THE WOMAN'S LEADER AND THE COMMON CAUSE

PAGE

Vol. XVI. No. 43. One Penny.

REGISTERED AS A NEWSPAPER. Friday, November 21, 1924.

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Annual Subscription for Postal Subscribers : British Isles and Abroad, 6/6.

Common Cause Publishing Co., 15 Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W.1.

NOTES AND NEWS.

The King's Speech.

The Cabinet is now having frequent meetings, largely concerned with the consideration of what is to be included in the King's Speech. Clearly the long list of reforms referred to in the Conservative Party's Programme cannot be tackled in one Parliamentary Session, but there appears to us every reason to hope that many of the reforms of special interest to women have been dealt with in earlier Parliaments at such great length that they are ripe, if not over-ripe, for such legislation. We shall be intensely interested to see whether the Government proposes to put forward new legislative proposals with regard to Housing and Unemployment. We ourselves are of the opinion that whatever is done, both in this direction and with respect to Education, will depend chiefly on the administrative measures adopted by the departments concerned. We fully hope and expect to see reference in the King's Speech to the Equal Guardianship of Children, to Widows' Pensions, Legitimacy, and other reforms of this nature. Will any reference be made to the setting up of a Committee to deal with Equal Franchise ? Mr. Baldwin's statement that the Unionist Party believes in equal political rights for men and women gives us cause to hope that something may be done.

Widows' Pensions.

.W.1,

In the course of a conference of the Distributive Workers Approved Society, held in London last week, Mr. Rhys Davies well known to our readers as a Parliamentary protagonist in the fight for Widows' Pensions, referred to the future prospects of that long-suffering cause. There was a rumour current, he said, that the present Government, having openly declared itself in favour of a Widows' Pensions scheme, had its eye on the accumulated surpluses of the State Health Approved Societies. Whether such a rumour was well founded or not, he declared it was the business of the insured population to make sure that its economic surplus should be safeguarded from expenditure for any purpose other than that for which it was originally subscribed—the provision of a first class health service. He added that any Widows' Pensions' scheme which " meant a charge on wages in any way whatever " should be " strongly opposed." The taxpayer was, in his opinion, the proper person to bear the weight of this particular responsibility. As regards the latter opinion, Mr. Davies' view is ours. We have always believed and still believe that both as regards justice and economy a non-contributory scheme of Widows' Pensions burdened upon the broad shoulders of the entire tax-paying community is the proper solution of the problem. But we do not go all the way with him in demanding that any contributory scheme which may involve a charge on wages shall be "strongly opposed." We prefer to wait and see what kind of a contributory scheme Mr. Baldwin may have up his sleeve. In view of the apparent "stability" of political groupings at the present time, there is much to be said for a contributory scheme "in the hand" as the alternative of a non-contributory scheme "in the bush." More especially as there is no certainty that the Labour Party, in the event of it assuming office some four or five years hence, would hasten to provide us with the precise scheme that we want. It is impossible to refrain from embodying the lessons of the immediate past in the prospects of the immediate future.

Women Inspectors in the Civil Service.

In welcoming the announcement that women may enter for next year's examinations for the administrative grade of the Civil Service, the *Daily Telegraph* writes :—" Not, however, until one has enjoyed the opportunity of seeing a tabulated statement of the posts held by women in 1920, in comparison with those of to-day, does one realize how very narrowly have the women's opportunities been allowed to expand. Everyone admits now the value of the work of women inspectors of factories since Dame Adelaide Anderson some thirty years ago was first called to that office. She built up a brilliantly effective staff at the Home Office, and it is here, perhaps, that there has been development greater than elsewhere. For in 1920 the personnel consisted of one principal, one deputy, and six senior inspectors, while there are to-day one principal and two deputy chief inspectors, with two superintending and five deputy superintending inspectors, as well as eight district inspectors. On the other hand, the Board of Education stands to-day very much where it did four years ago. Then it had a chief woman inspector, five staff and fiftyfour inspectors. At this moment it has a chief, six staff, and sixty two inspectors. Numerically, though the titles have been a little changed, its medical staff is precisely the same. The Ministry of Labour, which may be held to be one of the most progressive departments in regard to women, has an assistant secretary, which is an important rank, and has evolved an understanding that in certain branches the chief posts are most fittingly held by men, as are others by women, while there is certain work that can be regarded as common to both. In net result women held thirty-four posts of responsibility in 192), and now have fiftyone. In the Post Office there is now a woman establishment officer, one principal, and three assistant medical women officers, and fifty-one women filling other posts, as compared with four medical women and forty-four in other branches in 1920.

Liverpool "At Home".

Liverpool has inaugurated the novel scheme of a "welcome" week; for six days the City is to be at home to all who wish to see something of her civic and business life. Eight oceangoing liners are open for inspection at the docks, factories are showing how their goods are made, the telegraph and telephone exchanges and the letter sorting department may be visited, the fire brigade is giving demonstrations, and in every way attention is to be drawn to the town's activities. The committee that is responsible for the scheme is circulating statistics to show the great part that Liverpool plays in the industrial and commercial life of the nation; for example, the bulk of exports thatpasses through Liverpool is greater than the exports of London, Manchester, Hull, Middlesbrough, an Bristol combined. In many ways the scheme seems to us to be admirable. Knowledge and understanding of the forces round us and civic pride are

excellent things and are unfortunately comparatively rare; the ordinary boy and girl grow up in utter ignorance of the activities of their own town, and this ignorance has far reaching effects on the individual as well as on civic life. But there is a danger in demonstrations of this kind which inevitably focus attention on the town's successes and not on its failures. We wish, for example, the Committee would also circulate statistics of overcrowding and housing conditions. We do not say this to imply that Liverpool's record is worse than that of other great cities but we merely wish to emphasize the fact that civic pride has its dangers if it is not accompanied by a knowledge of the social factors which urgently require improvement. Business men will naturally emphasize the achievements of the town; it is the measure of their success as well as an advertisement. It should be women's function to rouse the civic pride which looks at the evils in the city, and demands reform.

Women and Electricity.

We referred last week to the Conference at Manchester on Smoke Abatement and the need for a wider use of gas and electricity. In this connexion it is interesting that at a meeting held under the auspices of the Women's Engineering Society on 12th November, at Lady Parsons' house, at which various women's organizations were represented, it was agreed to form a Women's Electrical Association. The scheme was warmly supported by various prominent engineers who agreed that there was a real need to interest women on the subject, and to form a closer contact between the woman's point of view and that of the electrical engineer. Amongst other speakers was Miss Enfield, of the Women's Co-operative Guild, who pointed out how little the working woman understands the labour saving value of electricity. The Association is still of course in the preliminary stages of development, but the proposals for its activities are interesting. The work will of course be mainly educational. Demonstrations of electrical labour saving apparatus will be given to help women as housewives, but the importance of interesting them also as citizens will not be overlooked, and there will be lectures on smoke abatement and on electricity applied to medical work, to transport, agriculture, and other branches of the life of the nation. The Association will also aim at encouraging women to get elected on local electricity committees. It is also proposed to have a section for educational work in girls' schools and amongst Girl Guides. This last section would certainly be an important one, as it involves the education of the housewives of the near future. Boys have a natural interest in technical questions. and we believe it is chiefly a question of tradition and lack of opportunity that makes their sisters regard a fuse wire as something beyond their ken. Altogether, the Association seems to have a great sphere of usefulness before it, and we heartily welcome its formation.

Remembrance Day in Dublin : The Woman's Share.

A correspondent writes : On Tuesday, 11th, Remembrance Day was celebrated in Dublin with a great public demonstration largely unorganized and spontaneous. In it the women of the city bore their part, as did the ex-service women. In the great crowds which filled College Green from ten in the morning to late in the evening were many widows, wearing dead husband's decorations; many older women, walking alone, whose son or husband lay far away at Guillemont or on the shore of Gallipoli. The total parade was made up of about 24,000 men and about 1,000 women, who, as the *Irish Times* says, "helped to win the war in the auxiliary services." Another way in which the women, yes, even the women of Southern Ireland, helped to win the war was told by the man who spoke of " the friend of my own who lost her three best sons." It was the best who went, without conscription, and the whole city on Tuesday last mourned for them. To quote the Irish Times again : "Crowds in single file marshalled by Legion men kept moving past the cross till darkness fell. During those hours the most touching scenes of the day were to be witnessed. Once the procession halted while two nuns dropped on their knees in front of the cross and prayed. Flowers were continually handed by poor women to the Legion men inside the railings. A woman dressed in black had great difficulty in getting away from the spot, her little boy, wearing his dead father's decorations, kept complaining "I want to see my daddy." Wreaths were laid by Mrs. Kettle, widow of Lieutenant Kettle, and by Mrs. Despard. Surely the women who thus met in a common sorrow will meet again in a common effort to build again the structure of their national life.

