

THE
WOMAN'S LEADER

IN POLITICS
 IN THE HOME
 IN INDUSTRY

IN LITERATURE AND ART
 IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT
 IN THE PROFESSIONS

AND

THE COMMON CAUSE

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Contents :

	PAGE
<i>"The Woman's Leader" in Politics :</i>	
IS THERE A WOMAN'S POINT OF VIEW?	52
NEWS FROM WESTMINSTER	53
EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK. By Mary Stocks, B.Sc.	54
<i>In other Lands :</i>	
DR. KATHARINE MACPHAIL'S HOSPITAL FOR CHILDREN, BELGRADE	53
<i>In the Home :</i>	
THE DIARY OF A WOMAN IN THE HOME	55
<i>In Social and Religious Work :</i>	
THE RESCUE AND PREVENTIVE WORK OF THE Y.W.C.A.	56
<i>In Literature and Art :</i>	
REVIEWS	58
DRAMA: "Hanky Panky John"	57
AT THE PICTURES. By Rose Macaulay	57
OURSELVES	59
<i>Correspondence :</i>	59

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

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THE WOMAN'S LEADER

AND
COMMON CAUSE

NOTES AND NEWS

Women Civil Servants.

As we come from the Press the Federation of Women Civil Servants is holding a mass meeting to protest against the actual regrading and reorganisation arrangements of the Treasury which are now being put into effect. The whole business of the employment of women in the Civil Service is complicated in the extreme, but certain general observations grow clearer every month. In the first place, Parliament intended, and, we believe, still intends that the Service should be equally open to both sexes, and that appointment, promotion, and pay should be by merit. In the second place it wants temporary arrangements made which will give competent ex-Service men, and particularly disabled men, a chance of preferential treatment in getting in. And these things are what the public wants, too. But, in actual fact, we find the Treasury very strenuously resisting these general propositions in detail, while admitting both in theory. We find the temporary women "weeded out" with a ruthlessness far beyond the intention of the Lytton Report, or the desires of public opinion, and we find the permanent women kept down to inferior grades simply because they are women; we find departments preparing schemes for absorbing only a very small modicum of women, and the Treasury comforting itself with percentages of women employed in the whole Service, by securing thousands in the lowest grades (at abominable rates of pay) and refusing to take men there at all. The actual revelations of the treatment meted out to women under the Whitley Report and the Lytton Co-Report (both of which would be harsh enough even if fairly interpreted) are such as to make women truly disgusted—to make the Government truly ashamed, and the Civil Servants truly furious. That as a result of an agitation for equality to which almost all pay lip service, men and women hitherto paid the same should be given new salaries, showing actual increases for the men and actual decreases for the women, is an anomaly that cannot be borne, and we are very glad that the women Civil Servants are as angry as they are.

Swedish Women Civil Servants.

The question of the rights of women to enter the Civil Service and the terms of their employment, has recently been occupying public attention in Sweden. According to information circulated by the International Labour Office, a committee appointed by the Swedish Government which investigated the matter, has reported in favour of the admission of women to Government service on equal terms with men. The principle of "the same wage for the same work" is recommended for general application, but there are one or two minor reservations in regard to pensions. The report takes the form of a "Draft Law on Women's Right to Enter Government Service." Married women are to be on a level with unmarried women, and the only distinction made is that some of the services, which might be less suitable for women, are reserved for men. These are: (1) Military Service; (2) Diplomatic and Consular Service, not including social attachés and junior clerks; (3) Certain Services relating to the administration of public prisons; (4) Services involving responsibility for maintaining public peace and order; (5) Coast and Frontier Guard Service involving Customs Duties; (6) Guard Services in the State Forests; (7) Posts as Teachers of Gymnastics in Public Schools and in Training Schools for male teachers. It is, however, suggested that the superannuation contribution should be somewhat higher for women, the reason given being that the women as a rule live longer than the men. This is a much more definite step in the right direction than was taken here by the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act, with all its subsequent confusions, and we warmly congratulate the Swedish Government. It is true that we want more in the Diplomatic and Consular line than this proposal offers; we believe that the good relations of women in different countries will be one of the most valuable new factors in securing international stability; and we trust that the movement to this end will, before

long, be officially recognised. But we do not want to criticise so good a Bill and we are glad to see that it does actually include social attachés—which may be the thin end of the wedge.

Women's Unemployment.

The state of unemployment is growing daily more serious. On January 14th nearly a quarter of a million women were registered as unemployed, and more than that as working on short time, which may mean only one or two days a week. The total number so registered falls, of course, far below the actual figure. Of those registered as desiring domestic service the majority are married women who can undertake only daily work in the neighbourhood of their homes, and whose domicile must be determined by their husband's employment. The engineering, textile, and hollow-ware trades show the largest figures of unemployment; these all depend largely upon foreign buyers and the financial condition of Europe. This is, however, no reason why our Government should imply that it is a matter that concerns them but little. Mr. Macnamara has announced that the accumulated funds of the Unemployment Insurance will admit of raising unemployment benefit of men to 18s., women to 15s., and boys and girls to 9s. and 7s. 6d. respectively, but that when this surplus has been absorbed the contributions of employers, employed, and the State, must all be increased. The Government, it will be noted, persists in the vicious practice of fixing a woman's benefit at a lower scale than a man's, nominally because a man has dependents, but without inquiring whether a woman is free from dependents' claims. This has neither common sense, logic, nor humanity. If dependents are not covered by the unemployment fund they must be provided for in some other manner and the benefit of men and women equalised, since their needs are equal. Mr. Macnamara implies that when the rate of contribution is raised their payments will be equal. We hope that some scheme for maintaining the children of unemployed men and women is not only foreshadowed, but in black and white. Cannot legislators see that in fixing a woman's benefit below that of a man they are penalising not alone the woman, not alone her dependent daughters, but her sons? They are not even consistent in their prejudice.

Illegal Employment of Children.

The first prosecution under the Employment of Women, Young Persons, and Children Act of 1920 was heard at Bow Street on Tuesday. Miss Pearson, the Home Office Inspector, had to show not only that Messrs. Clarkson had employed a child of school age for two-and-a-half hours on several successive evenings at curling wigs, but that this employment would have been illegal even under previous acts. This is necessary, because the 1920 Act forbids only new employment and leaves children who have hitherto been legally employed unaffected. In this instance the prosecution chose only one of several similar cases of employment by the same firm, and proved that not only had the Factory Acts been infringed, because no half-time schemes existed in the London area, but also this particular employment would have been irregular under any half-time scheme. The defendants, in pleading ignorance, expected the Court to believe that they were unaware of the 1920 Act, or even previous Acts so far back as 1901; they had not kept a general register, they had not informed themselves of the ages of their employees. Their case seemed to be that if a gentleman who died in October had been alive in December things might have been otherwise. The magistrate fined the defendants the maximum under all summonses under the old Acts, and less than maximum for infringements of the 1920 Act and failure to keep a general register—£23 in all. This is an indication that the new Act will be far from a dead letter. Its scope, including not only "factories," but "industrial undertakings," is very wide, whatever interpretation of the latter phrase Courts may adopt.

FEBRUARY 25, 1921.

THE WOMAN'S LEADER

51

Girls' Colonies and Masculine Supervision.

The Directors of Dr. Barnardo's Homes have been fortunate in securing the Honourable Annie Macnaghten and Miss Beatrice Picton-Turbervill as Governor and Warden of the Girls' Colony at Barkingside. The "Colony" is a village of some 1,500 girls. The present Governor and Warden have had great experience of work amongst girls; the Colony has, since its foundation, been under masculine supervision, and the Directors are to be congratulated on abandoning a tradition out of harmony with present-day thought.

Juries Again.

Last week Scottish women, for the first time, became liable to serve on juries; the qualification for service, though not the same as in England, is identical for both sexes. Juries do not, in Scotland, try divorce cases, and there will, therefore, be less occasion for sensitive persons, who prefer reticence to reform, to clamour for the abolition or restriction of women's jury service. Though Sir Ernest Wild has given notice of an early move for a referendum on the question as to whether women desire to serve on juries, no one attaches much importance to the agitation of which he is the spokesman. It is annoying, no doubt, for counsel to acquire a vocabulary by means of which they can convey to women the bearing of certain unpleasant facts on the case in hand. It does not occur to them, however, that they have invariably ignored the parallel difficulty of unhappy women who have no words by which they can tell an assemblage of men the nature of grievous wrongs inflicted upon them by men, who, because of this difficulty, laugh at justice.

Private Members' Time.

The Government threatens to absorb the whole of the time of Parliament this session, or, at any rate, the whole of it except Fridays. This custom, which has been growing at an alarming rate of late years, is very pernicious, and we trust that the protests members are preparing to make against it may be, at any rate, partly successful. As things stand at present, several of the private members' Bills in which we are interested have secured places in the ballot, and even in the event of the Government's drastic action, some of them are likely to be discussed. But, of course, the less time there is the less chance they have of serious consideration. It is always practically impossible for a private member's Bill to become law without the approval of the Government, but the introduction of these Bills is one of the best ways of focussing public opinion, and this often leads the Government to reconsider its position. It is particularly interesting in this connection that a Proportional Representation Bill has secured the first place, and now stands on the order paper for second reading for April 8th, and the new Representation of the People Bill (to give votes to women on the same terms as men) for April 22nd. If we are as near an election as some newspapers pretend, these electoral subjects should be important! The other successful Bills are the Guardianship, Maintenance, and Custody of Infants Bill, which has been drawn up by the N.U.S.E.C., in consultation with Col. Greig, and which stands for May 6th, the Plumage Bill for April 22nd and May 6th, the Sex Disqualification Removal Bill (namely, the proposed amendments to ask women if they would like to escape jury service) for April 8th and 15th, and the Bastardy Bill for April 20th. There are also three Licensing Bills, and a number of other important and interesting matters, and we cannot but wish that the congestion of Government business was less overwhelming.

The League of Nations.

The Council of the League of Nations is meeting in Paris for the twelfth time, and the programme which it has before it is one of the fullest which it has yet discussed. Among other subjects a Commission has to be appointed to inquire into the deportation of women and children in Turkey and the neighbouring countries, a subject which, it will be remembered, was dealt with very ably by Middle, Forchhammer, in her speech before the Assembly last December. Other questions to be discussed are the opium traffic, a system of international blockade, the registration of treaties, armaments, the work accomplished by the Secretariat and by the International Labour Office, the position of children in war-impooverished countries, the traffic in women and children, and the Armenian question.

Women and Mandates.

The Women's Advisory Committee of the League of Nations has written to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs urgently demanding the appointment of women on the Mandate Commission of the League of Nations. It recognises: "The increasing need of the specialised activities of trained women in the countries that will be under mandates in order to raise the general standards of living, to maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women, and children, and to carry forward those preventive and remedial measures in respect of health and morality which will have to be undertaken in the interest of the native populations." The Committee appeals to the Council in Paris to adopt the recommendation from the Assembly, contained in the report on mandates, to appoint "at least one woman member on the Commission."

Science to Aid the Unmarried Mother?

From the United States comes the interesting news that Dr. Albert Abrams, Professor of Pathology at the Stanford University, and Fellow of the Royal Medical Society, has invented a new machine, called the "oscilloscope," which determines whether a man is the father of a child he disclaims. We do not know what the scientific merits of the case may be, but it is obvious that such a discovery, if really practicable, would have far-reaching results upon the problem of the maintenance of illegitimate children. It has apparently been accepted without question in California, where the machine was recently used in the case of a man disclaiming a child, whose mother claimed alimony from him. The machine showed that the electronic vibrations of a drop of blood from the man and of one from the child were of the same rate, and synchronised. This, it was claimed, proved that the man was the father, and the judge decided that the evidence was sufficient and has ordered the man to pay alimony for the child's support. We shall await further information on this subject with interest.

The Right to Beat a Wife.

