather together and unite the workers for a dozen different, if co-related, reforms. Their meetings, therefore, cannot be so simple nor so enthusiastic, but they can be of very much more weight.

The main subject of discussion in this Council this year is the question of equal pay for equal work, its exact interpretation, and its relation to the question of national family endowment. Writing, as we do, before the decisions on these points have been reached, we can only say that these questions, separately or singly, are undoubtedly the feminists' questions of the next decade. Everything turns on economic questions to-day, whether in the relations of the great States, of the social classes, or of the sexes; and until the economic standing of women is improved, all other reforms in the position of women will move but slowly.

There is another outstanding question which faces this, as it faces all Councils of women, and that is the moral question. The establishment of a single moral standard is no easy matter. In principle, it is perfectly plain and straightforward. No theoretical question arises upon it in any gathering of women, but in the practical steps necessary to advance it there is room for considerable divergence. Legislative action on the question is notoriously difficult; medical action decidedly uncertain, and educational action alone is obvious and uncontroversial. And yet we must take both legislative and medical action with all speed. It behoves all women's societies to look well into this question in the light both of belief and of experience, and we believe that the new position of women as jurors and magistrates will greatly hasten forward the public feeling upon which alone satisfactory progress will be based.

These are the two main subjects, but the agenda of this Council contains, of necessity, many other matters of great and urgent importance. The affirmation of the need for equal franchise, while it provokes, of course, no dispute whatever, should arouse a renewed agitation upon this subject. Everyone knows, as a matter of practical politics, that franchise bills come forward towards the end of Parliamentary periods. We are reaching such an end now and the opportunity is therefore at hand. We trust that the delegates will return to their

societies with renewed enthusiasm on this matter. The need for the candidature of more women for Parliament, which is another of the obvious and uncontroversial items of the agenda, is a matter of great practical difficulty. It is not enough to repeat that women ought to be returned to the House: they have got to be actually voted there—which is a different and more complex matter. But we trust that those societies which approve this matter in words, will not be content without deeds, and that when the next election comes, some practical steps will have been taken.

In dealing with these and the other matters before the assembled delegates, the Union is face to face with the same problems which were confronted by the gathering of representative women called together by Lady Astor a week ago. The problem is twofold—how, on the one hand, to keep in effective touch with Government and the Members of the House of Commons, and how, on the other, to mass behind the demands of organised women the strength of the women's vote. To some extent both these are problems of organisation, but it is truer still to say that both are problems of education. We have been faced with them ever since the vote was won; and the regularly recurring Councils of the affiliated societies of the N.U.S.E.C., no less than those of the National Council of Women, have been endeavouring to the best of their strength to solve them. The present is undoubtedly a time of reaction; there is a turning against women and their interests, which is perhaps the inevitable result of the great advances of the war period, but which is none the less unwholesome. Every effort, therefore, is needed, both along the old and along new channels, and every worker must keep up courage and take heart.

Some people say that we must, at this juncture, recapture the old suffragist spirit, and behave as we did before the war. In a sense we must, the sense of renewing our single-hearted devotion to the causes for which we work. But in another sense, we cannot and we must not do it, for we are not now in the position we were in then. Women are no longer irresponsible outcasts in the political world: they are fully-fledged citizens, seeking to settle into their place in the scheme of things, and responsible, at any rate in part, for their own destiny. We could, and should, return to street-corner preaching and to the devotion and energy of 1913, but we must not return to that doctrinaire oblivion of all but our one theory which was our strength in the old days. Our strength now must come from the same devotion and a new knowledge; from the sincerity which has not altered and the reasoning which has. For we no longer work for the power to do things, but for the things themselves.

These remarks, which we have made with reference to the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, apply, we believe, with more or less exactness to all organisations of women doing political work. All are faced with the same big problems; the imperative need of reaching the average stay-at-home woman voter, on the one hand, and of settling into the path of normal political activity on the other. Women have been politically outside the world of men for centuries. If they have things to bring to it, as we believe they have, they also have things to learn. They will bring perhaps a greater store of idealism, a greater tenderness for human suffering, and we think also, a greater incorruptibility. But they must learn as well as give. They must learn to dig their way into facts, to weigh and regard evidence, and to sift the conflicting elements of politics into a proportionate scheme. All this the new Councils of all the women's societies are doing year by year. It is in many aspects difficult progress, but it is essential, and we are rejoiced, as meeting after meeting takes place, to see how quickly we are learning our part, and how rapidly the times move.

NEWS FROM WESTMINSTER.

THE PARTING OF THE WAYS, BELFAST, 1921.

BY OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT.

The Government have won one by-election and lost two. They won at Woolwich, the most important and spectacular of the fights, and probably this victory counterbalances the two defeats. At the same time, it shows that there was not such a strong reaction in favour of the Coalition as some judges imagined. Labour is probably less strong than a year ago, but not greatly so. The defeat of Sir Arthur Griffith Boscawen is much regretted. On a Government Bench, where, except for a few outstanding figures, the level is low, he is conspicuous for his efficiency. He has a grip of business and control of the House which few of his colleagues either possess or trouble to acquire. His defeat was a genuine grief to the House and his early return is hoped for.

Parliamentary events have been overshadowed by the Reparations Conference. The result is still in doubt. The behaviour of the Germans, and their evasion of all efforts to make them pay, has put the country behind the Prime Minister to an extent that recalls the days of the war. It has brought home to people that he is the only man who can deal with these international questions. In them he is at his best.

But, in spite of this, the week has been sufficiently exciting. Monday saw the long-expected railway debate. It has frequently been said in these notes that Sir Eric Geddes would become a successful Parliamentarian, and he has abundantly justified the prophecy. On Monday, February 28th, he was lucid and convincing. The debate had no definite result, but it did something to allay the fears of those who thought the Government meant to enforce the full letter of the Colwyn Report. On Friday, again, railways were discussed without much further light being thrown, but the debate was remarkable for the tribute the House paid to Sir Eric Geddes on learning that he meant to retire. Like most men who have been bitterly abused, he has lived to see that abuse is the best service fortune can render you.

On Tuesday, March 1st, the House dealt with Air. The debate was embellished by one of Mr. Churchill's very best speeches, and whether Members agree with him or not they always like listening to him. They listened to him and not much to anyone else, for truly there was not much else to listen to. At night, Capt. Redmond raised the question of General Crozier, and an acrimonious discussion took place. Sir Hamar Greenwood spoke well, Mr. Bonar Law cut to pieces an ineffective speech from Mr. Asquith, and the Lobby showed a big Government majority. But yet many Members are dissatisfied, and feel that we do not know the whole truth. A state of uneasiness still remains, and, indeed, it has deepened.

Wednesday was a long day in Supply. First of all, the Air Estimates were finished, and then various other votes were taken. The House, having given the Government a lesson on the previous Friday, was inclined to be lenient and there were no close divisions. Nothing occurred that requires comment, except a short discussion on the Adjournment, when General Adair made some sensible remarks about capital ships. It is believed that the Committee who are investigating are about to report; and in any event the Government policy must be disclosed when the Navy Estimates are presented.

On Thursday there was a long discussion on the Lords' amendments to the Unemployment Bill, and then Supply was resumed. That concludes the business of the week.

The Government have not yet filled up the vacancies in their ranks, and rumour is still busy with various names. The last report was that Colonel Amery was leaving the Colonial Office, and that Sir Kingsley Wood would replace him, but this is not believed. If a place has to be found for Sir Kingsley Wood, he is more likely to succeed Lord Astor, who, unfortunately, is still ill and may possibly be unable to resume his duties as Under-Secretary to the Ministry of Health. It is believed, and it is hoped, that Colonel Amery will stay on at the Colonial Office. No further steps have been taken to create a Department of the Middle East, as was at one time contemplated, and the matter remains in abeyance. A seat will probably be found for Sir Arthur Boscawen, or, if he prefers not to come back to the House, Lord Bledisloe might be Minister of Agriculture. Rumour points to Mr. McCurdy as Financial Secretary to the Admiralty, and then Colonel Leslie Wilson or Sir William Mitchell Thomson will have the vacant Under-Secretaryship for Agriculture. Sir Gordon Hewart will be Lord Chief Justice. His successor is not yet settled. Probably someone not in Parliament will be appointed.

