

WOMEN'S SERVICE

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NOT TO BE TAKEN AWAY

THE WOMAN'S LEADER

AND THE COMMON CAUSE

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NOTES AND NEWS.

Disarmament: Public Opinion Now.

The Preparatory Commission on Disarmament is now in session at the headquarters of the League of Nations in Geneva. Lord Cecil, addressing the delegates to the recent N.U.S.E.C. Council, uttered words that must have sunk deep into the consciences of those who heard him, when he spoke of the almost desperate necessity of educating and organizing public opinion during these weeks, lest the Commissioners should fail for want of the only thing which can assure success. Study circles are most useful means of doing this work, and the admirable syllabus published in January by the League of Nations Union should be used as a guide by groups, large and small, who mean business. No one can read even the short paragraphs now appearing in the Press without realizing not only the complexity of the subject of disarmament, but, what is more sinister, the power of the interests ranged against it. Nine millions more are with us than are against us in the matter, but the few are clever, pertinacious, full of resource, and the many are incredibly lethargic, sheep-like, stupid, ill-informed. Even among sincere internationalists many excuse themselves by crying "Arbitrate first, and disarmament will follow." This has much truth in it, and yet to utter that cry at this critical moment is to do grave disservice to the cause of peace. At this moment the success or failure of the various schemes afloat for disarmament and for disarmament conferences is the paramount issue.

Equal Franchise.

At long last the Cabinet at its meeting on Monday, 28th March, appeared definitely to have decided that its pledges to give Equal Franchise to women before the next election must be honoured. Very possibly a statement to this effect will be made in Parliament before this is in the hands of our readers. Clearly some of the members of the Cabinet, while recognizing the need for carrying out their pledge, are very unwilling converts. Practically everything now depends on the time at which legislation is introduced.

The By-elections.

The Liberal party has won two by-elections, retaining their seat at Leith left by Captain Wedgwood Benn, and recovering that taken from them in 1923 by Dr. Haden Guest at Southwark. Neither of the majorities is large, and the circumstances of both contests were peculiar, so that it would be rash to reason from these results to the possible success of the Liberals at a general election. On the other hand, they are certainly due in some part to the relief of the party at finding a leader like Sir Herbert Samuel, and to the general effect of his recent speeches, so that they must result in strengthening his hands and the hands of those who desire to see 500 Liberal candidates in the field. What effect that would have—whether it would return Liberals, or split the progressive vote, or split the Anti-Socialist vote, is a matter for speculation. At least it should secure a record poll in two years' time. In the meantime THE WOMAN'S LEADER is delighted to congratulate so old a friend and contributor as Mr. Ernest Brown on his victory, and on having been by all accounts the perfect candidate for an industrial division. His was a personal success, which we hope will be continued in the House. In Southwark, on the other hand, victory was to the machine. Dr. Guest, who must have polled over 2,000 Conservative votes, carried over hardly any of his personal following in the face of the party fiat. He had built up his position by devoted work; the issue on which he went over was of great emotional importance, and events, disastrous enough in themselves, had shaped very favourably for him. But he polled fewer votes than anyone in either of the other parties had supposed possible, while the Liberal vote remained practically fixed. This, if anything can, should show how the electors' minds are running.

Family Endowment.

Family Endowment, after protracted wrangling between the Upper and Lower Houses, is now law in New South Wales. This is the most considerable advance since the finding of the Report of the Coal Commission. It is not yet possible to gather from the various cables exactly what the details of the measure are, but we know what is more important than any detail, that both sides agreed that it is a necessary complement to the system of a living wage. So far as can be ascertained, before any allowances are paid a basic wage must be agreed on, based on the needs of a childless couple, and the endowment of five shillings weekly for each child of 14 and under will not be payable where the income in the preceding year has exceeded this basic wage plus £13 for each child. The cost of the measure is estimated at £4,000,000, and it is to be met by a 3 per cent. tax on the wages sheets of employers.

Sincere Thoughts of an Alderman.