Women Barristers.

Seven new women barristers have been called to the Bar. making the total number up to forty-one. Some of the papers have recently been commenting on the fact that no women have as yet made a marked success at the Bar, but it is difficult to see why this should surprise anyone considering how long most men remain "briefless barristers." The *Manchester Guardian*. on the other hand, remarks with its usual common-sense that it is surprising, seeing how few men barristers ever attempt to practise, that there are a dozen or more women already who have put their names up in chambers and have been briefed at least once. The women barristers are breaking down the social as well as the professional barriers. Last year the Hardwicke Society, the debating society of the Inns of Court, admitted women barristers; this year they are allowing women visitors, but with the amusing proviso that they must be the guest of women members. The uninitiated have always suspected lawyers of a love of hair-splitting ; this condition certainly looks like another example of it.

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Rutland's First Woman J.P.

Rutland is small, but that is no reason why it should not have a woman amongst its Justices of the Peace. We are glad to hear that Miss A. S. Brocklebank, O.B.E., has been appointed as the county's first woman J.P.

Lectures on the Draft Protocol.

We would like to draw the attention of our readers to the lectures, organized by the Women's International League, on the Protocol which are advertised elsewhere in this number. The question is of such vast importance that a well instructed public opinion is a necessity, more especially as no decision has yet been made. The names of all the lecturers are a sufficient guarantee of the standard of the lectures. In view of Dr. Jane Walker's letter as to Mrs. Swanwick's achievements at Geneva, we are sure everyone who can will seize the opportunity to hear her speak on 27th November.

E. D. Morel.

Mr. E. D. Morel's death last week came as a sudden shock to a wide circle of friends and fellow-workers. He was one of the best loved and best hated men of our generation. For the number of his admirers, and the depth of their admiration, it is not difficult to account. His conduct of the Congo Reform Association before the war, the combined ability and tenacity which he devoted to the castigation of the Belgian Congo administration and the atrocities of its rubber industry, alone entitle him to the admiration of all humane persons. It was, as the Manchester Guardian remarks, " probably the most extraordinary piece of one-man organization known in our time." To this fine record of work accomplished he added a wide knowledge of Foreign affairs in general, a fearless pen, and a tireless spirit of reform ; while as founder and honorary secretary of the Union of Democratic Control he pursued throughout the war a course of consistent and constructive pacifism which involved him in much unpopularity and a positive avalanche of press-fed misrepresentation. This last goes far to account for the bitter hatred of his enemies. But when it is duly discounted, there remained in his work and outlook that genuine grain of perversity which invariably led him during and after the war to discount the sins of his country's enemies and magnify those of his country and her allies. This tendency when applied personally is generally regarded as a virtue which receives Gospel recognition in the simile of the mote and the beam. When applied nationally it is, to the vast majority of persons, positively exasperating. And much that Mr. Morel said was exasperating even to those of his countrymen who could appreciate the debt which the world's civilization owed to him. In internal affairs Mr. Moral reflected the principles of his internationalism. He was a great democrat, and like all great democrats he was a good feminist.

Ourselves.

The attention of our readers is drawn to a letter from Mrs. Fawcett printed with this issue, begging each subscriber to obtain at least one new subscriber to the WOMAN'S LEADER before Christmas, and suggesting that in this way not only can a Christmas present be given to ourselves, but that such a subscription would constitute a very welcome Christmas present to a friend likely to be interested in our news and point of view. We hope that Mrs. Fawcett's request will receive the very careful attention of our readers.

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MR. BALDWIN ON THE WAR PATH.

light than during the brief operation of the Profiteering Act between the summer of 1919 and the summer of 1921. It is A week or so ago, Mr. Baldwin said in one of the first of his true that during that period the attention of the press and the public was mainly concentrated upon the shortcomings of shopkeepers, and upon the efforts of individual consumers to use the machinery of the local profiteering committees for securing the return of minor overcharges from individual local retailers. But it is equally true that under cover of such spectacular efforts the Central Profiteering Committee conducted a number of inquiries into the organization and methods of largescale producers, which revealed the immense extent to which these gentlemen had succeeded in circumventing the day to day whip and spur of industrial competition by the manifold and multiform methods of trustification. We learned, for instance, during the time when an official body was empowered to take evidence on oath concerning business organization, and publish its findings without fear of libel or slander actions, some pertinent reason for the prevailing high price of household soap. We learned why sewing cotton was so expensive. We learned something of the method by which the National Light Castings Association "steadied " production and maintained a standard price list for such essential domestic articles as baths and grates. We learned, all along the line, of the marvellous economies which a trustified industry is enabled to accomplish by the method of trustification, and by the same method, retain in the form of profits instead of passing on to the consumer in the form of cheapness. All this and more we learned, during the period when But, though we welcome Mr. Baldwin's declaration, and impartial inquiry was allowed to play like limelight over the shrouded ramifications of industrial organization. And what we learned confirms us in our belief that Mr. Baldwin's forthcoming campaign against the distributor is not enough. Neverthelesswe repeat-we wish him all success in the delicate and difficult task which he has ahead of him; and we sincerely hope that his good intentions in this respect, incomplete though they may be, will not add a single square inch to the paved area of Hell.

Prime Ministerial utterances, that he intended seriously to tackle the problem of high food prices, with a view to seeing whether something could be done to diminish redundant and expensive listributive costs. It will be observed that in his diagnosis of high prices, Mr. Baldwin instinctively puts his finger on the chief source of the difficulty, i.e., the distributor. It is, he assumes, during its tortuous journey from producer to consumer, that our daily bread becomes so disturbingly expensive. Nor can we be anything but grateful to Mr. Baldwin for this tentative preliminary declaration of war. It was not for nothing that we ligested and reviewed in these columns the successive reports of the Linlithgow Committee on the prices of home-grown foodstuffs. We carry fresh in mind the price policy of the London wholesale and retail milk trust which uses the high costs of the inefficient but independent "marginal" distributor as a sort of smoke screen for the retention of its own swollen profits. Our heart still aches for the weary tribulations of that much-handled and mis-handled commodity, the London vegetable, which wends its way from middleman to middleman, through that ineffective anachronism known as Covent Garden Market, until it reaches us over the badly stocked counter of a retailer whose effective policy is "a large profit on a small turnover." Nor, to turn to another class of goods, are we forgetful of the methods by which the federated newspaper distributors protect the consumer from the good gifts of inexpensive weekly journalism. urge our readers to give him as much support as they can in his courageously foreshadowed enterprise, we are convinced that it is not enough simply to concentrate upon the shortcomings of the distributors. Goats they may be-wolves and cormorants even ; we would not spare them. But scape-goats they must not be. And it is unfair to assume that the evil of unduly high prices is solely the work of the distributors, and in no wise connected with similar villainies and inefficiencies on the part of the producers. And never was this fact brought into clearer

WOMEN'S LEGISLATION IN THE NEW PARLIAMENT. By EVA M. HUBBACK.

as meaning equal franchise rights; one is forced to the conclusion It is with no light heart that we have to envisage once again therefore that the Prime Minister is trying to drive an unruly the Parliamentary fight on the many reforms, such as Equal pair of horses, of which, the white horse is in favour of real Franchise, Equal Guardianship, Legitimacy, amendment of equality between men and women, and the black horse still the laws dealing with Separation and Maintenance Orders, etc., bears the shadow of an anti-suffrage past. The fate of Equal that have been before so many successive Parliaments. The Franchise will obviously depend on the personnel of the Comthree General Elections in the last three years have, as is well mittee, and on the pressure brought to bear on all Members of known, each time prevented the final stages of Bills dealing with Parliament, especially the more recalcitrant ones, on the need these questions from becoming the law of the land. There are for Equal Franchise. At any rate, even if, as we hope, the many further fields to conquer in the shape of reforms hitherto Committee is established shortly, it is highly improbable that not embodied in Parliamentary Bills, and Women's Organizations any legislation embodying whatever may be its conclusions will are thirsting to tackle them. But once again we find ourselves come before Parliament next Session. We would rather not faced with the familiar list of reforms which must reach the give expression to our fears as to what the worst recommenda-Statute Book before further enterprises can be undertaken. We tions of such a Committee might be, for as all good followers of will hope, however, that by the time the next Parliamentary M. Coué know, suggestions may result in embodying those fears Session is at an end, we shall have real achievements to record. and we appeal to all those interested not to let constant repetition in facts. When, however, we turn to the other matters, the situation is dull the edge of their weapons.