Is it possible that in the year of grace, 1921, a British magistrate could say the words attributed to Mr. Symmons of Clerkenwell, and yet not be overwhelmed and shamed by a tide of derisive laughter and indignation? Is Mr. Symmons some Rip Van Winkle who has just arisen after a sleep of 500 years? How is it, with his astounding lack of intelligence, that the poor man is obliged to fulfil such an exacting task as that of magistrate? The words in question are: "I have invariably found that where a man knocked his wife about, it was the wife's fault. A man is no longer a master in his own house. A woman promises to love, honour, and obey, but obedience cannot be enforced. Under the good old law a man could thrash his wife so long as the stick was no thicker than his thumb, but now the law is 'wobbly' and weak-kneed, and we have instead these miserable maintenance orders." When *did* Mr. Symmons fall asleep?

Miss Welsh.

Girton College, in the midst of its present anxieties, mourns the loss of one of its early leaders, Miss Elizabeth Welsh, who was its mistress from 1885 to 1903. She was a student of the College in its early days at Hitchin, and in 1875 passed (under the University's then semi-private conditions) the Classical Tripos. In the following year she became Resident Classical Lecturer at the College, retaining that post until 1884. From 1880 to 1885 she was vice-mistress, and in the latter year became head of the College on the retirement of Mrs. Latham, then Miss Bernard. She was a very kindly, cultivated woman, who, as revealed in a sonnet she once wrote on the College, longed with many of her fellow-students to

"break their thrall,
And stretching upward, strive to cast a free
Outlook upon the Universe of God."

She was fond of all natural beauties and did much to make of the copses and lawns of the College a bright oasis in the rather dusty tract of the Huntingdon Road. Latterly she had made her home in Edinburgh, and it was there (at 55, Morningside Park) that, on the 13th of February, she died.

Women Ministers.

As we go to Press the Bishops are discussing the Lambeth Conference resolutions and the question of women in the Church. We hope to deal with the subject fully next week.

IS THERE A WOMAN'S POINT OF VIEW?

Some weeks ago the *Daily News*, in the search for something topical, sent out a "Pilgrim" to enquire among those leading women whom he could catch whether there was a woman's point of view. The "Pilgrim" himself thought there must be, or at least ought to be; but the majority of the women he met did not seem to share his masculine point of view on that matter.

We imagine that our readers may differ upon this point (as they do on so many others), but we trust that we shall not alienate any if we express our own, which is, that in politics or life, morals, learning, or art there can be no such thing.

No sooner have we said this, however, than we must begin to qualify it. For, of course, there are subjects which concern women more than they concern men, and others to which women as a rule attach more importance than do men, and others still upon which they have more experience; and similarly, of course, taking things the other way round. This is probably true of morals, learning, and art, but we are here concerned with politics, and that part of life connected with them, and in this sphere it would be foolish to deny it. Who, looking at the relevant statistics, can deny, for example, that men are not more interested in Trade Unionism than women? Who can attempt to maintain that women do not feel more passionately upon child assault than men, or that they will not, when they realise their power, reform our legal practice concerning it? Who does not know that women are not as well informed on the Excess Profits Duty and its problems as their husbands, or that men are all at sea when it comes to the feeding of infants? To each of these cases there are plenty of exceptions, but the general assumption is undeniable, and the actual facts of the world bear it out. But this does not mean that there is or ought to be a purely male Trades Union movement, or purely female agitation against child assault, or a complacent ignorance among women of business and among men of infants. It simply means that sex generally leads to a certain amount of specialisation, which, when accomplished, has the same results as specialisation caused by any other agency. Motorists, for example, have a special interest in taxation by licences; bankers in the international credit system, and so on. But there is no motorist's point of view of the world at large; and, in our opinion, there is no woman's either.

And yet again we must hasten to qualify this sweeping statement, for badly put like that it is not wholly true. Women have a common measure of something—if only of a common experience—by which they do build up their scales of value, and their emphasis is not quite the same as the emphasis of men. We are convinced that it is not as much as a point of view, and yet there is something in it—or why should men object so bitterly to the presence of women in court? It is a slightly different scale of values, perhaps, or a different set of prejudices, or simply a different life.

In recent months a great deal has been thought about the woman voter, and the possibility of a General Election is spurring people on to action. It is a commonplace among politicians that the party which first learns how to attract the woman's vote will be in power for half a century—but no one yet knows how it is to be done. For our part we are inclined to believe that it cannot be done because the woman voter is infinitely various, and yet, of course, there is something in this notion, too. No problem which touches on political matters can be quite ruthlessly simplified, and the party which really treats women fairly may gain a great strategic success. It is impossible to ignore the fact that, the world still being what it is, there *actually are* such things as women's interests, and upon them there *actually is* a tendency for women to think one way and men another, and the party which throws in its lot with the women may—since it will have all the fair-minded men with it too—get a considerable start. This tendency does not alone constitute a party; but it does constitute a fact. There are things in our social system concerning which the immediate interests of men and women seem to be opposed, and upon these subjects there can actually be said to be a man's side of the case and a woman's, not in the sense that men do take one side and women the other (for we believe that all honest-minded men are on the woman's side), but in the sense that one is the side of the old male privilege and the other of the new female claim to

share it. In this limited meaning of the words the women's point of view must continue to exist until such time as a real state of equality between the sexes shall have been secured. In any other sense we think the phrase is dangerously vague and misleading, we wish we did not hear so much of it.

In the limited sense, however, the matter is of the utmost importance, and we wish we saw more progress than has recently been achieved. In some quarters the impatience with which we all await the reforms we desire has been translated into a criticism of the existing forms of organisation among women. It is argued that the women who are working for their equal position in the State are too scattered; that their efforts are not concentrated, and trail off to nothing; that they are not properly co-ordinated and that their strength is not brought to bear upon the Government in a form which is effective. There is much in this which is true.

Constructive criticism is a useful thing, and discontent may be divine. This paper is the last place in the world where any effort for the sharpening of our weapons will be disparaged. We need every ounce of strength we have, and we must concentrate and utilise it to the best advantage. If a hundred new societies for the objects of this paper were to come into existence tomorrow we should be unfeignedly glad. We can think of more than a hundred constituencies where they would be most welcome and of more than a hundred things they could do. But we confess that we are a little weary of co-ordinating efforts pure and simple. Work there is room for ever; propaganda, publicity, and political pressure, house-to-house canvassing, spade work; there can never be too much, and enough people can never be engaged in it. But central organisations without branches, co-ordinating agencies with nothing new to co-ordinate, and executive committees with nothing, so to speak, to execute make us feel a little sad. "We cannot do with more than four, to give a hand to each," and the co-ordinating field is so well filled that it is draining away all the workers. We know of an agency for co-ordinating co-ordinating agencies. It makes one's head whirl—and we hope the causes called the women's causes will not travel very much further along this confusing path.

These remarks are called forth by the two conferences summoned, the one by Lady Rhondda last week and the other by Lady Astor next week, upon the subject of the better application of women's efforts to their political aims. Lady Rhondda's meeting resulted in the formation of the Six Point Group, which adopted the six reforms submitted to it, and which will, we doubt not, do excellent publicity work to further them. Lady Astor's meeting is still to come; it offers no ready-made programme, but invites women's organisations of every kind to discuss how they can be more mutually helpful. We hope the outcome will be useful, and we trust that she will show us how we can actually force upon the notice of the Government the united strength behind our demands. For there is a united strength, and, we think, there is more co-operation than is always realised. You cannot co-operate when you do not agree; but one way and another the machinery for joint action among women's societies for women's interests is pretty complete. The Civil Servants, for example, are in almost daily touch with each other and with outside societies regarding their Equal Pay campaign; the agencies dealing with unmarried mothers are splendidly simplified; and, of course, the more general and slower-moving machinery of the National Council of Women is at the disposal of all women's societies. As regards the constructive policy for feminist reforms, we do not see what can be more comprehensive than the system now adopted by the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship. We publish this week the election addresses of the candidates for its Executive Committee, and we recommend them even more to the attention of those who do not yet belong to that body than to those who do. For those who do really want much the same things, surely the easiest course is to work within one democratic framework to secure them? The whole movement would then be automatically co-ordinated, and could easily make its full weight felt.

It may be a counsel of perfection to be content with making our existing forms work well instead of setting up new ones, but it seems a rather obvious course. We freely confess that there is no woman's point of view about this, but there is common sense.

NEWS FROM WESTMINSTER.

BY OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT.

The comments of the anti-Government Press on the Cardigan election are amusing. After gaily shouting that the Coalition were sure to be beaten, they have now turned round and say they always knew they would win. Which they never did; for neither they nor anybody else felt sure. As a matter of fact, the Coalition majority is much greater than was expected.

The House was engaged on the Address for the whole of last week. The atmosphere was more controversial than has been seen in this Parliament. Things opened quietly on Tuesday, February 15th, with the usual Debate. The speech of Mr. Davidson, the mover, was an unusually good one, containing some happy phrases. Mr. Asquith, in reply, was non-contentious, as is usual. And then Mr. Thomas raised the question of the shootings at Mallow. He and the Prime Minister had a rather disjointed discussion, for each was talking of different incidents on a different day. The upshot was that the Prime Minister promised an enquiry. This settled any possibility of a strike by Mr. Bromley's Union. Indeed, this strike was at no time taken seriously, and the threat was regarded as an internal quarrel between Mr. Thomas and himself.

On Wednesday and Thursday, Unemployment was debated with more loquacity than light. Probably the Prime Minister came best out of a debate in which no one distinguished himself. Mr. Clynes received a hearty greeting on his first appearance as leader of the Labour Party, and his speech had all the qualities of form which are expected from him. Its matter was more debatable, and he did not make a particularly good case. The most important incident was Mr. Macnamara's promise to introduce a Bill extending Unemployment Insurance. Late in the day, Mr. Hopkinson made one of his original speeches, in which he told the Government some home truths.

On Friday came an unsatisfactory discussion on the telephones. It ended in the Government promising to set up a Committee, which will probably have to sit for a year, during which time the public will have to pay the higher charges. The leaders of the attack accepted this rather dry bone, which came somewhat strangely after their brave words. The truth of the matter is that the House is in a real difficulty. It did not want to make the telephones a subsidised service, and, on the other hand, it did not want to pay the extra charges. Not being able to see its way out of this dilemma, it appointed a Committee to find one. Fortunately, the Committee have unlimited time, and is not one of the "get-wise-quick" order, of which we have seen too many lately.

Earlier in the day there was a discussion on reparations, on which Mr. Bottomley blandly suggested that he should be sent to collect the indemnity, being paid a commission on what he got. The Prime Minister made fun of his speech, and that of Colonel Lowther, and altogether he was effective. A noticeable point, by the way, in the debate on the Address has been the presence of the Prime Minister, for last week he spoke no less than four times.

The discussion is to be concluded on Monday, and then there will be Supplementary Estimates and other financial business until Easter, with Mr. Macnamara's Unemployment Insurance Bill sandwiched in between.

The vacancies in the Government have been filled up much as was anticipated. Lord Lee is possibly the best appointment to the Admiralty, if Sir Robert Home is not available. The fact that he is in the House of Lords necessitates someone being appointed to answer for naval matters in the Commons, since Sir James Craig has resigned. Most probably Colonel Leslie Wilson will be given the post, for his work at the Ministry of Shipping comes to an end shortly. He would be welcomed by the House, and will probably do well. The appointment of Sir L. Worthington-Evans as Secretary of State for War puts an end, it is hoped for all time, to the Ministry without Portfolio. The existence of a Minister with no work to do and drawing full salary has not been popular with the House. Sir Arthur Boscawen's elevation to the Ministry of Agriculture has been welcomed. It is not yet settled who is to be his Under-Secretary.

[The views expressed in this column are those of our Parliamentary correspondent, and are not our editorial opinion. Like so many other things in this paper they are expressly controversial, and comment upon them will be welcomed.—ED.]

NEWS FROM OTHER LANDS.

DR. KATHERINE MACPHAIL'S HOSPITAL FOR CHILDREN, BELGRADE.

Serbia is now merged in a wonderful new country—Jugo-Slavia—which comprises all the countries inhabited by the South Slavs, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro and Dalmatia (on the east coast of the Adriatic), Croatia and Slavonia, and some smaller districts north of the Danube opposite Belgrade and on the south towards Salonica. The Jugo-Slavs are one of the finest peoples in the world—a peasant people, clean in body and mind, pleasant and peaceable, but, when roused, as dour fighters as one could wish. Serbia has suffered in recent wars far more than any of the Allies. She has been swept bare from end to end, lost half her men with war, famine, and plague. In old Serbia alone there are at present 500,000 orphans.