There can be few who envy the position of the Chairman of the Hull Watch Committee. He says he is badgered and we can well believe it. But nor do we envy him his thoughts, though a man is free to entertain what thoughts he pleases, even in the midst of sordid circumstance. Alderman P. T. Crook has revealed his reasons for opposing women police. He had no fault to find with the volunteers who worked in his city during and immediately after the war. They worked hard and they did their work satisfactorily. He would welcome them again—in a

'Keep fit on
cocoa'

BOURNVILLE
SEE THE NAME "Cadbury" ON EVERY PIECE OF CHOCOLATE

Write
Cadbury, Bournville
about Gift Scheme

voluntary capacity. But, he said, "If we do not stand firm, these women will take all positions away from men. That is what it simply means"—At this point there was laughter among the Hull Watch Committee; we hope not irreverent laughter—"I can see it plainly at work" he went on. "Everything these women can do they will do, and it is by the tolerance of men who cannot see their designing manner that they will succeed. I am not one of those who follow the dictates of every woman..." In the debate which followed, it was resolved to take no action on a letter containing a resolution in favour of Women Police, passed by the Hull Branch of the Catholic Women's League. But it can hardly be said that the time of the Committee was wasted. Meanwhile the Chief Constable of Cardiff was finding other arguments, perhaps less heart-felt, for delaying the appointment of women. Only 153 women had been prosecuted for disorder during the year—it would be interesting to know how many he wants—women are not strong enough to deal with violent persons, and "girls and women will more glibly and readily tell an untruth to a woman than to a man. For some reason they are more frank with a man, in either confessions or misdeeds." "Girls Trust Men More," the newspaper headline of the report of this speech has it. Possibly they do. Possibly they have had no opportunity of studying the work of this sort that has been done by women. But we would remind the Chief Constable of Cardiff that in spite of that they may have more reason, in the long run, to trust women.

Urban District Council Elections.

17th March was the last day for nominations for District Councils and Boards of Guardians, the elections for which will this year take place on 4th April. A certain number of women, both retiring councillors and fresh candidates, have been nominated for Urban District Councils, but the number is deplorably small in view of the fact that on 680 Urban District Councils no women are yet serving. In Yorkshire, as far as our information goes, seventeen women have been nominated for Urban District Councils, of whom twelve are new candidates. At Ilkley, the only woman councillor is not standing for re-election, and no other woman has been put forward in her place, Miss E. M. Hovey, who has been a member of the Colwyn Bay Council since 1919, and Chairman for the past year, is among those standing for re-election. Apparently Dawlish, Paignton and Teignmouth are the only Urban District Councils for which women have been nominated in Devonshire.

Clothes.

The least frivolous of our readers will be relieved to learn that clothes for the next few months are to remain much the same. The differences which will divide us who are serenely, or wistfully, or ignorantly, above these things, from those who grapple with them, are to be no sudden and violent bulgings, contractions, extensions and involutions, but this, that, and the other detail, which it will be delightful and easy to overlook. The immense machine of fashion, which probably stultifies more lives, wastes more time, energy, and money than any other human mechanism except that of war, seems to be engaged this year in nothing more serious than ensuring to Blues a definite final victory over Reds. It is true that in the last two decades the pace has been terrific. Russian, Persian, Mediaeval, Oriental, Spanish, Directoire—there cannot be a drawing left in an *Histoire de la Toilette* which has not been considered by the dressmakers and its interest exploited. They have given us short sleeves to help the glove-makers, whose market was burned down in a Paris fire; no sleeves to please the beauty doctors; short skirts to lower costs of production; shorter skirts to increase the silk in stockings; skirts that started at the arm-pit, skirts that started just above the knee, hobble skirts, crinoline skirts, skirts that overwhelm everything one passes, and one or two gallant attempts at no skirts at all. For the moment, however, they have been forced to make us comfortable. This is a debt which we owe to the French. As long as only the women of England took exercise and the dresses they wore were designed in London, we saw girls running about courts with hems catching in their heels, tight belts, long sleeves, hard tall choking collars, edifices of hair, and ridges of whalebone showing at every stroke. The revolution came from France. We shall never know who inspired it or how it was achieved, but probably it has done more to establish the health, independence and self-respect of women than if the Chamber of Deputies had granted the suffrage.

A Woman as Judge in Shanghai and as Junior Counsel in the House of Lords.