Writing in Ireland, one may well commence with a reminiscence of very ancient days. Then the country was ruled by the Tuatha Danaan, a people possessing magic powers. Amongst these was included the gift of calling up at will a dense mist, which hid the real features of the land from any invader, who was easily led astray and overcome. The children of Eire have not lost that power even in these modern days. Many a hapless visitor to these shores, coming here in search of enlightenment, has wandered lost, and returned at length with strange tales of what has been seen and heard in that bewildering twilight.

The fog is sufficiently real now, and the shadows are very dark. Yet, even under these conditions, constructive work is still being done. The woman's movement is still carried on in the larger centres. Meetings are still held, though in Dublin and Belfast curfew renders it advisable for both speaker and audience to keep careful watch on the time, lest both be "curfewed," as Belfast puts it. In the latter city, at least, this is a highly unpleasant fate, involving a night in the police cell, followed by a fortnight in bed and the sacrifice of the entire clothing, as nothing could be done but burn it.

Feminist societies in Southern Ireland have lived up to the motto "Carry on." In a country obsessed with the one issue, it is more than ever necessary for those who profess and call themselves feminists to preach, in season and out of season—and sadly out of season it seems to be just now—that the form of government is not everything, that even under the blessings of the Northern Parliament, or of the Irish Republic, there will still be hungry and neglected children, insanitary and overcrowded schools, inefficient, harsh, and costly Poor Law, unless women rouse themselves and see to it that the foundations of the new order be laid in justice and equality.

In Northern Ireland the position is one of real interest. So far the dominant party has not formulated any policy, and its speakers have contented themselves with entreaties to the electors not to risk splitting the Unionist vote by raising issues of social reform. Sir Edward Carson urged the women voters especially not to expect too much at once, or to press reforms on the new Parliament, reminding them it would be but an infant, and its very existence might be risked by over-feeding. As a matter of fact, it is not the food which is going to cause the first trouble, but the drink. The women are not satisfied with the vague references to possible abolition of spirit groceries, and more drastic restriction of Sunday sale of intoxicants. They want local veto on the Scottish lines, and unless something more definite is said, many of the most earnest Unionist women in Down and Antrim declare they will take no part in the election. The work of the Women's Unionist Council has roused Unionist women in Ulster, they are beginning to feel their strength and mean to use it to gain the reform closest to their hearts, as the evil is closest to their own doors. The official feminist programme, drawn up by the Belfast Women's Advisory Council, representing eight societies, includes the familiar feminist points, with special emphasis on Temperance and Education. To this, a meeting of working women in a country district, calmly suggested the addition of Endowment of Motherhood, to the astonishment of the speaker. As usual, the feminists demand postulates increased expenditure, and it is here the great obstacle will be found. All these reforms will effect an ultimate economy, but will also involve immediate increase in rates, already burdened by compensation claims.

Ultimately, some form of self-government must be set up, even in Southern Ireland, and it will hardly be on lines more restricted than those of the present Act. The Northern area is secure in the prospect of a Parliament. That "direct share in the control of administration and legislation," claimed by suffragists, will be more real when Parliamentary representatives are at the very door.

Even as things are, it has been possible to arrange meetings in Belfast, Derry, and Dublin, in connection with the coming visit of Miss Rathbone. This is but another instance of that ready help which has always been extended to Irish feminists by their fellow-workers in Great Britain. The visit of the President of the N.U.S.E.C., coming at the parting of the ways, is evidence, were such needed, that we shall not even now stand "ourselves alone." Every step gained by women in Great Britain will make our way less difficult. To the English and Scottish fellow-workers in the cause which is not that of women only, but is indeed the "common cause" of all, we send greeting, deep thanks, but not farewell.

DORA MELLONE.

BURNING QUESTIONS.

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

MOTHERS UNDER THE IRISH TERROR.

By EVELYN SHARP.

Returning from Ireland recently, I felt rather like Rudyard Kipling's journalist who, having just seen the sea-serpent, congratulated himself on having secured a splendid piece of "copy," until the sight of England's foggy shores warned him that only as fiction would such an incredible story convince his readers. Without resorting to the fiction which is less strange than truth, I still think that even if it were possible to tell the public the whole truth of what is happening to-day in Ireland, I should be no more believed than if I said I had just seen the sea-serpent.

To me, the worst of the brutalities now being perpetrated in Ireland in our name are not necessarily the most obvious. It is true that any man, woman, or child who walks in the streets of Dublin, or any place occupied by the forces of the Crown, runs a risk of becoming what Sir Hamar Greenwood calls a "regrettable occurrence" before the day is out. At any moment a rifle may be discharged from a passing lorry, either by accident or from nerves; when one sees the soldiers, or Black-and-Tans, standing up in it, with their fingers on the triggers of their guns, one wonders that still more casualties do not occur in this way. But one rapidly grows used to taking that risk, without, perhaps, reaching the superb detachment of the young imp, who, watching two Tommies on guard outside a Sinn Fein office that was being raided, suddenly began belabouring another small boy to the tune of—"Sure, and this is how we're after treating small nations!"

Even worse than the chance of being shot, I think, is the suffering caused to women and infants and unborn children by a state of things in which, apart from the mental and emotional strain of belonging to men who are "on the run," there is no guarantee that the condition of the expectant mother will be respected by these Black-and-Tans or Auxiliaries. More than one case came to my notice of houses being raided and searched just before or just after a child was born; of one case, in which the drunken raiders were with difficulty kept out of the room in which the baby was actually being brought into the world; of another in which a very young infant was searched. I do not know if its swaddling clothes were suspected of harbouring weapons, nor whether such methods are essential to keeping order in Ireland. But I do know that they outrage one's decent feelings, and I think other Englishwomen ought to know that they are being carried out, and that Irishwomen hold us responsible for the continuance of a policy that makes such outrages possible.

A doctor who has a dispensary for mothers and a hospital for infants, spoke to me of the increase in the number of still-born babies and in infant nerve troubles—a sorry comment upon the exactly opposite report of the English Registrar-General, just issued, giving statistics for England and Wales! She gave me some idea of what curfew means to the expectant mother. One of these, for instance, compelled to go to the lying-in hospital during curfew hours, started with two women neighbours on a dangerous journey through streets that were deserted except for military and armed police. Challenged instantly by a

patrol of Black-and-Tans (the force recruited in this country to aid the Royal Irish Constabulary to maintain order in Ireland), they explained their errand and were allowed to proceed. But, on the way, these champions of the law amused themselves by frightening the poor woman with their rifles, making her put up her hands more than once, so that she arrived at the hospital more dead than alive. Possibly, they were more stupid than brutal, and perhaps drunk as well. But it is the kind of thing that may happen to any woman in a similar plight; and she is not safeguarded against these drunken pleasantries by the possession of a pass. Nor is the woman who can afford to be confined in her own home necessarily better off, for so great are the dangers of the street at night, both to innocent and guilty, that I was told some midwifery specialists now refuse to attend patients during curfew hours, unless they can be warned in time to get to their destination before curfew begins.

Here, too, is a case I came across in a country district. A man and his wife, of no particular Sinn Fein bias (though, like many others, they had probably been made "sympathetic" to the rebels through the excesses of the armed forces of the Crown), were raided late one night by Auxiliaries—the special corps attached to the R.I.C., consisting entirely of men, mostly English, who have held a commission in the army. The man, unable, or at all events refusing, to give some information about a man who was on the run, was dragged out of his bed and badly beaten in the road. The house was searched from top to bottom, nothing incriminating being found. The man, crawling back, was seized again; his wife refused to leave him, fearing he would be shot; the raiders then beat him again so badly that he was afterwards in the hospital six weeks. They did not arrest him, proving that there was nothing against him. Finally, the furniture was brought out and burnt, and the house was bombed and destroyed. *The next day, the woman's baby was born.* Small wonder that a woman neighbour, commenting on that story, said to me—"If I thought that giving Ireland her freedom would ever make her treat another country as England is treating her to-day, I would sooner for ever see her under the heel of England."

I know, too, more than one woman, left with very young children, who is obliged to leave her home and sleep out every night, because the nightly raids by armed men, with their threats and their bullying and their looting of everything they can carry away, is beginning to affect the little ones' health. I know another, the widow of a Nationalist Irishman who died fighting in khaki in the British army during the late war, and whose little daughter has been so terrified by the behaviour of Crown forces who raided the house, that she now shrieks—what irony is here!—at the sight of a man in the uniform her father was proud to wear. I know many other cases of terrorism by the armed forces of the Crown, too many to be cited here. But I have not yet met any woman who, on account of what she is suffering, even contemplates advising her men to give in before Ireland's freedom is assured. The wretched policy of the present Government, for which we are being held responsible by the Irish people, has not even the merit, or rather, the crime of success.