Dr. Macphail went out with the Scottish Women's Hospital, but left it to attack a typhus epidemic in the Serbian Army, to which she was thereupon attached. She was struck down and almost died of this disease, but returned to her medical work with the Serbian Army. She is now devoting herself to the children of Jugo-Slavia. She has a temporary Children's Hospital in Belgrade, with a British staff and some Slav Sisters (sixty beds), and an out-patients' department; a summer pavilion at Topchider (thirty beds), in the Crown Prince's deer forest, a few miles to the South of Belgrade, and, meantime, the beautiful villa Brabacic near Ragusa, which is used as a Sanatorium.

A new permanent hospital, with 100 beds, is almost ready for occupation in Belgrade, and for this Dr. Macphail will have to pay £5,000 in April, when her lease is up. It is a most beautiful place, set between two small, conical, pine-topped hills in a sea of vineyards and olive groves above a little bay, in which the children were bathing and basking naked in the sun in November. It is approached by a mile of cypress avenues, has a terraced garden of two acres surrounded by great stone walls, thirty feet high, containing gigantic cypress and pines, oleander and arbutus, aloe and pomegranate, orange and lemon, vine and olive. Cyclamen and geraniums were blooming in November, while butterflies and great blue moths fluttered all around.

The children played on the great terraces; archways and steps lead one from marvel to marvel, great olive presses and vats for oil, terrace below terrace, one garden beyond another, cloistered courts, great stone hot houses, here a place for pigs with rows of styes, then cattle houses, hen houses, stables and outhouses. Here and there are draw wells with classic well heads and grotesque fountains. Outside, a great, steep, terraced sea of vines and olives, and beyond, the blue Adriatic with the island jewels of Dalmatia.

The great Magyar, Count Esterhazy, was a regular summer guest here in the old days, but it is now a perfect little paradise for orphaned children. Most of them suffer from tuberculosis, but the jolly kindness of Dr. Macphail's staff, and the beauty of the place seem to counteract the misery of their physical condition.

The Slavs do much to help Dr. Macphail, who is the most popular person in the country. The Government provides help with soldier servants; a local committee supply a great part of the food, and the Ministry of Child Welfare is sympathetic.

Dr. Macphail's objects are to perfect this, the first Children's Hospital in the country, to train Slav sisters, and to encourage the Slavs to start Children's Hospitals in all the great centres. The Southern Slavs have recovered wonderfully; there are great fields of maize, wheat, and other crops, and everybody is working. The only fuel is wood; one sees it being cut down in the mountain forests, floating down the great rivers, being drawn along hundreds of miles of road by ox waggons, piled up in stacks in every street, being sawn in blocks and chopped into sizes suitable for the inevitable stove. The Slavs are plentifully supplied with food now, but have little money to buy clothes and many necessities, which are very dear. They are far more in sympathy with the British than with any other people, but our Government does practically nothing to encourage international good will.

Let those who wish to bring happiness to these little children send their cheques to Dr. Katherine Macphail, Postfach 66, Belgrade, Serbia.

JAMES SALMON.

BURNING QUESTIONS.

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

EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK.

By MARY STOCKS, B.Sc.

THE CASE AGAINST THE "OCCUPATIONAL RATE" AND FOR THE "EQUAL VALUE RATE."

To many readers of THE WOMAN'S LEADER any proposal to allow, under the formula "equal pay for equal work," of a measured differentiation between the wages of men and women, seems to leave untouched many of the worst anomalies of the present system.

On paper, and in theory, the proposal is above reproach. Clearly, in many occupations and for many reasons, the working capacity of women is inferior to that of men. The most hardened anti-feminist would no doubt agree that there are a few jobs which women can do better than men. The most obstinate feminist must admit that there are a vastly greater number of jobs which men can do better than women. The causes of woman's inferiority as a wage-earner occur to us all without any very considerable mental effort. They include, of course, not merely those inferiorities inherent in the muscles and nerve-tissues of the worker herself, but also those less tangible external circumstances which make her less valuable than a man in the labour market, because she is more valuable than a man in the home. In so far as these inferiorities, taken together, can be valued in terms of money, clearly the deduction of such a sum from the woman's standard rate achieves—with academic precision—the principal of "equal work for equal pay." It is not the abstract justice of the proposal, but its practical possibilities that opponents of the scheme are disposed to challenge. For how much of this undoubted inferiority is, in fact, measurable? It is conceivable that, in a clearly defined job, any loss to the employer through the general physical inferiorities of his women workers, or through their inability to perform some part of the process usually performed by their male colleagues, might be correctly expressed in a differentiated time or piece rate. It is, however, inconceivable that such intangible disabilities as "marriage mortality," tendency to broken time, domestic responsibilities, or the desire of the foreman to engage somebody at whom he can swear freely, could be so measured. What body is capable of assessing to the nearest farthing per hour the average man's instinctive preference for working with members of his own sex? We do not, therefore, by permitting the valuation of such inferiority as can be valued, escape entirely from the danger which haunts the opponents of an invariable occupational rate for men and women alike. The woman, even though she be permitted to compete at a rate which makes allowance for much of her industrial inferiority, is still penalised as a competitor by non-allowance for such inferiority as eludes valuation. The scales are not, perhaps, weighted against her so heavily as would be the case under an invariable rate—but they are still weighted against her. Something has been gained in industrial security, as compared with the ruthless rigidity of the occupational rate—what has been lost in the process?

The answer is that a tremendous moral plea for the opening of many closed doors has been lost. Whatever may be said for its abstract justice, however carefully it may be guarded by insistence upon statistical proof, a differential rate as between men and women is not going to commend itself to organised male labour. It may be said, and with much truth, that such an attitude simply reflects the economic selfishness of shrewd men who are willing to offer women equal pay on the supposition that, in practice, they will never succeed in earning it. But there is this much justification for their selfishness. In the first place, there is no doubt whatever that they are haunted by a belief in the manoeuvring power of the employer, whose interest in screwing up the calculated differentiation will have behind it all the powers of tradition, prejudice, and public opinion—to say nothing of the acquiescence of the women concerned, in so far as these are unorganised. They are, in fine, afraid of the undue widening of that loophole which a differential rate provides. And once it is widened, of course, the old evil of under-

cutting is back where it was before. In the second place, even assuming that the loophole is not unduly widened, it is far from pleasant for a man to feel that somebody is doing his job less well than he could do it himself, for a lower wage, even though the wage is relatively no lower than the inferiority of the competing worker. To compete with a man by performing his work less efficiently for a correspondingly lower wage is undercutting in a sense, though not in the same sense as performing his work less efficiently for a more than correspondingly lower wage. To take an example:—The seller of handmade boots will resent the competition of inferior factory-made boots (even though the purchaser is getting no better value for his money) just as bitterly as he will resent the competition of equally good handmade boots at a lower price than his own. The answer is, in such a case, that the public has every right to purchase inferior boots at a lower price, if inferior boots are what it wants. Is it not equally true to say that the employer has every right to purchase inferior labour at a lower price, if inferior labour is what he wants? Nor must we forget that in speaking of labour we are speaking of conscious human beings. It is absurd to say that it is pleasanter for a piece of leather to be a factory-made boot than to be a first-rate pump washer—not so absurd to say that it is pleasanter for a woman to be an inferior tool-setter than to be a first-rate office cleaner. Nevertheless, in claiming her right to act as an inferior tool setter, she is running counter to something more than the immediate selfishness of the man who wishes to be quit of her altogether. She is running across that current of advanced Labour opinion which would have every job safeguarded in such a way as to ensure that the best quality work shall be given, and the best quantity wage received—she is, in fact, running counter to the ideal of the professional standard. It sounds, perhaps, absurd to apply the word "professional standard" to the multitude of industrial processes which form the arena for the battle of "equal pay." Nevertheless, to a number of thinkers, both within and without the ranks of Labour, this "professionalising" of industry by means (among other things) of a minute delimitation of jobs and an almost fanatical insistence on the standard rate, does appear to be the only line of progress through the ugly chaos of modern industrialism. So much for the reasons why a differential woman's rate does not and cannot commend itself to the great powers of the Labour world. Were it possible to recognise nothing but blank selfishness in such an attitude, we might feel justified in tilting against it, or, at least, in giving it no countenance. Nevertheless, to many of us there seems to appear, mixed with the prejudice, some element of high policy, far-sighted, and economically sound.

Assuming, then, that women must swallow the occupational rate, with all its danger, we find ourselves asking whether or not it brings with it any new power of meeting the danger. Let us assume that a number of women are going to be displaced from those occupations in which their inherent or social inferiority as wage-earners prevents them from competing on equal terms. Let us also assume, however, that there are, under existing conditions, a number of occupations, at present closed to women, in which they could compete perfectly well on equal terms. It is to the opening of such occupations that we must look, by way of escape from the danger of exclusion elsewhere. And it is because the present exclusion rests, to a large extent, upon the age-long fear of undercutting, that we may describe the policy of the occupational rate as a tremendous moral plea for the opening of many closed doors. In so doing we are invading the land of hypothesis—it is, however, no unlikely hypothesis that this fear of undercutting is in the nature of a "complex" whose removal from the sub-conscious mind of the industrial world will dispel a tangled network of prejudice and selfishness.

THE DIARY OF A WOMAN IN THE HOME.

16, Plane-Tree Road, G—
February 16th, 1921.

When I went to bed last night I found Bridget sleeping sweetly, with her head and face all muffled in rose-coloured chiffon, and a rainbow-hued, Roman silk scarf tied round her over her night-dress. Of course, I realised at once that she had gone to bed as a princess.

Until lately, Bridget has only occasionally and reluctantly taken part in the plays which Ellie is constantly inventing. She has greatly preferred more prosaic games, in which her large family of dolls and Teddy-bears are put to bed and got up, given meals, and taught lessons, and taken away to stay at the seaside for their holidays in a close reproduction of everyday life. The great game of "Going to Rose Cottage," originally invented by Ellie, and eagerly adopted by Bridget, soon became rather wearisome to its author. It entails an endless repetition of the process of packing-up, travelling in taxi's and trains and country carts made of chairs, arriving, having tea, putting the children to bed, taking them to paddle on the beach next morning, and so on and so on. The worst of it is that it never begins where it left off, the packing, and the start from Paddington, always have to be done over again. Ellie, when persuaded to take part, strives to enliven it by insisting that the children shall be taken down on to the beach by moonlight, and by giving them wonderful adventures with mermaids, instead of the orthodox bathe. But these reversals of custom rather spoil it for Bridget, who has, till lately, shunned all romance. In this last week, however, there have been indications that she is yielding to the romantic spirit, of which "going to bed as a princess" is the plainest sign. I have several times come in to find a play going on, and the other day Bridget informed me that she had "decided to like acting very much indeed now, because, you see, I am going to be always very unselfish." And if she began to "like acting" out of a genuine desire to please Ellie, who is always trying to please her, I think she is already getting to feel the glamour herself. Ellie cheerfully surrenders the part of Beautiful Princess to her, on condition of keeping those of Wicked King, Heroic Prince, and Wise Waiting-Maid. Bridget likes the Princess's costume, and is tolerably content with her destiny, except when the Wicked King becomes too wicked, and threatens to bind her in his Deepest Dungeon. On those occasions no knowledge that the Tyrant is really only Ellie (and the Heroic Prince and the Wise Waiting-Maid) disguised in a different hat, and with a beard made out of one of her own brown, woollen gloves—no hasty, agonised, whispered assurances from the terrifying monster that he is not really going to bind her, and that the Dungeon is not really a Dungeon, only a "rather nice room, made out of chairs, and with only one rat in it, and that won't stay there"—can always succeed in holding back her too real tears, or preventing her from seeking a refuge in the laps of the audience. At bed-time, when the Wicked King has been finally vanquished and the Dungeon dissolved into its component parts, when the one rat who would not stay in it is once more the adored kitten, and Ellie is really Ellie, the Princess loves to resume her veil and crown, to drape her dressing-gown round her as a cloak, and to go to bed in full state.