Real life is quite as surprising as any novel. Miss Kidd, the first woman member of the Faculty of Advocates, is appearing as counsel before the House of Lords, as representative as Junior with three K.C. colleagues for Greenock in support of their scheme to bring within their boundaries the boroughs of Port Glasgow and Greenock. One curious little inequality remains. Women are not allowed in the Strangers' dining-room. She is not being allowed to lunch where her male colleagues refresh themselves. She is, however, to be allowed to lunch in the Harcourt Room, unaccompanied by an M.P.! Also Miss Soumi Tchong, LL.D. (Paris), China's first woman barrister, has been made by the Nationalist's Chief Judge in the Shanghai District Court, if we are to credit a trustworthy contemporary. Greenock, and the House of Lords, and the Chinese Nationalists have perhaps little in common, but here once again, woman may have a unifying influence, for we may hope that the English barrister and the Chinese judge will alike strive to follow in the best traditions of the law, whether in the calm of the House of Lords or in the more stormy atmosphere of Shanghai.

No Suffrage in France.

We are not surprised, though we take, all the same, the liberty of being disappointed to learn that the committee of the Senate set up to report on M. Louis Martin's Bill has rejected it by seven votes to five. The amendment, moved by M. Jenouvrier, which would have allowed women of over 30 to vote for and sit on municipal councils, was also defeated, this time by one vote. The result is not attributable to abstract considerations, which, indeed, move Frenchmen very little if at all in matters of domestic politics. These particular senators do not suppose that either France or its women will be ruined by a voter's privilege. The trouble lies in the machinery of democratic government. Extensions of the franchise are supposed to help electorally parties of the right, whereas they only appeal in principle to parties of the left. Until these become less opportunist or the conservatives less prejudiced—or until something unforeseen occurs, such as a genuine demand from women—the present deadlock is likely to continue. In the meantime Frenchwomen, with their good education and good taste, with their enormous commercial, social, and domestic influence, are probably less to be pitied than any other unenfranchised body. To them marriage is not seclusion among household matters, varied only by such activities as they can scratch up for themselves; it is a real partnership which takes in the husband's work and shares or duplicates his interests. Nor does their position grow worse, as it would in this country, as they become older. The French, rightly or wrongly, keep a respect for practical wisdom and experience which shows itself in the regard they pay to the opinions of elderly people. As life goes, the women of France have comfortable jobs, and the greatest enemy to reform is comfort.

Council for the Representation of Women on the League of Nations.

We should like to draw the attention of our readers to the meeting of the Council for the Representation of Women in the League of Nations, to be held on Thursday, 7th April, at 5 p.m., at the Women's Service House, 35 Marsham Street, Westminster, at which Dame Janet Campbell will speak on the work of the League of Nations Committee on Infant Welfare. Admission is free, and the meeting promises to be of special interest.

Another Woman Chairman of the L.C.C.

Lady Trustram Eve has been appointed Chairman of the Local Government Records and Museums Committee of the L.C.C. Lady Eve is well known to our readers as honorary treasurer of the National Council of Women.

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.

MAKING HISTORY.

The words social reformer have been hurled about recently as an epithet of the darkest opprobrium which could be applied to professing feminists. It has even been implied in certain quarters that social reformers and anti-feminists are synonymous terms! This is possibly only due to a lack of clear thinking. It may be that those who regard social reform as the antithesis of feminism or at least sharply divided from it are still thinking in the terms of the 'eighties and the 'nineties. They may possibly regard social reform as a kind of dope which serves to render its victims insensible to social, political, and economic injustice. But students of social history and social economics—we are sorry to repeat the heavily overworked adjective so often—know that modern ideas of social reform are very different from those which were current in the latter half of the nineteenth century. They are, in the main, based on standards of fair play and justice. Social reformers of to-day are not content merely to patch up the weak spots in the structure of society; they seek to abolish obsolete and inequitable conditions and to remove stumbling blocks from the path of human progress. When the history of the twentieth century is written, the outstanding social reform which it will record will be that for which feminists have been working for fifty years, and on which they are still hard at work—the emancipation of women.

The supposed cleavage between social work and feminism is not, however, a new phenomenon. History has admittedly a knack of repeating itself. When Josephine Butler, whose centenary we are shortly to celebrate, led her crusade against the Contagious Diseases Acts, exactly the same hue and cry arose; the pioneer feminists of half a century ago were divided on almost the same lines as to-day. Josephine Butler had the courage to raise her voice on a subject which shocked the conventions and false reticences of Victorian England, and the "equalitarians" of her day and generation cried hands off any reform which may retard the fight for the vote, just as their lineal descendants to-day cry this or that is social reform, not feminism, when modern problems bound up with the freedom

NEWS FROM WESTMINSTER.

BY OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT.

