

THE
WOMAN'S LEADER

IN POLITICS IN LITERATURE AND ART
IN THE HOME IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT
IN INDUSTRY IN THE PROFESSIONS

AND
THE COMMON CAUSE

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Contents :

	PAGE
<i>"The Woman's Leader" in Politics :</i>	
WOMEN AND FOOD	265
WHAT NATIONALIZATION WILL DO. By A. Emil Davies, L.C.C.	266
NEWS FROM WESTMINSTER	267
DRINK LEGISLATION. By Harriet Johnson	268
THIRTY YEARS OF LABOUR. By B. L. Hutchins	269
AWAY WITH FOOD CONTROL. By Boyd Cable	271
 <i>In the Home :</i>	
KITCHEN POLITICS. By Inez M. Ferguson	270
 <i>In Literature and Art :</i>	
REACTIONS. By Rose Macaulay	272
SONNET. By Gerald Gould	273
VERSE	274
DRAMA: The Pioneer Players; "Birds of a Feather"; Pavlova	275
 <i>Work of Women's Organisations :</i>	
THE WOMEN'S LOCAL GOVERNMENT SOCIETY	277
N.U.S.E.C. NEWS	279
 <i>Correspondence :</i>	281

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THE WOMAN'S LEADER

AND
COMMON CAUSE.

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

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NOTES AND NEWS.

The Plumage Bill.

We print in our correspondence columns two letters appealing to readers, who desire to check the barbarous traffic in wild birds' plumage, to make a final effort in support of Colonel Yates' Bill which comes up for second reading in the Commons on Friday of next week. This is a woman's question, the plumage which is imported is bought and worn by women, it is their demand and their money which keeps the trade going. Since the United States and Australia have prohibited the export of plumage, the great market for it is in London. We can no longer excuse ourselves by saying that if we deny ourselves this ill-omened ornament the rest of the world will slay what we have spared. The rest of the world has shown us the way to pity.

No M.P. for the Plumage Trade.

The plumage trade is not a small and negligible cruelty, for the destruction of egrets in China has reached proportions which alarm the natives who see their rice crops threatened with destruction by insect pests. Before the war thirty-five million birds' skins were imported annually into this country. The magnitude of the trade will make those financially interested in it intent upon the defeat of the Plumage Bill. It is for us to remind our Parliamentary representatives that they represent us, and not that cruel trade.

The Bastardy Bill.

Several modifications have been made in Mr. Neville Chamberlain's Bill for alleviating the disabilities of children born outside wedlock. The amount of the allowance payable by the father of an illegitimate child has now been limited to 40s. weekly, since the absence of a limit was held to place the illegitimate child in a more favourable position than the legitimate, and the schedules to the Bill have also been modified. It should be noticed that the passing of this Bill would ensure the legitimation of a child by the subsequent marriage of its parents. The measures for the reform of the marriage law also included two provisions, and in a form preferred by most advocates of this much needed amendment of English law. The recent action of the House of Commons makes us almost despair of marriage law reform, so the more need of Mr. Neville Chamberlain's Bill.

By-Election Results.

The crop of by-elections which sprang up in the early days of this month gave some promise of producing another woman M.P. to share Lady Astor's privileges and duties. To our regret, and no doubt to hers, the fates decided otherwise. Miss

Susan Lawrence and Miss Bondfield are neither of them the kind of candidate whose visibility is poor except in the reflected glow of the magic letters M.P. We make no doubt that they will represent a constituency in Parliament before long. Neither Northampton nor Camberwell, though they have their claims to renown, can claim to have the monopoly of wisdom.

The Budget.

The Budget offers no particular surprises, and it may be regarded as a satisfactory enough statement of the nation's financial position, or as a warning of approaching bankruptcy, according to the aspect from which it is approached. We cannot, it is plain, afford to spend £1,184,000,000 a year on carrying on our national existence, and when we come to consider what we really get for the money we have no difficulty in seeing that a great deal of it is spent on the salaries of superfluous officials in superfluous and expensive offices, who are doing work that should have been finished long ago, or work that may be problematically useful in the future. The Civil Service Estimates of nearly £500,000,000 are far too high, and Mr. Chamberlain not only made no promise that they should be reduced, he seemed unaware that anyone would think them extravagant.

Revenue.

On the other hand, it is satisfactory to find that we have more in our purse than we expected. If no new taxes were to be imposed in the coming year we could meet our current expenses and pay off £164 millions of debt. With the new taxes now proposed we may manage to pay off more than £234 millions. This is cheerful for the moment, but it is not particularly promising for the future. What is in our purse now and what will be dropped in during the coming year is not a comfortable income we can count on in the future; much of it comes from the sale of war stores and other Government property that has never really been paid for, for it was bought out of borrowed money. Still, the repayment of debt will decrease the terrible burden of interest on our colossal war borrowings.

New Taxes.

The new taxation proposals are in some respects very drastic. The duties on beer, wine, and spirits are so high that probably they will greatly decrease consumption. It is not unlikely that the revenue anticipated may not be obtained. If so, what we

lose in taxes we shall gain in temperance. The consumption of tobacco has increased enormously in the last year and the increased tax on cigars is estimated to bring up revenue from this source to over £62,000,000. These sums, with the ten millions from entertainment tax, make up the chief items of the taxes on luxuries. They are rightly high, for, as a nation, we should pay our debts before we indulge ourselves. The new post office charges will press heavily both on business and on private life; to raise charges on private letters is to restrict friendships; to raise the cost of business correspondence by post, telephone, or telegram is to hamper trade. The Chancellor of the Exchequer explained that these increases were necessary in order to meet the demand for about £29 millions for wages; we imagine that part of this sum could be obtained by better business methods at the Post Office.

Income-Tax Changes.

Mr. Chamberlain whole-heartedly endorsed the Report of the Income Tax Commission, but stated that an Act of Parliament would be required before its recommendations could be carried out in their entirety. The amount of earned income exempted from taxation is to be raised, as anticipated, to £250, but only in the case of married persons; the single man or woman must pay on earned income above £150, or, if unearned, above £135. The "housekeeper allowance" of £45, which was obtainable by widowers for a female relative employed in the care of his children may now also be claimed by widows, but it is not clear whether or not the allowances for dependent relatives are made irrespective of the sex of the tax payer on whom they are dependent. A widowed dependent mother need not be "incapacitated" to qualify for the allowance. The new rules will do something to alleviate the situation of aged people living on small invested incomes, technically unearned, though actually the result of painful and continuous economies.

Mrs. Barnett.

Mrs. Barnett, C.B.E., is to be nominated as Alderman for a vacancy on the Middlesex County Council, which has never yet had a woman Alderman. Mrs. How Martyn, the first and only woman Councillor, is proposing her at the Council's public meeting on April 29th, 4.15, at the Guildhall, Westminster. We hope women will be present in large numbers to show how much they would appreciate an honour given to a woman with such a splendid record of public service.

Miss Emily Davies.

On Thursday, April 22nd, Miss Emily Davies, LL.D., the Founder of Girton College, Cambridge, completed her ninetieth year. Our readers will rejoice to know that she is in excellent health. In December, 1911, Miss Davies was asked to send a letter of encouragement to "The Common Cause," and very kindly did so. The letter appeared under the heading of "Then and Now," in the Christmas number, and contained a survey of the early stages of the Women's Movement from 1848 onwards, and bore a delightful message of rejoicing in achievements and of faith in victory. Since then, what joys of victory have been hers and ours! And still her message holds that, fighting in the spirit of which she spoke, "victory will surely be ours" in all else that we have aimed at. Of course, what Miss Davies did not mention in the letter referred to was her own share in important action. She speaks of the struggle with adverse influences before the late Mrs. Garrett Anderson, M.D., could become a qualified medical practitioner. In connection with that struggle, Mrs. Anderson said of Miss Davies "during six years she gave me mental courage and spiritual courage. I was her spiritual daughter. She gave me the idea, and worked, and sustained me all through." Nor could any one gather from the letter that Miss Davies herself was the hon. secretary of the Committee "formed for obtaining the admission of women to university examinations"; nor that she was the first woman called to give evidence before the Schools' Inquiry Commission of 1864; nor much besides. We have indeed reason to be proud that Miss Emily Davies has been our colleague in work in her later years. She still watches events with keen interest, and we may take it that she still cheers us on.

Quo Vadis.

Women artists as well as men will receive a shock when they learn that in Chelsea, on the site of some of the studios in the Manresa Road district, a convalescent home is to be built. We agree that the sick are among the first charges of the community, but surely it is sentimental as well as unnecessary to deprive on their account, the healthy of their homes. It seems to us a little unpractical too. The country is more suited to convalescents than the town, and if, during the present shortage of houses, the artists are to be driven from the studios where they live and work, what is to become of them? "You take my life when you do take the prop which doth sustain my life." If we demolish the studios, the artists will seek refuge in other countries. Must England be the only place where there is no artists' quarter? O, "Nation of Shopkeepers," are you really as blind as you seem? Is not "opportunity" to have a place in your plans for Reconstruction.

New Swedish Marriage Law.

Sweden is more fortunate than we are in respect to its legislators, for both Houses of its Legislature have passed a reformed marriage law by considerable majorities. This is the happy culmination of fifty years' work, in which the Society for the Property Rights of Married Women took a leading part. Hitherto, a Swedish wife's control over her own earnings was limited to the money she could save; property bought out of her own money passed under her husband's control. The new Act makes men and women equal in all the rights and duties of the married state, and sweeps away the tissue of inconsistent rules which had resulted from piecemeal revisions of archaic customs and unexpected interpretations of more modern reforms. We congratulate Swedish women on their new status.

The Dockers' Agreement.

We referred in a previous issue to the importance of the Dockers' Enquiry as the first Industrial Court set up as a Joint Court of Employers and Employed to enquire into wages demands and make recommendations. The Report was not unanimous, and since its award was given, the National Transport Workers' Federation, on behalf of the men, and the National Council of Port Labour Employers have been considering whether they should accept the recommendations. On Monday they resolved to do so. This augurs very well for the success of any further Courts which may be held to consider the wage claims in other industries. The Joint Committee of employers and employed in the industry have still to meet and discuss many important and thorny points of detail as to the practical working of the recommendations, and all other trades will watch with interest the means agreed upon by the Committee to safeguard output. What is called the "settlement of differentials," the adjustment of scales above the guaranteed minimum of sixteen shillings a day, will be, one hopes, a guide to other industries which have found the raising of the minimum wage a cause of discontent to the men, whose skill formerly placed their scale of remuneration much above the minimum.

The Women's Suffrage Congress.

The Government has appointed Lady Astor, M.P., its official representative at the International Women's Suffrage Congress, which is to be held at Geneva in June. Mrs. J. Daniels will represent the United States, and Miss Anna Whittock, Sweden. Mrs. Chandra Sen and Princess Aziza Hassan will be among the delegates from India and Egypt. Lady Baden-Powell will represent the International Girl Guides Movement.

Coming Events in "The Woman's Leader."

In this issue we print an article by Mr. Emil Davies on Nationalisation, which will be followed next week by one from the opposite point of view, thus offering an opportunity for examining one of the urgent questions of the day without interposing editorial comment. Other problems will be similarly treated as occasion arises. In our issue of April 29th we shall have the pleasure of publishing "For Poor Brides," a contribution by Mrs. Meynell, and Miss Rose Macaulay's "Reactions" will be continued.

Hunger Strikers.

The tardy release by the Government of the Irish hunger-strikers calls back many bitter memories to the minds of Suffragists. There is nothing so useless as to try to coerce those whose crimes spring from a high sense of duty; and we should have thought that this lesson had been long ago learnt in this country. Prisoners resorting to the hunger-strike are almost certain to be political fanatics, and whether we approve or disapprove of the aims or methods of such prisoners, we cannot deny to them courage and heroism. We are glad that they were released in time, we are thankful that the cruelty of the Cat and Mouse Act is not to be inflicted upon them; and we trust that if in the future the adherents of any other belief think to advance their cause by crime the lessons of last week no less than of the Suffrage Movement will be remembered. We do not ourselves believe that crime helps, or ever can help, any cause; we never have believed it, and we never shall. But those who mistakenly do, and who are ready mistakenly to die for their faith, deserve more honest dealing than they have ever had in the past.

The Pensions' Clerks' Protest.

It will be remembered that last week the women clerks of the Pensions' Awards Branch were making a lively protest against the transfer of their superintendent to the Pensions Issue Office. They objected to her transfer to an office where the work done was of a routine nature, very inferior in interest and in standing to the Pensions Awards work, which has been carried out entirely by women with great efficiency, and which the Pensions Ministry intends to hand over in great part to men. Miss Witherington's salary in the new post was to be the same as at the Awards Branch, but her status was to be merely that of establishment officer. The Pensions Ministry has withdrawn from this position, and her status is to be the same in the new position as in that from which she was transferred. So far so good. But the fact that she is asked to do and to supervise work inferior to that of the Awards Branch remains and her transfer is still regarded as a prelude to the transfer of hundreds of her subordinates, who may not obtain the same concessions with regard to status and salary. Other superior officers of the Awards Branch have resigned and refused transfers at the same salary they now draw, rather than lend themselves to women's complete dispossession of the department they have organised from the beginning. We must repeat the exact nature of their claims to remain at the Awards Branch, for the newspaper reader, noticing the stubbornness of the Pensions Ministry, is apt to suspect that the women clerks are asking impossibilities. What they demand is that not more than fifty per cent. of them should be replaced by men; that the men so introduced should be discharged soldiers who have been to the front, and that some part of the responsible work should still be left to women. These are not women clerks refusing to give men back their jobs, but women refusing to give up more than half their own jobs to men.

Edinburgh and Temperance.

The Conference in Edinburgh of the British Women's Temperance Association concluded by passing a resolution protesting against the withdrawing of restrictions on the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor, and regretting the consequent alarming increase in crime. It called upon the Government to prohibit the liquor traffic in the interests of women and children. At a public meeting in the evening Dr. Saleeby referred to the experience of America to show that drug-taking most flourished where most drinking occurred, and that the fear that prohibition would increase the sale of drugs was groundless. The President, Mrs. Milne, of Aberdeen, spoke strongly in favour of local option. It becomes increasingly evident that everyone is agreed that the restriction of drink consumption is desirable; though a bitter fight continues with regard to the best methods of attaining the desired end, the battle of temperance has been won; the new conflict is between prohibitionists and those in favour of moderation. To those who are old enough to look back forty or fifty years this is an astonishing advance.

Women's Municipal Franchise in Belgium.