NEWS FROM OTHER LANDS.

THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT IN CAIRO.

BY MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT.

I think it is possible that readers of THE WOMAN'S LEADER will be interested in hearing of a few points illustrating the development of the Woman's Movement which I have observed during my present visit to Cairo. I was here twenty-five years ago, and compared with that time the development of women's education is very remarkable. The ground was, I believe, first broken by an American Mission School. All honour to it! In 1896, during a conversation with Artin Pascha, Minister of Education, he told me of the very stony ground which the Americans found on their first arrival. Artin Pascha's words were: "No one wanted girls to be educated, and when the school was opened no children came to it. It was in Ismail's time, and he wished to show courtesy to the U.S.A., therefore, in order to give the mission school a chance, he gave it two female slaves out of the palace. With these two the school was opened, and a beginning of girls' education was made." This no doubt refers to a time some forty years ago. The contrast with the present day is very remarkable. I was talking yesterday to an old friend, Mrs. Elgood, O.B.E., M.B., who is in the Ministry of Public Instruction here, and she told me that there is a very strong demand on the part of parents for education for their girls as well as their boys. All the schools are packed, and many girls have to be refused admittance because the accommodation is insufficient. The training establishments for women teachers are also in great demand, four times as many applying for admission as can possibly be received, and there is now a good supply of young women who are fully competent to take the place of headmistress in girls' schools. Nevertheless, Mrs. Elgood felt that the fundamental position of inferiority and subordination which the Moslem world enforces on women, puts an overwhelming difficulty in the way of that equal citizenship between men and women for which Suffragists are working.

Another satisfactory sign of progress reached me yesterday, in a letter from Miss Violetta Thurstan, once organiser in the West of England for the N.U.W.S.S. She did some splendid work for us in Russia in connection with our hospitals there, before the violence of the revolution necessitated the withdrawal of our units. She is now "Director of Bedouin Industries" in the Frontier Districts Administration. It is always delightful, and not at all uncommon, to hear of our old Suffrage workers breaking new ground in various parts of the world. I will let Miss Thurstan tell her own story:—

"You may be interested in knowing about the work that the Frontier Districts Administration are doing for the Bedouin

women in the Western desert. During the Senoussi campaign there was much distress among the Bedouins: their camels were taken, their tents burnt, and their men went off to fight, and in many cases never came back. The British army found these people starving and fed them for some time, till it occurred to some one to set them to work at the only trade they knew, which was weaving and spinning. This industry has grown till now I have a large camp of 540 men, women and children, most of them employed in these industries. We do not Europeanise them in any way . . . but we do try to improve their welfare in every possible way. We have now a trained welfare worker who does the dressings, gives out milk to the babies, superintends the baking, &c., and this has made a wonderful difference, the mortality among the children has decreased a great deal, so has eye-disease, and gradually more hygienic habits have begun to prevail. . . . We buy the raw wool in the desert markets at the sheep-shearing times. It is brought here and washed and scoured and hung in the sun to dry. Then it is spun. . . . Then some of the wool is dyed. We are almost the only people who are keeping alive the art of vegetable dyeing. Lastly, the wool is woven into carpets, coloured blankets, bags, &c., which are sold in Cairo and Alexandria.* This is the chief centre of the work, but I have three other centres far out in the desert, the furthest, 350 miles from here."

Surely it is legitimate to take an honest pride in work such as this, carried out by English men and women away out in the desert, for the sake of helping men, women, and children of alien races to a higher standard of well-being. "For dearly must we prize them. We also find them at the bulwarks of the cause of men," as Wordsworth said of England more than 100 years ago.

One more little incident must bring this article to a conclusion. The day before yesterday, in the magnificent Mosque of Mahommed Ali, on the Citadel of Cairo, our dragoman was explaining, that though it might be considered the Chapel Royal, every Moslem man, however poor and humble, had the right of entrance for purposes of worship—every man, but no woman under any circumstances. We naturally exclaimed at this, "Haven't women any souls?" He then assured us of the great changes that were taking place in the position of women even in the Moslem world, described the growing enthusiasm for education, and added, "Soon they will be having votes!" So the leaven is working until the whole will be leavened.

* I am told that Heal's, in Tottenham Court Road, stock these rugs, &c.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED ON THE FIRST DAY OF THE COUNCIL OF THE N.U.S.E.C.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

"That the N.U.S.E.C., in Annual Meeting assembled, calls attention to the fact that notwithstanding its General Election pledge 'to remove all existing inequalities in the law as between men and women,' the Government has as yet taken no steps to remove the glaring inequality in the election law which debars from the franchise the great majority of industrial and professional women who have special need for the protection of the vote.

"The National Union, therefore, calls upon the Government immediately to introduce, and to carry through all its stages this Session, a measure to extend the Parliamentary franchise to women on the same terms as it is granted to men, and so bring the United Kingdom into line with the twenty other countries which have already given to women full equal suffrage."

WOMEN JURORS.

"This Council holds that, since women are called to jury service by virtue of their citizenship, in no case should they be excluded from a jury merely on account of their sex. It further holds that there is a special need for the presence of women on juries in cases where the relations between the sexes are concerned, and it condemns the false conception of delicacy that would deter women from the performance of a public duty."

EQUAL GUARDIANSHIP.

"That this Council calls upon Members of the House of Commons to support by their vote and influence the Guardianship, Maintenance, and Custody of Infants Bill, and urges the Government to adopt the Bill as a Government measure, and to allow time for its passage into law this Session."

WOMEN IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

"That this Council, having noted from the King's Speech that it is intended to introduce a measure for the reform of the House of Lords this Session, calls upon the Government to provide for the membership of women in any scheme which it may bring forward for a second chamber."

WOMEN IN THE CIVIL SERVICE.

"That this Council views with dismay the wholesale substitution of ex-Service men for women now going on, and in view of the present serious state of unemployment for professional workers, it demands that the Government shall not carry substitution any further."

CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT.

"This meeting cordially thanks the Bishop of London for reintroducing his Criminal Law Amendment Bill, and calls upon the Government to give facilities for its immediate passage into law, but regrets that the Bishop has withdrawn the clause extending protection to boys."

LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

"That this Council welcomes the appointment by the Council of the League of Nations of Frau Anna Wicksell to the Permanent Mandates Commission."

UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG WOMEN.

"That in the opinion of this Council the increasing unemployment among women constitutes a national danger."

ALLOWANCES FOR CHILDREN OF UNEMPLOYED PERSONS.

"That this Council, holding that it is neither just nor expedient that children should suffer privation because of trade depression, calls upon the Government to grant allowances to children of unemployed persons."

NEW ENTERPRISE.

Walt Whitman sang in praise of pioneers: perhaps he knew their difficulties. At any rate, there is a constant need for them and they deserve praising. Two sets of enterprising women call for attention to-day—the women who are attacking the problems of housing, and insurance for women. Perhaps they are not strictly pioneers; others have broken some of the ground, but they are, at any rate, facing all the normal pioneer difficulties. We refer to the Pioneer Housing, Ltd., the first Public Utility Society formed by women, whose object is to convert big London houses into flats for professional women. The Government offers very advantageous terms and the good work has actually begun. To all the many whom this project con-

cerns we commend the meetings being held by this Company, which are noted in another column. The second enterprise is the Professional Women and Social Workers' Approved Society (16, Curzon Road, London, W. 10), which is a Friendly Society for the professional women of all occupations who wish to be insured in a woman's society. The Secretary, Miss Double, was the first woman in England to pass the examinations for insurance work under the National Health Insurance Act, and it is proposed to run the society with a woman's committee and on democratic lines. We commend both these enterprises to our readers.

THE LADY CHICHESTER HOSPITAL FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN AT HOVE.

Many of us have, at one time or another, needed a rest cure, and we have been thankful for the quiet of a nursing-home under the care of a skilled and sympathetic doctor. But the cure has never been an inexpensive one, and we have wondered what happened to the women who could not possibly afford the early treatment that was so essential in our own cases. Then, perhaps, we have seen our poorer friends enduring days and nights of ceaseless, sleepless misery, have even seen their sanity threatened, and have finally, perhaps, found them in asylum wards, lost to their families and to their work. It is with great relief, therefore, that we learn of at least one place where professional and working women (and poor children, too) can receive, without expense, preventive and really effective treatment such as we have had ourselves.