Parliament is still marking time. The Budget and the Trade Union Legislation are as yet in the future, and meantime there is not much matter for domestic controversy. Of the position in China, upon which parties are divided acutely, it is best to say nothing. The Leith by-election turned out to be a Liberal victory, somewhat to the general surprise. Prophecy about the result of Southwark is difficult, indeed impossible, for the position is one that has never occurred before.

On Monday, 21st March, the Navy estimates were again discussed on Report. Mr. Lees-Smith moved a resolution in favour of disarmament, and the debate which followed was almost entirely upon the attitude this country ought to take up at the conference summoned by President Coolidge. Mr. Bridgeman in his reply showed that he was fully alive to the advantages of limitation and reduction, and altogether his speech was satisfactory. At night the London Midland and Scottish Railway Bill passed second reading, after a short discussion.

Tuesday, 22nd March, saw the conclusion of the debate on the Cinematograph Films Bill. Mr. Snowden, that unrelenting free-trader, made a fierce attack upon the quota system, and was as effective as he always is in debate. Colonel Moore-Brabazon, proving that freedom from office has an exhilarating effect upon the intellect and the imagination, made an attractive and pungent speech in support. After that the debate ranged to and fro, until Sir Thomas Inskip, the Solicitor-General, wound up in a temperate and reasoned summary. All through the debate the Government have held an advantage, for no one likes the dependence of this country upon American art, and no one has any alternative to the quota as a means of freeing us. So the Bill is now through second reading, but the real battle will be in committee, and powerful forces are arrayed against the Government. We shall see.

At night, Mr. Thomas Henderson introduced a motion condemning trusts, cartels, and combines. The discussion started on somewhat academic lines, and the only speech that dealt adequately with the subject was that of Mr. William Graham. He, it is true, decided against trusts, but he was careful to point out their inevitability. Indeed, the horizontal combine is the industrial feature of the day. Mr. Graham would like to substitute Government action, or perhaps he would go so far as to be satisfied with Government control; but some sort of combination,

and status of women are under discussion. It is to the everlasting credit of our honoured leader, Dame Millicent Fawcett, that she came down on the right side and gave her support as a young suffragist to Mrs. Butler, realizing that the degradation of women implicit in the State regulation of vice was gnawing at the core of the woman's movement.

There was, indeed, more excuse for the pioneer suffragists to concentrate on the one fundamental issue, the vote, and on that alone, but to-day by far the largest proportion of women have votes and as Mrs. Pankhurst has recently reminded us, it is now up to them to participate fully in public affairs. It is reasonable enough to say that this can, as a rule, be done most effectively within the political parties or through societies organized for specific aspects of social reform. But the enfranchisement of women has brought in its train a host of new problems which must be exposed to the full glare of the feminist searchlight; social problems, perhaps, but surely also feminist problems, if the liberty and status of the woman is at stake. Such problems cannot be entrusted to any political party; nor can they be handed over to some one-eyed organization in which the feminist outlook may or may not be represented. Feminist societies dare not shirk the issues involved. They have never been afraid of public opinion or of acute controversy. Only through mind sharpening mind can the truth be found. The work that is still required before the final extension of the vote, which we hope is now within sight, and for the other more clear-cut points of the equality programme will not suffer. On the contrary, it will gain new strength and power from original thinking out of the far-reaching changes of which the vote is the precursor.

Fifty years hence, it is not improbable that our grandchildren will look back on our heartburnings with a smile. But let us see to it that they have no cause to reproach us that while working for the immediate and the obvious we were blind to more complex and subtle problems of feminism which to-day call for solution from those who alone are in a position to solve them.

properly regulated in the consumer's interest, is really unavoidable. The recent history of Germany is a fascinating study. In the end a non-committal amendment was carried, and no vote was taken on the main question.

On Wednesday, two Scotch Bills of no more than local interest were discussed, the Sheriff Courts and Legal Officers (Scotland) Bill and the Re-organization of Offices (Scotland) Bill, the first passing second reading after a division and the debate on the latter being adjourned. At night Captain Eden moved a motion in favour of Empire settlement, and a discussion of great importance and actuality followed. Captain Eden himself, an attractive speaker, is one of the ablest of the younger Conservatives. Support of the motion was not at all confined to one side of the House. Enthusiastic approval came from Mr. Mackinder, who was one of the recent delegation to Australia, and in the end the motion was carried without a division.