A Bill to confer the municipal franchise on women has passed the Belgian Senate. This franchise is, in Belgium, of considerable importance, since the towns have preserved in a large measure the extensive powers of self-government which were theirs during the middle ages. The sojourn in England of Belgian refugees during the war has not been without effect on the willingness of Belgian men to give political power to women. The professors and lawyers who were the guests of our British Universities took advantage of their opportunities of observing the management of local government, and those at Cambridge were especially interested in the large part taken by women in the management of local affairs and the organisation of war charities. The undergraduate guests of the Universities, young men in their early twenties or younger, took an unexpected interest in English methods of education and upbringing of children, and made no secret of their conviction that it was the direction in which Belgium had most to learn of her neighbours.

Women's Suffrage in India.

Mrs. Jinarajadasar is meeting with much support in New Zealand in her campaign for Indian women's suffrage. She has travelled through New Zealand and Australia, and has everywhere found her audiences sympathetic, though often in ignorance of the important part played by women in the national life of India to-day. The people of New Zealand feel that if India is to be acknowledged as an equal by all the other parts of the Empire the women of India must necessarily occupy the same position and have the same status as in Great Britain and the Dominions. Holding this view they consider it a matter of urgency that the Indian Legislative Council should pass a measure of women's suffrage at the earliest opportunity. A large meeting in Wellington carried a resolution to this effect in February of this year.

Great Equality Procession.

Those who have been following the history of the recommendations of the National Whitley Council upon the admission of women to the Civil Service will be interested to hear of the great procession and demonstration which is to be held on Wednesday next, April 28th, to demand equality of pay and opportunities for men and women. The procession is to form up at 5.30 p.m. in Hyde Park, near the Marble Arch, and will march to the Kingsway Hall, where a mass meeting will be held at 7.30. The demonstrators will consist in the main of the women employees of national and municipal authorities. It is organised by the Federation of Women Civil Servants, 19, Buckingham Street, Strand, whose members will march in eight contingents, and among other kindred organisations taking part are the Union of Post Office Workers, the Association of Civil Service Sorting Assistants, the Employment Exchange Officers, the outdoor staff of the Ministry of Labour, the Association of Writing Assistants, the Society of Civil Servants, the Federation of Temporary Staff Associations, and the Associations of Women Clerks and Secretaries. The demonstration will have the support also of many other organisations engaged in the struggle for equality, including the National Federation of Women Teachers, the Women's Industrial League, and the London Society for Women's Service.

Women's Service and the Procession.

The London Society for Women's Service is anxious to give every assistance to those women who, not being themselves members of any of the above-mentioned professional bodies, desire to take part in the demonstration. The Society's banner will be carried, and all who wish to walk behind it should communicate with the Procession Secretary, London Society for Women's Service, 58, Victoria Street, S.W.1. Banner-bearers are greatly needed.

The "Bibliothèque de la Guerre."

The French Minister of Public Instruction has asked for a copy of Mrs. Fawcett's work, "The Women's Victory," to be deposited in the Bibliothèque et Musée de la Guerre, and requests Mrs. Fawcett to keep his department informed of all writings she may publish in future in connection with war and peace.

WOMEN AND FOOD.

THE return of the Food Controller at Northampton, after an election campaign turning very largely upon food prices, is an interesting event. The close connection between food and politics in this country dates from the days of the agitation for the repeal of the Corn Laws, and it is no novelty to have a candidate for office depending for his success upon the price of bread. But the Northampton election was unique in this, that one of the candidates was a woman herself, and both the candidates had to go into things in a concrete fashion so as to satisfy the women voters. They, and particularly the prospective Food Controller, had to deal with bacon, sugar, meat, butter, and all the rest of them, in a positive manner, and we trust that now he is returned he will know and remember what these housewives think. It is a curious thing that in this country, where individual liberty is so precious, the choice should have been between nationalized food according to the Labour programme, and controlled food according to that of the Coalition. No one represented food free of control or conditions, though probably that is what many people would really prefer. For, in spite of all our talking of a new world, lots of us have a secret longing for things to be—at least in the food line—as they were "before the war."

The truth about food is, of course, that there is a serious world shortage of many of the necessities of life, and in addition there are transport shortages and transport muddles which intensify the trouble over certain portions of the surface of the globe. It is no doubt true that the only way to meet the world shortage is by some form of combined rationing. Nevertheless, it is clear, from the inconveniences we all endure, no less than from the startling facts which appear from time to time, that the system we have in force is not perfect. No system is ever likely to be perfect, of course, but there are grades and shades of imperfection, and we cannot but feel that it is the bounden duty of women at the present time to take up with knowledge and with perseverance the questions of the control and distribution of food.

When we say it is the duty of women to do this, we are of course speaking in general terms. Our readers will say to themselves, with justice, that such sentiments are all very well, and all very true, but *how* are they to do it? Each woman in her own house is a unit, and how can women as a whole take up the questions of food transport and rationing?

These are questions difficult to answer, and yet if democracy is to work at all, a solution of this difficulty, and the other similar difficulties that so often arise, must somehow be found.

We hesitate to say what we think, because it has both a platitudinous and a boring look. But we believe that the only way out lies in organization. Housewives must meet and discuss; they must compare notes, collect facts, and then take joint action. If, for example, a single street became a housewives' unit, a great deal of practical good could be done. The buyers of food could arrange to meet at a fixed hour and compare prices; they could make simultaneous experiments and compare results; they could unitesly address their Local Authority with considerable effect, and no M.P. could ignore a letter from all the women housewives in, say, the High Street of the chief town in his

constituency. We believe that within the outline of Women Citizen Associations, with their wide non-party doors, and their elastic constitutions, such organizations might easily be formed, and once formed, discussions on food prices, on food control, on housing, rent restriction, profiteering, health, and all the other urgent social problems might lead us far. After all, it is not nearly enough to have a vote. To make a full use of enfranchisement in a democratic country a whole multitude of subsidiary activities are required. Public opinion has a thousand ways of expressing itself—through meetings and societies of all sorts, through the Press, through the machinery of party politics, and through the current talk of clubs or pubs, trade union, business, or social gatherings. Up to now women have been mainly outside all these things, living in a sort of family isolation, hardly ever writing to the papers, sharing in the policies of parties, or discussing in private life, at tea parties, or in railway carriages, the topics of the day. But times are changing fast, and women are daily having a larger voice in these ordinary channels of expressed opinion, which is all to the good. Even, however, when they enter fully into all these things it will not be enough. For there are special things that concern their own work which call for special organizations of their own, and a sort of housewives' trade union is as necessary to collective improvement as is a coal miners'. The Women's Co-operative Guild forms a most excellent model, and its varied and valuable activities are worth the earnest consideration of anyone who wishes to take steps in these directions. Such organizations are needed in their thousands, and it is most encouraging to learn, as we do daily, of the rapid increase of this sort of machinery. In rural districts the Women's Institutes and Village Councils perform a somewhat similar function, less definitely political in character, but equally important and educational, and we hope to see the Women Citizens' movement spreading with equal rapidity through the towns and urban areas.

The real difficulty in the way of nearly all forms of women's organizations in towns is a social one. Somehow or other a state of society has grown up infested with innumerable social hierarchies, of whose boundaries women are the guardians. Although men of different walks of life can and do mix freely in their work and in their civic duties, women have as yet hardly begun to do so, and the loss is theirs. It may be that their husbands are colleagues in all sorts of useful and interesting ways, but unless the social status is the same the wives do not "call," and this foolish and narrow custom is one of the great difficulties in the way of the proper development of the civic activities of women. But we believe that all this tedious and tiresome nonsense is beginning to die away, and that as time goes on women, too, may be able to look "a little outside their family circle and that of the children of their parents' friends." The beginnings of a change were made in the widespread war work of women, and the girls who have come back from hospitals and factories, even as much as the men who have come back from the trenches, have come back with wider minds. We hope, therefore, that the time has come when really useful organizations, even amongst married women, may be possible, and when it is, the first thing that they must consider is food prices, and the first effort that they must make is the elimination of avoidable mistakes.

WHAT NATIONALIZATION WILL DO.

By A. EMIL DAVIES, L.C.C.

Author of "The Case for Nationalization."

If the nation is to be set upon its feet again economically, we must have greater production, the goodwill of the workers, no profiteering, and an adequate supply of what the people need. We, therefore, ask of any scheme such as nationalization four questions.

- Will your scheme provide an efficient public service?
- Will it give fair wages and a share in control to the workers?
- Will it protect the consumer?
- Will it offer an incentive to increased production?

Let us see how far nationalization of the "key" industries will stand these tests.

Bureaucracy is not a desirable thing, but "red tape" is not peculiar to community-owned undertakings. It is inherent in all large concerns. It is the price we have to pay for the increased facilities that are placed at our disposal by big enterprises, whether it be the company-owned railway or tramway or the State-owned Post Office. In our experience of services run by Government officials, we find the control in the hands of a certain governing class of public school men who are, on the whole, incompetent and not even educated. These may conceal their inefficiency when they run private businesses, which often make big enough profits to cover up their blunders. Often when a man, who has risen to the top in commerce, is appointed head of a Government Department and is subjected to the limelight concentrated upon a public office, he is found to be thoroughly inefficient.

Moreover, a system by which leading opponents are appointed to the control of community-owned undertakings is hardly conducive to complete success. Before the Coal Commission Lord Gainford declared himself a most inveterate opponent of State-ownership generally; yet this is the gentleman who, as Mr. J. A. Pease, was placed by a Liberal Government at the head of the greatest community-owned undertaking in the Empire, the Post Office. It is as though the campaign for suffrage were placed under the management of a prominent "anti"! Yet, in spite of this drawback, so great are the advantages of community-ownership that the State-owned Post Office has always given immensely greater satisfaction than the company-owned railways.

In support of the charge of Government inefficiency the telephone system is always cited. It has certainly failed to cope satisfactorily with the great demands made upon it during the war for extra service by a depleted staff, but it is at any rate no worse than it was under the National Telephone Co., to judge by the bitter letters of complaint that appeared in the Press of 1900 and thereabouts. The telephone, from its nature, lends itself to being "slanged," it being in the position of the dragon in the outer office, and this is due to the impossibility, under never so efficient a system, of a busy man being able to answer three impatient people trying to ring him up at the same moment. The telephones, however, afford a clear example of the superiority from the employees' point of view of

THE STATE AS EMPLOYER.

Mr. Herbert Samuel, introducing the Post Office accounts on May 20th, 1912, said:—

"It is rarely that we have the opportunity of making an exact comparison between the conditions in State employment and the conditions in similar employment outside. We have that opportunity in this case. The employees of the National Telephone Co. numbered 19,000. On transfer to the Post Office they enjoy the conditions of Post Office servants of the same grade doing the same work. The consequence has been that in wages alone that staff is receiving £175,000 a year more than they would have received if they had remained with the Company, and owing to the shortening of the hours of work and the increase of holidays granted I have had to employ a larger staff, involving an increase in the wages bill of £32,000 a year. The

pension rights granted to the Telephone's Co.'s employees involve an increase to the amount of 8s.—£201,000 a year when the pensions mature. So that altogether these 19,000 telephone employees benefit in money or money's worth to the extent of £408,000 a year, a sum of over £20 per person, or 8s. a week."

Far be it from me to suggest that the State, ruled as it is by an incompetent governing class, is a satisfactory employer; but at least it bears the test of comparison with the general run of large employers.

To meet the strengthening demand of the workers for a share in the management of their industry the State is setting an example in several directions. The Admiralty has drawn up an elaborate scheme for Shop Departmental and Yard Committees, and a National Whitley Council for the Civil Service has been appointed.

But Whitley Councils will never be able to reconcile the three conflicting forces—i.e., those whose aim it is to make the maximum profit, those who demand the full value of their labour, and the need of the community for a cheap supply of commodities.

When the State takes the place of an owner of a business, the profit-making factor is eliminated. True, interest is still payable out of the yield of the industry on the price paid in buying out the capitalist, but it is a fixed rate of interest and not a variable dividend; thus the incentive to screw down the workers and fleece the consumer is no longer present.

The enormous difference this makes is well illustrated by the following reports of the arrangements of the Queensland Government to keep down prices. The report sets forth an account of the State stockbreeding depôts, cattle holdings, State butchers' shops in metropolitan areas, and a State meat works at Charville. We are told of a State hotel, refreshment buffets, and restaurant cars, of fish trawlers, receiving depôts and retail shops, of State sawmills, and of a State Produce Agency.

After allowing for depreciation and interest on capital, the aggregate net profit for the year 1919 amounted to:—

	£	s.	d.
Butchers' Shops	36,998	0	4
Sawmills	3,156	6	2
Stations	43,975	3	10
Railway Refreshment Rooms	9,336	11	7
Hotel, Babinda	120	1	2
Produce Agency	1,052	10	0
	£94,638	13	1
Loss on Fish Supply	8,536	4	7
Aggregate net profit for the year ...	£86,102	8	6

It is not an unimportant fact that profits thus made go to swell the coffers of the community, instead of into private pockets. It has to be decided by the community, however, in which of its enterprises profits are desirable, and where increased facilities and a cheaper public service are of more value to the community instead.

We have lost sight of the fact that manufacture should be primarily for use and not for profit; and the spirit animating education in the Victorian era is largely responsible for the belief that the possibility of increasing profits is an essential incentive to enterprise and invention. The truth is, that exercising a talent of capacity is a necessity to most human beings and is itself our greatest reward. If every citizen willing to work were assured a fair income and security for dependants in the event of his death or disablement, people would go on inventing and making improvements without regard to whether they resulted in increased spending power or not. If we are to judge impartially the desirability of nationalising the vital industries, we shall have to get out of the habit of measuring services by pay, and efficiency by the power of making profits, and measure instead in terms of human health, growth, and happiness. Moreover, it is only by removing the control of the vital necessities of life from the profit-monger (compensating him with fixed interest-bearing stock in place of his ever-increasing dividends) that we can cut the vicious circle in which we live, where rising wages vainly chase ever-rising prices; and that nationalization is the master key to the problem is shown by the fact that it is so strenuously opposed by our governing class and their press.

LETTERS FROM AMERICA.

By HELEN FRASER.

I.

Interviewing is done here a great deal more than with us, and very well. As for what you are made to say, I find the reports very accurate on the whole—I shall be extremely suspicious of people returning from America with wild tales of interviewers' inventions after this—but there is one thing that amuses me—the clever way in which a journalist will get your view on some point that they obviously and specially desire to have "put over," and if you have no real view they will almost manage to persuade you that you have theirs.