The Lady Chichester Hospital for Women and Children at Hove, Sussex, is the *only hospital* in the whole of the United Kingdom which specialises in all forms of nervous and mental breakdown in their early stages, and the short survey of its work for the past sixteen years, which has just been published, tells of the hundreds of women and children who have come to it from all parts of the United Kingdom, and even from such distant places as Egypt and Nigeria. Its experience strikingly confirms the arguments which the leading mental specialists are now urging in favour of establishing clinics for the treatment of such diseases in connection with the general hospitals. Under the present system no hospital is provided for nervous and mental patients until they have reached the certifiable and, therefore, generally, the incurable stage. What is urgently needed is that sufferers from these diseases should have exactly the same prompt and easy access to treatment as the sufferers from any physical disease.

Of the value of such prompt treatment, the survey gives very interesting proof, in analysing one hundred consecutive cases treated at the Lady Chichester Hospital, of all ages, from six to eighty-three, and of many different occupations, such as nursing, acting, domestic service, and wives and children from every class. Of the hundred, no fewer than fifty-four were completely cured, while only twenty-two left the hospital without showing any improvement, and not one of the twenty-two was a genuine early case. Some of them had been ill for years, and could have been cured if only they had been treated early enough.

Two typical successful recent cases are those of a child messenger and of a nursing sister. The child was working at the Admiralty, having just left school at fourteen, and one day, on her way to work, saw a man throw himself under a train in the tube railway. She went home and told her parents about it in great excitement. The next day she was very quiet from the shock, and every succeeding day quieter, until she never spoke and seemed to notice nothing. After a few weeks in bed in the hospital, she gradually recovered, took a great interest in the other children, was very helpful with them, and finally left perfectly well and able to take up the same work again. The nursing sister, who had been torpedoed by the Germans, and had only been rescued after clinging to wreckage in the water for many hours, reached the hospital terrified of water and of noises, and totally unable to sleep. After two months, spent mostly in the garden, she began to improve, and at the end of three months she left the hospital, quite normal and jolly, and able to take up her usual work.

Is it any wonder that the hospital has a waiting list five times as numerous as the patients under treatment, and that it is now obliged to appeal for funds to increase its accommodation? Will not our readers who feel any interest in this hospital, or who have suffered from nervous illnesses, or have witnessed those dear to them so suffering, help this magnificent work by sending a subscription to the Countess of Chichester, Aldington House, Hove?

THE DIARY OF A WOMAN IN THE HOME.

16, Plane Tree Road, G—,
February 26th.

In spite of the beautiful spring weather everybody has colds. Bridget has one of the adaptable kind. It gets better or worse according to immediate requirements. We were going out to tea to-day and the cold was better, but when it turned out that the friends we were going to had influenza themselves, so that the tea-party could not anyway take place to-day, it began to come on again. We went to the dancing class in the morning, however, and a play was arranged for after tea. Bridget did not want to be the Princess this time, and though she chose to be Page, she behaved to the Princess in a manner quite inconsistent with the laws of the chivalry. Fortunately, the Princess realised the situation, and as she was also the author of the play, it was adapted as it proceeded to meet the cold-inspired humour of the Page.

Just when it was beginning Lawrence and his mother came to visit us. Lawrence is four, and has all the charm of that most attractive of all ages, besides a special charm of his own. He is not so much clever as wise. He is, at his present stage, one of those children who make it possible to believe in the thesis of Wordsworth's "Ode on Intimations of Immortality." Heaven still lies about him, though soon, too soon, "shades of the prison house" must begin "to close upon the growing boy." Lawrence did not take part in the play. (He is not very fond of acting, though he does it sometimes.) But he made a very sympathetic addition to the audience, taking care to clap at the right moments, and only expressing *sotto voce* a hope that these would not occur when he was *too* busy. He was busy with a particular box of bricks (the flat wooden kind with little nicks in them to fit them together) which he always plays with when he comes to this house. He had them on the hearthrug (which was the auditorium) constructing an office for his mother "to go to in the middle of the day," but standing up at intervals, the better to applaud the Princess signing Bills in her Council, and the Page who had become a usurper to the throne. All too soon, the usurper had to be taken up to her bed, while the builder was taken home to his, whispering, as he put on his coat, "It was good that we came, wasn't it? Do you think that it was good that we came?" Bridget's cold got better when she had had her bath, and we were reading Miss Yonge's "P.s and Q.s" by the nursery fire. Bye-the-bye, "The Little Duke" was a great success, though the scene in which Lothaire threatens to blind the falcon was almost too harrowing. The WICKED, CROOL Boy!!! Oh!!!!!! But thanks to Duke Richard's bravery, it ended well just in time. "The Little Duke" is certainly one of the best of all children's books.

March 2nd.

Ellie has the cold to-day, and had to stay away from school this morning. She has been decidedly happy. Between breakfast and lunch she read through the whole of two volumes of "The Sundering Flood," the most delightful of all William Morris's Prose Romances. I have now provided her with Motteux's translation of "Don Quixote" in four fat volumes. She had complained that there was not nearly enough "Don Quixote" in Andrew Lang's Books of Romance. She received the complete version with delight, saying, "I shall read every word of this, except the life of 'Cervants.'"

At lunch we had a conversation about women in the Church. I have long been expecting that Ellie's extreme and apparently inborn interest both in ecclesiastical matters and in feminism would lead her to consider this subject, but I did not introduce it. She suddenly said, "Wouldn't it be much nicer if there were priestesses now like in old days? Why aren't there?" I tried

to tell her something of what was now going on, and of Miss Royden's (so far vain) struggle to be allowed a church to teach in. She was indignant. "But why? Why? WHY? Don't they think women are as much children of God as men?" Faint-heartedly I tried to explain the arguments of the traditionalists, but this was all swept aside. "I don't see why, because it hasn't ever been done, it shouldn't be done now. All that matters is if its right or not, and I should think the women who want to do it, would get the—the inspiration to know in themselves if its right for them, wouldn't they?" So the matter now appears to a child, perhaps in another ten or fifteen or twenty or fifty years it may appear so to bishops! Ellie may yet live to be a bishop herself! Paralysing thought!

March 3rd.

I see there is another outbreak of rage in the *Times* this morning about unemployed women who will *not* be domestic servants. (It is not an expression of opinion by the *Times* itself, of course, but letters from "Ordinary Women . . . in charge of the domestic side of life," and "A Penalised Housewife.") Whatever my feelings when I have to find a servant, as I have had to do more than once lately, or my opinions when I am considering the question quite impersonally, I am always reduced to a frenzy of partisanship with the girl-who-won't-be-a-servant by these letters. The point of view is so blatantly selfish. As taxpayers, we do not want to pay more taxes: as educated women we want to be relieved of a part at least of the labour of our households, in order that we may have some leisure and some time to work at other things. That is all natural enough, I think; I feel it myself not only when I am encountering the cold and almost mocking stare of the clerk at the registry office, but at moments when I am quite calm. But does it follow that we who have some, if only a little, unearned increment, or who are partially supported by others, should have the right to force poorer women with the same desires as ourselves to do nothing but domestic work, even though they have even less vocation for it than we have? Have we so much right to our own leisure and our own preferred work, that in order to secure it we force others, by the fear of starvation, to abandon theirs?

Another minor point is, that this method of proceeding is, after all, hardly the way to produce good servants. I have been extremely happy in my domestic helpers even in these difficult times. The only girl I have had to work for me who was not a success was one who longed to return to the kind of work she had been doing during the war, and was only forced into "service" by that being closed against her. She was always discontented and consequently inefficient.

Fortunately, there are still a good many women who really like domestic work, and many more who like it as well as anything else. The former takes some finding, of course—when found, they are quite as good as any pre-war servant, which is fortunate, as we, most of us, require a great deal more of them. For is it not true that many of us now expect one general maid, or perhaps a cook and a daily servant, to do most of the work, or at any rate to help us do it, whereas, in old days, with the same income and the same number of children, we should have kept a cook and a housemaid and a parlourmaid and a nurse, and quite possibly a nursemaid or between-maid too, besides having in a charwoman several times a week? Present arrangements make more demands on the mistress, but they also make more demands on the maid, demands which only one with a vocation for her work can fulfil. How vain then, as well as wicked, to try and force "industrially minded" girls to come as unwilling slaves into our homes.

MARGARET CLARE.

DRAMA.

"Mis' Nell o' New Orleans" at the Duke of York's.

What an enchanting art is real acting! And how rare! When one looks back, what actors or actresses have there been? Garrick—and Ellen Terry—and William Armstrong; there must have been more; but whoever were they?