I wondered, last night, what effect the rose-coloured veil would have on Bridget's dreams. Presumably it was a happy one, for I was not, as too frequently happens, summoned from the drawing-room by cries of distress.

I have just been reading Mrs. H. O. Arnold-Forster's delightful "Studies in Dreams." The author believes that dreams can be controlled, that the evil phantoms of the night can be banished, and dreamland made a region of refreshment and undisturbed delight. She says she has succeeded in doing this in her own case, and that, not only can she drive away, at once, suggestions of terror, or sorrow, or anger that occur during sleep, but can summon, almost at will, dreams of flying and other pleasant occupations remote from her waking experience. She admits that the perfection is the result of long practice, but thinks that every normal person might attain some measure of control.

If she is right, dream-control might, perhaps, become an established part of early education and much childish misery might be averted. But what have the psycho-analysts to say to her book? She is a brave woman to write it in face of their theories about the interpretation of dreams. Dreams, according to the Freudian theory are the direct manifestation of that hidden self in which we have put away, as in a secret cupboard, all that part of our soul which we are ashamed to admit into our conscious life. In dreams, the cupboard door is opened and all our brood of lusts spring out. But not always in their true form. It is not only when we dream of the death of those who obstruct us, or the love of those we desire, that our "Unconscious" is revealing itself. Dreams are not always what they appear—especially if they appear innocent. To explain the significance of what seem harmless, and often meaningless, fancies of the night, a system of symbolism has built up as elaborate, as simple, and as grotesque, in parts, as the symbolism of the thirteenth century mystics. By the use of this system, our most ordinary or our most delightful dreams may be interpreted in such a way as to make us curse the hour in which we dreamed them. But I do not know, and tremble to think, what explanation the psycho-analyst would give of our *not* dreaming! No doubt that has the darkest significance of all.

The very publication of such a book as Mrs. Arnold-Forster's at this time seems something like a defiance to the dominant school of psychological thought; but she is not at all defiant in her attitude. She treats the psycho-analysts with respect, and admits the value of many of their inquiries. Every candid person will do so. I have rather caricatured the theory of repressions, at any rate, in its relation to dreams. One is tempted to do it because the psycho-analysts (like other new thinkers) are apt to caricature themselves; but I have no doubt that the discovery is epoch-making both for physicians and educationalists. It is so recent, however, and has been set forth in such exaggerated forms, and mixed up with so much that, to the ordinary person, bears a suspicion of charlatanism, that it is still difficult to know what is its bearing on one's own immediate practical problems. That it does bear on them very directly I have no manner of doubt, but, so far, it seems only to upset, or, at any rate, shake, the theories on which one would have acted, without giving one anything very definite in their place. I still feel quite as certain that some repressions are necessary as I am convinced that others are harmful. I still believe that self-control is the greatest thing that can be learnt, or taught, and that it should extend, not only over the whole field of behaviour, but over all the realms of mind. But it does seem to be demonstrated that this self-control must be built on greater self-knowledge and more inward truth than we have sought for in the past. How is this to be attained, and what is the function of the educator? It is an immense—it almost seems a boundless problem—and in the meantime, whenever we stop a child from doing anything harmful, or tiresome, or from saying anything unkind, or silly, we may be creating an injurious repression. It is a paralysing thought! It does not do to dwell on it too continuously. As with many other scientific discoveries, it will not be till several generations have thought about it that we shall be fully conscious of the bearing of psycho-analytic theories on our human needs.

Meanwhile, our individual problems are, no doubt, decided by whole minds, conscious and unconscious, and anyway they have to be settled at once. I wondered whether I would try to teach Bridget Mrs. Arnold-Forster's method of controlling dreams, and then when she seemed to be dreading them I made up my mind and began at once. She did not cry last night, but that may have been for purely physical reasons, or because of the rose-coloured veil; and if, in the future, the dream-dispelling formula does help her, it may also do harm. From the psycho-analyst point of view I should imagine that checking bad dreams would be a kind of sitting on the safety-valve. I suppose I have not really accepted the psycho-analytic theory with my whole mind, because, although I have said all this to myself, I don't really doubt for a moment that I shall do my very utmost to banish the nightmares from Bridget's dear head.

MARGARET CLARE.

THE RESCUE AND PREVENTIVE WORK OF THE Y.W.C.A.

By E. D. SMITHETT.

There is a branch of work among girls undertaken by the Association which is little known, but which meets a great need—the Rescue and Preventive Hostels. Their story, however, is a sad one, as, instead of gradual extension, it tells of reduction. In March, 1920, the Association controlled three hostels, a large club, and a laundry and workrooms, but now, at the start of 1921, only two hostels remain. All the rest have had to go, owing to the enormous debt with which the Y.W.C.A. has been struggling, and which necessitated drastic cutting-down in every direction. This debt, the result of war work, is nearly paid off, but the financial horizon is even now by no means clear, and, at present, there is no settled income with which to carry on.

Our system is somewhat different from that generally adopted, as we have few restrictions, and the girls are free to leave at any time. They rarely run away, however, or, if they do, often ask to be taken back. The main idea is to so build up the character of the girl that she becomes a responsible being, able to stand on her own feet, and not to give her an artificial support, which, when removed, only results in a more definite down-grade than before. Whenever possible, outside employment is found for the girl, from which she returns to the hostel at night, and is, therefore, kept under supervision until she is fit to look after herself.

At the Warwick Square Hostel, we have a Superintendent and Matron in charge of twenty-four girls. They include clerks, typists, waitresses, servants, and workroom hands, and, in spite of the difficulties of employment in the present day, we are fairly fortunate in placing them. All domestic work in the hostels is, of course, undertaken by the girls, and this gives an opportunity for training when they first come and must necessarily be under close supervision for a time.

The Maternity Home at Highbury is superintended by a Matron and Nurse, both with the C.M.B., and here twenty-one girls can be accommodated. The Ministry of Health regularly inspect the Home, and give us a small annual grant. The girls come to us six or eight weeks before the child is born, in order to ensure adequate rest and nourishment at this critical time, and return afterwards with the child until both are fit to be placed out. By this means we not only look after the mother, but are enabled to start the child in healthy surroundings, and in practically every case the babies are breast-fed. Whenever practicable mother and child are placed together, but this is, of course, a difficult matter, and when it cannot be arranged the baby is sent to a foster-mother and the mother to service as near the child as possible, on the understanding that she pays for its keep, and visits it regularly. We entirely disapprove of adoption, and only allow it in very exceptional cases, the main idea throughout being to insist on the mother's responsibility and to keep her in close touch with the child. In every instance where there is sufficient proof, the case against the putative father is taken into Court, and maintenance secured.

Applications at both hostels are refused daily, and we could easily double our numbers if we had the accommodation and could extend the work. The house adjoining the Maternity Home is now on the market, and we have an excellent opportunity of buying both properties, but we cannot even put up the few hundreds necessary for this purchase.

When a girl is in receipt of wages, a portion is deducted towards her board, but, at the present time, with the existing high prices of food, and the constant increase in rates, this does not go far towards running expenses, and many girls, especially preventive cases, never pay at all, and have to be clothed as well. If, however, we are to fulfil our obligations, these children (for they are little more) cannot, and must not, be refused admittance.

Your readers may be interested in a few particulars of one or two cases which have recently come to us, though the number

could be multiplied indefinitely. A girl arrived one day, pregnant, and in a state of abject terror. She had been seduced by a Chinaman who ran an opium den in Limehouse. He was in gaol, and she could get nothing out of him. We took her in, and the Superintendent twice visited the Chinaman in prison, but could get no satisfaction, as he pretended not to understand English. At last he returned to the opium den, awaiting deportation, and the Superintendent then took the girl and, with a detective from Scotland Yard, penetrated the innermost recesses of Chinatown. They were there confronted with ten Chinamen, and, after much wrangling, the Superintendent extorted £30, which was made up by notes from each man! When the girl realised that she had been exploited by a syndicate, she was so utterly humiliated that she has been a reformed character ever since.

A second case was a preventive—a child of fifteen who had run away from home, and was brought to us by a professional prostitute, in one of those curious fits of reparation and remorse which sometimes attack them. The child was thoroughly tire-some and self-willed, but stayed for some time, working well in the hostel, and then ran away. We, of course, notified the police, but heard nothing of her for weeks, until one day the Superintendent was sent for to the Police Station to identify her. She was nearly starving and in rags, very dirty and miserable, with only one idea—to return to the hostel as quickly as possible. She again did so well with us that, after some considerable time, we sent her to be trained as a children's nurse at a crèche, but, although she did her work satisfactorily, she used such bad language that the Matron was regretfully forced to ask us to remove her, and once again she returned. She is now employed as a waitress at a restaurant, and lives at the hostel, which plan, so far, is working well. The child has up to now, of course, never paid us a penny, and has had two outfits of clothes. She is, however, a most interesting child, very intelligent, and we by no means despair of making her a decent member of the community in time.

A third case is a very sad one, and, at present, most unsatisfactory; but we are all optimists in this work, and never give up hope. The girl is a professional prostitute, whose life was ruined by being sent to prison when hardly more than a child for petty theft. She came out a hardened sinner, with her hand against every man, and went steadily downhill. She has been with us several times now, and we try our hardest to make her work, but she simply won't take a job, and, after a few weeks, goes off again to live in a room, returning to her street life. The battle between good and evil in her mind is extraordinary, and all we can do is to take her in when she will come and try to influence her. She is perfectly frank about it all, and, at times, hates the life from the bottom of her heart, but dislikes work even more, and, so far, prefers to make money by other means. Such are the types with which we deal, and they give some idea of the variety of the work, and of the necessity for individual treatment in every case. Surely the women of England, from out their sheltered home life, will stretch forth hands of pity to these waifs of humanity, who are often more sinned against than sinning. At the present time, unless help is forthcoming, many an outcast must be left to a life of misery, possibly of crime, and never has the need for our work been greater than in this year of 1921. There are people who hold up hands of holy horror at the very word immorality, and who cannot understand the numbers who need our care. Would they lead straight, pure lives if they were brought up in a tenement building, sleeping four and five in a room, both sexes together, their only playground the gutter, or worse still, the common staircase? Unless they can answer that question in the affirmative, surely they will help us now.

AT THE PICTURES.

By ROSE MACAULAY.

There is one quality which is shared by all persons in film dramas. They may be virtuous or wicked, young or old, heroic or mean, American or even occasionally European; but, one and all, they are lunatics. Not merely fools, like people in novels, but maniacal. They consistently do and say the things most unlikely to occur to any persons in possession of their senses, most certain to prejudice their cause, alienate their friends, jeopardise their reputations or their lives. It is as if, compelled by an irresistible urge, they could no more help it than they can help the strange wind which always plays about their garments. Whenever I see this wind I think of *Gastibelza* and his guitar—

"Le vent qui vient d'à travers les montagnes
Me rendra fou."