Thursday, 24th March, saw a discussion on education. It was not as inspiring as it ought to have been, for the truth is that the ground has been covered so often that the most hardened dialectician shows some lack of enthusiasm in re-stating a well-worn case. Contrary to what has happened in recent education debates, most of the honours went to Lord Eustace Percy, who made the best defence he has made of his policy.

On Friday, 25th March, the House took a trip into the open country, and discussed the protection of birds. The occasion was a private member's Bill introduced by Sir Clive Morrison-Bell. The Bill protects absolutely certain very rare birds which might breed here, protects partially some less rare but still uncommon ones, but only guards the mass of the bird population during the close season when they are breeding. It has received the hearty support of all societies interested in birds, except a Scotch society, and on their behalf Mr. Maxton moved its rejection. A popular and brilliant figure, he is always listened to with pleasure, and on this occasion he argued that the Bill was wrong, because protection ought to be county by county, and that it ought to proceed upon the basis, not of protecting certain named birds only, but of safeguarding all birds, excluding only mischievous ones. On being assured that he could raise his case again in Committee, he did not divide the House. Many speeches were made showing a surprising knowledge of ornithology, and altogether the House spent a pleasant Friday afternoon.

THINGS INDUSTRIAL SEEN IN CHINA.¹

By DAME ADELAIDE M. ANDERSON.

VI.

The Directors of the really big cotton mill invited us to lunch as well as to see the factory; on the day before we left Ningpo. It was so stately a function that it ought to have been graced by guests who had not already spent a long morning in various inspections at a distance, and who had not had to break off from these in haste in order not to arrive all too late. The courtesy of our hosts was proof against any delay on our part. We were taken across the river to the function at the mill, in a stately barge set out with chairs, and were met at the landing steps by a band in uniform with wind and other instruments, which headed us on the way to the mill, playing tunes that were chiefly of Western origin. It was alleged afterwards by Miss Harrison that a lady of the party was overheard to murmur, "and I have not even got on my best shoes," but she did not herself definitely admit it.

Both coming and going to the mill the procession passed up-and-down the ways between the settlement houses that had been built by the firm for a considerable proportion of the workers. Although this was not a settlement of the garden-village type known at some famous French or English model works, the houses would have been fairly good if strictly kept (as probably planned) for one or at most two families apiece; they were two-storied, with a stair leading from the ground floor two rooms to the two rooms above, the rooms being not less than fifteen feet square. For some reason which we were unable then to explore, sub-letting evidently is generally present. There is apparently overcrowding and I heard that there had been some serious epidemics. In spite of a medical dispensary and other institutions for the benefit of the workers, provided by profits of the undertaking, the looks of the inhabitants of the settlement did not cheer us. It must be remembered that the hours and other conditions of work were those customary in the Chinese and foreign cotton spinning mills of the whole country; that is to say, they work in two shifts of twelve hours each, without defined pauses for meals and rest, either by day or night. The large recent experience gained in Western factories of day and night shifts to meet war-time emergencies, demonstrated afresh to Europeans that such working can only be carried on, even temporarily, without grave injury to workers through stringent provision for fixed meal-time pauses and with very good arrangements for rest and taking meals of nourishing quality, priced relatively to the earnings of the workers. None of such conditions were to be found in Chinese textile mills, and even the unquestioned, if small, benefits of steady work and wages, were too dearly bought by the worker. We heard of the usual accidents from power-driven machinery, some being treated at the local mission hospital. We also heard of the early morning patter of children's feet going to the mill for the day shift, and of the tired children leaving at the evening change of shift—for the greater part of the large number employed lived outside the mill settlement. In all there are well over 2,000, sometimes nearer 2,500 employed at this mill. Of these approximately two-thirds were women and children and of the former there were two women to every child.²

When we reached the mill, work had ceased for the day, a special holiday having been given for the afternoon; thus before we left we were only able to examine the fine modern machinery and exceptionally clean and garnished spinning and preparing sheds. This, it should be noted, was the solitary occurrence of that kind in our many inspections of Chinese mills. The entertainment prepared for us was also unique. Just such grouping of flags, in which the Union Jack and National Chinese flag predominated, and other bright decorations, and even the attendance of Directors and Managers, appeared in a couple of other formally prepared visits to factories up the Yangtze, but never such a feast nor so long a confabulation on the ways of bettering the conditions of the manual workers and on how, in China, it is possible to exclude young children from factory work. We invited the directors to join us at a Conference which was to take place in a few days with the Employer's Federation at the Shanghai General Chamber of Commerce, between representatives of the Federation of the Millowner's Associations and the

¹ Previous articles appeared in our issues of 4th, 18th and 25th February, and on the 18th and 25th March.