This train of memories arises from "Mis' Nell o' New Orleans," because opposites suggest one another. Acting is delightful; and so it is to see an actress break away from all the impersonating side of her art, swim on to the stage, let herself go, and play with her audience to her heart's content. Miss Vanbrugh "plays," and not as actors use that word, as a choicer synonym for "to act." She plays like a kitten, a large kitten, with sport and verve and caprice enough for twenty tigers. It is, I say, delightful to see Miss Vanbrugh be Miss Vanbrugh, or be what she will. She makes a play a Vanbrugh play, as Mr. Hawtrey makes a play a Hawtrey play. You could leave out the play if you left in Miss Vanbrugh.

As "Mis' Nell," Miss Vanbrugh drops the attempt to create something which she is not, and in this sense does not act. But in consummate knowledge of stage effectiveness, act she does, as only she, Mrs. Patrick Campbell, and Miss Ellis Jeffreys, and a few others can do. It is superb to see her at play. To begin with, what an odd, interesting physique! It is a contradiction in terms. Miss Vanbrugh's arms were made to enforce and adorn high poetry. The lovely movement of her hand upon her wrist holds the audience just by itself. And out of that wide mouth of hers, what round, delicious sounds pour out. (A lesson to the young gentleman in the present cast, whose final consonants have gone where the good niggers go.) Miss Vanbrugh uses her distinguished physique to make the broadest comic effects. She is the most lively, effective Mrs. Bigmouth in existence. She is the most female woman in the world. She is the most scheming creature, the most alluring creature, the quickest, the most incomprehensible, the most mocking, the most irritating that any man that ever met her had ever met. And then besides, she is the noblest creature before whom he ever removed his hat. But it takes some people about thirty years to find this out. In the second act of this play, Miss Vanbrugh becomes too delightful. In the garb of 1886, confined by the stays of that epoch, she lets herself go. The stays stretch, up fly her white satin heels, and away she goes. The further she went, the better. The more *risquée* (1886) she became, the more did she trample upon us. She is racy, she is a charmer; she rollicks, and she does it with an exquisite technique and an exquisite physique. Real comedies ought to be written for her; Sir John Vanbrugh ought to be resuscitated.

Miss Vanbrugh was a joking, laughing woman of immense vitality, frank, and a little stupid. In real life, men, and other women, sometimes have too much of such women. They are not always successful women. They suffer sometimes. To give a woman of this sort her fullest chance, she must have people round her who do things no one would do, and feel as real people do not feel, and don't understand and do understand in the most unlikely ways. Miss Vanbrugh is surrounded by a number of characters of this sort, and so she has got an excellent play—for the purpose. In it she has all the effect which a woman would like to have, and probably will never have until the world is changed completely.

It all happens in New Orleans, among the dear old darkies, so attached and faithful, and the aristocratic Creoles with their wonderful French accents and their Southern passions.

Delphine and Félix decide to marry. Delphine's Aunt Nell has just returned from Paris, which began to depress her. Félix's father, Georges Durand, and Aunt Nell will not hear of the

marriage, because long ago they were engaged, and broke it off. Georges Durand comes to forbid the match, and his former love pokes her horn-rimmed glasses and her ear-trumpet in his face. He forbids the match. The good priest, Père Clement, is there—Nell's first caller. (After this you cannot call him a caller, for he is there all the time. It was Mardigras, and I suppose he had time on his hands. And he had worshipped Miss Nell from his youth, and showed it in every possible way.) He, too, becomes frantic; they all become frantic; Delphine and Félix defy "Poppa," as Miss Vanbrugh would say. Georges, the wicked fellow, flings open the garden gate: in comes a slender beauty in a bright pink dress with gold flounces, and a gold hat, and Georges pronounces the fatal words, "Félix is married already!" Consternation ensues. Delphine flings off Félix. Félix rushes off "to drag the name of Durand through the gutter," and it is only Miss Nell who gives him one touch of human sympathy as he goes, and an invitation to dinner.

Act 2 is the excellent act of the play. New Orleans has begun to rub off the blight of Paris; Nell's spirits are rising. It is Mardigras; it is evening. Dinner is laid under the lanterns hung from the trees. The garden, the flowers, even the knives and forks, "the old silver and glass," as Nell says carefully, "are full of romance to-night." She comes down to Georges and Père Clement, flings off her wrap, and there is Miss Vanbrugh in white satin and tiny bouquets of roses, with a long blue ribbon swinging from her dark chignon to her white shoulder, Miss Vanbrugh girlish and pretty as she was—not, I'm sure, in 1886. But '86 was Nell's year—the year of that Mardigras when she and Georges—O moonlight! O music! O memories! and O, above all, the high spirits with which Miss Vanbrugh routs the sentimentality of this scene. For there enters the expected guest, Félix, but Félix changed by a red hunting coat and top boots into the picture of Georges in '86. (Unfortunately he was not quite changed from the lethargic Félix of Act I.) Then Nell kicks up her heels and gallops away. Félix remains a perfect gentleman, even when drinking sparkling Moselle out of Nell's glass; but how these quiet men do break out! At the end of the act he drives Nell off, in his father's coach, to instant marriage. Is it 1886 or 1786? But long before this, Nell's carryings on have done for Père Clement and the truculent Georges. For Nell begins telling what that garden had seen when a girl was eating prawns à la Créole there in '86. Then Georges tells what a boy saw there, in '86; viz., another boy climbing into, and then out of, the girl's window, upon which he instantly decided "to repudiate her at the altar." Père Clement then ups, and tells how the climbing boy, ruined by gaming on that fatal night in '86, was saved by the angel girl, and found his vocation in the Church, "and who will drink with me to the loveliest lady in Louisiana?" Upon which, the reverend father's pretty little effect is spoiled by such a "youp" from Delphine as I have rarely heard upon the stage. It is a most incredible sound! One would like to know how she does it. Anyhow, it is the way in which Miss Helea Spencer voices Delphine's anguish at seeing Aunt Nell using Félix's pocket handkerchief.

It is enough to say that all comes right in the end, and that the Créole background does not add much to the play. For the actors, it is simply a question—can they stand up against the acting of Miss Vanbrugh? Experienced and intelligent actors like Mr. Hallard and Mr. Leslie Faber can, and inexperienced, ordinary young people cannot. The only point of interest was to see how quickly Miss Edna Best's charming awkwardness has become a recognised pattern. But Miss Helen Spencer had really better drop the imitation.

REVIEWS.

Bliss. By Katharine Mansfield. (Constable. 9s. net.)

Miss Katharine Mansfield has a right to be counted among the most distinguished of our younger writers. In a volume entitled "Bliss" she has published a dozen or so short stories which have been appearing in the *Athenaeum*. They show that she is possessed of many precious gifts—intelligence, wit, swiftness and brightness of language, a curious power of observation, a queer knowledge of life. And all these things are at the service of a fine ambition and a *souci d'art* which is exceedingly rare among our modern writers of fiction. We feel that she has studied the aesthetics of the short story in all the greatest masters—Turgenev, Maupassant, James, and Tchekof—especially, of course, Tchekof. She has pored over their methods, analysed them, absorbed them, experimented with them. Penetrating critic as she is, she knows, better than anyone can tell her, the extraordinary danger of her task. Has she plucked the flower from out of the nettle? At any rate, she has made a brave attempt. It is probable that the cardinal point of Miss Mansfield's creed is that the outside appearance of the material world is interesting only in so far as it reveals the inward essence which is its soul. To make the *liaison* between the two as close and intimate as it is in life, to give the sensation that what we are looking at is not the exact reflection of a shallow mirror, but a surface below which lie waters of unfathomable depth—this is what she is obviously aiming at. Now, Miss Mansfield gives us the reflections with a sharpness, a polish, a vivacity which are highly remarkable—but the depths below? We feel her trying to convey to us the sensation of the depths below, but somehow—by what failure of imagination—or is it only of tact?—it too often happens that instead of this plunge into the unplumbed abyss, we find ourselves with a shock brought up shortly and unpleasantly against a very concrete bottom. If it is true that her stories begin like Tchekof, we are almost tempted to say that they end like Ethel M. Dell. The essence of life which they try to convey to us is not rare enough for the rareness of the presentation of its surface. The two do not match—or else they are not sufficiently related. The story of "Bliss," for instance, which is so brilliant up to a certain point, collapses as it reaches its climax—a climax, which, after an exquisite preparation, seems somehow common—not commonplace, no, not commonplace enough, just common. Is it that though she can imagine a person and a mood (her pictures of moods are particularly good), she has not yet achieved the art of placing the person in the atmosphere of his own life, or of making us realise that the mood is not an isolated moment but an indivisible portion of a personality? We cannot tell. We recognise that she presses into the short compass of her stories an immense number of good things; but we are greedy; we want still more and still better; we want her immensely not to leave out the best.