In our opinion the prospects for the majority of the reforms for which we have been fighting so long are bright, though the cause of Equal Franchise may represent a very big exception. Let us deal with this most vitally important question firstwe know that many Conservative Members of Parliament are pledged in its favour, among whom are included some prominent members of the Government; we also know that the whole of the two Oppositions stand solidly by it, even if they have shown no really great fervour in the past on its behalf, but we do not know the attitude of a large section of the Conservative Party, and we do know that yet a third section of that Party is opposed to Equal Franchise, at any rate at the age of 21. May we remind our readers that Mr. Baldwin made the following statement during the Election campaign :---" The Unionist Party are in favour of equal political rights for men and women, and desire that the question of an extension of the franchise should, if possible, be settled by agreement. With this in view, they would, if returned to power, propose that the matter be referred to a conference of all political parties on the lines of the Ullswater Committee ?

The inherent contradictions in this statement are obvious. There is no one who would not interpret " equal political rights '

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distinctly hopeful. Mr. Baldwin, in his Election address, included the following among reforms he desired to see casried out :-- " The Probationary System for dealing with offenders; a Bill to amend and consolidate the Factory and Workshop Acts; that children born out of wedlock whose parents have subsequently married should be legitimized; the law relating to separation and maintenance orders should be amended ; equal rights should be ensured to women in the guardianship of children; adoption should be legalized; the number of women police should be increased; and the penalties for criminal assaults against women and children made adequate to the offence."

We should like to draw special attention to the phrase dealing with Guardianship of Infants. It appears that the Conservative Government wishes to go one further than the Labour Government in the direction of giving equal rights to mothers and fathers; whether it will succeed in over-riding the well known objections of our bureaucrats in the Departments remains to

With regard to the amendment of the law relating to Separation and Maintenance Orders, we fear that all Mr. Baldwin has in his mind is the small departmental Bill, which has been introduced either by the Government itself, or by the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship during three successive years. As a Bill on this subject has not, since 1922, been successful in obtaining a place in the Private Members' Ballot, it has only been possible for very non-contentious editions to be put forward. This little Bill, with which readers of this paper are familiar, embodies, however, the most that the Home Office was willing to give of its own accord; it is unlikely, therefore, that a new Government measure would go much further. For our part, we should prefer that the Government should not itself introduce such a Bill, but that further efforts should be made for a really satisfactory measure to be introduced as a Private Members' Bill, in the hope that it would receive very considerable support from the House.

The Government measure on Legitimacy would, in all probability, be on the same lines as that of last Session, and we hope to see a Private Members' Bill introduced dealing with such further necessary reforms in the law relating to Affiliation Orders as are considered desirable by the National Council for the Unmarried Mother and her Child. A Bill to repeal the Solicitation Laws has been prepared by the Association of Moral and Social Hygiene, and will be introduced into one of the two Houses as a Private Members' Bill. An account of the scope of this Bill was given in these columns last May

With regard to Widows' Pensions, the Prime Minister has informed us that he is satisfied that these can be provided for in a wide social Insurance Scheme. With the pros and cons of such a scheme we deal in another column, but it is guite clear that all we can hope for now is a contributory scheme. The business of all those interested, therefore, is to see that any such scheme is at least good of its kind, i.e. that benefits are adequate and that no unreasonable conditions are imposed on the recipients.

To sum up-although the Government stands committed to most of the reforms we have enumerated, and although we are unlikely this year to fail through the cutting short of the Parliamentary session-there are other dangers. A Party with such a huge majority is likely to be less sensitive to public opinion than one more delicately poised. Public opinion must, therefore, express itself more clearly and definitely than before, and it is the imperative duty of women's organizations to continue their importunity, and to let the Government and their own Member of Parliament, whether sympathetic or unsympathetic, find no excuse for failing to support these reforms in any lack of interest on the part of their constituents.

TWO SPRING VISITS TO PALESTINE, 1921. 1922.

By MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT, J.P., LL.D CHAPTER VII.—GALILEE.

We had not been a week in Jerusalem before we decided to leave it for a little driving tour in Galilee. This was mainly on account of a lady who had been our pleasant travelling companion from the date of our leaving London.

The day before we were leaving Jerusalem for Galilee was one of storm and tempest. There was a howling wind with rain, sleet, hail, and snow. This did not seem propitious for our tour. But those with local experience were cheerful. We were told of an Arab proverb which says that March always borrows four days from February, implying that when these four days were over spring sunshine might be expected. Mr. Salammeh, the courteous and capable representative of Messrs. Cook in Jerusalem, was even more cheerful. He said while the hail and rain were coming down in torrents on Friday, I promise you a fine day to-morrow." And sure enough Saturday morning dawned in bright sunshine and we left the hotel very cheerfully and full of anticipations, accompanied by our dragoman in the little Ford motor Mr. Salammeh had engaged for us. The whole journey was of the greatest interest. We went over Scopus, whence, looking back, we got a splendid view of the city and passed not far from Neby Samwil with all its memories. We were at the outset not at all respectful to our motor, in fact, we thought it a crazy little concern. The roads were good in the vicinity of Jerusalem, but our Ford burst a tyre within an hour of our starting : we wondered very much if it would ever survive the entertainment. However, we were all very cheerful and to A. and myself the bursting of a tyre and its necessary repairs made a break in our journey which was downright welcome; it was delightful to get out and walk in ¹ This is the seventh of a series of weekly articles which will extend over a period of about six months

the lovely country. We were on a splendid road in beautiful scenery, the fields were carpeted with flowers and we had glorious spring sunshine overhead. What more could we want ? Signs of the recent war were of course not wanting. Stoutly built stone huts had been erected at intervals all along this road for the shelter and accommodation of road menders. The road menders were nowhere to be seen and their huts had been dismantled, the roofs torn off, every scrap of wood or iron either within them or upon them, carried off. All this was part of the ordinary destructiveness and tragedy of war. The elements of a civilized existence painfully built up by years of effort and sacrifice are destroyed in a few days when once a country is given over to the devastation of war : and yet people seem to wonder that it must take some years to recover from the waste and havoc which war always brings with it.

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Just before reaching Nablus, we stayed to see one of the most sacred places in the whole Christian world, Jacob's well, where our Lord held that wonderful conversation with the woman of Samaria, recounted in the 4th chapter of St. John's Gospel. That he should have revealed to her the innermost heart of his own doctrine of the relation of God to man and the nature of true worship is one of the most marvellous things in his whole marvellous history. This great teaching was offered to one of the despised sex belonging to a despised people : and that it was offered to a woman at all has ever been like a guiding light on a dark and often tortuous journey to those who have been workers for the development of women's freedom and citizenship. The whole story is so wonderfully told we cannot go back to it too often : "Woman, believe me, the hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this mountain nor yet at Jerusalem worship the Father. Ye worship ye know not what. . . . But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth : for the Father seeketh such to worship him. God is a Spirit : and they that worship must worship him in spirit and in truth."

It has been pointed out that wells in such a country as Palestine are the most permanent and the most to be relied upon of all the many memorials of the past. Their locality is fixed by nature itself and cannot be changed nor invented we may therefore depend with great confidence upon the local tradition which affirms that this is the very well upon which Jesus sat, "being wearied with his journey," and to which the woman of Samaria came to draw water. The well, when we saw it, was enclosed in a half-finished Greek church. We could not but regret that it did not stand in the open as in our Lord's time : but we were very courteously received by the custodian, and rested by the well and drank of its water.

MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT.

The modern custom of publishing books in series has some drawbacks when it is applied to biographies. It often means that characters very important from the special point of view in which the series is written have to be left out, or else that their lives have to be re-told from the same sources and in the same proportion as has already been done. A series of books on

Road-makers" in human affairs certainly could not leave out Mary Wollstonecraft, and it is impossible to say that there is not room for another book about her; but it does seem doubtful whether there is room for another which is so very much on the same lines as the excellent little biography written years ago by Elizabeth Robins Pennell. The book before us does not draw its contents from any fresh sources : indeed, it seems doubtful whether there are any fresh sources to be discovered. All that we know or are likely to know about Mary Wollstonecraft is contained in Godwin's memoir of her. in her letters to Imlay, in a few other scattered letters and references, and in her own published works. These rather meagre materials are enough to show us what she was, and this last biography, though quite an interesting little book, does not add anything to the picture of her we already have in our minds.

Mary was born in 1759, and died in 1797, so that her whole life fell within the limits of the eighteenth century, yet she hardly seems to have belonged to it by nature. It is hard to think of her as a contemporary of Fanny Burney, who was born only seven years before she was, or of Maria Edgeworth, who was born only seven years after. She has, we feel, little spiritual kinship with Evelina or Cecilia or Belinda, but a good deal with Beatrice, Rosalind, and Cordelia, and a good deal again with Maggie Tulliver and Diana of the Crossways. Perhaps * Mary Wollstonecraft, by Madeline Linford (Road Maker Series). Published by Leonard Parsons, 4s, 6d. net.

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she has most of all with Shelley, who was born very nearly at the time when she published her great "Vindication of the Rights Women." He never saw her, of course, as he was only five years old at the time she died after the birth of the other Mary. who was to become his wife, but—if ever anybody had one—he was her spiritual child. Her capacity for tragic emotion and er disposition to give all, and, in doing so, unconsciously to claim all, was singularly out of place in an age which almost vorshipped moderation and common sense. It is a disposition which most often leads to personal tragedy, but it has produced nost of the greatest movements and the greatest books of the world. Mary's thirty-nine years of life were full of acute iffering, though also of the intense delights which cannot ail those who love well. As daughter, sister, wife, mother, nd governess, most of all, as friend, she gave with unlimited enerosity. Unfortunately, those who surrounded her were most as revolting a set of egoists as those who afterwards rrounded Shelley. One can make excuses for the poor mother orn out by an impossible husband, but what can be said for Mr. Wollstonecraft himself, or for the monstrous sisters, Eliza nd Everina, or the contemptible Edward? When Eliza as driven to madness by the miseries of a foolish marriage. Mary-then only twenty-four-went to her, protected her from er hardly less insane husband, nursed her back to comparative asonableness, and when he would have driven her mad again ook her right away and hid her. In these days it is hardly ossible to realize the courage it then needed to take any wife vay from any husband, but one can imagine something of what lary must have gone through in dealing with these two seminatics. Edward, the successful elder brother of Mary and Poor Bess " would not be mixed up in the discreditable affair lary had to do it all alone. She afterwards set Eliza and verina, the youngest sister, in the way of earning their own ving. They ingeniously threw away every opportunity that e gave them, said all the evil of her they could, and wrote eeringly to each other about "Mrs. Wollstonecraft."

Poor Fanny Blood cannot be classed with these egoists. he was the real romance of Mary's life. From the day when ary, at sixteen, was taken to Newington Butts by a common iend, and saw the gentle girl two years older than herself utting bread and butter for a troop of little brothers and sisters, anny became her ideal. But it was Mary who supported Fanny rough the miseries of a long unhappy engagement, and finally red the miseries of a journey to Lisbon to be with her when er baby was born. Fanny died, and left Mary only a fragrant emory. Their relationship had not been poisoned by any op of selfishness; Mary had perhaps suffered by Fanny's eakness, but not by her fault. Even more guiltless was poor little argaret, Lady Kingsborough's neglected and bullied daughter. d Mary's best-loved pupil. But except these, and Mary's own ildren, almost all those she loved seemed to have hurt her by eir faults as well as by their misfortunes. The cold and rdid Imlay was of course the worst. Her second husband, illiam Godwin, seems to have felt for her as much affection he was capable of feeling for any one, and to have done his st to make her happy in the year before her death. How his ther narrow-necked bottles would have stood her new wine she had lived longer one does not know: it seems likely wever, that they would have cracked as irreparably as they id with Shelley's. On the whole, one cannot help being glad at she escaped so soon.

Mrs. Fawcett has pointed out that she was the first Confessor the British Women's Movement, and that she impressed on the character it has preserved ever since. Mary Astell had deed foreshadowed some of her demands nearly a hundred ars earlier, but Mary Wollstonecraft was the first to formulate e whole claim. And she put it at once on its true basis. rtue is one and undivided : if women are moral beings at it must be the same for them as for men. It is the first ject of every reasonable creature; women demand the right strive for it freely by the exercise of reason and the acquire ent of knowledge and to turn without impediment to the ountain of Light. Mary, in fact, asserted that women are uman beings in the same sense that men are human beings, nd she claimed for them full human rights This claim includes the rest, all that feminists have asked since and all that ey still demand. Mary Wollstonecraft was the true founder four movement. She was worthy of it, and it has, we believe, been worthy of her. We rejoice in every fresh tribute to her memory, and feel that Godwin was right when he wrote in the opening paragraph of the first memoir of her : "There are not many individuals with whose character the public welfare and improvement are more intimately connected than the author of a Vindication of the Rights of Women." I. B. O'MALLEY.

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THE WOMAN'S LEADER.

SOCIAL INSURANCE.

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The idea of State-aided Insurance is comparatively new When the Health and Unemployment Insurance Acts were introduced, in 1911, they meant something of a revolution in the accepted views of social legislation, but already the feeling is growing that the same principles should be applied to all the normal risks of life, in so far as they weaken the economic position, and consequently lower the standards of living, of persons who would be unable to cope with the situation alone. Various suggestions have been put forward recently for extending and also co-ordinating our existing methods of social insurance, notably by Sir William Beveridge in Insurance for All, by Mr. Cohen in Social Insurance Unified, and Mr. T. T. Broad in various Press articles and pamphlets.

The one much-needed reform that will probably occur immediately to all readers of this paper is the introduction of widows' pensions, which it is certainly not necessary to discuss here. But there are also other gaps and anomalies in our present insurance system. For example, a man injured in course of his employment receives compensation under the Workmen's Compensation Act; but if he is injured by a non-industrial accident he receives no benefit at all. If he is killed in an industrial accident, or if he is out of work, some allowance is made for his dependents; but if he is ill, his sick pay is fixed regardless of the number of his dependents. Any comprehensive scheme of insurance is certain to make allowance for the vast majority of dependents in the case of the death of the bread-winner, since it would unquestionably include pensions for widows and orphans, but the dependents of insured persons in the case of illness should also be included. Children need feeding equally whether the father's earnings are interrupted by sickness, or by inability to find work. If their claims are recognized in the one case, they must logically be recognized in the other.

There is also the question of the sickness of the wife and children of insured persons. This inevitably means a serious increase in the household needs; if the wife is ill it means the temporary loss of the housekeeper. The family suffers as certainly, even though to a lesser extent, by the illness of one of its non-insured members, as by the illness of the bread-winner. There is no reason why there should not be insurance against the former risk as well as against the latter. This is not included in Sir W. Beveridge's scheme, a striking omission in a proposal for "Insurance for All." As a matter of fact, the principle is already conceded in the case of the wife's confinement by the payment of maternity benefit, but its application should not be limited to this one case.