Unfortunate, possessed beings! Their very faces, the wild stare of their strange eyes, the curious costumes they are attired in (furs in midsummer, cotton in midwinter, lace everywhere) betray them. The ladies are veritable Ophelias. Miss Dolores Cassinelli, for instance, may in ordinary life be a perfectly sane and normal person—she is certainly a rather beautiful one—but in "The Right to Lie" she has, in appearance, manner, and, above all, behaviour, every symptom of having recently escaped from Colney Hatch, as does everyone in the piece. Her own mania is obviously hereditary. She (Carlotta) is the child of her father by an early marriage with a prima donna, but she does not know it. On the death of her mother this elderly parent (who has many years since bigamously married again, and does not like to inform his present wife, a middle-aged and respectable person, of her position in the eyes of the law) sends for his daughter and adopts her, giving out that she is his ward. They develop a deep affection for each other, and are perpetually to be found in one another's arms. Psycho-analysts would call it an Oedipus complex; his wife and friends, in their ignorance of the facts, call it an amorous intrigue. Detectives are employed, who get a good snap-shot of the two of them embracing on a sofa. The father dies; time passes; Carlotta, who has "talent almost amounting to genius" on the piano (she plays several of her pieces in our hearing) becomes a famous musician, and marries. Then the villain of the piece turns up—Crosby Dana, a dissolute young man who "lives on the weakness of the opposite sex," and who has in his possession the negative of that fatal photograph. He blackmails her with it, threatening to show it to her husband. Carlotta, instead of saying "By all means," and taking it to her husband herself, with "Isn't this a nice photo of me and my dear old guardian together?" as anyone not on the films would do, consents to be blackmailed, and meets Dana at dead of night to buy the photograph off him. He embraces her; the husband enters and shoots him dead. For this he is arrested and tried. Carlotta is told by his lawyer that he will be found not guilty if his crime can be proved justifiable. Whereupon, instead of stating the truth, that Dana had attacked her and was insulting her, she says that she was guilty of an intrigue with him, and not only with him but with her poor old guardian long ago, whom she quite superfluously drags into her tale. The husband is acquitted, on account of the unwritten law, and Carlotta, naturally fearing to meet him again, takes a ticket by the next boat to Europe. However, the lawyer tells the husband all (including her true relationship to her guardian) and they are reconciled. It is a bad look out for their future, but presumably the two poor unhinged minds understand each other. They act their parts very well; they have the correct maniacal distortion of feature, glare of eye, and curious, startled gestures. After them, the rest of the Stoll performance was comparatively tame; pictures of foreign towns, and a romance called "The Lure of Crooning Water," also concerned with mental cases, but quieter ones. The Stoll is a fine, spacious, and pleasant asylum, and an afternoon or evening there is always well-spent. It is curiously flat to return to the world again, and move among the dull and sane, who, however strange their actions may be, at least have as a rule recognisable motives for them.

DRAMA.

"Hanky Panky John" at the Playhouse.

A farce by a clever writer, such as Mr. Hastings, is always worth seeing for those who are interested in the construction of plays, for in farce, as in melodrama, technique is at its most naked. Ludicrous situations must be contrived, and these generally arise out of a complicated plot; sometimes they arise out of the characterisation, and then such farces approximate to comedies. In the plot type of farce, one of the main difficulties is to sustain the interest of the audience while the puppets are being wound up for action. This difficulty is adroitly met by Mr. Hastings in "Hanky Panky John" by having a minor mystery interest, which keeps us occupied until events are worked up to a sufficient complexity to provide the farcical situations.

It is profitless and far from entertaining to tell the plot of a farce; it is enough to say that Mr. Hastings' device for fun places a group of highly respectable people under the suspicion of the audience, that one of them has stolen a hundred pound note; these respectable characters themselves are practically certain that among them is the thief. There are good enough reasons for a *prima facie* case against most of them, as they are generally impecunious—with pressing demands on empty pockets. The fun is got out of the variety of behaviour under the cloud of suspicion; there is quite a display of brotherly love in the shouldering of the blame by the obviously innocent. The final solution reveals the mystery which has baffled the characters, but which has been half disclosed to the audience.

There is practically no attempt at characterisation—which is a pity; because the theme, treated a little more seriously, would make an interesting play. The first act serves for the bringing on of the persons in the play, and the hundred pound note is taken by a hand which is seen but not identified. The curtain to this act is the self-accusation of an obviously innocent person, which is greeted with incredulous laughter from Hanky Panky John who knows the real truth. This was not effective; I think that two obvious innocents should have confessed together. The second act is amusing—the scene being in the bedroom of the self-accused, who is not a young woman as in the generality of bedroom scenes, but an old gentleman. The room gradually becomes more and more crowded; Hobbs, the manservant, brings more and more chairs; at the curtain he is staggering in with a settee. The last act is not so funny as a whole, but it has the most comic moment of the play—when they purposely reconstruct the events of the first act, only to find that another hundred pound note disappears.

Mr. Hastings has done his work skillfully; he has seasoned it with more wit than one has a right to expect in a farce, so I forgive his telling a story which I heard as soon as I came to be of riper years. (It is quite time that someone compiled a White, Pink, and Blue story book; but that by the way.) He also knows the farcical value of repetition; it's the only way to rub in the joke. Repeat a situation often enough, and by mere accumulation it becomes funny in the end. You see the same idea in the older type of films, in which an ever increasing crowd joins in the chase of some fugitive. "Hanky Panky John" has a modern touch as well; that is to say, the word "psychology" is said several times; indeed, the mystery is a psychological experiment, but Mr. Hastings is not very explicit on the scientific side. It has also a moral—but no, that sounds unkind about a farce, so I substitute, that it makes clear that the author has a charitable outlook towards his fellow creatures—which is unexceptionable.

"Hanky Panky John" is produced by Mr. Hawtrey, and the result is that there are many deft touches of stagecraft. A quality of neatness always strikes me as characteristic of Mr. Hawtrey's work as producer; you will see it in the arrangement of the final curtain, when all the characters are drawn up in line and turn round to read the lesson of brotherly love which is written on a blackboard behind them. The acting does not call for any particular criticism. It is Mr. Stanley Logan's first venture in management, and I wish him good fortune; his part, John, did not call upon his powers. My chief pleasure was in the quiet, restrained, and humorous playing of Mr. Fred Knight as the servant Hobbs.

R. A. A.

REVIEWS.

Things that have Interested Me. By Arnold Bennett. (Chatto & Windus. 9s.)

Mr. Arnold Bennett's new volume, "Things that have Interested Me," must not be confused, he tells us, with two other volumes which have been privately printed and which are entitled, respectively, "Things that Interested Me," and "Things which have Interested Me," for neither of them contains anything which is included in the present work. There still remains to be written the volume entitled "Things which Interested Me," and we suppose that Mr. Bennett's extraordinary fertility will shortly give us four more volumes with four more titles achieved simply by adding the word "The" to the previous ones, as, for instance, "The Things that have," &c., "The Things which have," &c., &c. These eight might successfully be followed by eight more, into whose titles the word "not" might be artfully insinuated—"Things that have not," &c., "Things which have not," &c., "The Things which have not," &c., &c. Our brain reels.

We admit that it shows excessive naïveté to go on being irritated by Mr. Bennett's unspeakable impertinence. There are, of course, endless numbers of journalists who turn out as easily as he page after page of stuff as flat, as washy, as badly written as this, but few are tempted by a sheep-like public to reprint their potboilers, and if the public is so silly, we cannot, perhaps, blame Mr. Bennett for taking advantage of its silliness. But what vexes our simplicity are his airs of superiority, his giving us to understand that he, at any rate, is an artist, that his skill is so perfect, his mastery of his *métier* so complete, his brain so powerful, his "attitude to life" so original, his view of affairs so illuminating that any balderdash he chooses to toss on to paper with the minimum of thought and labour and care is not only interesting to him—or to his pocket—but actually interesting in itself. "It seems seldom to occur to biographers," writes Mr. Bennett, with his jovial condescension, "that in the first place a biographer should know how to write . . ." but it seems not to have occurred to *him* that, in the first place, an essayist should know how to write. Again, "Few authors seem to realise that the first business of an author is to write, and that, if an author cannot write, whatever his other qualifications may be, he has no excuse for producing a book." We wonder what excuse Mr. Bennett has for producing this book. And when Mr. Bennett lectures us on the way we ought to read, it would be exasperating if it weren't so ridiculous. He complains that we sit down to read as "though we were sitting down to a ham sandwich." (Alas! if there were anything as nutritious in "Things that," &c., how grateful we should be!) "No sense of personal inferiority in us! No mood of resolve! No tuning up of the intellectual apparatus! It is impossible to read properly without all one's engine-power. If we are not tired after reading, commonsense is not in us. How should one grapple with a superior and not be out of breath?" So we grapple and breathlessly ask, "What about *writing*? Does one need all one's engine-power for that?" We shouldn't have thought it, but Mr. Bennett gives us a whole essay about how tired and hungry he gets after his immense mental exertions, and how his "continuous and severe cerebration" "destroys his tissues."

But our annoyance over this trivial book is exaggerated; we admit that in reality it has its cause elsewhere. It comes from disappointment and bitter regret. Twenty years ago we remember Mr. Arnold Bennett, the young author of "Anna of the Five Towns." That success and inherent weakness should have brought him to such shipwreck is one of the lamentable things of our experience.

D. B.

Studies in Dreams. By Mrs. H. O. Arnold-Forster. (Allen & Unwin. 8s. 6d.)

Mrs. Arnold-Forster's "Studies in Dreams" is put forward very modestly as the contribution of the "unlearned but faithful recorder of personal experience" to a scientific psychology of the future. This small claim is fully justified; the notes on dreams are written in language of admirable precision; the observer trained herself in dream memory, and recorded the majority of the dreams here mentioned immediately on waking, having noticed that by the morning the memories had faded and become incomplete. She made simple but suggestive experi-

ments in the influence on dreams of simultaneous sense impressions, of waking experience, of waking resolutions inhibiting special dreams. The result is not only shown in the illumination of the small field of research undertaken by Mrs. Arnold-Forster. By contrast, it throws light on the true value of the very large claims made by psycho-analysts of the Freudian school. An accurate record of the dream experience of even one normal, educated person, is enough to invalidate the contention that the dreams of neurasthenics and of the insane are a trustworthy basis for deductions as to the dreams of normal children, adults, and adolescents. The reader who follows what Mrs. Arnold-Forster has to say about the difficulties of first recollecting and, secondly, describing dreams, cannot but look with mistrust upon records made hours or days after the experience by a scientific man relying upon the information of a neurasthenic whose memory and powers of accurate narrative he would ridicule if the subject matter of the tale were the ordinary happenings of everyday life. Again, the author's success in directing the course of pleasant dreams, and stopping or averting fear or anger dreams indicates if it does not prove that the will is not powerless during sleep. If this is true, a very important prop of the Freudian system falls to the ground.

This small volume is happily written in language which is understandable by the general reader, and unencumbered by the preposterous vocabulary that veils the merits and defects of the Freudian theory as it is presented to English-speaking readers. A scientific theory must be handicapped by intermediaries who translate it out of German and not quite into English-as-it-is-written-by-the-American-highbrow. But this jargon attracts the half-educated, and enthusiasts are unwilling to discard it. Mrs. Arnold-Forster has shown that the psychology of dreams can be discussed in clear and simple language; her book is a challenge to Freudian enthusiasts to do the same for the hypothesis named after their master, and when the gage is accepted and thought is clarified by precise language, the world will, for the first time, be in a position to judge of the merits of psycho-analysis. If the final result should be the recognition of the concealed wish as any one of the controlling forces of dream activity, and of research among the mentally unbalanced as one among many avenues of progress in psychology, a cloud of apprehension will be lifted from the outlook of the civilised world, and without refusing to accept an hypothesis because it is unpleasant and alarming adherents of the older psychology may point out that the fact that a theory of mental action is revolting, does not absolve its sponsors from stating it precisely and from examining facts apparently at variance with it.

One observation, trifling in appearance, is here recorded as to the relation between dreams and sense impressions, which goes to limit the validity of several theories of dream causation much older than Freud's. Mrs. Arnold-Forster noticed that in the borderland state between sleeping and waking, the subject's sensitiveness to light, taste, and perfume was greatly enhanced, but that once the border line of sleep had been crossed no influence from such sources could be traced, though they were still constant. The observations on divided personality in dreams are of much interest to psychologists.

To anyone who wishes to make a like contribution to the storehouse of facts from which supporters of each and all the psychological theories must forge their weapons, the present volume affords an excellent working example. The counsel that the attempt to remember an imperfectly recollected dream should begin at the end and work backwards is probably true for all enquirers, but the dissolvent effect of putting dream-recollections into words before they have been completely recaptured is very likely peculiar to persons whose memory is predominantly visual. It may well be that other adventurers may find the land of dreams less pleasant than the author of this book; nevertheless, what they bring back from it will help on the progress of that science of the human mind which has come late into the field of knowledge, and which holds such vast possibilities for the world of sentient beings, animal as well as human, and even, some may think, of personalities now disembodied. To know how the mind works is of all forms of knowledge the most important, the most enthralling. It is almost the only one for which every individual interested has the possibility of research, and may materially assist experts in testing the results of experiments.