The real joy of discovery in the American Press comes in your "publicity," in which you find you are so wonderful a person that you will be roused to wonder, if you did not really know something about yourself, how your country, and its causes, and your friends, survive without you. Their newspaper headlines, too, are often a sheer joy, and American humour has a trick of spreading itself in headlines—so have Americans—every now and then I need the headlines translated. You know the story of the American editor who, remonstrated with on the size and aspect of his headlines, retorted that his ideal was to make the reader exclaim "My God!" when he saw the headlines. Well, sometimes it is quite like that; but there are a number of newspapers who have quite modest headlines, and another number which, like the *Boston Transcript*, use no big type at all—literally none—more modest than any of our papers.

There is, of course, all the difference in the world in the size of their newspapers and ours, and the Sunday newspapers with their literary, art, fashion, picture, editorial, estate, financial and business supplements give far more scope than most of ours for fuller news and writing. They are really magazines.

I bought three Sunday newspapers at Boston when I had been in America a short time, and as I doubled up the enormous mass of paper they made I said to my porter, "If I bought every newspaper in England now I don't believe I'd have so much paper as that"; and he said, "Oh, we'll likely 'Hooverise' on that before long"; but there isn't any sign of it.

The best journalism of America, and the distinguished journalists are known in all countries, and there are just the same things to say of it as of our own. In the war the majority of them, like the majority of our own, rendered the country great service. One American newspaper, the *Providence Journal*, did quite remarkable work in unearthing and publishing the facts relating to the extensive Secret Service and propaganda work of Germany.

We know the names of most of their famous papers—*New York Times*, and *Tribune*, *Herald*, *Evening Post*, *Evening Sun*, *Washington Post*, *Philadelphia Ledger*, *Springfield Republican*, with a long notable record, *Boston Transcript*, *Kansas City Star*, famous as the Roosevelt organ, in which all his leaders appeared, *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, *Chicago Tribune*—it really is impossible to choose out of them all. From coast to coast they have notable papers, and among their famous journalists many who know our country well, and others who are of British birth.

There is one great group of papers no British person likes—the Hearst papers—which consistently work to prevent understanding between us.

In the lighter side of journalism America differs from us. It calls the sentimental article in the press "sob stuff," and the woman writer of it a "sob-sister," as they do the sentimental woman orator. We generally accuse America of being a sentimental country. The American loves sentiment and feeling, and does not mind how simple the sentiments are, nor how trite, if he thinks they are sound. You will hear great leaders of industry, great financiers and political men, gravely enunciate the simplest sentiments that our cynical undergraduates would blush to be caught expressing, but that all the crowd at home, as in America, really loves. Americans have a way now and then of making you feel as if you were a thousand years old: They do that, yes, but they have a trick of hitting sentimentality harder than we ever do. We have no phrase that for sheer humour and cynical twist can compare with "sob-sister"—it says everything.

NEWS FROM WESTMINSTER.

BY OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT.

The Parliamentary Session opened with the news of the success of the Government in holding five out of the six seats contested at by-elections during the Easter recess, and this somewhat unexpected result has naturally given a greater sense of security to the Government. From our own point of view, of course, we greatly regret both the failure of Miss Lawrence and Miss Bondfield, and the fact that none of the Coalition candidates were women. We have not done so badly, however, at the by-elections: for one woman candidate out of three got in, and both the others put up exceptionally good fights, and should be sure of a seat next time.

With the opening of this session Parliament has to settle down in earnest to Finance, Ireland, and Foreign Affairs, and the amount of private members' time that will be available will be severely limited. Last week, however, an important discussion took place on the subject of Divorce, which had come down to the Commons from the "other House." In spite of the two to one majority Lord Buckmaster's Bill had received there, and in spite of the fact that the proposals contained nothing not included in the Majority Report of the Royal Commission on Marriage and Divorce, Mr. Athelstan Rendall's resolution calling for the Bill to be proceeded with was defeated by 134 votes to 91.

The debate was interesting from many points of view, and it was noticeable that Members from Scotland, where the marriage laws are, and have for centuries, been based on some of these proposals, urged their acceptance. The motion was defeated by an amendment calling for equality between the sexes, but omitting the other proposals of the Bill. It is perhaps unfortunate that the debate took that turn, and that the alternative of passing the resolution and then amending the Bill by omission was not adopted by those who wished to achieve this result, for we fear that the tactics pursued will lead to there being no Bill at all. It is perfectly true, as Lady Astor said, that there is a real demand on the part of women for equality between the sex in divorce, and if it is also true that there is no great desire to adopt the other recommendations of the Royal Commission, the proper course would be to have a Bill and amend it. We believe ourselves that there is a stronger feeling on the subject than the House of Commons realises, and certainly no lawyer who has had to deal with cases under the existing law can defend the *status quo*.

The legislative programme of the Government is heavy, not so much with a mass of business as with the importance of it. A very difficult crisis in foreign affairs has arisen, and, we trust, has been happily overcome during the Parliamentary recess; but the discussion upon the Austrian Peace Treaty last week showed once again how very critical the future of Europe is; and the behaviour of foreign exchanges, though it shows a slight improvement for ourselves, is enough to alarm even the most financially ignorant among us.

On Monday, the Chancellor of the Exchequer introduced the new Budget, which was debated on that and the two following days. There is nothing very startling in its provisions, beyond the most unwelcome rise in postage. We have often in these columns urged the importance of the separate assessment of the incomes of husband and wife, and we regret wholeheartedly that the proposals of the Government go in the other direction. Mr. Godfrey Locker Lampson, who has been our champion in the House in this matter, has made, and we know that he will still make, a good fight for the principle of the Married Women's Property Acts. It is interesting to notice that in Sweden legislation has now been passed with the object of equalising the partnership of men and women in their marriage. This is the only sound principle for family happiness, in our opinion, and the departure of the National Budget from it is a grave disappointment.

From the point of view of purely unimportant gossip, the outstanding incident of the first Parliamentary week has been the foolish commotion over Lady Astor's seat. Sir W. Kennedy Jones, hurrying into the House early one morning, claimed it, and by the laws of Parliamentary etiquette, was therefore entitled to it for the day. The matter is of little moment—far less than has been attached to it in the Lobby: but bad manners, at any rate, are atrocious. If it has to come to it that men have to stick up for their rights, it is news to us. The matter of who shall sit where is surely the thin end of an alarming wedge, and we regret the fact that some of our legislators should be so silly and peevish.

DRINK LEGISLATION. II.

By HARRIET M. JOHNSON.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The licensing laws of this country go back some four hundred years. In 1495, power was given to Justices to suppress ale-houses, to prevent "the intolerable hurts and troubles to the commonwealth of the realm, daily growing and increasing."

The Act of 1552 gave Justices power to select and license persons to sell ale, also to withdraw the licence or impose conditions. The Privy Council kept them up to their duties. For instance, Ripon, in 1623, reports to the Privy Council: "Finding the number to be great, we have reduced them to half the number." Later on, a period of lax administration in licensing produced "a shameful degree of profligacy," says Smollett. "One half of the town seems set up to furnish poison to the other half." A period of stricter regulation and suppression followed, and the Act of 1753 gave a system of local option, i.e., the consent of "the principal inhabitants in vestry assembled" became a necessary condition for obtaining a licence.

The reduction of the cost of a spirit licence in 1825 (from five guineas to two) caused more ale-houses to take a spirit licence; also, the 1830 Beer Act began a system of free trade in beer which had disastrous results. Only a fortnight after it came into force Sydney Smith wrote: "The new Beer Bill has begun its operations. Everybody is drunk. Those who are not singing are sprawling. The sovereign people are in a beastly state." The results of that free trade experiment necessitated a series of restrictive Acts till, in 1869 and 1882, beer-houses were placed under the control of the Justices. The Acts of 1886 and 1901, forbidding sale of drink to children, and the Act of 1902, placing grocers' licences under the Justices, showed that public opinion was growing more conscious of the dangers of the drink traffic.

Mr. Balfour's Act of 1904 provided a system of mutual insurance, whereby holders of licences suppressed as unnecessary were entitled to a grant from the Compensation Fund. This was levied entirely on licence holders, for it had been abundantly proved that (a licence being only for a year) the licensee had no legal right to compensation from public funds.

Mr. Asquith's Local Option Bill of 1908 passed all its stages in the House of Commons by large majorities but was thrown out by the Lords.

Scotland's Local Option Law of 1913 comes into force next June, while Local Option Bills for England, Ireland, and Wales are now before Parliament. During the fifty-five years, from 1860 to 1915, fifty-five Temperance Acts of Parliament were passed! Even this brief glance shows persistent effort to curtail the evils of the drink trade; as a result, the United Kingdom contrasts favourably with the leading countries of Europe. For instance, the average annual consumption of alcohol (proof spirit) in the United Kingdom per head for 1905-1909 was 3.4 gallons, whereas in France at a conservative estimate, and excluding cider, it was not less than 7.88 gallons. For 1919 United Kingdom figures were 1.05 gallons.

The war, like a searchlight, revealed to everyone how the drink traffic wastes the nation's health, wealth, food, and general resources. The Liquor Control Board was appointed to meet a war emergency, and its restrictions as to hours of sale, strength, and output of liquor had good results all over the country, quite as much as in Carlisle, where public houses and breweries had been bought. The Carlisle experiment of "improved public houses is exactly what the *Brewers' Journal* advocates, i.e., "not to induce individuals to drink more beer, but rather to influence more individuals to drink beer." And this in spite of the findings of Lord d'Abernon's Medical Committee that alcoholic beverages are narcotic rather than stimulant in action, and in no way necessary for healthy life, "further that they are definitely injurious for children and for most persons of unstable nervous system, notably for those who have had severe injuries of the head, or who have suffered from attacks of mental disorder, or from nervous shock."

Are we a Christian nation to allow the liquor traffic, as run at Carlisle, to tempt these "weaker brethren," and put a stumbling block in the path of the young? The Carlisle system of liquor selling is not a new idea. Its main feature, like that of disinterested management, is, that by eliminating private profit you prevent the sale of liquor being pushed (though the "Lure of Drink" seems no push). Lord Peel's Licensing Commission considered this scheme carefully, and after hearing the evidence of leading Army generals, Lord Peel's Report in 1899 discredited the scheme, arguing that since it had not proved possible to eliminate private profit in military canteens, with their strict supervision and discipline, it would be quite impossible to do so in civil administration. In the Peel Report, the late Sr Thomas Whittaker wrote: "The truth seems to be that in both Sweden and Norway the elimination of financial interest in the sales has not been either complete or sufficient. . . . Further, the fact cannot be ignored that in the ten years preceding the inauguration of the Company, arrests for drunkenness were reduced fifty per cent., whereas, since it took control, they have been practically stationary."

STATE CONTROL IN INDIA.

The British Government has had State Control of the liquor trade in India for more than a hundred years. Dark pages in this history show that, as in Russia, an artificial stimulus was put on the drink traffic, in order to increase revenue, regardless of the social, moral, and spiritual welfare of the people. A people, too, who were abstemious by religion till the British encouraged them to drink! As in Russia, the Excise officials pushed the sale into new neighbourhoods against the wishes of the people, thus causing grave unrest. The revenue increased five-fold from 1874-5 to 1915-16. This is now to cease, for the Government of India Bill, which became law last December, transfers the excise policy and administration from our Government to the Provincial Legislative Councils of India.

CANADA AND THE COLONIES.

The British system of licensing was naturally that of our colonies, though they early obtained Local Option Laws, Canada in 1878, Newfoundland in 1893, Queensland in 1885 and the other Australian States later, New Zealand in 1894, and the Transvaal in 1902.

Newfoundland and the Canadian Provinces—Prince Edward Isle, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and British Columbia, have gradually voted out the drink traffic and are "Dry." The city of Quebec and most of the towns in Quebec Province are also "Dry." The experience of all Colonies is that the districts without liquor shops have better health and prosperity, and far less crime.

THE UNITED STATES.

The legal position of the liquor traffic in the United States is identical with that of England till each State developed its own laws and adopted local option. By the use of this vote the liquor trade, during the past half century, has been driven out of town after town, till the whole country is now "Dry." In 1893 South Carolina tried State Control. Enormous powers of search had to be given to the police to prevent private profit. This resulted in riots, martial law, loss of life, &c., while illegal sales of liquor flourished. After thirteen years, South Carolina, having found the system a disastrous failure, gave it up and adopted a local option law. Local option works smoothly everywhere, because, as it registers public opinion, it can never go ahead of it. People who prophesied that prohibition would ruin Brewers, distillers, and publicans were wrong. The people whose business suffers are undertakers and pawnbrokers! Publicans quickly get other jobs with shorter hours and better health. Brewers either make non-intoxicating drinks, or adapt their plant for making butter, motor car parts, packing meat, and many other industries. They employ more workers than formerly. Distillers make industrial alcohol, for which there is now enormous demand. This is more remunerative and does not waste good grain and fruit.

The labour *Glasgow Forward* said recently: "Other things we may nationalise by purchase, but we are not purchasing businesses which the social sense of the country feels should be destroyed. . . . We may think it good to nationalise a good going concern but not a bad concern which is going."

THIRTY YEARS OF LABOUR.*

By B. L. HUTCHINS.

"We live forward, we understand backward," wrote a Danish writer, quoted in James' "Pluralistic Universe." These words recur to us in reading the extraordinarily interesting chapters which Mr. and Mrs. Webb have added to the "History of Trade Unionism." First published in 1894, it has now been brought up even to the beginning of the present year, and although there may be a greater picturesqueness in the records of old times embodied in the early chapters, no part of the book is more absorbing than that which relates the history of organised Labour in the last twenty-six years. It is first of all a record of growth, growth in numbers, growth in consolidation, and the enrolment of large numbers of general workers, unskilled and semi-skilled labourers, who have been touched by the spirit of comradeship and unity which long seemed achievable only by the skilled trades. Even the women, who from their less permanent employment and their lower and more irregular earnings used to be regarded as the most hopeless problem of organisation, have been enrolled in numbers, which, though still proportionally small, are vast compared with those of thirty years ago.

The most interesting feature of home politics in the period under consideration is, of course, the emergence of the Labour Party as an independent force. Down to the 'eighties even the trade union world had no political ambitions other than that of securing that a few Members of Parliament should be financed and coached to obtain protection of its interests and to promote the legislation necessary. The pioneer efforts of the late Mr. Keir Hardie and a few others, however, reinforced by discontent and resentment over the celebrated Taff Vale case, succeeded in evolving new aspirations, and in 1906 twenty-nine out of fifty independent Labour candidates became Members of Parliament. The new party did some very useful work, but ran some risk of being snuffed out by the immense prestige and overwhelming numbers of the Liberals at that date. It was saved from decay by the attacks of its enemies, whose efforts greatly improved the cohesion and moral of the party, and the Trades Disputes Act was safely passed to remedy the situation caused by Taff Vale.