Here, therefore, are certain clear lines on which our Insurance System needs extending, the insurance of dependents against sickness, allowances for dependents when the breadwinner is unable to earn from whatever cause, and the inclusion of non-industrial accidents. Besides this, there are certain forms of insurance which should be transferred from private companies to the State. The most obvious example is insurance under the Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation Acts. The responsibility for payment rests with the employer, who may, if he wishes, insure his risk with a private company. The majority of employers do so, but about a quarter of a million do not : these latter are mostly men of small means, and if they should prove unable to meet their obligations the workman is left without remedy. But even when the claim lies against an insurance company, the position is not satisfactory. There is always delay before payment is made, and often claims are not met until there has been litigation, which is wasteful and slow. Further, the insurance companies have generally no machinery for weekly payments, and therefore compound their liability for a lump sum, which, human nature not being perfect, is nearly always less beneficial to the recipient than a weekly pension during the period of disablement. Finally, the administration is extraordinarily wasteful. A recent Government Committee, known as the Holman Gregory Committee, showed that the administrative expenses had for years been over 50 per cent of the premiums received ; the companies have undertaken to reduce this to 40 per cent, but even that is far too high. The cost of working the Health Insurance Scheme, with its far more elaborate machinery, is only 13 per cent. From every point of view it seems clear that the administration of Employers Liability should be taken from the Insurance Companies and worked as a part of the general Health Insurance Scheme. The employers' liability would be included with his payments for Health Insurance, so that it would no longer be left to his own discretion whether he insured against the risk of accident to his workmen or not. W A FIKIN.

THE LAW AT WORK.1 "COMMON SENSE AND CAPITAL PUNISHMENT."

The above is the title of a pamphlet recently published by the Howard League for Penal Reform (18 Savoy Street, Strand), at the price of 3d. It is written by a barrister, J. W. Hall, who has himself been present at the trial of many recent murderers, and it may be commended to all who are interested in the subject. This category should surely include all adult citizens, for all are together responsible for our laws and the collective will could abolish capital punishment if it wished.

But the fact is that average men and women rather cling to capital punishment. They feel that it acts as a deterrent and a protection against violence and that murderers are best out of the way. "Why should we have the expense of keeping them ?" they ask. At the back of their minds is probably an idea that " a life for a life " is a sound moral principle. And in an argument on the subject the rôle of even appearing to defend some particularly atrocious criminal of the moment is such an unattractive one that the temptation is to leave the subject severely alone

And yet if we can approach it in the light of reason and without prejudice or superstition how strong are the arguments for abolition. We have already got rid of the death penalty for innumerable minor offences for which it used to be imposed, and the result has not been an increase in such offences but the reverse. Why should capital punishment be a deterrent to murderers and not to thieves? As the writer says, "If the fear of death would not deter a man from stealing a sheep, is it likely to deter him from killing another man whether he does it in a moment of blind passion or with premeditation?

It is a well-known fact that in many countries capital punishment has already been abolished or is obsolete. Among these are Holland, Italy, Norway, Austria, Sweden, Belgium, Denmark, and ten States of America. It is very difficult to draw any definite conclusions from comparing figures in these countries and our own. Racial temperament varies, and so does the method of keeping statistics. The writer gives many figures and a chart showing what has happened in France with regard to murder and the death sentence, but he sums up the conclusions very fairly in these words : "The unprejudiced study of statistics, even if not conclusive in favour of abolition, entirely fails to support the case against it.'

But capital punishment may not only fail in efficacy, but be actually harmful. It immensely heightens the morbid interest which is at present taken in murders and their crimes. Mr. Justice Denman said before a Royal Commission in 1865, that "there is more on the whole done by Capital Punishment to induce murders than to prevent them." The writer has a vivid recollection of a visit to London some months ago and seeing at every turn posters inviting us to read about the last days on earth of murderers. One wretched creature was eagerly watching for a reprieve another (according to the Press) was relating his life story; in the case of the third, our desire for horrors was gratified by Scenes on the Scaffold." It is largely the death penalty which gives the murderer the interest and notoriety which is itself so attractive to a certain type of mind, nor must we forget what an execution means to those in charge of a condemned man or woman, what it must be to treat a fellow creature with kindness and consideration up to a certain moment on a certain day, and then to hand him over to the hangman and see him killed in cold blood. But executions are carried out to-day in the strictest privacy, and there is no need to think about such disagreeable things. We may occasionally read in the paper of the attempted suicide of a warder or executioner, and then the veil descends again.

In truth capital punishment is a relic of a barbarious age. Penal Reform has in other respects made strides in recent years. Flogging and the worst features of prison life have largely disappeared. The idea of mere punishment has given away to that of reform. But this particular piece of savagery still to our shame remains upon the statute book.

C D RACKHAM.

¹ Under the direction of Mrs. C. D. Rackham, J.P., Miss S. Margery Fry, J.P., with Mrs. Crofts, M.A., LL.B., as Hon. Solicitor.

RECEPTION OF THE NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP TO MRS. SWANWICK.

NOVEMBER 21, 1924.

The postponed reception to Mrs. Swanwick, as substitute delegate to the League of Nations, took place on 12th November, and its scope was extended so that the members of the N.U.S.E.C. might welcome the woman M.P.s, of whom two, Lady Astor and Miss Wilkinson, were present, and show their appreciation of and sympathy with the defeated candidates. Receptions of this kind just occasionally produce a sense of personal intimacy and become really inspiring. This was emphatically one of those occasions, perhaps because, as Mrs. Swanwick said, she had in the old days given all her time and most of her heart to the National Union (the N.U.W.S.S. as it then was), and such links are not easily forgotten. Her speech was an interesting and amusing account of the position of women in the League and of its administrative machinery. She spoke with admiration of the work done by women on the permanent secretariat, but as far as the Assembly is concerned she deeply regretted that no woman had yet been appointed as full delegate. However courteously they are treated, the substitute delegates have to be given opportunities, they do not have them as a right. She also deplored the fact that the appointment of the British woman substitute delegate on to one particular committee was tending to become a tradition, as if women were interested only in particular group of subjects in exclusion of the general political

Mrs. Swanwick was followed by Lady Astor, in a characteristic and delightful little speech. The third speaker was the new M.P. Miss Wilkinson. She was a stranger probably to the greate part of the audience, but she immediately made a link with then by her statement that she had started her public career a organizer to the National Union. She told them of her only other meeting with Lady Astor, which was when she wa organizing a strike of shop girls in Plymouth, and Lady Asto had helped them to find other work afterwards. It seemed a good omen. No two members could be more unlike in type and i their views than Lady Astor and Miss Wilkinson, but they mad it clear that women's interests would be a common ground on which they would meet in the House, as they had met over th interests of the shop girls in the past. Everyone must have lef the hall glad that our new member was so obviously a good fighter and a good feminist, and that in international affairs Englishwomen were represented by someone of the calibr

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE. (British Section : 55 Gower Street, W.C. 1.)

Miss Courtney and Dr. Hilda Clark spoke at International Hous (Women's International League) on 6th November on their recent visi to Sofia, Constantinople, and Salonika. There is a special challeng just now to Feminist organizations in this part of the world. The position of women is unsatisfactory, and they are beginning to realize it and to set for education and the recompetitivity of this set. The esk for education and the responsibilities of citizenship. There are som who want to join hands with women in other countries, even with those whom they have regarded as their enemies. They are sick of war, and begin

whom they have regarded as their enemies. They are sick of war, and begin to turn to peace, but they are not ready to go very far as yet. The history of massacres, vengeance, and hate between these countries breeds a state of fear that it will take long to get over. Miss Courtney spoke to a small private meeting of Turkish women who would like to form a suffrage society, affiliated to the International Suffrage Alliance, and also a branch of the W.I.L. They have difficulties, however on account of the Covernment objection to political arganizations. Suffrage Alliance, and also a branch of the W.I.L. They have difficulties however, on account of the Government objection to political organizations They will probably form a committee for educational purposes and lear to work together in undertaking some philanthropic responsibilities Turkey certainly has much need for this as there is great misery and suffering among the refugees whose villages were burned in Asia Minoi by the Greek Army, those who are sent to Turkey from Greece under the Exchange of Populations agreement and among the victims of the earth curle at Europeum quake at Erzeroum.

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.

GREEN, WHITE & GOLD FAIR

FRIDAY and SATURDAY, 28th and 29th NOVEMBER.

THE CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER.

FRIDAY, 28th NOVEMBER, from 3 to 9 p.m. SATURDAY, 29th NOVEMBER, from 11 a.m. to 9 p.m.