E. M. G.

CORRESPONDENCE AND REPORTS.

ENGLAND'S TRAGEDY.

MADAM,—While desiring to thank you for several particularly helpful articles in recent issues of THE WOMAN'S LEADER, I would make special mention of that entitled "England's Tragedy."

If government under the Union means failure to secure the most ordinary justice, it becomes impossible to ask Irishmen or Irishwomen to continue to support that Union, however strongly English people may wish to support it for their own protection.

GERTRUDE M. JOHNSON.

MADAM,—We plead for unity and sympathy in the present times, and not for destructive criticism.

To repress crime and not to condone it is the proper work of the Government, and should the sites of public or private buildings which have been used as rebel strongholds be destroyed, it is wrong to blame.

As women citizens, we are interested chiefly in good works for all people, and, therefore, praise a Premier who has so well helped humanity and women's welfare.

A. MACCONNELL.

THE MEANING OF ZIONISM.

MADAM,—The article on "The Meaning of Zionism," which appeared in your issue of February 11th, will have aroused the deepest sympathy in the hearts of your readers, and I think many of them will feel gratified to know that women have played, and still continue to play, a not inconsiderable part in the development of the country which is once again to become the homeland of the Jewish people.

The sturdy groups of colonists who have grown up in the Holy Land can testify to the heroism of those wives and mothers who, for the last forty years, have sacrificed everything in order to face the untold hardships which confront all pioneers in an undeveloped country. Few of the early settlers are left, but the spirit of self-devotion continues to manifest itself in the present generation; from every land where Jews are congregated educated girls are getting forth, prepared to abandon promising careers in order to do any sort of work which may be required in Palestine; such girls are content to be employed in gathering stones, in road-making, in farm work, in any task which may be necessary.

Whilst thousands of willing pioneers are thus toiling to render the country habitable for those who shall come after them, the Jewesses, who must remain in the lands of their adoption, are also devoting themselves to the work of reconstruction. The medical unit which achieved such splendid work in Palestine was entirely organised and equipped by American Jewesses; the women Zionists of the United Kingdom are also undertaking important work on behalf of the colonists, and help is forthcoming from many European countries. Recently an International Federation of Women Zionists was founded, with offices in London and Jerusalem, in order to co-ordinate all such activities.

L. HANDS.

RAW MATERIAL FOR EDUCATION.

MADAM,—Do not mind the varied advices thrust upon you from every side, but pursue the even tenor of your way, which, although it be not always my way, is a way of wisdom and light. My *Te Deum* is that you have not added church work to the table of your contents.

Hitherto I have had peace in reading my LEADER, but who can calculate the brood of evils let loose on us if that bristling subject be admitted! Truly in such a case you might "cry havoc and let slip the dogs of war."

I thank you for the pleasure of the article signed "L. H. Yates," on the Raw Material for Education. In it is the gist of all women's work: get at the child early enough and something can be done for education. This article is splendid: it cannot be studied too well nor acted upon too quickly. As a mother I know from experience how true its statements are, and further, from experience with adopted children. I wish those readers who are offended with some needful sidelights on the seamy side of life would *think* a little before writing to blame you, and perhaps their blame might turn to praise. To face "disgusting" things is sometimes needful, especially if we are to progress on the road to "sweetness and light" which we all seek.

Because your sentiments do not always agree with mine is no just cause why I should abuse THE WOMAN'S LEADER, or threaten to stop my subscription to it.

LEX.

DIVORCE AND REMARRIAGE.

MADAM,—With reference to the article under "Burning Questions," of February 4th, may I point out that—

(1) Divorce and remarriage of divorced persons is no new or "advanced" idea. All civilised and barbarous nations at the time of Our Lord recognised many reasons for divorce owing to human weakness.

(2) The Church, on the other hand, in opposition to peoples and governments, has always held that consummated Christian marriage is indissoluble except by death of one of the parties, and no single instance in history can be found where she has so much as entertained any question that involved dissolution. This teaching is based on texts in the New Testament, Matt. XIX. 9, V. 32, Mark X. 11, 12, contexts. If one accept Christian morality at all one cannot ignore these. As countries became converted to Christian faith, they adopted Christian standards of morality and framed civil laws in accordance with this. Some governments have reverted to old pagan standards and allow dissolution of marriage in civil courts, Scotland, France, &c.

(3) The dissolution of a marriage by a civil court in no way makes the remarriage of either party moral from the Christian point of view. It merely makes adultery socially respectable and in no way makes for morality. It is a return to the old pagan standards.

A. J. MUSSON.

WOMEN TEACHERS' PROTEST.

The National Union of Women Teachers held a meeting in the Memorial Hall recently to protest against economy in education.

Miss A. C. Hewitt, President of the Union, who presided, said that teachers knew better than anyone else the possibilities of the children and their growing appreciation of an extended school course. Boys and girls had never been more anxious than now to take their places in the secondary schools.

A resolution was moved expressing apprehension at the delay of the Education Act, 1918, which was only "a meagre beginning towards cancelling a huge debt to the generation of children and young people who had suffered from the curtailment of educational facilities during the years of war and since."

Miss Phipps, moving the resolution, said that before the war 10 per cent. of the national income was spent on education, and now only 5 per cent. was so allotted. Last year the amount per head of the population spent on education was only £1 5s. The "alarming increase" estimated for this year was only £2 15s., but last year over £11 per head was spent on liquor, £5 on tobacco, and £5 10s. on pleasure motoring.

It was often thought that the education grant provided only for working-class children, but it was also applied to secondary education. A good part was spent on University education, museums, art galleries, and scientific research. Out of 1,194 secondary schools, over 1,000 received subsidies.

THE STATUS OF THE ILLEGITIMATE CHILD.

The Secretary for Scotland (Mr. Munro) received the other day, at Parliament Square, Edinburgh, a deputation from "the Watching Committee on the Status of the Illegitimate Child."

This Committee was set up in Glasgow as the result of a Conference held there in September last. The recommendations of the Committee put before Mr. Munro were:—

1. Having regard to the Law of Scotland, which provides that the father and mother are equally responsible for the maintenance of an illegitimate child, the minimum amount to be paid by the father shall be adequate for his share of its support, and shall be subject to revision from time to time.

2. Alimony should, in all cases, be payable until two years after the expiry of school age, or during incapacity.

3. The present right of the father to claim custody of the child at the age of seven or ten years shall cease.

4. The custody of the child should be decided by the Court, having regard to the best interests of the child.

5. Where a decree is granted against a father for alimony, the Court should order the amount to be paid to the Inspector of Poor, and the Inspector of Poor should have power to raise actions for alimony, both future as well as past due, proceedings to be competent, notwithstanding the death of the mother.

Mr. Munro was urged to introduce a Bill for Scotland on the above lines. In reply, he stated that he quite agreed that the law was by no means perfect with regard to the Status of the Illegitimate Child, but the Deputation must remember that they are not dealing with purely Scottish topics, they were dealing with United Kingdom topics. He would undertake to see the Home Secretary and confer with him, being convinced of the desirability of amending the law in certain directions, and, if possible, in conjunction with the Home Secretary, he would hope to set up a Committee to consider the matter.

OURSELVES.

It is hateful to go on begging for money, especially during an economy period; but there is one advantage about it, and that is that it makes us doubly grateful to those who do manage to help us. We publish this week a further list of direct contributions and new shareholders, and we wish particularly to call attention to the generosity of the Bradford W.C.A. in helping us. Societies, as well as individuals (and newspapers), are hard put to it for money to-day, but groups of people who care about the things we work for can sometimes make circulation or money-raising efforts for us, and when they do we feel doubly encouraged. Several London newspapers, dailies and weeklies both, have been expiring and amalgamating in the last month. We have a task to do, and must not expire. But we are growing thin, and when we see our contemporaries giving up the struggle we feel more anxious than ever—and could do with a lot of encouragement.

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NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

THE FOLLOWING "ELECTION ADDRESSES" ARE PRESENTED BY CANDIDATES NOMINATED FOR THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE N.U.S.E.C.*

While thanking the Union for the honour done me in nominating me unopposed as President, I wish to make it clear that I can only accept office on the understanding that I shall exercise freely, though with great discretion, the right which, under the Union's constitution, belongs to its officers and committee of advocating their individual views even where these conflict with the Union's policy, provided, of course, that they strictly avoid committing the Union.

Regarding the chief controversial questions on the agenda, I am, as the Union knows, a strong advocate of National Family Endowment, which I believe to be the greatest social reform now before the country. I also warmly support "Equal Pay for Equal Work," but I believe that the occupational rate is a false interpretation of this principle, and that its rigid enforcement would lead, in effect, to the exclusion of women from most skilled industries where men work.

If there are societies who hold that the President of the Union should not be one who holds these views I suggest that their proper course is to move at the Council to suspend rule VII., in order that fresh nominations for the office of President may be received.

(Signed) ELEANOR F. RATHBONE.

Before presenting this statement I beg to thank the Union for nominating me unopposed as Honorary Secretary. I consider that there should still be in every important centre an active society or group standing solely for a real equality of liberties, status and opportunities between men and women, though I strongly favour close co-operation with other organisations working for wider aspects of citizenship. I advocate more thorough education in the subjects under discussion. Work for equal franchise is, in my opinion, still our primary duty, and, rising logically from this, the candidature of women for Parliament. I wish to retain the same reforms on the immediate programme. I have not yet decided on the question of differential and occupational rate, but consider that wide individual freedom of interpretation should always be allowed on controversial issues, provided that the rulings of Council are loyally carried out. I am not in favour of Family Endowment as part of the immediate programme, because I do not think the Union is ripe for it. I support, however, the revised form of Resolution C21, which by retaining Family Endowment on the general programme enables the Union to continue study of the subject.

(Signed) ELIZABETH MACADAM.

The anti-feminist feeling shown in the refusal to give women Degrees at Cambridge, in the efforts made to exclude women from paid employment and in the opposition to women sitting on juries—to mention only a few instances—has increased my conviction that no great advance in the position of women can be expected without hard work in influencing public opinion, and, probably without concentration on a few objects.

I put the completion of the franchise absolutely first among the reforms to be won.

Secondly, I put the election of women to Parliament who hold, in addition to other political views, sound feminist opinions. This can only be achieved by great self-sacrifice in giving devoted work and in raising large sums of money.

A large turnover in public opinion is needed to improve the position regarding the Equal Moral Standard. In some respects prospects are threatening and constant watchfulness is called for. I am in favour of what is known as the "Occupational Rate" as the interpretation of Equal Pay for Equal Work. The "Differential Rate" is not only far from being equality, but would have the effect of postponing equal opportunities for women.

(Signed) ROSAMOND SMITH.

Equal Suffrage: Equal Pay for Equal Work (payment of women and men at the same rate, whether computed by time or by piece, in the same occupation or grade): Equal Opportunity in Professions and Industry (removal of restrictions based on sex) and entry to all offices of State: Equal Moral Standard (particularly repeal of present Solicitation Laws: opposition to any form of control or treatment of venereal disease, which, however covertly, tends to re-introduce an approach to the system of regulated prostitution; an equal Divorce Law): Equal Guardianship of Children—these are the reforms which I believe are the most urgent for the benefit of women and of the whole community. To secure them I consider that the return of an adequate number of women to Parliament, and such intensive political organisation by the N.U.S.E.C., as shall bring the need for this political programme vividly before the women voters of Great Britain, are essential factors. If re-elected to the Executive, I pledge myself to use every means in my power to secure these reforms and to support the N.U.S.E.C. in its untiring effort to raise this programme from the catalogue of "hopes deferred" to that of accomplished fact.

(Signed) ELIZABETH ABBOTT.

I believe that in all matters women should be put on an equality with men, there to find their own level without let or hindrance, by custom or law.

The Endowment of Motherhood seems to me the only way of ensuring real security to a mother for the adequate discharge of her duties to her young children. I believe financial conditions make this impossible at the moment, but I am immensely keen that widows and deserted wives

* Miss K. D. Courtney is abroad, and it is hoped to give her address next week with that of Mrs. Game, which has not reached us at the time of going to press.

should at once be given pensions as are the widows of soldiers and sailors. I am far more interested in getting votes for women under thirty than in getting Equal Pay for Equal Work for them without it.