A Case in Camera. By Oliver Onions. (Arrowsmith, Bristol. 7s. 6d.)

The Mysterious Affair at Styles. By Agatha Christie. (The Bodley Head. 7s. 6d.)

Crises: Tales of Mystery and Horror. By Maurice Level. (Philpot. 6s.)

Mr. Oliver Onions is undoubtedly one of our most interesting writers of criminal and detective stories. We can only think of Mrs. Belloc Lowndes besides himself who can use this type of fiction for producing anything but the most superficial and hackneyed effects. And yet, what possibilities still untouched there are in the romance of crime! Mr. Onions, at any rate, has the imagination to realise that it is not so much the problem of the crime that interests us, as the problem of the human being who commits it, or of the other human beings whom it affects in various ways. The mystery of the accident in "A Case in Camera"—or was it a crime?—that suddenly startled the cheerful little luncheon party in Chelsea in so tragic a manner, assumes many aspects before we have done with it, but in each of its aspects it is with its reactions on the characters of the story that we are concerned, and not with the mere mystery itself, though that is well enough contrived. And the characters are charming people: the journalist with psychological leanings who tells the story, the successful and delightful A.R.A. and his delightful wife, the commander, the aviator, the K.C., and the quizzing police-inspector are as entertaining and lifelike and pleasant a set of

persons as we often meet with. We are glad that the mystery turns out to have no tragical results.

In "The Mysterious Affair at Styles," on the other hand, the whole interest in the book consists in the discovery of the true murderer. We are told that it was written as the result of a bet that the author could not compose a detective story in which the reader would not be able to find the murderer, though having access to all the same clues as the detective. The reader certainly has excellent sport for his money; the clues are as varied and as apparently irreconcilable and as confusing as he could possibly wish; suspicion moves from one person to another in the most approved manner, and when, in the last chapter, the criminal is divulged, we have to admit that we have been mystified most ingeniously and far more fairly than usual.

"Crises: Tales of Mystery and Horror," is the first of a new series of translations from the French, edited by Miss Alys Eyre Macklin, who is also the translator of the present volume. It consists of a collection of tales by M. Maurice Level, who is well known to the readers of *Le Journal* as a contributor of sensational short stories. Notwithstanding the prefaces to the book by the late H. B. Irving and by Miss Macklin, in which comparisons to Poe and Æschylus fly about somewhat recklessly, it would be a mistake to suppose that M. Level's reputation in France extends much beyond the readers of *Le Journal* and the frequenters of the *Grand Guignol*. There are, it is true, a great many of these, but their verdict is not enough to place M. Level among the most celebrated French writers or to warrant treating his stories as serious literature. After this warning, we may go on to admit his talents. Each of the tales has in it—neither mystery nor horror—but a pungent little whiff of sensation; each of them adroitly condenses into two or three pages the same type of false and crude emotion as is aroused by a melodrama or a film; the most superior persons are not above being amused at times by such titillation of the nerves, and to them we can heartily recommend "Crises," which for the most part does its work effectively. But for those who cannot tell the difference between titillated nerves and real emotions—Oh! well, let them read it too—it will do them no harm. D. B.

A CHILD IN PAIN

will awaken the sympathy of us all. It is a sight which touches the heart and troubles the soul. But there is a still sadder sight—that of

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inflicted on a little child by those who should be its loving protectors. In England to-day, helpless little ones are being starved, beaten, bullied, neglected, cowed, and dazed by constant ill-treatment. You can help to shield them by supporting the NATIONAL SOCIETY for the PREVENTION of CRUELTY to CHILDREN.

Pity and self-respect both claim your sympathy and gifts, for a "Cruelty Case" in an English Newspaper is

A BLOT ON ENGLAND'S REPUTATION.

Last year no less than 100,448 little ones were rescued or helped, making a total of nearly three million assisted in the past 36 years. These times of increased cost of all services have put this work in danger of curtailment.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN TEACHERS.

MADAM,—I have read with great interest your recent articles on occupational and differential rates of payment as between men and women, and I would like, whilst acknowledging that there is difficulty, in some cases, in computing woman's value as a worker, to point out that in the teaching profession, where the work of men and women is of equal value to the State, a differential rate of payment is exceedingly dangerous to the woman.

In a large provincial town, last week, it was decided to adopt a scale of salaries for the teachers which would give a woman four-fifths of the salary given to a man of the same status.

The difference before had only been six-sevenths. Now it cannot be supposed that the work of those women had suddenly deteriorated so that it was worth less by the fractional difference of four-fifths and six-sevenths.

Why the change? Because the scale was decided upon by the Burnham Committee, which consisted of forty men and five women, and because of the working of the vicious principle that payment should be made according to sex rather than for work done.

My belief is in the "Occupational Rate" and a free opportunity to prove ability in any sphere of labour.

E. C. EVATT, L.L.A.,
Joint Press Secretary, Manchester
Branch of the N.U.W.T.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT OF MOTHERHOOD.

MADAM.—In the article in a recent issue of THE WOMAN'S LEADER, by Miss Eleanor Rathbone, she says that women receive no remuneration for producing and rearing children, except through the husband's wages, and on this bases her argument for family endowment; that is, she places the work done by the man, with the object of earning a livelihood, and the rearing of children by the woman, in the same category as wage-earning services. This is a quite untrue presentment. When men and women marry, and incidentally produce and rear children, they do not do so with a view to its being a service to the community, but for the happiness and fulfilment of their own lives. That they do, incidentally, benefit the community, is merely saying that by the natural human law, that which is good and right for the individual works out for the good of the community. The same natural law provides for the family, by the extra incentive given to the man to provide for those dear to him, and its working seems to have been sufficient to carry us through the centuries with increasing prosperity and increasing population.

In every community there will be exceptional cases where, through wrong or misfortune, individual families may need help from the community, or from private citizens, but this is only the exception which proves the rule.

V. E. WARDLE.

A POLICY FOR IRELAND.

MADAM.—As the matter of Ireland is at present getting the attention of serious minds, would it not be a wiser policy for women to refrain from virulent vituperation of those who know what best to do in order to repress crime? Murders are not politics; and until the murders by Sinn Fein are ended, there can be no perfect policy for Ireland.

A perfect policy for women is to learn both sides of every question, and to be just and merciful in every view.

"All violence of sword, or pen, or tongue
Not strength nor greatness is at all,
But feebleness and wrong!"

LEX.

PROTECTION OF WOMEN AND YOUNG GIRLS.

MADAM.—Owing to the shortness of time, may I be allowed to use your columns to call the attention of your readers to the Second Reading of the Bishop of London's Criminal Law Amendment Bill on March 9th?

The objects of the Bill are to raise the age at which a child can "consent" to indecent assault from thirteen to sixteen; to raise the age for criminal assault on girls from sixteen to seventeen; to abolish the defence of "reasonable cause to believe" that the girl was over the protected age; to extend the time in which a prosecution can be taken from six to twelve months; and to increase the penalties against brothel-keeping.

This Bill is practically non-controversial from the point of view of the women's and religious organisations. It unites everybody interested in the better protection of the immaturity of young people.

I hope local societies and branch organisations throughout the country will have poured in resolutions before March 9th to the Home Secretary, Home Office, Whitehall, asking the Government to give facilities to the Bishop of London's Criminal Law Amendment Bill.

We have now a unique opportunity to raise the "age of consent." It only needs united and effective pressure. This Association appeals to all societies to support the Bill.

ALISON, NEILANS, Secretary,
Association for Moral and Social Hygiene.

COMING EVENTS.

INTERNATIONAL FRANCHISE CLUB.

MARCH 16.

9, Grafton Street, Piccadilly, W.
Speaker: Mr. J. C. Squire.
Subject: "Some Observations on Poetry."
Chairman: Mr. Robert Lynd. 8.15 p.m.

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

MARCH 11.

At Brighton and Hove Union, Women's Local Government, and S.E.C.
Debate: "The Solution of the Drink Problem."
Speakers: Miss M. Cotterell for State Purchase; Mr. Geo. B. Wilson for Local Option. 5.30 p.m.

MARCH 15.