The party of reaction was incensed by this success and initiated the Osborne Case, in which a member of the Society of Railway Servants who happened to disagree with the political activities of that union was enabled, with liberal financial help from the employers' side, to carry his case up to the House of Lords itself. The present writer happens to have a vivid recollection of the scene in that House, and its curious artificialness and unreality; the magnificent empty chamber, its gorgeous leather seats untenanted, the group of trade unionists and other interested spectators crowded into the scanty standing room allotted to them (no leather seats for us!), and somewhere or other, a few miles off apparently (or perhaps in another planet?) an elderly gentleman in medieval but very handsome array murmuring a long speech, about half of which was audible.

The effect of the judgment was to render illegal the application of trade union funds not only to political purposes, but to the many forms of educational and social activity in which trade union monies had been expended, and which no one had hitherto dreamed of calling in question. It also set up a very galling and injurious distinction between classes which had not previously been made. While capitalist corporations (railway companies, breweries, banks, insurance companies, and many others) were left free to finance their own candidates for Parliament, as many actually do, the trade unions were now pronounced to exceed their powers in doing the same thing. The irony of it was that the effect of the decision thus was to obstruct orderly

* (1) "History of Trade Unionism, 1666-1920." By Sidney and Beatrice Webb. (Longmans, 1920. 21s.)

(2) 45th Annual Report of the Women's Trade Union League, Dilke House, W.C. 1, 1919.

political work by the unions, and by implication thrust them back on the strike and "direct action."

The situation created by the Osborne Judgment of course had to be remedied by statute; but this was postponed one way and another for four years, and in the meantime the organised workers believed, rightly or wrongly, that there was an actual conspiracy against them, and the resulting discontent, suspicion, and unrest can be plainly enough read in the history of the years 1909-14. The point that needs emphasis, because it is so little understood, is, that the troubles that occurred between the Osborne Judgment and the outbreak of war in 1914 were not wanton, unprovoked attacks by the workers. They represented in fact the defensive efforts of sorely-tried men, seeing their hard-won rights and liberties encroached upon in a spirit which may have been only the levity of ignorance, but which certainly looked very like malice and aggression. It is an interesting coincidence that at the very same time the Government's dealings with the women's movement were characterised by a not dissimilar spirit of prejudice, tactlessness, and obstinacy.

Then the war came, and the trade union movement, for all its international sympathies and its opposition to militarism, flung itself whole-heartedly into the national effort, the pacifist, anti-war movement being espoused by only a relatively small minority. The invasion of Belgium, the sufferings of France, the peril to our own shores, appealed to the very heart of the people; from every industry men volunteered in such numbers that they had in some cases to be refused as recruits or brought back from the Army overseas, in order that indispensable industries might be maintained. Compulsory military service was accepted, however much against the grain. Strikes decreased considerably. And the trade unions were also asked, not only for the sacrifices that were willingly made in every class and section of society, but for one that was peculiar to themselves and has never been at all adequately appreciated outside the movement. This was the relinquishment for the duration of the war, of all the trade union customs and regulations which had been so anxiously built up by the toilsome effort of generations. This was very much as if the lawyers or doctors had been asked to open their ranks to unqualified competitors, the clergy to admit Nonconformist ministers to serve in their churches, the Peers to share the House of Lords with the untitled. The equivalent sacrifice was, however, made by the skilled industrial workers, and the Government's promise to see the pre-war conditions and practices restored has, as everyone knows, not been fully kept.

The most interesting point of the story is, however, the fact that although the trade unions did not make good terms for themselves, were in fact on the whole "done" by the Government (as Mr. and Mrs. Webb put it), yet they have gained a great deal in social and political standing during the war. Not only have leading representatives become Cabinet Ministers and held other important posts, but the presence of trade union members on local Pensions Committees, Committees of the Prince of Wales's Fund, Military Tribunals, and Food Control Committees was at once seen to be indispensable, and has undoubtedly brought the influence of organised Labour to bear locally in many places where it was previously unknown. Royal Commissions and Departmental Committees now also invariably include Labour representatives, usually nominated by the unions. In 1903 it was still possible for a Commission on Trade Disputes to be set up without a trade union member; no such omission could now be made. There is generally a more definite recognition than ever before that the organised workers have their own place and position in the State.

If now we turn to the women we find that the organised workers, as already mentioned, have increased in numbers, though still forming but a small proportion of those employed. Still more remarkable, however, is the extent to which women

are now consulted and represented on public bodies as compared with the past. The Chief Inspector of Factories, who about forty years ago resisted the appointment of women inspectors and innocently stated that he had never found it necessary "to ask a question of a female," would be rather surprised nowadays to find how many questions *are* asked of females, who, in their turn, are not infrequently in a position to ask rather searching questions themselves. The Women's Trade Union League, for instance, has had representatives on the Reconstruction Committee on Women's Employment, on the Women's Trade Union Advisory Committee of the Ministry of Munitions, the Wages Awards Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction, and others. Women representatives are now usually placed on Royal Commissions and Departmental Committees.

Both in the case of women and of organised Labour there is now perceptible a new ferment of ideas, a craving for self-expression, for a share in the community life. Men and women are asking for a more human, civilised life, for freedom to develop their minds and souls in co-operation one with another. Among women the pressure of custom has long hindered or prevented the growth of association, but they also are now beginning to find themselves. Social forms have got to be the medium of human thought and feeling, not the shackles and fetters to prevent movement and progress. It is this deep spiritual craving underlying the economic struggle which makes the history of trade unionism such fascinating reading. As we trace its past we can see how great is the promise of its future. "We live forward; we understand backward."

KITCHEN POLITICS.

Parliament is bound to give a great deal of its attention to the kitchen, but the kitchen is not giving nearly enough of its attention to Parliament.

While kitchen politics are to the fore the opinion of the kitchen expert, the woman in the home, has a special value.

But this opinion must be based on knowledge and consideration, not on rumour and popular catch-words.

For the next few weeks therefore "The Woman's Leader" will contain introductory articles on different aspects of kitchen politics. These are intended to call the attention of the woman in the home to problems particularly demanding her careful scrutiny, and to touch on points of difficulty she must study.

FIRST STEPS IN FOOD CONTROL.

Food holds the most important place in every woman's mind these days, and it is also holding an important place in the deliberations of Parliament. From the point of view both of the kitchen and of politics, it is therefore our business to find out all that we can about food—what fixes its prices, what causes govern the supplies that come on to the market, what profits are made upon its sales, and to whom these profits go. In short, we must study all that to-day is known by the general, all-inclusive name "Food Control." "Food Control" covers a multitude of sins as well as of virtues. This we must be prepared for, and if we are to make anything at all out of our studies we must start with an open mind, not as champions or bitter foes of the "Control" policy.

It is a little difficult to start with an open mind. Food Control has not only become a political question, but a Party political question, and one tends to feel keenly for or against. But perhaps the person most ready and able to free her mind of prejudices is she who views kitchen politics really from the point of view of the kitchen—the woman in the home. For keenly as she feels on the subject of Food Control, she does not always feel on the same side. Sometimes she is for, sometimes against. Here sympathies are apt to depend on whether her morning's shopping has convinced her that uncontrolled prices are too high, or controlled food too scarce.

There is more excuse for these changing opinions than might at first appear. Even in the inner circles of Party politics one is shocked to see a great many points hopelessly confused when Food Control is discussed. And the simple-souled housekeeper who may not realise that confusion has taken place but judges Food Control from its practical results, will perhaps judge herself inconsistent in now approving, now condemning, whereas she is really approving and condemning quite distinct policies which she has encountered and learned to know by the one misleading name, "Food Control."

Here are instances of what I mean. Sometimes, when Food Control is referred to, what is meant is the Government's policy of fixing prices by law and regulation—the price at which the

wholesale dealer may sell to the retail dealer, the price at which the retail dealer may sell to the customer. Sometimes a quite different policy is meant, the policy by which the Government itself buys up all the available supplies of a particular kind of food and becomes itself a great first wholesale dealer, fixing prices in a new way by refusing to sell to the ordinary wholesale dealers above or below its own stated price. Sometimes even a third policy is meant, the policy of "subsidising," where the Government pays to the manufacturers and wholesale dealers a sum of money sufficient to enable them to fix the price of their food-stuff lower than they would otherwise be able to do if they were to pay their own expenses and make a fair profit. Each of these three different policies admits of approval or disapproval in theory alone, and even where one approves in theory one may disapprove in practice, and hold that a good policy is being badly administered by the Government at the present time. So that there are many opportunities for weak womanhood to change its mind!

It is impossible to treat Food Control in its several aspects at all thoroughly in a short article. It is equally impossible to put into simple and readable form the many complicated, though no doubt invariably wise conclusions that economists have reached on this difficult question. Perhaps it is not of the first importance that the woman in the home should attempt to follow either economic controversies or the political pros. and cons. of Food Control. It is important, however, and of the first importance, that she should understand just exactly what Food Control does mean, and may mean, and might have meant to her and to her kitchen, and to understand the reasons for its meanings. For the next few weeks, therefore, this page will contain an article on one of the Control policies at present in force in this country, and its effects on the wholesale dealer, the retail dealer, and the customer. If the article is necessarily somewhat superficial, the housekeeper who is interested must forgive and regard it as merely introductory. She will herself be responsible for taking the second step in the study of Food Control.

INEZ M. FERGUSON.

AWAY WITH FOOD CONTROL.

By BOYD CABLE.

THE DEAD HAND OF CONTROL.

In other instances control, although it keeps prices of one food down, forces up the prices of another. A good example of this and of the Dead Hand of Control is seen in the present prices of bacon. A little time ago home pork and bacon were decontrolled, and, as we know, the price of home-cured bacon has now risen to about 3s. 6d. per lb. for the best cuts, while controlled imported bacon remains at the control price of 2s. 8d. It is of very inferior quality, and certainly not worth its price, and the proof that this is a general belief is seen in the fact that the consumption of controlled bacon has fallen to perhaps half the normal consumption of bacon in this country. There must always be a luxury trade, the demand for a high-class article at a high price, and it is simply because there is a heavy demand for good fresh bacon that home bacon has risen to 3s. 6d. If the price of the imported bacon were reduced to one at which it would sell freely and go far to fill the bacon demand, it would lessen the demand for home bacon, reduce its price, and at the same time increase the consumption of the huge bacon stocks going stale, and even putrid, under the Dead Hand of Control.

All this question of supply and demand and the effect on prices may be debatable, but there are other facts in connection with food control on which there can be no argument. Sugar, for instance, has been under control since 1914 and the price has risen from 1½d. per lb. to 10d. We are told again that this is due to world shortage, but how can we reconcile an excuse of shortage when the sugar ration has just been increased and, at the same time, the price also increased. If we are short of sugar how can the ration be increased; if we are not short of it why should the price go up? There is no doubt the price of sugar has increased enormously since 1914, but again we cannot altogether blame the higher original cost for the present price to the consumer when we know that the duty on sugar has increased 1,300 per cent. since 1914.

The housewife knows the price and the difficulty of obtaining dried fruits, but there are stocks of currants available which traders are willing to sell at £75 per ton. They are flatly forbidden by the Food Ministry to buy and sell these currants in this country, although they may buy and sell to German buyers. The currants which our housewives buy have to be bought by the wholesaler from the Government at a price of £107 10s.

Exactly the same holds good in the lard trade. Dealers can buy lard at about 143s., but have to buy their lard from the Government at a price of 197s.

Argentine butter of good quality is being offered to London dealers at 200s. per cwt. Under control they dare not buy this butter, although they could do so and sell it here at 2s. 6d. per lb., whereas control butter as we know costs 3s.

WHOSE ARE THE PROFITS?

These again are instances of good foods which are available at much lower prices than those ruling under control. They are facts which can be substantiated, and which are known throughout the whole of the trades concerned. The Food Ministry or Government is making huge profits on necessary foodstuffs, and they are only able to do so under a system of control. The profits no doubt are swallowed up in the expenses of administration and in bearing the loss of all the destroyed mutton, bacon, and other foods which go bad owing to inefficient bureaucratic methods of trading. It is well that the women of the country should be made aware of these facts. We have borne with control long after the war because we thought it was necessary. We have put up with all the inconvenience and trouble, which only the housewife really knows, that resulted from complicated systems of rationing and coupons and being tied to dealing at fixed shops. It would be a relief to every woman shopper to see the whole mass of food regulations and restrictions swept away. We have borne with them so long because we believed they were essential to the interests of the consumer. Once let us be satisfied that they are not, and the women of the country will demand that the control of food is thrown completely overboard.

The facts I have mentioned have at one time and place or another been published or stated publicly. They have met with no clear denial and with no more than evasive answers when questions were raised in Parliament. It is no matter for evasion, and the sooner this is realised by the Government the better for themselves and for us.

If there is any subject to-day in which every woman ought to take interest it is the matter of food supplies and prices. Of late there have been some extraordinary disclosures made with reference to these matters, and it begins to look as if the continuance of control, which was begun as a war measure, is now acting most seriously against the possibility of necessary foods being reduced in price and being more easily obtainable in the average household. It may be that the whole matter is debatable, and there can be found plenty of people who will argue that control is the only safeguard that the public have against profiteering and high food prices. On the other hand, there are certain facts which cannot be overlooked, and there can be little doubt in certain determinable cases that the sole result of control is to make it difficult for the householder to buy supplies at a reasonable price.

TO BRING DOWN PRICES.

For long enough we have been told that high prices are due to a world shortage of foodstuffs. This may be true of many foods, but it is clearly untrue of others, and if those foods of which there is no shortage were released from control and placed freely on the market it would certainly relieve the demand for other foods of which there may be a shortage. We are all too familiar nowadays with the state of affairs in connection with imported frozen mutton. Shiploads have been pouring into the country for months past, and the result is that every available foot of cold storage space is crammed with frozen meat. This meat is controlled, and for long enough was only on sale at an average price of 10½d. per lb., since reduced to 9d. There is no trader with any experience of the meat market who will not state positively that this is an excessive price, at which the glutted stocks will never be sold. Even now tons of this meat are going bad, and being sent to the destructors or the soap works, and many more thousands of carcasses must go the same way unless the price is reduced. The difficulty apparently is that a Government Department refuses to "cut a loss," to sell that is at a price which will clear out the surplus stock, but which will bring in less than is paid for the goods. Any ordinary trader in the course of his business is frequently faced with this unpleasant alternative of seeing stock go bad on his hands or selling it at a price on which he will lose money. The trader being a business man prefers to sell mutton at 6d. per lb., even if it cost him 7d., rather than hold it until it is unfit for food, and sell it for 1d. to the soap works. The trouble with the Food Ministry or a Government department is that sanction has to be given through all the round-about red tape methods of Government departments to lose money on a deal. The result in this case is that good food is being destroyed and the people are going short of meat which they badly want.