(Signed) M. I. CORBETT ASHBY.

I am keenly interested in all the six reforms on the programme and opposed to the suggested reduction to four, since the larger number gives more scope and a wider choice to the affiliated societies. The reforms which I consider of most vital importance from the point of view of the National Union are Equal Franchise, Candidature of Women for Parliament, and Equal Pay for Equal Work. I believe that the only way in which the principle of Equal Pay for Equal Work can be put into practical application is by the adoption of the differential rate. According to this rate a woman should be paid the same amount as a man if her work is of equal value to her employer. If he can prove that her work is less productive or is more expensive to himself than a man's then an amount corresponding to the difference in the value of the work shall be deducted from the woman's wage.

I am in favour of the differential rate, because I believe that the adoption of the occupational rate would result in the total exclusion of women from a large number of trades and their segregation in possibly less desirable occupations.

(Signed) JESSIE BEAVAN.

I place first and foremost the necessity for the Union to concentrate upon its "Equality Programme." The absurd age limit must be swept away and women enfranchised on the same terms as men. A great effort should be made in the future, at by-elections, by our organisation, to bring this matter to the front.

I attach great importance to the Equal Moral Standard work and regard the passing of a satisfactory Criminal Law Amendment Act with no taint of "regulation" as vitally necessary.

I believe that it is possible to secure Equal Pay for Equal Work without the immediate Endowment of Motherhood. I believe in the occupational rate.

I trust that the support of the League of Nations will remain part of our programme.

I am in sympathy with the principles of Widows' Pensions, and National Family Endowment, but should prefer the latter question to be considered by a Royal Commission before being placed on the immediate programme of the Union.

I consider that our Union should continue to make every possible effort to secure the candidature of suitable women for Parliament; and I wish to see equality of opportunity as between men and women in public services and the professions.

(Signed) FLORENCE M. BEAUMONT.

In carrying out the main policy of the N.U.S.E.C., I am satisfied that a great amount of most valuable work is being done at our headquarters office towards the securing of equality of liberties, status and opportunities for women. I do not want to drop any of the six objects placed on our immediate programme of last year's Council. I think Widows' Pensions are appreciably nearer through our work. I should like to see them secured before "National Family Endowment" is worked for by us and our societies. As regards the difficult question of Equal Pay for Equal Work, I support resolution 17 on the preliminary agenda paper, which is grounded on "occupational rate," and I oppose Miss Rathbone's amendment to it, headed "Differential Rate." I warmly support all the varied means of securing the recognition of an equal moral standard in legislation.

(Signed) EDITH BETHUNE-BAKER.

The danger is the Union may take excursions from the Highway of Equality and be lost, wandering in economic mazes. I stand for concentration on the "Immediate Programme" and stress the importance of not adding to it. Equal Franchise, Equal Pay and Opportunity, Equal Moral Standard are cardinal items and must be striven for with the persistency of suffrage days. The other three items must be worked for with vigour. Problems of resettlement have given opportunities to the host of reaction who "prowl and prowl around." The position of women in industry is insidiously attacked. The question of women jurors has shown how Eastern ideas still lurk in the minds of many men and women. The Civil Service regulations are an outrage on fairness. The attitude of the Cambridge University!!! Enough said.

Family Endowment is outside practical policy—further—in a properly constituted community endowments and doles would be unnecessary.

I feel it needs saying—ours is not a woman's movement, but a human movement with a spiritual significance at issue. Men also have disabilities to be removed. Life should be less compartmental. It can only be enriched and made better by the common effort of men and women.

(Signed) JOHN R. CROSS.

On the reconsideration of the wages system I would oppose any attempt made to fix a differential rate of pay as between men and women in industry—

(1) Because any such effort, however honestly made, to give equal pay to men and women for work of equal quality and quantity would be impossible to carry out fairly in practice, and would inevitably react harmfully on women employees.

(2) Because any such system would establish a bad principle, i.e., that men and women in industry must be divided into distinct classes, whereas, to quote Mrs. Webb (War Cabinet Report, p. 294): "Men

and women in industry are, in fact, ceasing to be distinct classes, even if they ever were, and are more and more becoming merged in the armies of the skilled and semi-skilled, each of them divided into numerous sectional grades."

I believe that the only just solution would be the adoption of an occupational standard rate to be paid to all persons, irrespective of sex. In conjunction with that rate there should be set up for men and women alike a national minimum wage.

(Signed) EVELYN DEAKIN.

My desire in standing for re-election to the N.U.S.E.C. Executive is to work for that real equality of opportunity, status and remuneration which at present seems terribly far off. We have the vote and we have the Sex Disqualification Removal Act. But what we have not got is the real equality of service and of opportunity for which we stand. In many ways the position of women is far worse than it has been for years, and the immense amount of work which we have to do in educating the public to understand what we really want and what we stand for was well illustrated by the recent newspaper controversy on women on juries and by the challenging of women jurors in cases of indecent assault upon little girls.

I have never wanted the N.U. to work for such matters as the Endowment of Motherhood or the League of Nations, not because I think these questions are not of the very first importance, but because other bodies should and do exist to deal with them, and because there is no other body to do our equality work as a whole. I am afraid that the result of our putting work for the League of Nations, for instance, upon our programme is that our equality work, which is infinitely more difficult to explain and to popularise, will not get done. I do not think it is getting done as thoroughly as I should like to see it, and I want very much to see a great concentration of effort upon it.

(Signed) L. FISHER.

I am wholeheartedly in favour of the immediate programme:—
Equal Suffrage.
Equal Moral Standard.

The Promotion of the Candidature of Women for Parliament.
Equal Pay for Equal Work and Equality in Industry and the Professions.

Widows' Pensions and Equal Guardianship of Children.
The League of Nations.

I am strongly opposed to the Endowment of Maternity. I believe that the State should make provision for widows, but that wages and salaries should be high enough to allow a man to marry and to support a family, that allowances off the Income Tax should be extended, and that a wife should have a legal right to a fair proportion of her husband's income. I consider any scheme of Endowment of Maternity would be disastrous to the country in that it would increase the number of children born to improvident and undesirable parents, and postpone or prevent marriage and limit families among those classes of the community who are the most desirable parents, on account of the increased taxation necessary.

I am in favour of the Children of Unmarried Parents Bill. I am in favour of Proportional Representation. I believe in the occupational rate as regards the professions, and that piece rates should be introduced in every industry, thus automatically providing for remuneration on a fair basis without sex discrimination.

(Signed) JEANETTE L. FRANKLIN.

I believe the Union should continue to work generally for all measures to establish equality between men and women, but I am in favour of reducing the number of objects on our immediate programme to four, as I believe it will lead to better results by more concentration on a limited number of main subjects. I should choose for these four Equal Franchise, Candidature of Women for Parliament, Equal Moral Standard, and Equal Pay for Equal Work and Equality in Industries and the Professions. My interpretation of Equal Pay is the occupational rate.

I feel that a large part of the Union's work should be devoted to securing the extension of the franchise and the election of more women to the House of Commons.

I also regard action asserting and supporting women's right to work as of great urgency and importance at this time, and consider that the Union should do everything it can to secure justice in this direction.

I am opposed to the National Endowment of Motherhood, and regard it as a proposal opposed to the real freedom of women and to the maintenance of a free State.

(Signed) HELEN FRASER.

The Union's first duty is to work for the immediate establishment of full equal suffrage. The reforms next in importance are (a) Equal Pay for Equal Work and Women's Right to Work; and (b) Equal Moral Standard. Work for these objects should carry with it the establishment throughout the country of societies working actively for these reforms. Special work should also be undertaken to help to run women candidates for Parliament.

The most important question before the Council and one vital to the women's movement is that of the particular interpretation of the expression "Equal Pay for Equal Work," which the Union is going to accept. I consider there is only one acceptable proposal, namely, the "Occupational Rate," as set out in the Executive's Resolution 17 of the Preliminary Agenda. This suggests support of proposals for the payment to men and women of the same rate of wages, whether computed by time or by piece, in the same occupation or grade. I consider the "Differential Rate" as proposed in the amendment to this resolution, which suggests that it should be possible to set up a female rate of pay different from a male rate for the same job, as retrograde, and as tending seriously to handicap women in industry.

(Signed) CRYSTAL MACMILLAN.

Equality of Pay and Opportunity for Women in Industry, the Professions, &c., is, to my mind, a question ranking with Equal Franchise as emphatically the business of the N.U.S.E.C. I range myself with those who reject any suggestion of a differential sex rate, and I hold that to pass the "Differential Rate" Amendment to 17, on page 7, of the Preliminary Agenda for Council would be a disastrous abandonment of our Equality

claim. If the Occupational Rate called for any modification it would be better to take an average of weight, or height, or age, than one of sex.

I am not in sympathy with Miss Rathbone's particular resolution on Family Endowment (21), but endorse that of the Executive (24). I support the resolutions on the Candidature of Women for Parliament, the League of Nations' Pilgrimage, the Solicitation Laws, and Criminal Law Amendment Bill, and that on Equal Pay and Family Responsibilities (23).

While not wishing the removal of any item from the immediate programme, I hope the Union will press forward Equal Franchise.

I want Proportional Representation retained on the general programme, not only because I believe it would help women candidates, but as averting misrepresentation of party strength.

(Signed) F. DE G. MEKELFIELD.

The work of the N.U.S.E.C. appears to me to be more necessary than ever in this time of reaction against Equal Opportunities. I support the whole of the present programme.

The extension of the Franchise to women on the same terms as men is, I think, specially urgent, not only as a measure of justice and as the completion of our Suffrage work, but because without it there is little chance of the younger women getting the opportunities for equal work and equal pay which they so pressing need.

The main energies of the N.U.S.E.C. should, in my opinion, be directed to pressing for those opportunities.

My interpretation of the formula of "Equal Pay for Equal Work" is that men and women should be paid at the same rate, whether this be computed by time or by piece, in the same occupation and grade.

I am in favour of the National Endowment of Families, but, as I regard this as a step towards Socialism, I do not think the N.U.S.E.C. is the right body to work for it. In my opinion, its special business is to see that in any scheme adopted, due consideration is given to the rights of the woman, as wife and mother, as well as the rights of the child.

I think the International work of the N.U.S.E.C. is exceedingly important at the present time.

As this piece of information was omitted in the description of candidates for the Executive sent out to Societies, I should like to add that I am a member of the Labour Party.

(Signed) I. B. O'MALLEY.

As a nominee for the Executive Committee of the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, I have great pleasure in subscribing to the Equality programme of the National Union. I have been a convinced feminist from my earliest years, believing that all artificial differences in the upbringing, habits and treatment of the sexes should be abolished. In legal and economic spheres I wish particularly to press for more equal treatment of men and women. State Pensions for Civilian Widows with Dependent Children seems to me to be the first economic reform we should press for, and more women in Parliament, in my opinion, are urgently needed.

I am anxious that women should be trained to take full advantage of the various privileges of citizenship recently opened to them, with particular reference to women on juries and women as Justices of the Peace.

As there is no representative on the National Union Executive Committee living in Scotland, I would hope, if returned to the Executive Committee, to be useful with regard to Scottish affairs.

(Signed) MARGARET PAISLEY.

I am entirely and wholeheartedly in favour of the six items of reform on our immediate programme. With regard to Equal Pay for Equal Work, though I fully recognise that there is much that can be said for the differential rate, I am myself in favour of the occupational rate of pay, as it, in my opinion, does on the whole establish a more just principle than the differential rate. Believing, as I do, that there is only hope for the betterment of the social order if our laws are based on Christian ethics and being fully persuaded this will not come to pass till women are given opportunities of full service within the Churches, I am in favour of equality of opportunity in the Churches, though quite content for the time being to have it on the general and not on the immediate programme.

(Signed) E. PICTON-TURBERRY.

The main objects for which we are working to-day are still the reform of unequal laws and the conversion of ancient prejudice. As regards law, we have reached a stage where, theoretically, everyone is anxious to do justice to women, but we must be alert, active and ever watchful if practice is not to be allowed to cheat theory.