At Hove, Women's Co-operative Guild.
Subject: "State Purchase of the Liquor Trade."
Speaker: Miss M. Cotterell. 7.30 p.m.

MARCH 16.

At Uxbridge, Women's Section Labour Party.
Subject: "Public Ownership of the Liquor Trade."
Speaker: Miss M. Cotterell. 3 p.m.

MARCH 17.

At Bath, Women Citizens' Association.
Subject: "State Purchase—the only way to Local Option."
Speaker: Miss F. L. Carre. 3 p.m.
At Desford, Women's Adult School.
Subject: "The Carlisle Experiment."
Speaker: Miss M. Cotterell. 2.45 p.m.

MARCH 18.

At Poole, National Council of Women.
Debate: "State Purchase the only way to Local Option."
Speakers: For, Miss F. L. Carre; Against, Mrs. C. Courtenay. 7.30 p.m.

WOMEN'S LOCAL GOVERNMENT SOCIETY.

MARCH 15.

At the Caxton Hall, Westminster.
A Social Gathering, from 3.45–5.45 p.m.
Chair: The Lady Emmott, J.P.
Speaker: The Lady Amherst of Hackney.
Subject: "Local Government: the Outer Home Sphere."

YORKSHIRE COUNCIL FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

MAY 27–31.

Week-end School, at Cober Hill, Cloughton, nr. Scarborough.
Directors: Lady Lawson Tancred, Miss Hartop (18, Park Row, Leeds).

BELFAST WOMEN CITIZENS' ASSOCIATION.

MARCH 14.

Speaker: Miss Rathbone, J.P., C.C.
Chair: The Dean of Belfast.

DERRY WOMEN CITIZENS' ASSOCIATION.

MARCH 15.

Speaker: Miss E. F. Rathbone, J.P., C.C.
Subject: "Women Jurors and Women Magistrates."
Chair: Mrs. D. Stevenson, M.B.E.

IRISH WOMEN CITIZENS' AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT ASSOCIATION.

MARCH 16.

In the Gregg Memorial Hall, Dublin.
Speaker: Miss Rathbone, J.P., C.C.
Chair: Lady Dockrell, J.P., C.C., U.D.C. 5 p.m.

BRIGHTON & HOVE UNION FOR WOMEN'S LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

MARCH 14.

At the Y.M.C.A. Hall, Old Steine.
Debate: "The Solution of the Drink Problem."
(a) State Purchase. (Speaker, Miss M. Cotterell, O.B.E.).
(b) Direct Parliamentary Measures giving Local Option. (Speaker, Geo. B. Wilson, Esq.).
Chair: Rev. Archdale M. Hill, M.A. 5.30 p.m.

THE LADY CHICHESTER HOSPITAL, HOVE.

MARCH 14.

At 11, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, by kind permission of Lady Scott Moncrieff, a Drawing-Room Meeting will be held at 3.30.
Speakers: The Countess of Chichester, Dr. Mary Scharlieb, Dr. Helen Boyle.
Chair: Lady Emmott.

LONDON AND PROVINCIAL ANTI-VIVISECTION SOCIETY.

MARCH 16.

A Public Meeting will be held at the Eolian Hall, New Bond Street, in support of the Dog's Bill (a Bill to Prohibit the Vivisection of Dogs), which is due to be read a second time on April 12th.
Speakers: Col. Burn, M.P., B. P. Allinson, Esq., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.
Chair: Mrs. Dacre Fox. 3 p.m.

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.

MARCH 14.

In the Minerva Café, 144, High Holborn.
Speaker: Mr. Joseph McCabe.
Subject: "Some Feminist Writers." 7 p.m.

MARCH 16.

Speaker: Miss Alicia Leith.
Subject: "The Way of the World Worth Living In." 3 p.m.

PEACE WITH IRELAND COUNCIL.

MARCH 18.

A Women's Meeting will be held at the Central Hall, Westminster. Those organising the meeting include Viscountess Bryce, Lady Frances Balfour, Lady Robert Cecil, Dr. Garrett Anderson, Lady Henry Somerset, Miss Margaret Bondfield, the Marchioness of Aberdeen, Miss Maude Royden, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Miss Picton-Turbervill, Lady (Mark) Sykes, Lady Bonham-Carter, and Dr. Marion Phillips.

Tickets can be obtained at Room 30, Queen Anne's Chambers, Westminster.

FLATS AT MODERATE RENTS.

March 14th

Public Meetings

AT THE

Women's Institute, 92, Victoria Street,
5.30 p.m. and 7 p.m.

Speakers will include: The Hon. Mrs. FRANKLIN, Mrs. C. S. PEEL, O.B.E., Mrs. OLIVER STRACHEY, Capt. R. L. REISS.

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AN APPEAL TO WOMEN.

As a housekeeper you have the power to reform the methods of slaughtering animals used for food.

GIVE A THOUGHT TO THE ANIMALS.

If you were to spend some days in the private slaughterhouses of England you would readily support our Slaughter Reform Campaign. Our object is to ensure the abolition by law of private slaughterhouses and the institution of humanely-conducted sanitary public Abattoirs. Other countries have accomplished this reform. Why not England, admittedly the pioneer in movements for the protection of animals? Animals are still bled without being stunned, the pole-axe—the cause of terrible cruelty in the hands of the inexperienced, the heartless and the careless—is still in use. There are no schools for slaughtermen, no recognised standard of efficiency without which no one should be permitted to kill animals for food.

THE MEAT YOU BUY.

You can help now by insisting that the meat you buy is derived from animals killed by humane and mechanically-operated instruments. Induce your butcher to buy and use The Animal Defence Society's Humane Killer (price 16/6 and sold without profit by the Society). Many advanced butchers have already adopted this instrument which ensures a painless and instantaneous death to bullocks, horses, calves, pigs, etc.

USE YOUR INFLUENCE.

The Ministry of Health has issued model bye-laws for slaughterhouses, including directions for the humane killing of animals. As yet these bye-laws have only been adopted by a few towns. We ask you to use your influence on local Committees and Municipalities to hasten the general adoption of these bye-laws. Apply to us for information and publications.

PUBLIC OPINION CAN SECURE THIS REFORM.

The Animal Defence & Anti-Vivisection Society, 35, Old Bond St., W.1.

L. LIND-AF-HAGEBY, Hon. General Secretary.

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

Given at the Annual Council Meeting of the N.U.S.E.C. by MISS ELEANOR F. RATHBONE, J.P., C.C., M.A., on March 8th, 1921.

The National Union exists to attain certain clearly defined ends, and meeting together after a lapse of twelve months, it is natural that we should take stock and reckon up our gains. This year it is inevitable that the reckoning process should be rather a depressing one, for so far as legislation is concerned, the plain fact is that there have been no gains. As those who read the Parliamentary sections of our Annual Report will see, we have had a year of hard work, illuminated by a good many rays of hope, but the rays have always faded before they have brought fruition. During the early months of the Session, work was concentrated on the Labour Party's Representation of the People Bill, which would have given us the first point on our programme—Equal Suffrage. The great majorities by which the Bill passed its earlier stages led us to think that perhaps something would really come of it. But its later history merely served to remind us of the lesson which we learnt so thoroughly in the old Suffrage days, that private members' Bills are useless except as propaganda at the beginning of working for a reform. The private member proposes, but it is always the Government that disposes, and no reform of importance can be actually carried except through them. During the later months of the year we have been occupied partly in efforts at pricking up the Government to take action on the franchise, partly in propaganda for Bills dealing with other reforms on our programme not yet familiar to the House, viz., Equal Guardianship; the Rights of Married Women with regard to Maintenance; and the Position of the Unmarried Mother. We have also had to do a great deal of defensive work to prevent further restrictions on the right of women to work—restrictions which are all the more irritating when camouflaged as protection.

In the sphere of women's industrial and professional interests, it must be confessed that the horizon is very stormy. Exactly the situation has, in fact, developed which some of us foresaw in 1917. We then predicted that if trade became depressed after the war, a sharp conflict between the industrial interests of men and women might unfortunately arise, and this could not be waged on fair terms if women were still unfranchised. They would be liable "to be treated as a football in a game between Capital and Labour, with the Government acting as umpire." We know that this argument had a considerable effect, especially on Mr. Asquith. We won the vote, but not, alas! for the industrial women, most of whom are still contending unarmed against politically armed competitors. Public opinion, which in war-time cried "The women are splendid," is now crying "Women; out you go." In war-time the supply of women's labour, under the pressure of patriotic motives, adjusted itself flexibly to the demand, and now it is not so adjusting itself. The occupation which wants most women is not the occupation which most women want; nor is it the occupation for which their past experience has fitted them. People seem to imagine that domestic service is a form of unskilled labour which any woman can undertake. If they would pay a visit to the nearest Employment Exchange, they would soon see that the women who stand in queues waiting for their unemployment benefit are not the domestic treasures for which their souls are thirsting.