To be formally opened each day at 3 p.m., on Friday by Mrs. HILTON PHILIPSON, M.P., on Saturday by Miss SUSAN LAWRENCE.

Madame C. M. CARR'S STRING ORCHESTRA. THE CHANTANT (4 to 6 p.m.).

Tickets (including tax) 2/6 the first day until 5 o'clock; after 5 p.m. and on Saturday, 1/2. On sale at 144 High Holborn, W.C. 1, or at the doors.

of Mrs. Swanwick.

The Cabinet are considering what is to be included in the King's Speech, and the Executive Committee has decided to

nake a special appeal for the inclusion of the following reforms: (1) Equal Franchise, (2) Equal Guardianship of Children, (3) ensions for Civilian Widows with Dependent Children, (4) egislation providing for the legitimation of an illegitimate hild by the subsequent marriage of its parents. It will be remembered that "equal political rights for men and women,' nd the other reforms enumerated, were referred to in Mr. Baldwin's Election Manifesto. All affiliated Societies and thers are asked to add their support to this request.

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES

FOR EOUAL CITIZENSHIP.

President : Miss ELEANOR RATHBONE, C.C., J.P. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. SODDY. Parliamentary Secretary : Mrs. HUBBACK.

Offices : 15 Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W. 1.

Telephone : Victoria 6188

THE KING'S SPEECH

RECEPTION TO MRS. SWANWICK, Wednesday, 12th November.

An account appears in another column of the Reception given the President and Executive Committee on Wednesday, 2th November, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, to Mrs wanwick. We may mention here, however, that the Reception was felt to be a great success by all who took part, and that the beeches from the platform were of quite conspicuous interest. Irs. Swanwick gave an account of her experiences at the 5th ssembly of the League of Nations which held her audience being at the same time deeply serious and amusing. Lady stor, M.P., and Miss Ellen Wilkinson, M.P., made interesting peeches which are reported elsewhere, and Mrs. Corbett Ashby noved, and Mrs. Stocks seconded, a vote of thanks to the speakers. mong other women candidates present were Dr. Ethel Bentham, Dr. Churchill, Mrs. Corner, Mrs. Drake, Miss Picton-Turbervill, rs. Simpson, and Miss Jessie Stephen. Letters were read from he Duchess of Atholl, Mrs. Fawcett, Mrs. Wintringham, and a legram of congratulations sent to the Duchess, and of regret to Mrs. Fawcett. Letters of regret for absence were also received om Fru Wicksell, Fru Forchhammer, and Lady Mary Murray, liss Margaret Bondfield, Miss Susan Lawrence, and others.

CONFERENCE ON THE SEPARATE TAXATION OF THE NCOMES OF MARRIED PERSONS, The Caxton Hall, Westminster, 26th November, 1924, at 5 p.m.

A Conference will be held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, 5 p.m. on Wednesday, 26th November, at which Miss Chrystal acmillan will propose the following resolutions. We very much gret that by mistake these were not printed in full in the mouncement made in these columns last week, and we should herefore be glad if all intending delegates to the Conference ould make a note that the correct form is that given below :---

PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO INCOME TAX ACTS: INCOME OF MARRIED PERSONS.

1. Automatic Separate Assessment.

"That in all cases the incomes of married persons shall be automatically barately assessed, and not, as at present, only on demand; that is that is income of a husband or wife shall be treated as his or her own separate nd that each married person shall for himself or herself make a urn of his or her income.

2. Amount of Tax: Repayment of overpaid Tax.

" That the amount of tax payable on the incomes of husbands and wives all be calculated in the following way :— I. Spouses taxed separately.

(A) Each spouse shall have the right to be allowed on his or her income atements at the same rate as a single person, namely :

- (a) £135 personal allowance.
 (b) 10 per cent. of his or her earned income.
 (c) Tax at half-rate on the first £225 of taxable income.

ut neither shall be allowed the present marriage abatement of 490. (B) In addition, where there are children each spouse shall be allowed

(b) in diameter of half the children's abatement now allowed to the isband (namely $\pounds 18$ for the first child and $\pounds 13$ 10s. for each subsequent ild); provided that any balance of such half of the children's abatement quired by one parent shall be transferred as additional abatement other parent. The Inland Revenue shall repay any tax overpaid in the income of either the husband or the wife or of both as the case hay be, to the husband or wife or both respectively and not, as at present, epay all the overpaid tax to the husband only.

OR ALTERNATIVELY-

2. Spouses Taxed Iointly.

(A) In such cases as it would be more advantageous and the couple jointly aim to be taxed on the same basis as under the present system they may

THE WOMAN'S LEADER.

be so taxed : that is the abatements allowed on the two incomes added together shall be

(a) £135 personal abatement.

(a) $\frac{1}{2}$ to personal abatement. (b) 10 per cent, of the earnings of both, but not more than £200. (c) Tax at half-rate on the first £225 of taxable income. (d) £35 for the first and £27 for every subsequent child.

 $\frac{1}{2}$ 90 marriage allowance. Nine-tenths of the wife's earned income but not more than $\frac{1}{2}$ 45. (B) (a) Such total abatements shall be allocated to each spouse in

portion to their respective incomes. (b) The Inland Revenue shall repay any overpaid tax to the husband

or wife respectively on this basis. (c) The Inland Revenue shall supply to either party on request the requisite figures of the income of the other spouse to enable such party to check such repayments."

Women's Organizations interested in the subject are being invited to send two delegates. Visitors will be welcome ; tickets will be issued free to members of the N.U.S.E.C. ; price 1s. to other visitors.

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

A meeting was held in Glasgow on the evening of Thursday, 6th November, under the auspices of the Glasgow Society for Equal Citizen-ship and the Glasgow Women Citizens Association, in co-operation with the League of Nations Union, at which Dame Edith Lyttelton gave an address on the Traffic in Women and Children, and the Drug Traffic. Miss Melville, B.D., J.P., was in the chair. Dame Edith said that no advance could be made in reagard to the Traffic in Women and Children advance could be made in regard to the Traffic in Women and Children advance could be made in fegard to the Traine in women and Children until an international agreement had been come to about Licensed Houses, and that the League of Nations was inquiring into the whole subject. It was also pointed out in the course of the address that the difficulties which arose in controlling the Traffic in Women and Children were similar to those met with in controlling the Drug Traffic. A resolution in the following terms was moved by Mrs. Johnston, seconded by Mr. W. L. McKarrow, Clasgow, and reasingd the unpairmous support of the meeting in McKerrow, Glasgow, and received the unanimous support of the meeting :-

"That this meeting of members of the Glasgow Society for Equal Citizenship and the Glasgow Women Citizens Association, and the members of the League of Nations Union, urge His Majesty's Government to use its influence at the forthcoming Conference at Geneva on the International Control of the Traffic in Opium and other dangerous drugs, with a view to securing the limitation of the production of the raw material, and the international exchange of such drugs to the quantities required for medicinal and scientific pruposes.'

CORRESPONDENCE. MRS. SWANWICK AND THE FIFTH ASSEMBLY.

MADAM,—At the reception of the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship to Mrs. Swanwick on 12th November, there was to my mind one very serious omission. No mention whatever was made of the fact that Mrs. Swanwick was called upon by Mr. Motta, the Chairman of the 5th Assembly of the League of Nations, to sum up the discussion on 5th Assembly of the League of Nations, to sum up the discussion on the Protocol. She was of course too unassuming to mention it herself, but the fact should be very widely known that an Englishwoman and a substitute delegate only was given such a very important duty. It is a very great testimony to Mrs. Swanwick's real grasp of International affairs in general, and of the Protocol in particular. A verbatim report of her speech on that occasion is in the November number of the News-letter of the Wamen's International League LANE WALKER. of the Women's International League. JANE WALKER.

"THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE."

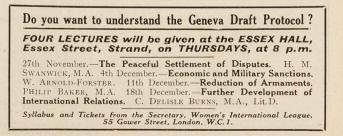
MADAM,—I am writing to protest against an inaccuracy in your issue of 7th November, under the paragraph headed "The Voice of the People." It is most misleading thus to work out elaborate averages of votes per candidate, or to allocate the number of seats that each party ought to have in proportion to its votes, for the simple and good reason that the uncon-tested elections are not able to be included in the calculation.