The position is much the same with regard to bacon, and of this again thousands of quarter-ton boxes have been sold to the soap-boilers or to Continental buyers at about £40 per ton instead of to the bacon-buying public at a price of nearly £200 per ton.

These are only two well-known instances of the horrible waste of good food which is resulting from the continuance of control, and there are many others which could be quoted. We have been told again and again, and have more or less come to believe, that when a food is decontrolled the price rises. It can be shown, however, in certain specific cases the rise is not due so much to the fact of decontrol as it is to normal causes, and in some cases it would appear that the Food Ministry have chosen a time to decontrol when they knew that prices were going to rise, so that to the public it would appear that the higher price was the result of decontrol and that only control could keep prices down.

A short time ago the Food Ministry increased the price of sugar to manufacturers. Shortly afterwards it freed condensed milk of control. Since a very large proportion of condensed milk consists of sugar manufacturers had to increase the price. The public, of course, jumped to the conclusion that the increased price was the result of decontrol.

RE-ACTION.

By ROSE MACAULAY.

I.

At first, all that Dorothy felt about the library was that it was much more peaceful than Madame Adèle's, the exclusive hat shop in South Moulton Street, where she had worked before. The customers were so much less exacting. For one book is much like another, but hats are so different. Customers know what they want in hats. They don't say to you, as they do about books, "Is this pretty? Shall I like this? I wish you'd find me a nice one." They say instead, "No, that won't do at all." They know their own minds.

But very soon Dorothy discovered that many of the library subscribers were like this, too—tiresome people, who couldn't be fobbed off with alternatives. Like the worried-looking housewife who told Dorothy she must have "Keens' Economics." No, nothing else would do; it must be just that. Her son, who was in hospital, had said so. "'The Economical Peace' it is," Dorothy told her, and she said, "Very likely."

"We've not a copy in just now," Dorothy added. "Of course, we can send down to the shop for it. . . . Unless you'd take something else to-day on the same subject. . . . There's the 'Way of Peace,' by the Reverend Burroughs, recommended by the Bishop of London for Lent. . . . or, 'How to Dress on £30 a Year, by One Who Does It,' or. . . ."

But the lady had been sure it was Keens' "Economical Peace" in particular that her son wanted, nothing else in the same line. So Dorothy had to send for it.

Gradually, she learnt that there were quite a lot of people like this, with preferences, tastes and distastes, as at the hat shop, only, of course, less marked and important than there. She had trouble one day with a lady who was the mother of a flapper, the wife of a vicar, and the daughter of a Dean. The day before, the flapper daughter had come to the library and asked for "a nice book on dreams." Dorothy had found for her "The Interpretation of Dreams," by one Professor Freud.

"You'll like this," she said encouragingly. "It's ever so nice." Next day the flapper's mother marched in, and slapped down the large and heavy book on the table as if it was infected.

"This book," she told Dorothy, "is abominable. It is neither more nor less than the ravings of an obscene maniac. It ought to be allowed in no public library, and I shall write to the management about it. I understood that you told my daughter that you had read it yourself, and that it was a nice book."

Dorothy remembered that she hadn't, so to speak, read it through, only looked at it.

"You told my daughter you had read it," the accusing lady repeated, sternly. "For your own sake, I am very glad to hear that you have not. I will now choose something for myself."

Dorothy, not to be trusted any more, watched the anti-Freudian choose "The Life of Mrs. Gladstone," by Mrs. Drew, without her help or advice.

An awkward incident. Yet what was one to reply when people asked what a book was like? One didn't like to say one hadn't read it; that was so unhelpful and stupid. None of the assistants said that; they weren't, in fact, encouraged to by the management. All round Dorothy they were agreeably lying.

"Is this nice?" ("The Mask," by John Courros, that was.)

"Yes, that's a very pretty tale, you'll like it." Dorothy was sure Miss Jenkins, who answered thus, hadn't read any more of "The Mask" than she herself had of Freud. One hadn't time to read the books that looked as if they might be dry.

"This is a nice name," said someone to Dorothy, taking up "The Heart of a Girl." "Is it light or deep?"

Dorothy, cautious this time, said, "Well, it isn't either really" (which was true), "it's something between the two" (which wasn't true at all, since to be heavy and shallow, as this book was, is not to be anywhere between light and deep).

Supplying people with what they want is an art, like another. At first, Dorothy made mistakes all the time. That was while she still thought that one book was much like another, and

hadn't learnt to take into account the slight differences that really do exist even between books. She would offer a subscriber with an Irish accent, Mr. Chesterton's "Irish Impressions," and Mr. Lynd's "Ireland a Nation," not realising that the subscriber's politics were Unionist, her religion anti-Papal, and her accent that of County Down. To a young person who wanted "a nice story for me to read to my grandmother in the evenings—something simple and pretty, and not too deep—and it must be nice," she gave "Limbo," by Mr. Aldous Huxley, and the young person brought it back in three days, saying her grandmother and she found it rather funny, and didn't really quite know what it was all about. She mixed up all the books by English visitors to Russia, and offered Professor Goode's to a Major, who already knew from the *Times* that it was a bad book, and Mr. Wilton's to a member of the 1917 Club, so that both subscribers said in disgust, "Oh Lord, no, I didn't mean this one."

Dorothy made, in fact, during her first few weeks, every possible mistake. But by the end of a month or so she had begun to master the job. She had learnt that, after all, books were rather like hats, for different ones suited different people. She learnt when they asked, "Shall I like this?" to look at them and ascertain what kind they were before she answered, instead of saying, "Oh, yes," without looking or thinking at all. Most of the girls answered like that. But Dorothy would look the enquirer in the face with her lucid, her brook-like amber eyes, and when it was a fat lady in furs, with the tight mouth and meaningless face of the suburban shopper who leads a little dog, she would remember the tastes and negations of the other similar ladies who asked for books, and would tell her that oh, no, she wouldn't care for Keynes' "Economic Consequences of the Peace" (among the things Dorothy learnt was the correct name of this writer and his book), nor really very much for "Impressions that Remained"; if they wanted something nice to pass the time they'd like E. F. Benson's latest better. And so on. She grew so clever at it after a few weeks that the lady subscribers began to speak of her as "that nice, intelligent little girl with bright eyes, who always finds you just what you want." She could put them right on questions of detail, too, so that when someone asked for "The Life of General Booth," "by that man who writes about all the eminent Victorians—Lytton Strachey, isn't it?" she said no, it was Harold Begbie, instead, this time, the same kind of writer, but not the same name.

Of course, she still had her troubles, as all who are familiar with library subscribers will realise. There were, for instance, the people who insisted on having a book before it was published. It must be out, they would say, they had seen it reviewed.

"Oh, they're often reviewed before they're published," said the assistants. "Sometimes months before." Dorothy was saying this to-day, when a young man standing by broke in.

"Excuse me," he said, "but that is quite untrue. It is a statement I often hear made by library assistants, and I have never yet fathomed what they mean by it. No editor would do such a thing. It's not allowed. I don't say a mistake is never made, or that a premature review has never appeared, but it is quite unusual. The way you library people lightly hurl these accusations about. . . ."

He was a reviewer, no doubt. Sure to be. But Dorothy, like all the other assistants and many of their clients, still knew that reviews often do appear weeks, and even months, before the book does. They are always favourable reviews, too, which is more than can be said for the reviews which come afterwards. They say, "This brilliant tale of amazing adventures, or this moving romance of deep and faithful love, shows that Mr. Blank's hand, or Miss Dash's, has lost none of its cunning. Everyone will want to read this book, and, having begun it, will persevere breathlessly to the last page."

That was the sort of review that books got before they were published, and very nice, too. After publication the reviewers

were apt to take up a less wholly uncritical attitude, having, presumably, got back some of their breath again.

Another troublesome set of people were the friends of authors. You always knew them. They would ask for the book of their friend before anyone else knew it existed, and long before there were any copies in the library. They expressed shocked surprise when they were told that it hadn't been ordered yet. You gathered from their manner that it was going, later on, to be the book of the season. Authors themselves have this manner (only much more of it), not in libraries where they are known, but in bookshops where they are anonymous. Authors in libraries scarcely like to ask for their own books; they only wait about to hear if anyone else does. Dorothy got to know the authors; she thought them, on the whole, a self-conscious, rather conceited set, but pathetic, too. To care so much for what you had produced, to be so vain of it, so concerned for it. . . . to think it so different from all the books by other people. . . . though, when all was said and done, one book was so very like another. . . .

II.

But with one author Dorothy made friends. He was, as a matter of fact, the young man who had differed from her on the subject of pre-publication reviews. His name was Jayne, so he came into Dorothy's section, which comprised the J's and K's, and was labelled "Guaranteed Howden—Light." Besides reviews he wrote books—poetry, plays and stories, which Dorothy didn't think were precisely novels. These books of his were well reviewed always (perhaps he did them himself), but not asked for by the suburban ladies with little dogs, or thought much of by the library assistants. Dorothy, looking into them, found them queer. Miss Jenkins said they were "rather *difficile*."

But Mr. Jayne, apart from his books, Dorothy liked. He was a pleasant young man, and used always to exchange a few words with Dorothy when he came. He never got out novels much; he said he couldn't read them; he used to take memoirs, and books of literary criticism, and biographies, and that kind of thing. But he used to talk to Dorothy about the novels, and ask her which of them were doing well. That was what he always wanted to know. He never said, "Is this nice?" but "Is this much asked for?" One day, he put Dorothy into an awkward position by saying it about his own last book, which wasn't.

"Not much run on this, I'm afraid, is there?" was the humble way he put it. Dorothy, who liked him, and could not bear to hurt anyone's feelings, said, "Oh, well, it gets asked for, certainly it does."

"No, does it? You don't say so!" His pleasant, clever eyes twinkled at her through their gold-rimmed glasses.

"But not so much, I'm afraid," he added, "as this one here." He indicated a new novel by a very popular author, in a very bright and exciting wrapper, which lay beside his on the table.

"Oh, well —," Dorothy smiled. "Of course, that's a very exceptional book."

"Exceptional, is it? Sells really splendidly, I expect." He looked at the title-page. "Fifth impression already, by Jove. That's the style. I shall never do as well as that, shall I?"

Dorothy, who was quite sure he never would, looked a little distressed and sorry for him. But he smiled at her cheerfully, carrying it off.

"Well, look here," he said. "How is it done? I shouldn't mind making a thousand pounds or so off a book. It would come in jolly handy, as it happens. That lady, I am told, makes more than that on every one of her books. How's it done? What's the trick?"

"I suppose there's some authors," said Dorothy, "just have the knack."

"Well, can the knack be learnt? That's my point. . . ." He seemed to ponder this for a moment, then asked her, "Look here, do you like that book?"

"Oh, yes," Dorothy admitted. "It's a lovely book. We all loved it here. It keeps you interested right up to the end."

He nodded. "That's what books should do, of course. . . . Well, I'll take it out and read it."

He brought it back next day, and seemed rather excited.

"I read it through in the night," he said. "Any more like that, have you? Any others by the same writer? Or any Garvices, Ethel Dells, or Mrs. Barclays? Look here, you find me a lot of your own favourite books, will you? and I'll take them all."

"You'll take a lot of extras?" Dorothy said, reminding him tactfully thus that extras cost money.

"Yes, a lot of extras, and blow the expense. I'm going to get to the bottom of this thing. I've had a first-class idea. Get me them, will you?—six of your special favourites."

Dorothy got them, selecting them with anxious care.

They took him a week to get through. He had read one each night, he said; he hadn't time for them by day. He was a little depressed when he brought them back.

"I'm beginning to be afraid it's beyond me," he told Dorothy. Beyond my unaided efforts, that is. Now, if you and I were to collaborate, I believe we could produce something jolly useful. . . . I've been trying my hand this week, you see, at the sort of thing, but, however well I start off, it always turns itself upside down after a few sentences. A false note creeps in like a serpent, and hisses, and all is spoilt."

Dorothy, who had no idea what in the world he was talking about, smiled sympathetically.

He looked at her and smiled, too.

"Now, I believe you could keep the serpent out. Scotch him whenever he lifted his head. I believe we should be a splendid partnership, you and I. I wish you'd come and help me."

"But I couldn't write a book, not even a bad book, let alone a book like that," Dorothy protested. She had gathered that Jayne was endeavouring, without success, to write a really good novel.

"Write it—perhaps not. But you could read it. You could judge it as I wrote it. You could tell me when I was getting off the lines."

Dorothy had, at this point, to attend to someone else. When she had done with this other subscriber, she saw Mr. Jayne still standing there, watching her. He looked excited, as if he had just had an idea.

"I say," he said, "you were taking something down in shorthand just now."

"Oh, yes. I often take the orders down in shorthand."

"Can you type, too, then?"

"I learnt typing and shorthand at a commercial school, before I went into business. But I've never used them much."

"But you can? Oh, good! Oh, look here, that's splendid. . . . I can't talk to you here, I'll write."

He departed. Dorothy was left a little breathless. Mr. Jayne, that was apparent, was going to ask her to do some work for him. She liked Mr. Jayne, and, anyhow, he was a real author, even if a rather unsuccessful one, so the idea was stimulating.

(To be continued.)

SONNET.

By GERALD GOULD.

I have an enemy far worse than hate,
Far worse than danger, worse than any wrong
That's cried upon the wind in any song,
Or feared in prophecy of any fate.
My bonds, impalpable and uncreate,
Are each as sly as thought, and each as strong;
And when I turn for hope where hopes belong,
My enemy is always at the gate.

You alone can, dispersing my despair,
Draw me from shadows into vital air.
You alone heal me with your tranquil touch.
To you it means so little, as you pass
Like light along the fields: to me, alas!
In solitude it means so much, so much.

"THE WOMAN'S LEADER" IN LITERATURE.

VERSE.

Two women novelists have recently published their first volumes of poems—Miss Viola Meynell, in "Verses" (Secker, 2s. 6d.), and Miss F. Tennyson Jesse, in "The Happy Bride" (Heinemann, 6s.). Of the two the former is incomparably the better poet. Miss Meynell's instrument, though small, breathes the clearest, delicatest music; nor do we fail to find in her poems several of the qualities that distinguish her novels—imagination, a taste for what is curious, rare, fine, and a lucid precision of image and language. We see there, in "The July Gale," where she says:

"It shakes the short stiff quills on the bird's breast."
In "The Frozen Ocean," in "Jonah and the Whale," of which two stanzas run:

"His hunger cleared the sea. And where
He passed, the ocean's edge lifted its brim.
He skimmed the dim sea-floor to find it there
Some garden had its harvest ripe for him.