Meanwhile, there is no doubt that the industrial tension is acting unfavourably on the whole woman's movement by making it very unpopular. But Suffragists ought not to need reminding of the uses of adversity. There is no better fertilizer for any cause than a good dose of unpopularity. During the war women got accustomed to quick returns and much praise, and there is no doubt that the experience enervated and demoralised many of them, specially the younger ones. The veterans were less affected, probably because they had so long believed, that "the majority is always wrong," that to find themselves on the winning side made them positively uncomfortable, until a little further observation vindicated their earlier generalisation by showing them that though the majority is occasionally in the right, it is nearly always for the wrong reason. But there is no doubt that the younger generation of women, beginning its work at a time when sex prejudice was temporarily in abeyance, has been inclined to doubt the necessity for having a woman's movement at all.

For this reason I could not really manage—I know the confession comes badly from an Oxonian—to feel the least bit sorry

for the recent rebuff at Cambridge. It was a mortifying episode, but it will be worth far more than a victory to the cause of progress, if it has convinced the younger generations of University women, who, as teachers and in other professions can do so much to influence the thought of other women, that there is still need for women to hold together and work together.

Only, if we are convinced of this, do let us keep a firm grip on the living facts that lie behind our movement, and remember that it is a real equality of status, liberties, and opportunities we are working for, not the legal, technical equality that consists in mere freedom from restrictive laws and disabilities. These Council meetings are a suitable time for plain speaking, and I feel impelled to say plainly that I am feeling at present rather disillusioned about women—women in general, and even those that form the N.U.S.E.C. in particular. Like every other political and social movement, we have depended, and must necessarily depend, largely on women who have some money and leisure to spend on something besides the struggle for existence. Such women had mostly got all they wanted for themselves out of the woman's movement when it gave them the vote, the right to stand for Parliament and local authorities, and to enter the learned professions. Consequently, many of them have either left the movement or are giving it rather a half-hearted and inactive allegiance. When they were working for the Suffrage, they found it good propaganda to speak and write of the wrongs of the sweated woman worker, the unhappily married wife, and the Poor Law widow. Such arguments, they found, had more weight with the public than the mere reiteration of the intolerable fact that their own gardeners and coachmen had votes and that they themselves had none. But now these useful arguments have served their turn, and the pledge implied by their use seems to be forgotten. They acquiesce in all the reforms on our programme, but not with the passionate conviction that cannot rest until it has expressed itself in action. They believe, for example, in Widows' Pensions, but are satisfied that these must come "in time"—that is to say, when a heavy percentage of the quarter of a million widows we have now with us have lived through a few more years, each containing 365 days of hopeless struggle with impossible conditions, and their children have grown into adolescence with bodies stunted and minds warped by privation. Most women are showing themselves in fact (or so it seems to me) just as richly endowed as most men with "the world's inexhaustible patience of the wrongs that only torment others." Their imagination seems no less sluggish and their vision as shortsighted.

At least, if it is not so, how can we explain the complaint we hear so often from the officers of our Societies, that they find it difficult to sustain the interest of their members in our programme, or to attract new recruits? It is true, of course, that a programme containing six points does not allow of such intense concentration of thought and activity as our old simple objective, "Votes for Women." It is also true that the mental effort it requires is much greater. Let any woman who has social experience and an ounce of imagination in her mental composition, reflect on any one of the social or economic reforms on our programme. There is not one that does not stand for an effort to relieve a mass of human suffering, or to break away bonds which are cramping and thwarting the free development of human capacity. How can anyone say that such a programme is less inspiring, less worthy an object of effort and sacrifice, than the old struggle for the vote? The fact is that the very strength of our programme is its weakness. Its richness and diversity make it harder to grasp. For that reason we are more dependent than ever on having strong societies with capable officers to act as interpreters, and we have not nearly enough of these. Our principal task during the coming year must be to strengthen our societies in the constituencies. Our Parliamentary work will be ineffective unless it is known to have the driving power of public opinion behind it. Owing to scarcity of funds we cannot rely as we used on paid organisers. Therefore, delegates, we must look to you. If you do not find enthusiasm in your localities, you must kindle it. The occasion for it is there and the materials are there. It is your business to apply the spark.

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

- The meetings addressed during February are as under:—
 Feb. 1st.—Kettering. Women's Co-operative Guild. Miss F. L. Carre.
 Feb. 2nd.—Weston-super-Mare. National Council of Women. Mrs. Renton.
 Feb. 3rd.—Burnham-on-Sea. National Council of Women. Mrs. Renton. Brighton. Women's Co-operative Guild. Miss F. L. Carre.
 Feb. 8th.—Bristol. Women's Section, Labour Party. Mrs. Renton.
 Feb. 9th.—Bristol. I.L.P., Women's Section. Mrs. Renton.
 Feb. 10th.—Portsmouth W.C.A. Mrs. Renton. National Co-operative Men's Guild, Westminster. Miss Carre.
 Feb. 11th.—St. Saviour's, Wood Green, Mothers' Union. Miss M. Cotterell.
 Feb. 14th.—Peterborough N.C.W. Mrs. Carre. Aldridge. Women's Village Council. Mrs. Boyd Dawson.
 Feb. 15th.—Bingley. Women Citizens' League. Miss Carre. Liverpool. Women's Co-operative Guild. Mrs. Boyd Dawson.
 Feb. 16.—Halifax. Women's Co-operative Guild. Miss Carre. Rochdale W.C.A. Mrs. Boyd Dawson.
 Feb. 17th.—Llangollen N.C.W. Mrs. Boyd Dawson. Finchley. Women's Section Labour Party. Miss M. Cotterell. Barnsley. N.U.S.E.C. Miss M. Carre.
 Feb. 20th.—Rochester. Women's Liberal Association. Miss Carre.
 Feb. 21st.—Hitchin W.C.A. Miss M. Cotterell.
 Feb. 23rd.—Hoxton Women's Adult School. Miss Carre.

It is found by speakers at all meetings that unbiassed hearers are ready converts to State Purchase. They see that it is the most logical way of dealing with a Trade that, left to private competition, is an ever-increasing national danger. It is difficult to convince the stereotyped Prohibitionist that it is better for the State to "soil its hands" by definitely taking over this "evil" than to stand aside for fear of contamination. This type of opponent, who refuses to become "a partner" by purchase, has apparently no dislike to be relieved of taxation to the extent of £200,000,000 coming from the Liquor Trade. To be a partner is to be able to curb and reorganise and reform—to be merely a receiver of taxes is a miserable compromise, taking the profits but no responsibility.

A very notable pronouncement has just been put forth by the Queensland Government declaring the grounds on which it upholds the public ownership of the Liquor Trade, and its determination to put them into force. The official statement openly avows that as a Labour Party they are pledged to temperance, and to Prohibition in so far as that is practicable. They feel that every successful effort in the direction of temperance paves the way towards ultimate prohibition.

By very clever cogent reasoning, they show that private enterprise must give place to nationalisation. "And after nationalisation will follow prohibition." We might, in this country, substitute "Local Option" for Prohibition—for the drink habit is much more widespread and deep-rooted than in the colonies, and the difference in climate and customs must be allowed for. Local Option is democratic, and is the ideal way of treating this social problem. Let the people have the right of choice. But the only feasible way of obtaining Local Option is to get rid of Trade opposition, and that means an equitable purchase by the State of the private vested interests now in possession. Here is where Local Option has been long delayed. Those who advocate it most keenly, hope to get a Bill through Parliament on a time-limit merely, without purchase. By recognising the Act of 1904 and the impossibility of getting past the vested interests of the Trade opposed to such a measure, and demanding State Purchase as the first step to clear the path, they could gain a Local Option measure without long years more of waiting. Scotland has shown that the public still demands its public-house. We must reckon with this fact, and set about providing a reformed public-house and a different principle of sale. It is only with the State as owner that we get rid of the pushing of alcohol sales and the substitution of counter-attractions to make for public health and efficiency.

For literature and information, apply Miss M. Cotterell, Women's National Committee to Secure State Purchase and Control of the Liquor Trade, Parliament Mansions, Victoria Street, S.W. 1.

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