These uncontested seats are included in the total number of seats held by each party, but the votes they represent are presumably not included in the column showing the numbers of votes that were cast. As, in all probability, the votes in these seats would be overwhelmingly in favour of the unopposed candidate, the party having the most unopposed returns should undoubtedly be given some credit for these in any attempt to

reckon the support it has received from the country. In the recent election, the Conservatives had 18 unopposed returns the Liberals 7, and the Labour Party 9.

Similar calculations to those you have just published were glibly made after the 1923 election, when the figures were even more striking. There, were then 35 uncontested Conservative seats representing 1,190,228 votes while both other parties between them had 15 uncontested seats repre-senting only 468,605 votes. Is this a fair way of making up statistics ?

M. LAWSON-TANCRED.



THE LAW AT WORK.¹ "COMMON SENSE AND CAPITAL PUNISHMENT."

The above is the title of a pamphlet recently published by the Howard League for Penal Reform (18 Savoy Street, Strand), at the price of 3d. It is written by a barrister, J. W. Hall, who has himself been present at the trial of many recent murderers, and it may be commended to all who are interested in the subject. This category should surely include all adult citizens, for all are together responsible for our laws and the collective will could abolish capital punishment if it wished.

But the fact is that average men and women rather cling to capital punishment. They feel that it acts as a deterrent and a protection against violence and that murderers are best out of the way. "Why should we have the expense of keeping them ? ' they ask. At the back of their minds is probably an idea that ' a life for a life " is a sound moral principle. And in an argument on the subject the rôle of even appearing to defend some particularly atrocious criminal of the moment is such an unattractive one that the temptation is to leave the subject severely alone

And yet if we can approach it in the light of reason and without prejudice or superstition how strong are the arguments for abolition. We have already got rid of the death penalty for innumerable minor offences for which it used to be imposed, and the result has not been an increase in such offences but the reverse. Why should capital punishment be a deterrent to. murderers and not to thieves? As the writer says, " If the fear of death would not deter a man from stealing a sheep, is it likely to deter him from killing another man whether he does it in a moment of blind passion or with premeditation ?

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NOVEMBER 21, 1924.

The postponed reception to Mrs. Swanwick, as substitute delegate to the League of Nations, took place on 12th November, and its scope was extended so that the members of the N.U.S.E.C. might welcome the woman M.P.s, of whom two, Lady Astor and Miss Wilkinson, were present, and show their appreciation of and sympathy with the defeated candidates. Receptions of this kind just occasionally produce a sense of personal intimacy and become really inspiring. This was emphatically one of those occasions, perhaps because, as Mrs. Swanwick said, she had in the old days given all her time and most of her heart to the National Union (the N.U.W.S.S. as it then was), and such links are not easily forgotten. Her speech was an interesting and amusing account of the position of women in the League and of its administrative machinery. She spoke with admiration of the work done by women on the permanent secretariat, but as far as the Assembly is concerned she deeply regretted that no woman had yet been appointed as full delegate. However courteously they are treated, the substitute delegates have to be given opportunities, they do not have them as a right. She also deplored the fact that the appointment of the British woman substitute delegate on to one particular committee was tending to become a tradition, as if women were interested only in particular group of subjects in exclusion of the general political nestions.

Mrs. Swanwick was followed by Lady Astor, in a characteristic and delightful little speech. The third speaker was the new M.P. Miss Wilkinson. She was a stranger probably to the greater part of the audience, but she immediately made a link with them by her statement that she had started her public career a organizer to the National Union. She told them of her only other meeting with Lady Astor, which was when she was organizing a strike of shop girls in Plymouth, and Lady Astor had helped them to find other work afterwards. It seemed a good omen. No two members could be more unlike in type and i their views than Lady Astor and Miss Wilkinson, but they made it clear that women's interests would be a common ground or which they would meet in the House, as they had met over the interests of the shop girls in the past. Everyone must have left the hall glad that our new member was so obviously a good fighter and a good feminist, and that in international affairs Englishwomen were represented by someone of the calibre of Mrs. Swanwick.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE. (British Section: 55 Gower Street, W.C.1.)

Miss Courtney and Dr. Hilda Clark spoke at International House (Women's International League) on 6th November on their recent visit to Sofia, Constantinople, and Salonika. There is a special challenge just now to Feminist organizations in this part of the world. The position of women is unsatisfactory, and they are beginning to realize it and t ask for education and the responsibilities of citizenship. There are som who want to join hands with women in other countries, even with the

who want to join hands with women in other countries, even with those whom they have regarded as their enemies. They are sick of war, and begin to turn to peace, but they are not ready to go very far as yet. The history of massacres, vengeance, and hate between these countries breeds a state of fear that it will take long to get over. Miss Courtney spoke to a small private meeting of Turkish women who would like to form a suffrage society, affiliated to the International Suffrage Alliance, and also a branch of the W.I.L. They have difficulties, however, on account of the Government objection to political organizations. They will probably form a committee for educational purposes and learn to work together in undertaking some philanthropic responsibilities. to work together in undertaking some philanthropic re Turkey certainly has much need for this as there is grea responsibilitie suffering among the refugees whose villages were burned in Asia Mino by the Greek Army, those who are sent to Turkey from Greece under th Exchange of Populations agreement and among the victims of the earth quake at Erzeroum



NOVEMBER 21, 1924.

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EOUAL CITIZENSHIP.

President: Miss ELEANOR RATHBONE, C.C., J.P. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. SODDY. Parliamentary Secretary: Mrs. HUBBACK.

Offices : 15 Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W. 1. Telephone : Victoria 6188.

THE KING'S SPEECH.

The Cabinet are considering what is to be included in the King's Speech, and the Executive Committee has decided to make a special appeal for the inclusion of the following reforms: 1) Equal Franchise, (2) Equal Guardianship of Children, (3) Pensions for Civilian Widows with Dependent Children, egislation providing for the legitimation of an illegitimate child by the subsequent marriage of its parents. It will be remembered that "equal political rights for men and women," and the other reforms enumerated, were referred to in Mr. Baldwin's Election Manifesto. All affiliated Societies and others are asked to add their support to this request.

RECEPTION TO MRS. SWANWICK, Wednesday, 12th November.

An account appears in another column of the Reception given the President and Executive Committee on Wednesday, 12th November, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, to Mrs. wanwick. We may mention here, however, that the Reception was felt to be a great success by all who took part, and that the peeches from the platform were of quite conspicuous interest Mrs. Swanwick gave an account of her experiences at the 5th Assembly of the League of Nations which held her audience by being at the same time deeply serious and amusing. Lady Astor, M.P., and Miss Ellen Wilkinson, M.P., made interesting peeches which are reported elsewhere, and Mrs. Corbett Ashby noved, and Mrs. Stocks seconded, a vote of thanks to the speakers. Among other women candidates present were Dr. Ethel Bentham, Dr. Churchill, Mrs. Corner, Mrs. Drake, Miss Picton-Turbervill, Irs. Simpson, and Miss Jessie Stephen. Letters were read from he Duchess of Atholl, Mrs. Fawcett, Mrs. Wintringham, and a legram of congratulations sent to the Duchess, and of regret to Mrs. Fawcett. Letters of regret for absence were also received rom Fru Wicksell, Fru Forchhammer, and Lady Mary Murrav, Miss Margaret Bondfield, Miss Susan Lawrence, and others.

CONFERENCE ON THE SEPARATE TAXATION OF THE INCOMES OF MARRIED PERSONS, The Caxton Hall, Westminster, 26th November, 1924, at 5 p.m.

A Conference will be held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, 5 p.m. on Wednesday, 26th November, at which Miss Chrystal lacmillan will propose the following resolutions. We very much gret that by mistake these were not printed in full in the mouncement made in these columns last week, and we should herefore be glad if all intending delegates to the Conference ould make a note that the correct form is that given below :---

PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO INCOME TAX ACTS: INCOME OF MARRIED PERSONS

1. Automatic Separate Assessment

'That in all cases the incomes of married persons shall be automatically arately assessed, and not, as at present, only on demand; that is that e income of a husband or wife shall be treated as his or her own separate ome, and that each married person shall for himself or herself make a turn of his or her income

2. Amount of Tax : Repayment of overpaid Tax.

"That the amount of tax payable on the incomes of husbands and wives all be calculated in the following way :----Spouses taxed separately.