"But in his sluggish brain no thought
Ever arose. His law was instinct blind.
No thought or gleam or vision ever brought
Light to the dark of his old dreamless mind."

Of Miss Tennyson Jesse, remembering some of her prose passages (notably one in a sea-story, where she describes an extraordinary sky), we should have expected more precision, more clearness, more quality. There is something blurred, heavy, insignificant, ragged about her verse; and it is not ragged as genius may be—not swift, headlong, uncouth, wild. She has frequently shaken off the shackles of rhyme and conventional measure, but she does not go the lighter. Either her ideas need to lie longer unworked, to crystallise more in her sub-conscious mind before she works them, or they need far more working. "To the Forbidden Lover" is the best of this volume; but its end is unsatisfactory. The two sonnets are competent, and the sextet which we quote has a picturesque charm:

"No more do angels hover at the towers
Like bees round lilies, about their tucked-in feet
Their fluttered gowns blown crisp against the sky:
But springing from sheer walls the gillyflowers
Seem seraph flames above each shadowed sheet,
Small burning bushes to show that God is nigh."

Mr. Maurice Baring, the author of "Poems, 1914-1917" (Secker, 2s. 6d.), is an even more accomplished sonneteer, and he has a gift for effective endings, as "Julian Grenfell," "Vita Nuova," "Italy," and "Greece" show. He has occasional deplorable lapses into platitude, such as this in "Beethoven":

"There is an end unto the longest day."

The most important poem in this volume is of seven pages, "In Memoriam, A. H.," it is a sincere, even but undistinguished piece of work. This writer is more successful in a lighter vein; the "Elegy on the Death of Juliet's Owl" opens delightfully thus:

"Juliet has lost her little downy owl,
The bird she loved more than all other birds.
He was a darling bird, so white, so wise,
Like a monk hooded in a snowy cowl,
With sun-shy scholar's eyes;
He hooted softly in diminished thirds
And when he asked for mice,
He took refusal with a silent pride
And never pleaded twice."

There are several exquisite little pieces in Mr. Iolo Aneurin William's book, "New Poems" (Methuen, 3s. 6d.), notably "There are Sweet Fields," "Ideal," and "Loveliness," of which we quote the second and last stanza:

"For loveliness I saw, and I
Have watched her come;
I have seen loveliness go by—
I am hurt, am dumb.
No hope, no peace, when she has passed
For the heart at last."

This young writer has captured a fragment of loveliness for us and put her in print on the page. Like Miss Meynell's, his muse is small in scope, but she is authentic and has quality.

Mr. H. W. Nevinson's book "Lines of Life" (Allen & Unwin, 3s. 6d.), is bound and printed, apparently, to look as unattractive as possible. This initial obstacle is, however, worth overcoming, for Mr. Nevinson has something to say, and often an individual or graceful way of saying it. The last poem in the volume, "A Vigil," is long, well-sustained, and moving; this, and certain others—"Time and Tide," "Prayer," "Blagoneschensk: 1900," and "The Siren," for instance—are the unaffected expression of emotions so genuinely felt, so clearly apprehended by the intellect, and so worked on by art, and the imagination that they reach us and stir us like the speech of a vigorous, well-modulated, cunningly pitched, and yet natural voice.

Mr. Gerald Gould is more of a mystic than Mr. Nevinson, and more of a poet by temperament; almost every page of "The Happy Tree" (Blackwell, 3s. 6d.) bears evidence of his mysticism and his poetic talent. He is continually conscious, too, of the dark, incommunicable sorrow which is the subject of "To a Child," "Frustration," and "Passion of Love." It is characteristic of him to give a title of a rather sensual suggestion to a poem not sensual in subject; he is, in fact, a true idealist; he will deny no aspect of life or love; he is not the ascetic who mortifies the flesh, but the poet who finds both soul and body beautiful:—

"She whom I love will sit apart,
And they whom love makes wise
May know the beauty in her heart
By the beauty in her eyes."

That is Mr. Gould at his most commonplace, his "prettiest." But turn to the next poem, or to "Sleepless"; to "Frustration"; to "Prelude" or to the title poem, and you will find beauty. And though not beauty, there is terror in the war poems, and pity:—

"Lo, Mother Earth, uniting
Her children!—undescried,
Here died a Briton fighting,
And here a German died:
And who shall now dis sever
Or set their dust at strife?
They are friends in death for ever
Who kept their faith with life."

That may be only sing-song; but there is a genuine accent in it; and the many poems in this book which are lovely, living and durable poems must be read in entirety. We can sincerely recommend our readers to spend three and sixpence so as to possess a Happy Tree.

E. B. C. J.

"THE WOMAN'S LEADER" IN DRAMA.

"The Higher Court." The Pioneer Players.

Until the last ten minutes it was difficult to see why this play should be performed by the Pioneer Players on a Sunday evening. It appeared a pleasant, innocent, mildly amusing play, which might have been expected to enjoy a reasonable run of a few weeks at any West End Theatre. Until almost the last moment there appeared nothing in it which necessitated a Sunday performance, and the daring of the Pioneers.

Mr. Mac Manus, the newspaper millionaire, is run over outside a block of mansion flats at West Kensington. He is taken in by the kind-hearted Pryce Green in an apparently dying condition. But he does not die. The pretty and pious Miss Pryce Green and the clever young doctor (clever in his profession, in ordinary life he is very stupid) pull him through. At the end of six weeks he emerges from the spare room, slightly lame in one leg, very much in love with Miss Pryce Green, otherwise no worse for the accident. In fact, the accident has done him a great deal of good. Before it he was thin, half starved, wretched and lonely. His millions had been unable to procure him either a good cook or a friend in the world. Miss Pryce Green is an excellent cook and very warm hearted. She does not know that the stranger to whom she has given the spare-room bed, beef tea, and finally her heart, is a millionaire. He has refused to give his name. Finally, of course, the truth comes out. A notice in the papers about the missing multi-millionaire, a gold cigarette case, a tattoo mark on the left wrist, give the secret away. The pair are engaged to be married amid family rejoicings.

At this point it suddenly becomes clear why this play was performed by the Pioneers. Miss Pryce Green is an ardent Catholic. This we had known from the beginning. But only at the eleventh hour does it emerge that Mac Manus has a divorced wife still living. In spite of her own heart, of the interests of her family, in spite of the man himself and his urgent need of her, Idalia Pryce Green sends her lover away. Before the law he may be free, before the Church he is a married man. Broken hearted, Idalia bows before the decree of the higher court.

The closing scene was really dramatic—by far the best in the play. Yet it is a curious problem to hold such an audience in 1920. When preliminary notices stated that the play was on the subject of divorce, it seemed natural to assume that an attack would be directed against the existing divorce laws, one expected to see the struggles of victims caught in the toils of the narrowness and injustice of the law. But as far as one can gather Miss Young's own views from the play, the existing laws of the land are in the van of progress. She is occupied with a system which prevents its victims from taking advantage of them. This is interesting as an illustration of how many layers of thought, apparently centuries removed, exist side by side at any given moment. There are, no doubt, many for whom the problem of the Higher Court is a living one to-day. A hiss from the stalls at a reference to the Sacrament seems to show this. But surely for most of the audience present at this particular performance the horse which Miss Young appeared to be flogging has been long dead.

The play was excellently acted. Mr. Randle Ayrton was delightful as the millionaire; Miss Mary Gerrold's playing of Idalia was a piece of real characterisation. She was a trifle fussy, always bringing in beef tea, sweeping, dusting, and fetching her needlework. But perhaps Idalia was like that. Felix Alymer must be really clever to make his doctor so naturally stupid.

Altogether it was a shock to read on the programme that

an extraordinary meeting of the society will be held shortly "to decide whether the difficulties of continuing these performances are insuperable." It would be a sad loss to the drama if they were.

"Birds of a Feather" at the Globe.

Surely birds of so curious a feather never flocked together except in an ornithological Bedlam. There is a young lady who makes love to her friend's fiancée because her friend used to pray for her when they were at school, who forges her father's signature on a cheque for £1,000, and yet is for some obscure reason a virtuous and engaging character. The lover breaks off the engagement when he finds that his fiancée has committed a forgery for his benefit. He then breaks a promise made "on his honour" to his uncle and backs a horse. The horse wins, and he offers the money to the lady's father in exchange for the cheque which his daughter had forged. He then becomes a sympathetic character. The father is the most curious bird of all. He is a hard man, a Jew who has built a colossal fortune on a foundation of dishonesty. He disapproves of his daughter's lover because he is not a sufficiently strong character—though the son of a peer. He dismisses the young man from his post as secretary when he proposes to his daughter. He enjoys making his daughter as wretched as possible over the matter of the forgery. Then he hears from his wicked old sister that the girl is going to have a baby. (The sister had employed a detective to find this out.) He is completely broken down. He falls to the ground and buries his head in the sofa cushions. He drinks a glass of water and throws the glass into the fireplace. He sends for the young man and pretends to forgive him because of his noble conduct about the cheque—but really it is in order to save his daughter's good name. When the grateful girl kisses the top of his head he breaks down again. His last words are: "She kissed me, of her own free will she kissed me."

Good acting only serves to make the play more bewildering. Mr. H. V. Esmond acted the cynical old Jew so well in the beginning, that when he was softened and sobbing towards the end I thought for a long time that he was putting it on for some deep reason of his own. He wrote the play himself, so there was no excuse. Had he been merely an actor one would have been sorry for him having to take such a part. It was much the same with Miss Marie Lohr. One could hardly understand how so charming a heroine could take away other girls' lovers, and forge cheques, yet appear in the right all the time. But Miss Marie Lohr presumably chose the play herself.

Pavlova at Drury Lane.

It is wonderful really to see "Pavlova." One expects great dancers, like all great things, to belong to the past. It seems natural that Macaulay should slip out of Parliament to see Taglioni, that Fanny Elssler should be summoned to dance before the young Queen Victoria. But that we should see Pavlova, be in the same room, breathe the same air, seems to make the present into history. It shows us as the lawful successors of these eminent Victorians. They may have seen Taglioni, we have seen Pavlova. We have seen her as a snowflake—cold and radiant—as a gypsy—dark, slender, and passionate—as a swan, pure white beyond belief—broken winged—exquisitely melancholy.

There is little in the performance at Drury Lane besides Pavlova. Volinine, the man who accompanies her, dances well, but not nearly so well as Massine or Idykoski. The rest of the Corps de Ballet is not to be mentioned in the same breath as the Russian ballet of last summer. There is only Pavlova to draw us to Drury Lane. But Pavlova would draw us a great deal further than Drury Lane.

D.H.

This Prospectus has been filed with the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies.

PROSPECTUS OF

THE WOMAN'S LEADER

THE COMMON CAUSE PUBLISHING COMPANY, LIMITED, was incorporated in London in 1909 with a capital of £5,000 for the purpose of establishing and publishing "The Common Cause" newspaper.

The Common Cause in its original form was almost wholly a propagandist newspaper, the object of which was to further by every constitutional means the cause of Women's Suffrage.

It is obvious that if women are to make the fullest use of their new powers they must be supplied with up-to-date information upon those political and social questions which particularly interest them.

In these circumstances the Directors of "The Common Cause" believe that the time has arrived when the demand for a newspaper to meet the needs of women in these directions justifies a more ambitious programme than they have yet attempted.

"The Woman's Leader" like "The Common Cause" will stand for equal opportunities for women in every sphere of life.

Until the end of 1919 "The Common Cause" was the official organ of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (now the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship).

In launching this new venture of an enlarged and greatly improved paper for women the Directors of "The Common Cause" Publishing Company, Limited, feel that they are meeting a real need of the women's movement and of the general public.

It is obvious that the new paper cannot be promoted and get firmly on its feet without new capital.

In issuing this request for more capital with which to promote and carry on "The Woman's Leader" the Directors feel that they can speak with considerable confidence as to the future.

NO PART OF THIS ISSUE HAS BEEN UNDERWRITTEN.

The Subscription List will be opened on the 12th day of March, 1920.

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SAID THE GOOSE TO THE GANDER.

"How scandalous!" "I beg your pardon, my dear." The Gander peered over the edge of the Morning Post.

The Goose brandished her daily paper—which was not the Morning Post. "The official side of the Whitley Council has adopted the Reorganisation Committee's report in spite of its scandalous injustice to women," she cried.

"My dear," remarked the Gander, "you have already asked me why a great many times, and I have no idea of the answer."

"By-elections," hissed the Goose, "that's the answer. The Government was afraid to enrage the women voters until the by-elections were over."

"Really," said the Gander; "that seems a very serious accusation to bring against our political character, nor can I imagine why you bring it now that you have a woman in Parliament."

"Gracious!" said the Goose; "I didn't know that Lady Astor was already responsible for our political character. How do you account for the behaviour of the Whitley Council then?"

"I don't attempt to account for it, as you have not yet permitted me to reach that section of my newspaper which deals with the subject. But I do notice, and with interest," went on the Gander, "that an Anti-Equal-Pay-for-Equal-Work League has been formed by a number of persons of my own sex who are resigning their membership of the National Union of Teachers on this question."

"A little unnecessary—what?" remarked the Goose. "This League I mean."

"Not at all," said the Gander. "It seems to me very proper that both sides of the question should be represented. It is—er—six of one and half a dozen of the other."

"Six of one and a dozen and a half of the other!" retorted the Goose. "A man's pay is at least three and a half times a woman's."

"In that case it should be—let me see—six of one and twenty-one of the other, should it not, if we are to speak with proper mathematical precision?"

The Goose met the Gander's abstracted eye and stirred uneasily.

"My dear," she said, "don't look at me like that or I shall change my name to Leonora and vanish again!"

* * * * *

Said the Gander to the Goose "One hatstand."

They were checking the inventory before quitting their most recent furnished house, and they had reached the front hall.

"Hatstand—right." The Goose patted it. "What next?"

"One pound-marger," said the Gander.

"What, dear?"

"One pound-marger," repeated the Gander, peering over his glasses.

"I don't know what it is," said the Goose. "I don't remember it at all. What comes next?"

"One pound-primroses—oh! primroses, I imagine." The Goose looked dazed. "Next?" she asked faintly.

"One pound-so—"

"For goodness sake," cried the Goose, "go on to something that looks like sense!"

"New coal merchant," announced the Gander proudly.

"New—why that's the new coalscuttle we've been using in the drawing-room. I didn't recollect its being in the hall. And what an odd way of describing it. Well, I'll bring that down. What next?"

"Controller," stated the Gander simply.

"What of?"