We come up against something more fundamental when we press for an Equal Moral Standard, for Equal Pay and Opportunity in the Public Services, the Professions and Industry. We have to educate both public opinion and ourselves. The old attitude still persists which denied women every opportunity but gladly showed indulgence to their weaknesses. It is responsible for the trade unionists' refusal to admit women to skilled trades, and it manifests itself in the false delicacy which would excuse women jurors from serving in "unpleasant" cases. We have to prove that in all things we want a fair field and no favour. Our task is harder to-day than it was when we could concentrate on a single concrete issue, and we need, more than ever, the organisation and machinery which the National Union affords to combine and direct our forces.

(Signed) H. REYNARD.

As a matter of actual fact, I belong to the Labour Party, but I have almost reached the point of throwing over party politics altogether. I believe most strongly in equal pay to men and women for work of equal value, but where in any work either sex is not actually of equal value with workers of the other sex I think the pay should be graduated accordingly. My strongest conviction is in an Equal Moral Standard, for which I think all women should work unceasingly. I feel, as I have always felt, that our societies should do a great deal of educative work, not only on the equality programme, but in teaching the women for whom we have won the vote how best to use it, and in striving to increase their sense of responsibility and their desire to be good and intelligent citizens with an international outlook and vision.

(Signed) CAROL RING.

In offering ourselves for re-election to the Executive Committee, we desire to elaborate our opinion on two points in the N.U.S.E.C. policy, hoping that electors will take for granted our solid faith in those points of the immediate programme which we leave untouched. The first point is the question of "Equal Pay for Equal Work." We are convinced that the only practicable interpretation of this formula consists in the unvarying application of an equal occupational rate for men and women alike. Any deduction from a woman's wage on account of supposed or proved inferiority being inadmissible. We do not believe that this policy offers a safe or easy path to an industrial millennium, but we are convinced, after much thought and study, that it is of two dangerous paths the least dangerous and the most defensible. We believe, however, that the occupational rate by itself will not carry us very far—the battle for "Equal Pay" to be effective must be fought concurrently with the battle for Equal Opportunity.

As regards the second point, the "National Endowment of Motherhood," we feel strongly that here is a principle upon which the real economic independence of women must eventually rest. We doubt, however, whether the question has reached a stage at which full National Family Endowment can usefully be embodied in the immediate programme of the N.U.S.E.C.—the forthcoming Council will make this clearer. But we do believe that the time is ripe for immediate experiments in the partial application of the principle, such, for instance, as the payment of Government and municipal employees on a family basis, and we do believe that the demand for equal pay is immensely strengthened when it is combined with a demand for family allowances in respect of children.

Finally, we think that the principle is of such urgent importance, both from a national and from a feminist point of view, as to call for the immediate appointment of a Royal Commission for the investigation of all conceivable methods of its application.

(Signed) WINIFRED M. SODDY.
MARY STOCKS.

I hold that the economic position of women is by far the most important of the problems before the N.U.S.E.C. Women who are financially dependent on men are not on terms of equality with them, and the existing position is at the root of many social evils, as well as an evil itself.

It is difficult to attack this problem by political means, and its ultimate solution will no doubt be accompanied by a considerable redistribution of national wealth, including the recognition of woman's domestic and maternal work as a paid professional job. For the moment, however, the only possible line of attack seems to me to be the claim for equal opportunity and equal pay for equal work; and by this phrase I mean equal

pay for men and women for the same job. This could be forced upon the State and local authorities, and the results in private employments would be immediate. I care hardly at all for the other points on the programme in comparison with this, except for the League of Nations. I do not regard this as strictly suitable for the N.U.S.E.C., but I think it is the most momentous cause in the whole world to-day.

(Signed) R. STRACHEY.

I consider that the Union should work primarily for the complete fulfilment of its object, *viz.*, the enfranchisement of women on the same terms as men, and also for the return of suitable women as Members of Parliament.

I am at one with the resolutions passed on the Solicitation Laws and the Criminal Law Amendment Bill and would support every effort to enforce strictly an equal moral standard for men and women.

On the question of Equal Pay for Equal Work, I am in favour of the Occupational Rate. There seems no sound reason for taking into consideration the possible disqualification of sex, while ignoring others which equally affect the value of the work done.

I consider that the Union should do its utmost to secure the Equal Guardianship of Children as part of the fundamental equality of the sexes.

I would support any alliance or co-operation with the League of Nations, not only in consideration of the value of its work, but as a body in which the principle of equality is fully accepted and applied.

I am strongly in favour of the principle of Proportional Representation.

(Signed) M. E. VERRALL.

My opinion is: that a first charge on the N.U.S.E.C. is to win Women's Suffrage on the same terms as it is given to men: hardly less important to win equal economic opportunity and equal pay—by equal pay I mean that men and women shall be paid at the same rate, whether this be computed by time or by piece, for the same occupation (*i.e.*, the view taken by Mrs. Sidney Webb's Minority Report); the present wage system is a mongrel system. One way to improve it and to improve the status of women would be public Endowment of Motherhood. This subject should be ventilated by the N.U.S.E.C., but not placed on its immediate programme this year. Another way to win real freedom for women and for men is to establish society throughout the world on such a basis that economics and politics shall depend, not on coercion, but on science, and goodwill, and co-operation: the League of Nations—full of imperfections as it is—is the great hope. I trust the N.U.S.E.C. will work vigorously for the League of Nations National Pilgrimage. The position of women in organised religion, the equal moral standard, and proportional representation, must have their place in our wide and elastic programme.

(Signed) A. HELEN WARD.

HEADQUARTERS NOTES.

ANNUAL COUNCIL MEETING.

For the convenience of delegates we give the following particulars of social and other events during the week of the Council meetings:—

Tuesday, March 8th.—Evening reception held at 8.30 p.m.
Wednesday, March 9th.—Public Luncheon at 12.45 for 1 p.m., at the Holborn Restaurant. The President of the Union will preside. Tickets, 5s., may be had from Headquarters.

Thursday, March 10th.—Miss Picton-Turbervill, O.B.E., will preach on "The Problem of the Modern Girl," at St. Botolph's Church, Bishopsgate. Service begins at 1.10 p.m. and closes at 1.50 p.m.

Conference on the Parliamentary work of the Union at 5 p.m.

Friday, March 11th.—Delegates welcomed at Headquarters from 11 a.m. to 1 p.m.

HOSPITALITY.

Further offers of hospitality for Council delegates are requested by Miss Beaumont. We shall be very grateful to London members and supporters who will help us in this way.

N.U.S.E.C. SUCCESS IN BALLOT FOR PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILL.

It is pleasant to be able to record that Colonel Greig has been successful in obtaining a place in the ballot for the Guardianship, Maintenance and Custody of Infants Bill, drafted by the N.U.S.E.C. with Colonel Greig's assistance. It will come up for its second reading on May 6th. In the meantime, much work will be necessary if the hopes created by this piece of good fortune are to be realised, and as soon as the Bill is printed Societies will be circulated.

OTHER PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS TO BE INTRODUCED THIS SESSION.

The following Bills dealing with points on the programme of the N.U.S.E.C. have won places in the ballot this session:—

1. Proportional Representation Bill.—To make provision for the Proportional Representation of the electors to the House of

Commons; to be read a second time by Sir Thomas Bramsdon on Friday, April 8th.

2. Representation of the People Bill.—To amend the Representation of the People Act, 1918, presented by Mr. Walter Smith, M.P. (Labour), on Friday, April 22nd.

3. Bastardy Bill.—To amend the Bastardy Laws and to make further and better provision with regard to bastard children. This Bill, which is not that of the N.U.S.E.C., will be introduced by Captain Bowyer, and read a second time on Friday, April 29th.

As these last two Bills appear second on the Order Paper for their respective days, it is uncertain whether they will be reached.

KENSINGTON S.E.C.

The Annual Meeting was held at 15, Upper Phillimore Gardens, by kind invitation of Miss Shaen, on February 5th, when, after the business was over, a large audience attended for a debate as to whether Equal Pay for Equal Work between men and women is practically possible without Endowment of Motherhood, with Miss Helen Fraser in the Chair. Miss Eleanor Rathbone, J.P., C.C. then moved the following resolution: "That in the opinion of this meeting, the present system of providing for the rearing of future generations through the wages of individual fathers is financially extravagant and socially ineffective, and that, moreover, it is an unsurmountable obstacle to the realisation of Equal Pay for Equal Work between men and women. It should, therefore, be replaced by some scheme of Endowment of Motherhood, preferably on the lines of State Allowances to Mothers of Children under school-leaving age." Miss Rosamond Smith opposed the motion and a very interesting discussion followed. At the close, a vote of members only was taken first, resulting in a majority in favour of the resolution, and afterwards a vote of the whole audience, when there was a large majority against. Five new members joined the Society.

CONFERENCE ON EQUAL FRANCHISE.

A report of the Conference on Equal Franchise and the concluding list of literature, have been held over for lack of space.

COMING EVENTS.

INTERNATIONAL FRANCHISE CLUB.

MARCH 2.
9, Grafton Street, Piccadilly, W.
Speaker: Lord Henry Cavendish-Bentinck, M.P.
Subject: "Native Races of the Empire."
Chairman: Mrs. Nevins, J.P. 8.15 p.m.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

The following meetings on League of Nations subjects will be held:—

FEBRUARY 25.
At Warwick Y.M.C.A. Court House.
Speaker: Canon Blekersteth Otley. 8 p.m.
At Liverpool, Pleton Hall.
Speaker: Miss Currey, O.B.E. 5 p.m.

FEBRUARY 27.
At Peckham Rye, Tabernacle Brotherhood.
Speaker: Canon Blekersteth Otley. 3 p.m.

FEBRUARY 28.
At Penge Congregational Church.
Speaker: Lady Gladstone. 3 p.m.
At Harrow Speech Room.
Speaker: Rt. Hon. Lord Hugh Cecil, M.P. 8 p.m.

At Birmingham Town Hall.
Speakers: Miss M. Currey, O.B.E., Col. Borden Turner. 8 p.m.

MARCH 2.
At Hemel Hempstead.
Speaker: Mrs. Skelton. 8 p.m.

MARCH 3.
At St. Albans Town Hall.
Speaker: Miss M. Currey, O.B.E. 8 p.m.

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.
FEBRUARY 25.
At the Minerva Cafe, 144, High Holborn.
Speaker: Mrs. Barbara Drake. 7 p.m.
Subject: "Women and Trades Unions."
Speaker: Miss Peggy Webling. 3 p.m.

BIRMINGHAM SOCIETY FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP. (In Co-operation with the League of Nations Union.)
FEBRUARY 25.
Mass Meeting for Women in the Town Hall, Birmingham, at 7.30.
Speakers: Miss Muriel Currey, O.B.E., Col. Borden Turner, O.B.E., and Sir Gilbert Barling, Bart., C.B., C.B.E.
Chair: The Lady Mayoress (Mrs. W. A. Cadbury).

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE WOMEN CITIZENS' ASSOCIATION.
FEBRUARY 25.
At the Church Institute, Hood Street.
Speaker: Miss Hartop. 7.30 p.m.
Chairman: Miss Milbanke.

WOMEN'S NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO SECURE STATE PURCHASE AND CONTROL OF THE LIQUOR TRADE.
FEBRUARY 25.
At Rochester, Women's Liberal Club.
Subject: "State Purchase of the Liquor Trade."
Speaker: Miss F. L. Carre. 5.30

At Walthamstow Women's Co-operative Guild.
Subject: "The Future Public House."
Speaker: Miss M. Cotterell. 3 p.m.

MARCH 2.
At Greenwich, Women's Section, Labour Party.
Subject: "Public Ownership of Liquor Trade."
Speaker: Miss M. Cotterell. 3 p.m.

At Edmonton, Women's Section, Labour Party.
Subject: "Public Ownership of Liquor Trade."
Speaker: Miss F. L. Carre. 8 p.m.

MARCH 3.
At Bromley, Public Library, National Council of Women Meeting.
Subject: "The Carlisle Experiment."
Speaker: Miss M. Cotterell, O.B.E. 3.15 p.m.

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