(A) Each spouse shall have the right to be allowed on his or her income batements at the same rate as a single person, namely :---

(a) ± 135 personal allowance.

(b) 10 per cent. of his or her earned income.
(c) Tax at half-rate on the first £225 of taxable income.

at neither shall be allowed the present marriage abatement of f90.

(B) In addition, where there are children each spouse shall be allowed further abatement of half the children's abatement now allowed to the further abatement of half the children's abatement now allowed to the uusband (namely $\frac{1}{2}$ IS for the first child and $\frac{1}{2}$ I3 los. for each subsequent thild); provided that any balance of such half of the children's abatement bot required by one parent shall be transferred as additional abatement of the other parent. The Inland Revenue shall repay any tax overpaid in the income of either the husband or the wife or of both as the case may be, to the husband or wife or both respectively and not, as at present, epay all the overpaid tax to the husband only.

R ALTERNATIVELY-Spouses Taxed Jointly.

(A) In such cases as it would be more advantageous and the couple jointly im to be taxed on the same basis as under the present system they may

THE WOMAN'S LEADER.

be so taxed : that is the abatements allowed on the two incomes added together shall be : (a) £135 personal abatement.

(d) £155 personal abatement.
(b) 10 per cent, of the earnings of both, but not more than £200.
(c) Tax at half-rate on the first £225 of taxable income.
(d) £35 for the first and £27 for every subsequent child.

(a) ± 00 for arriage allowance. (f) Nine-tenths of the wife's earned income but not more than ± 45 .

(B) (a) Such total abatements shall be allocated to each spouse in

(b) The Inland Revenue shall repay any overpaid tax to the husband

(c) The Inland Revenue shall supply to either party on request the requisite figures of the income of the other spouse to enable such party to check such repayments."

Women's Organizations interested in the subject are being invited to send two delegates. Visitors will be welcome ; tickets will be issued free to members of the N.U.S.E.C.; price 1s. to other visitors

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

A meeting was held in Glasgow on the evening of Thursday, 6th November, under the auspices of the Glasgow Society for Equal Citizen-ship and the Glasgow Women Citizens Association, in co-operation with the League of Nations Union, at which Dame Edith Lyttelton gave an address on the Traffic in Women and Children, and the Drug Traffic. All address on the Thanc in women and Children, and the Dig Hanc. Miss Melville, B.D., J.P., was in the chair. Dame Edith said that no advance could be made in regard to the Traffic in Women and Children until an international agreement had been come to about Licensed Houses, and that the League of Nations was inquiring into the whole subject. It was also pointed out in the course of the address that the difficulties which arose in controlling the Traffic in Women and Children were similar to the controlling the Traffic in Women and Children were similar

'That this meeting of members of the Glasgow Society for Equal Citizenship and the Glasgow Women Citizens Association, and the members of the League of Nations Union, urge His Majesty's Government to use its influence at the forthcoming Conference at Geneva on the International Control of the Traffic in Opium and other dangerous drugs, with a view to securing the limitation of the production of the raw material, and the international exchange of such drugs to the quantities required for medicinal and scientific pruposes."

CORRESPONDENCE.

MRS. SWANWICK AND THE FIFTH ASSEMBLY.

MADAM,—At the reception of the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship to Mrs. Swanwick on 12th November, there was to my mind one very serious omission. No mention whatever was made of the fact that Mrs. Swanwick was called upon by Mr. Motta, the Chairman of the 5th Assembly of the League of Nations, to sum up the discussion on the Protocol. She was of course too unassuming to mention it herself, but the fact should be very widely known that an Englishwoman and a substitute delegate only was given such a very important duty. It is a very great testimony to Mrs. Swanwick's real grasp of International affairs in general, and of the Protocol in particular. A verbatim report of her speech on that occasion is in the November number of the News-letter of the Women's International League. JANE WALKER.

"THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE."

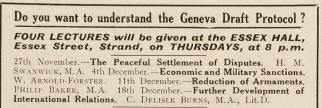
MADAM,—I am writing to protest against an inaccuracy in your issue of 7th November, under the paragraph headed "The Voice of the People." It is most misleading this to work out elaborate averages of votes per candidate, or to allocate the number of seats that each party ought to have in proportion to its votes, for the simple and good reason that the uncon-tested elections are not able to be included in the calculation. These uncontested seats are included in the total number of seats held

by each party, but the votes they represent are presumably not included in the column showing the numbers of votes that were cast. As, in all probability, the votes in these seats would be overwhelmingly in favour of the unopposed candidate, the party having the most unopposed returns should undoubtedly be given some credit for these in any attempt to reckon the support it has received from the country.

In the recent election, the Conservatives had 18 unopposed returns the Liberals 7, and the Labour Party 9.

Similar calculations to those you have just published were glibly made after the 1923 election, when the figures were even more striking. There, were then 35 uncontested Conservative seats representing 1,190,228 votes while both other parties between them had 15 uncontested seats representing only 468 605 vote Is this a fair way of making up statistics ?

M. LAWSON-TANCRED.



Syllabus and Tickets from the Secretary, Women's International League, 55 Gower Street, London, W.C. 1.

THE WOMAN'S LEADER.

NOVEMBER 21, 1924.

COMING EVENTS. *NOV. 26.* 4 p.m. Mrs. Clement Davies' and Lady Pares' "At Home" for the N.U.S.E.C., at 11 Vicarage Gate, W. 8.

5.30 p.m. 7 and Children

UNION OF JEWISH WOMEN.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE.

ASSOCIATION OF ASSISTANT MISTRESSES, DEVON BRANCH. NOV. 20. 3.15 p.m. Modern School, Exeter. Mrs. Robie Uniacke on "Teachers : Their Responsibilities as Citizens."

GUILDHOUSE W.C.S.

NOV. 24. 3 p.m. Annual Business Meeting. Mrs. Marston Acres on "Why do so few Women become Ministers of Religion?"

LONDON SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SERVICE.

NOV. 25. 8 p.m. 35 Marsham Street, Westminster. Mrs. John Stocks on "The New Factory Bill,"

NOV. 26. 3 p.m. 12 Smith Square, S.W. (by kind permission of Mrs. Walter Rea). Lecture by Miss Lilian Redstone, B.A. Lond, (Hons. Hist.), on "Old Westminster." Tickets 25. 6d., from 35 Marsham Street.

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

NOV,~20,~5 p.m. Caxton Hall, Westminster. Conference on "The Separate Taxation of the Incomes of Married Persons."

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ANNOUNCEMENTS.

DEC. 10. 3-6 p.m. Sale of Work in aid of Funds of N.U.S.E.C., at Church House, Westminster. Horsham W.C.A. NOV. 24. 8 p.m. Lady Pares on "Current Legislation Affecting

Croydon W.C.A. NOV. 28. 3 p.m. Mrs. Wrightson on "Legislation for Equal Franchise." Tunbridge Wells S.E.C. (in conjunction with Tunbridge Wells W.C.A.). NOV. 27. 30 p.m. 7 Church Road, Lady Pares on "Current Legislation especially Affecting Women

NOV. 24. 3.30 p.m. 37 Cornwall Gardens, S.W. 7. Mrs. F. W. Hubback on "Widows' Pensions."

NOV. 27, DEC. 4, 11 and 15. -8 p.m. Essex Hall, Essex Street, Strand. Lectures on "The Draft Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of Disputes." First lecture by Mrs. H. M. Swanwick, M.A. Futher particulars from the W.I.L., 55 Gower Street, W.C.

L ONDON SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SERVICE, 35 Marsham Street, Westminster, Secretary, Miss P. Strachey, Weekly "At Homes," Tuesdays in November at 8 p.m. See "Coming Events."

FEI.LOWSHIP SERVICES, Guildhouse, Eccleston Square, S.W. 1. Sunday, 2grd November. 3.30, Music; Lecture : Miss Margaret Bondheld. 6.30, The Rev. Percy Dearmer, D.D.

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