"It doesn't say," said the Gander.

"Does it say how many?" asked the Goose cautiously.

"Here, let me see." She peered over his shoulder. Suddenly she uttered a scream and kissed him violently.

"Better let me finish this job myself, darling," she said. "You've been reading out my yesterday's shopping list!"

THE GOOSE GIRL.

The Women's Local Government Society (Incorporated) for the United Kingdom.

The Women's Local Government Society has never advertised largely, and the general public knows little of its work for women in local government. But it may interest readers of THE WOMAN'S LEADER to learn something of the history of the Society which has secured to women their present position in local government.

In November, 1888, a "Committee" was formed to secure the return of women to the first London County Council. When the work of the elected Councillors, Lady Sandhurst and Miss Cobden, and of Alderman Miss Cons, was cut short by the judgment of the High Court of Justice that women were ineligible for election to County Councils, the Committee developed into a Society for procuring a change in the law.

In view of the need for civic education among women, the Society, in 1908, formed Women's Local Government Associations.

An interesting branch of the Society's work is the answering of technical enquiries, especially in regard to election matters. There is an ever-increasing demand being made on the Society for information and advice. The Society arranges for speakers on various aspects of local government, and issues a series of publications dealing with the question. The office is at 19, Tothill Street, Westminster, to which all communications should be addressed.

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 - ¶ ". . . We went to the large civilian hospital . . . It lacks bedding and blankets, linen and medical supplies of all kinds. There was no fuel to heat the rooms and no spirits to heat even a little water for sterilizing. . . ."
 - ¶ "In one house (of the Jewish quarter of Kamieniec Podolski, Ukraine), we saw seven people in one room all ill with typhus, four in one bed. . . ."
 - ¶ "At another house visited we found from a neighbour that the whole family of seven had died from typhus and starvation."
 - ¶ The Friends' Emergency and War Victims' Relief Committee are taking immediate steps to help stem the tide of famine and typhus. Help is urgently needed.
 - ¶ Contributions will be gratefully received by the Friends' Emergency and War Victims' Relief Committee (A. Ruth Fry, Hon. Sec.), 27, Chancery Lane, London, W.C. 2.
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Social workers know that the A.M.S.H. will always supply them freely with reliable and accurate data based on careful research on any subject in connection with administrative measures dealing with prostitution and venereal disease all over the world.

The A.M.S.H. have given considerable financial support to Abolitionist work against regulated prostitution in France, Switzerland and other Continental Countries. It has worked unceasingly for better moral and social conditions in the Army and has spent hundreds of pounds to abolish the degrading system of recognised brothels for the British Army in India. It has profoundly influenced public opinion on the venereal problem at home and abroad. It originated the campaign against the *maisons tolérées* for British Troops in France, and also the campaign for the abolition of the unjust and partial laws dealing with "solicitations" in this country.

Owing to a generous bequest the Association has hitherto been able to develop its work in spite of the heavy annual deficit, but owing to the large drafts on capital necessary to make ends meet the Bequest Fund is now coming to an end. The minimum additional sum urgently needed is £500 a year. Old supporters of Josephine Butler's noble work are passing away and their generous donations are lost to the cause she inspired.

To British men and women who value her cause and her principles an appeal is now made for generous support.

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NEWS FROM HEADQUARTERS AND FROM OUR SOCIETIES.

The Newport Women Citizens' Association has sent us the following paragraph for insertion:—

"The Committee of the Newport (Mon.) W.C.A., at a meeting on April 8th, decided to forward £4 to Headquarters (to include affiliation fee for 1920), this being equivalent to £1 for each hundred members, the Association at present numbering four hundred. The Committee expressed their great appreciation of the invaluable help received from Headquarters."

WHAT TO READ.

We would like to call the attention of our Societies to the "Oxford Tracts on Economic Subjects." This series of pamphlets on the economic aspects of such topics as money, rent, taxation, wages, high prices, nationalisation, &c., written by those who have a claim to authority for the every day reader cannot fail to be useful to women seriously preparing themselves for political responsibility. The introductory packet, including seven "tracts," has just been issued, and may be ordered from Headquarters, price 1s., including postage.

INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE.

The eighth Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance will be held this year from June 6th-12th at Geneva. This is not only the first Congress to be held since before the war, but also the first at which half the delegates will come from countries where women have the vote. Its decisions will therefore be of very great importance. Three aspects of the Women's Movement will be considered:—

- (1) The best method of helping women in unenfranchised countries to get the vote.
- (2) The most useful programme for those who have already won it.
- (3) The policy to be adopted with regard to assisting women in the East. (Representatives are expected from China, Japan, Egypt, and India.)

TRAVELLING ARRANGEMENTS.—All delegates, alternate delegates, and others in England wishing to be present at the Congress are asked to communicate with the N.U.S.E.C. headquarters at the earliest possible date, when full particulars with regard to passports, accommodation, &c., will be sent.

HOTEL ACCOMMODATION.—Hotel accommodation can be arranged by Messrs. Thos. Cook & Sons. A list of hotels with approximate prices appears in the April issue of *Jus Suffragii* (obtainable at the I.W.S.A. Headquarters, 11, Adam Street, Adelphi, London, price 4d.). Particulars of other accommodation (lodgings, &c.), may be had on application to the Reception Committee, Congress Bureau, Union des Femmes, Pregny, Geneva.

MEMBERSHIP OF CONGRESS.—The number of delegates representing the N.U.S.E.C. at the Congress is now made up, but there are still vacancies for several alternates. Societies who have members whom they would like to nominate are asked to send in the names and addresses immediately. Individuals may attend the Congress as visitors for payment of 12 Swiss francs.

DIVORCE LAW REFORM AND SEX EQUALITY.

The result of the debate in the House of Commons on April 15th showed an increased appreciation of the necessity for consulting women on questions especially affecting the family. The House refused to commit itself to the proposals for extension of the ground of divorce proposed by the Majority Report of the Royal Commission, but carried an amendment by 134 to 91 votes that "while it is desirable to place the sexes on a footing of equality in regard to divorce, any change in the law that would impair the permanence of the marriage contract would be harmful to the best interests of the community." References were made in the course of the debate to the fact that the newly enfranchised women voters had not yet had time to pronounce an opinion on the subject. The Union has, of course, no official opinion on the subject of divorce, except so far as it bears on the question of equality, but some of our

affiliated societies may no doubt wish to arrange conferences at which both sides can be heard, and the members can thrash out the question among themselves. Copies of the Majority and Minority Reports and other literature dealing with the subject can be obtained through the library.

THE OXFORD SUMMER SCHOOL.

Three studentships have been offered on the following terms:—

1. Two studentships, value £2 10s. each, to workers who have already given, and are willing throughout the coming year to give, valuable practical assistance in the work of their local society, provided that the Society itself is willing to add £2 10s. so as to bring the value of the studentship up to £5.

Names and credentials to be sent to the Directors by the Secretary of the Society.

2. A studentship of £4 to the writer of the best story or dialogue illustrating one of the points on the immediate programme of the N.U.S.E.C.

3. A studentship of £4 to the member who obtains the greatest number of new regular subscribers to the WOMAN'S LEADER before the end of June. Subscriptions to count must be paid through the Directors of the School. One yearly subscription will be reckoned equal to two half-yearly or four quarterly subscriptions.

N.B.—Successful competitors must be members of a Society affiliated to the N.U.S.E.C., and must be able to affirm that they require financial assistance to enable them to attend the school. If unable to affirm this they may nominate a suitable substitute.

The total expense of attending the School, exclusive of travelling expenses, is reckoned at £6. (Board, £4; Fee, 30s.; extras, 10s.)

The Directors reserve the right of dividing, or withholding, or transferring to another class any of the above studentships, if none of the entries seem to merit an award.

PLUMAGE BILL.

We understand that the Plumage Bill will come up for second reading on April 30th, and that its supporters are most anxious that M.P.s should be approached prior to that date by resolutions, deputations, and individual letters urging them to support the Bill. The case for it is doubtless familiar to all readers of THE WOMAN'S LEADER.

ERRATA.

PARLIAMENTARY NOTES, APRIL 16th.

BASTARDY BILL.

Para. 2 should read:—

"In the event of compliance, an agreement can be entered into between the parties under the supervision of the magistrate. If the case is disputed, proceedings taken under this Act shall be heard *in camera*, unless the Court orders otherwise, after hearing the objections of both parties."

Para. 3. Delete.

Para. 4 should read:—

"The Court may provide that payments shall be made by the putative father to an amount not exceeding 40s. a week."

Para. 7:—

For "conception" in last line, read "birth."



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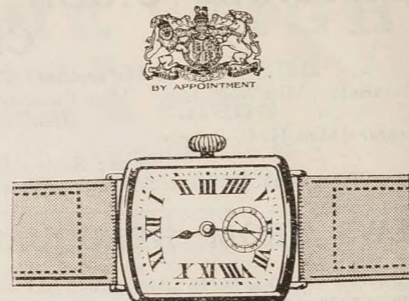
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CORRESPONDENCE.

THE PLUMAGE BILL.

MADAM,—May I, through the sympathetic columns of your journal, which has given the "Plumage Bill Group" such generous and valuable help in our attempt to repress a ferociously barbarous traffic, destroying the continuity of evolution, appeal to all Suffrage organisations to make one last and determined effort to see the Plumage Bill through? The second reading of Colonel Yates' Bill in the Commons (identical with Lord Aberdeen's Bill, which passed all its readings without a division and with the approval of the Government at the end of March) is next Friday. What we particularly desire is for these organizations to approach their M.P.'s and to forward resolutions in favour of the Bill to the Board of Trade. I am certain, and I have ample evidence for my assurance, that the great body of women voters desire this Bill, and I therefore beg them to show Parliament and the Government this week that they mean to have it. It will be a tremendous tribute to the justification of women's newly-won privileges and responsibilities if they will help us to save the remnants of the flying beauty of the world from perishing irrevocably from the world at the will of a savage and frivolous luxury trade. For this Bill is deeply the concern of women, not only from the fact that the millions of wild birds annually imported into England for hat decoration leave behind them the multitudes of their dying nestlings. And to prevent the extinction of natural beauty in its most radiant and developed form is the concern of us all, men and women alike.

H. J. MASSINGHAM.

MADAM,—May I venture to appeal very strongly, through your columns, to the Secretaries of Women Citizens' Associations and other organisations affiliated to the N.U.S.E.C., to urge their members of Parliament *at once* to support Colonel Yates' Importation of Plumage (Prohibition) Bill which will come up for its second reading on April 30th. I am told by the founder of the Plumage Group that it is not too much to say that the fate of the Bill depends on the support given to it by women during the next fortnight.

The Bill does not interfere with the legitimate trade in ostrich feathers, but seeks to prevent the barbarous cruelty by which thousands of parent egrets are massacred during the nesting season, leaving the helpless young birds to perish from starvation, and by which beautiful species of humming birds and others are exterminated.

In addition to approaching Members of Parliament it is essential also that resolutions should be sent to the President of the Board of Trade, Gt. George Street, S.W. 1, stating that it is the definite wish of women that it should be made illegal to import, sell, or buy any wild birds' skins (with the exception of ostriches and eider-ducks and poultry) for millinery purposes. This Bill concerns the honour of women: let us play up.

A. H. BADGER,

Hon. Sec., Newport (Mon.) W. C. A.

STATE PURCHASE AND CONTROL OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

MADAM,—An article appeared in your issue of April 1st, page 212, in reference to the new "Women's Committee" to secure the above. Allow me to correct some of the points.

In par. 4: "The freedom to vote for local option will be obtained in the same way as the freedom to vote for State purchase, by Act of Parliament."

In par. 5 the writer is utterly out, the meetings to be held between 18th and 25th will consist of delegates from forty-eight different countries, who are holding their triennial convention in connection with the World's Women's Christian Temperance Union. Lady Henry Somerset is personally acquainted with many of these delegates, especially the Americans, as she used to be their President!

In par. 7 (b) the writer says, "Licenses in the U.S.A. held their licence for one year—here, once installed—installed for life." I cannot imagine how a mistake like that can have been written when it is so well-known that every licence in the land has to be brought for renewal every year at the Licensing Sessions.

If the writer is Miss Cotterell, the Secretary, she should have asked her President, who is well up in all these matters, and I feel sure would not have wished mistakes to go to print.

A TEMPERANCE WORKER.

TEMPERANCE REFORM.

MADAM,—In your issue of March 10th, Miss Alice Scott asks certain categorical questions concerning State purchase which deserve plain answers. With your permission I will deal with them *seriatim*.

(1) "Under Mr. Lloyd George's scheme for State Purchase (1917-18)," Miss Scott asks, "was it not decided to leave a large proportion of licensed properties in the hands of private owners, including the wine trade (both manufactured and imported), and the liquor businesses of licensed theatres, music halls, railway companies, hotels, &c.?"

The form of the question suggests a slight misapprehension. Mr. Lloyd George never put forward a definite scheme. He confined himself to a broad proposition of State purchase, without details of any kind. The proposals referred to by your correspondent were those suggested by the Summer Committee which was appointed in 1917 to advise on the financial aspects of State purchase and war-time State control. They dealt with the portions of trade referred to by your correspondent in a brief and incidental way, not as integral parts of a considered scheme (the formulation of which was outside the terms of reference), but as affecting the total cost of purchase. The chief of their proposed exclusions

(which in the mass certainly did not, as your correspondent assumes, represent "a large proportion of licensed properties") concerned the wholesale wine trade. The reason for this was plain. Purchase would involve acquisition by the British Government of foreign vineyards. This is not practicable for reasons which will be obvious to those familiar with State sovereignty rights and laws. The exclusion of the wholesale wine trade (which Miss Scott curiously defines as "both manufactured and imported," as if the wine were "manufactured" in this country) is a relatively small matter against which adequate safeguards would be simple.

So far as the "liquor businesses of licensed theatres, music-halls, railway companies, hotels, &c." are concerned, the Summer report did not explicitly exclude them. In cases where such businesses are owned by brewery companies it was proposed to include them in the purchase scheme, and in all cases public bars, vaults, and "shades" connected with hotels were to be acquired. In the case of *bona fide* hotel and restaurant trade (*i.e.*, wine, &c., served to residents and persons taking meals) it recommended that it should be subjected to special regulations and safeguards.

(2) "Would not State publicans be paid, and have their trade union like other State employees have, and prove powerful supporters of whichever political party would increase their salaries?"

Certainly State publicans would be paid, and they might elect to join a trade union; but their limited numbers certainly do not suggest that they could prove "powerful" supporters of any political party. The total number of "on" licences (which include premises other than public houses) now in the country is 84,000. These are not concentrated in particular districts, but scattered through all the constituencies. Under State purchase one-third of the houses at least would be closed. Could the remaining two-thirds—spread all over the country—conceivably be a "powerful" political influence even if they did combine to secure higher salaries? It is well in these matters to keep a sense of proportion. Further, would a combined effort for higher salaries be comparable, as a sinister and menacing force, to the present organisation of the trade which defines its policy as "Our trade our politics"?

(3) "Is it not a fact that in South Carolina and Scandinavia State ownership failed to remove the liquor traffic out of the political arena?"

Here again your correspondent is mistaken in her assumed facts. Scandinavia has never had State ownership. The system of control there (applied to native spirits) was and is one of local disinterested management exercised through controlling companies. In the case of this controlled trade (*i.e.*, spirits) the evidence and testimony of the system's success in eliminating the political influence of the trade is explicit and overwhelming. It was this success and the beneficial effects of disinterested control of the spirit trade, that led the demand for the inclusion of beer in the system of control—a demand in which the temperance party joined.

In the case of the South Carolina dispensary system, the liquor traffic remained "in politics" not in Miss Scott's sense, but because under the American "spoils" system of government, the appointments to the administrative posts were made party political appointments and became part of the political patronage of the executive of the day.

With your permission, and out of consideration for your space, I will answer Miss Alice Scott's remaining questions in a subsequent issue.

ARTHUR SHERWELL.

WOMEN AS PRESIDENTS AT CONFERENCES.

MADAM,—Will you permit me to correct two errors which have slipped inadvertently into the paragraph headed "Women as Presidents at Conferences" in "Notes and News" of the issue of your journal dated April 9th, 1920? The membership of the N.U.T. is 113,000, not 13,000 as stated, and the President of the Union is Miss J. F. Wood, B.A., not "Ward."

As a regular reader since the days when I was an active supporter of Women's Suffrage in the House of Commons, I have reason to believe that some misapprehension has been created in the minds of your readers regarding the membership of the National Union of Teachers. In an article which appeared on February 6th, reference is made to "thousands of resignations," and the context suggested these had taken place just previous to the Cambridge Conference of the N.U.T. in 1918. At that particular Conference an increase of membership was reported of 4,643, figures which are the more remarkable having regard to the fact that the training colleges for men were practically all closed owing to the students being absent on military service. The increase in membership last year was 11,000, including about 9,500 uncertificated teachers, the great majority of whom were women. New members enrolled who are certificated teachers, and mainly women, numbered several thousands. The Union lost a considerable number of older teachers owing to the operation of the new Superannuation Act, but this loss was more than made good.

The N.U.T. continues to increase in membership and influence, and the great majority of its members, both women and men, realise that professional success does not lie along the lines of cleavage on a basis of sex.

F. W. GOLDSTONE,

Secretary to Organisation Committee.

[We are very glad to publish these corrections and to thank Mr. Goldstone for calling attention to them. As a member of the Speakers' Conference he was our very good friend, and we like to be criticised by our friends. We agree with Mr. Goldstone in believing that professional and any other success is not to be found along the lines of sex cleavage; but the N.U.T. is not a very helpful example of joint organisation—as yet.—Ed., W. L.]

IDEALISM IN POLITICS.

MADAM,—Having read your article on "Idealism in Politics," I write making a small suggestion as to a practical way of keeping the League of Nations in our minds.

Could you allocate one paragraph, say one quarter of a column, to record in brief the doings of the Council (or Assembly when it meets) of the League of Nations—week by week?

If you find nothing to record but the regrettable fact that the League has done nothing during any particular week under review—you could then help further by suggesting what the League ought to do, and what your readers ought to do to make the League take action. This would take more space, but it would be a tremendous help to making us think actively and intelligently—and be much more interesting than, for example, sauce for the goose.

ERIE EVANS.

LUNATIC ASYLUMS.

MADAM,—I should like to thank Mrs. Victor Rickard for her excellent article on "Lunatic Asylums," in your issue of April 9th. I can fully endorse her statements, and testify—from personal contact with patients who have since recovered—and the awful suffering undergone by those who are fully conscious of their surroundings and yet are obliged to come in contact with the very worst cases, and are compelled to submit to almost incredibly rough and harsh treatment at the hands of, very often, quite untrained attendants. The ease with which certification can be obtained is also a real danger. I hope the matter will be taken up by women active in public life, and feel sure it is only necessary for the facts to become more widely known to create a strong body of public opinion on this subject.

E. L. BARTON.

MADAM,—Mrs. Victor Rickard's article, "Prisoners and Captives," is written with so much sympathy for the mentally deranged, that I feel sure she, as well as your readers, will be glad to hear of the existence of a Home such as she so ably advocates, for "borderland" cases.

I refer to the Lady Chichester Hospital, at Hove, Brighton, where under Dr. Helen Boyle's care, patients can be received who are suffering from nervous breakdowns, temporary mental disorders, brain fag and other complaints which unless scientifically treated and humanely protected, too frequently develop into madness.

It is not possible to chronicle publicly the cures effected in this small and homely Hospital, for the confidential privacy of the patients is one of its curative agencies, but it is the experience of the splendid work done in it which causes me to write in support of Mrs. Rickard's contention that a reform urgently "needed is to secure proper treatment in borderland cases."

HENRIETTA O. BARNETT.

Vice-President of the Lady Chichester Hospital.

MADAM,—I cannot agree with Mrs. Victor Rickard's wholesale condemnation of Lunatic Asylums in THE WOMAN'S LEADER of April 9th. Statements made by her are not in accordance with the practice in most asylums.

Patients are classified in all large asylums and they are treated with the best present medical knowledge. Very soon after admission each patient must be examined by the Superintendent of the Asylum—a mental expert—and his report is sent direct to the Board of Control in London.

Hospitals for voluntary borderland cases would certainly be very desirable however, and the Mental Deficiency Act will probably lead to many patients being cared for in homes who would otherwise need asylum care in later life.

WINIFRED D. MARTIN, M.D.

Ex-Temporary Assistant Medical Officer, County Asylum.

THE SERVANTLESS HOUSE.

MADAM,—I regret to find that I have misled your readers. In reviewing *The Servantless House* I quoted from the author's list of prices that of "Adamantine" paint and the address of the firm supplying it. A reader who sent an order to the firm received a rather curt reply that: "We only supply paint direct to the trade and the price we charge the trade is far in excess of the price mentioned by you." As the price named in the list (s.) specifies neither weight nor measure this latter statement is not very informing. The date of the list is February last, and prices are still rising; those, however, which I tested were all correct a month ago. I will endeavour to find out where the paint can be purchased retail and in how small a quantity.

CLEMENTINA BLACK.

REVERENCE FOR BOOKS.

MADAM,—May I, as a reader of THE WOMAN'S LEADER, protest against a remark made by "Fuze" in last week's issue? It seems to me a paper for women, and therefore presumably the mouthpiece of only humane and charitable sentiments, ought not to contain such words as:—"I would prefer to see a child pulling the wings off flies than tearing pages from the most unnecessary and worthless book that can be imagined." Surely kindness to living things, even flies, is the first thing that even a lover of books should teach his or her children?

K. GORDON BROWN.

REPORTS.

BRITISH DOMINIONS WOMEN CITIZENS' UNION (INDIAN SECTION).

On Wednesday, April 14th, at 4.45 p.m., Councillor Margaret Hodge, Honorary Secretary of the Indian Section of the B.D.W.C.U., gave an "At Home" to guests from India and the British self-governing Overseas Dominions at the Minerva Café, 144, High Holborn. Mrs. Abbott, Secretary of the International Woman's Suffrage Alliance, gave a most interesting address upon the Geneva Congress, which is to take place in June, and urged the necessity for representatives from the British Empire in the East and in the West to attend it. This Congress would afford a unique opportunity for the women of the Western World to become better acquainted with the needs of their unfranchised Eastern sisters, and it was hoped that Egypt would be represented as well as India.

Mrs. Tata, representative from the Women's Indian Association of Bombay, spoke eloquently upon behalf of the women of her country, and Miss Tata, B.A., confirmed what she said, showing how pressing was the need for woman's co-operation with man in the Eastern lands, where infant mortality was so high, the laws of hygiene so inadequately understood, and the economic condition of the workers, especially women and children, so utterly deplorable.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the well-known poet and orator, fervently supported the claims of her countrywomen to a complete equality with the men, and expressed her belief that the revival of that equality, which had been such a striking feature in the past history of India, would not long be postponed. She concluded by stating that as she had a much greater faith in example than precept, she intended herself to lead a party of young Indian students out to the Congress where they could speak for themselves and show the need for the emancipation of their sex.

Miss H. C. Newcomb, Hon. Sec. of B.D.W.C.U., closed the meeting with an appeal to the women of the self-governing British Overseas Dominions, to attend at the Geneva Congress, and to endeavour to help their less fortunate sisters in all parts of the world to obtain political enfranchisement which most of them now enjoyed.

Among those present at the meeting were Mrs. Wren and Miss Elaine Cook, of Melbourne, Mrs. Nicholls, of South Australia, Mrs. Ogilvie, of South Africa, Dr. and Mrs. Nundy and Mrs. Roy, from India.

Regrets for inability to attend were received from Mrs. Don and Miss Richmond from New Zealand, Miss Emilie Solomon, of South Africa, the Agent-General for New Brunswick, Mrs. P. Villiers Stuart, and Mrs. Fawcett, the well-known veteran suffrage leader in this country.

MARGARET HODGE.

COMING EVENTS.

THE MOTHERS' UNION.

After APRIL 20.
At the Mary Sumner House, 8, Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W. 1.
Two Courses of Theological Lectures will be given on The New Testament on Tuesdays, at 11 a.m. (commenced April 20th), and on the Prayer Book and Church Doctrine on Thursdays, at 11 a.m. (commenced April 22nd). Tickets for both Courses are 5s. per Course: Single Tickets, 6d.
Free Lectures will be given on Tuesdays, at 3 p.m.
Further Courses of Lectures will be as follows:—
"Questions of To-day," on Wednesdays, at 5.30 p.m.
"Modern Thought," on Thursdays, at 3 p.m.
"The Art of Speaking," on Wednesdays, at 5.30 p.m.
"Prayer," on Wednesdays, at 5.30 p.m.
"Overseas Work," on Thursdays, at 3 p.m.
Tickets for these will be 6d. per Lecture.
For further information concerning Courses or Single Lectures, also application for membership to the Union, apply: The Central Secretary, "The Mothers' Union," 8, Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W. 1.

PROFESSIONAL UNION OF TRAINED NURSES.

APRIL 24.
At King George's Hall (London Central Y.M.C.A., Tottenham Court Road, W.), a Public Meeting for Nurses will be held.
Speakers: Miss Anderson Parsons (late Matron), Miss C. M. Alderman (Public Health), A. Welby, Esq., M.D. (Sec. Medico-Political Union), G. Naylor, Esq., J.P., and Mr. Sydney Paxton.
Chair: Mrs. Paul. 2.30 p.m.

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.

APRIL 24.
At Caxton Hall, Westminster
The Thirteenth Annual Conference of the W.F.L. will be held. 10 a.m.

APRIL 23.
At the Minerva Café, 144, High Holborn, W.C. 1.
Speaker: Mrs. Margaret Wynne Nevinson.
Subject: "The Bastardy Bill, 1920."
Discussion to follow. 3 p.m.

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

APRIL 26.
Address to Paddington Women Citizens' Association.
Speaker: Mrs. George Morgan.
Subject: "The State Purchase of the Liquor Trade."

CATHOLIC WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY.

APRIL 27.
At 6, Lord Street, Liverpool.
Speaker: Miss T. M. Browne, M.A.
Subject: "Catholic Adult Education." 7.30 p.m.

BRITAIN AND INDIA ASSOCIATION.

APRIL 29.
At the Minerva Café, 144, High Holborn, W.C. 1.
Speaker: Sir Sankaran Nair, C.I.E.
Subject: "India's Social Problems as Affecting England."
Chair: Ernest Rhys, Esq.
Indian Music by Mrs. Tata. Admission, 1s., including Tea.

BRISTOL SOCIETY FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

APRIL 30.
At 16, Berkeley Square, Bristol.
The Annual Meeting of the Bristol Society will take place.
Chair: Mrs. Satchell.
Mrs. Atchison, Mrs. Townley, and Miss Meadon will give Reports of the Council Meeting.
A Collection will be taken for the "Save the Children" Fund. 7 p.m.

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WOMAN'S PLACE IN THE HOME.

This week we begin a series of articles on Kitchen Politics which is to be followed by a series on House Building. We believe that all intelligent women are interested in doing their job well: and their job depends upon the existence of good houses and cheap food. The facts to which we shall give publicity will not only interest our readers but prove useful to them. We therefore urge our readers to introduce us to all the other intelligent women of their acquaintance.

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ANNOUNCEMENTS.

WOOLWICH MEN'S MEETING.

Important Meeting in Support of the Bishop of London's Criminal Law Amendment Bill. Central Hall, Westminster. Wednesday, May 5th, 1920, at 4.45 p.m.

Speakers: The Lord Bishop of London; The Rev. Scott Lidgett, D.D.; Viscountess Astor, M.P.; Mrs. Corbett Ashby; Mr. C. G. Montifiore, Chair: Miss Picton-Turbervill, O.B.E.

Admission Free; Reserved Seat 1/6d. Tickets and Information from C. L. A. Committee, 19, Tothill Street, S.W. 1.

DELEGATES TO LADY ASTOR, M.P., and to the OVERSEAS to the W.W.C.U. Convention, at CENTRAL HALL, Westminster, on MONDAY, April 26th, 4 p.m. to 6.30 p.m. Admission, 2s. 6d., including Tea.

UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN, the National Federation of Women's Institutes will hold their SECOND EXHIBITION at the Royal Horticultural Hall, Vincent Square, for 4 days, commencing May 15th, from 12 noon to 9 p.m. Admission 1s. 3d.

THE PIONEER CLUB, 9, Park-place, St. James's, S.W. 1. Subscriptions: Town, £4 4s.; Country, £3 3s.; Professional, £3 3s. The entrance fee is suspended for the time being.

ON THURSDAYS IN APRIL, beginning Thursday, April 8th, Miss E. Picton-Turbervill, O.B.E., will preach at St. Botolph's Church, Bishopsgate, at 1.15 p.m. St. Botolph's Church is one minute's walk from Liverpool-street Station.

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES, Kensington Town Hall, Sunday, April 25th, 3.15 p.m., Dr. Percy Dearmer, "Five-Quarters," 6.30 p.m., Miss Maude Royden, "Why should we label ourselves Christians?" Master of Music: Mr. Martin Shaw.

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