² The earnings of the women were said to be \$5 to \$6 mex a month and of the children \$2 to \$3 a month but much has to be taken into consideration in estimating the real value of nominal earnings.

National Christian Council of China, on the question of how to secure protection of child labour both in the International Settlement and the Provinces of China; yet although their interest in the question did seem to be aroused, I am afraid they were not able to be present. Only by continual following up of clues to actual conditions and their results, by multiplying discussions and by persistent propaganda could one hope to arouse the public feeling needed in China—as earlier in our own country—ultimately to secure the desired reforms.

When all the entertainment was over our hosts and the musical band took us back to our barge, and as we pushed off an explosion of fireworks burst forth. It was impossible to imagine more pains being taken to show appreciation and courtesy to visitors than was shown us here. Yet a few days later the foreign engineering adviser, who had given us the requisite introduction, and who had properly thanked the managing director for our entertainment, forwarded his reply; it expressed regret that he "did not give proper attention to the ladies," and added that the appreciation expressed by us did but increase his sense of inadequacy. Although gladly we would have seen more of the workers at their work, we both saw and learnt much through this visit.

That evening, at the house of the Bishop and Mrs. Molony, we met and addressed a large gathering of the local foreign community, over which the British Consul, Mr. Handley-Derry presided. His welcome and sympathy with the object of our visit, his insistence on the truth that the assets of a nation, of which perhaps labour is the most important part, should be carefully preserved in the interest of all peoples, was not only an encouragement to us. It aroused the enthusiasm of the meeting. And the able support of the District Commissioner for Chinese Maritime Customs, Mr. Carey, made it very clear that the foreigner and not least the British born official living and working in China is very ready to work for things that belong to the welfare of the wonderful old land.

(To be continued.)

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

This history, the last work of the late Miss Bradby,¹ is a great book in a small volume. The author says in her introduction that it is intended for the general reader, who is not an historical student; but the evidence of close and patient scholarship in its pages is sufficient to satisfy even an exacting student. From this point of view the book meets a need which has been keenly felt in late years. The war turned the thoughts of most intelligent people to the history of modern Europe, and it is not possible to understand modern Europe without some knowledge of the French Revolution. English readers who realize this generally fall back on Carlyle. But Carlyle's book was published in 1837, a time when many of the authorities now available were unknown. It is moreover written in a style as confused and stormy as the period itself; only some can find joy and enlightenment in it, and woe to him who goes to it for information. In later books of less genius information can of course be found, but with difficulties and gaps that are likely to drive the inquirer to one of two courses. Either he will give up altogether and reconcile himself to never knowing about the French Revolution nor understanding modern Europe: or, if he is a genuine enthusiast, he will go back to the original authorities and dive in amongst the books and documents of which there is a formidable list in Miss Bradby's Introduction. (He may arrive at understanding modern Europe, if he ever gets there at all.) The second possibility is what happened to Miss Bradby herself, though she began her inquiries long before the war. Her *Life of Barnave*, published in 1915,² is, in effect, a history of the early part of the Revolution. In the prefatory notices she explains how she was led to write it in order to satisfy her own desire for knowledge. Since it came out she has gone deeper and deeper into her subject. Her present book is the result of ten years of close and devoted study. Not a paragraph, hardly a line has been written without reference to a mass of original authorities, including thousands of numbers of the *Moniteur* and other newspapers of the period. The labour entailed must have been immense.

The extraordinary thing is that there is nothing laborious about the result. The chapters into which this enormous quantity of information is compressed are so lucid and pleasantly expressed that they can be read with satisfaction by an intelligent child.

¹ *A Short History of the French Revolution*, by E. D. Bradby. (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 7s. 6d. net.)

² By the Clarendon Press, Oxford.

This is one remarkable quality in the book; it is not *the* most remarkable one. Lucidity in treating a great and confused subject is an important qualification for a historian; but there is another qualification that goes before all.

The French Revolution is not only a confusing period of history, it is one which raises intense passion. Not so intense as in the days when Burke attacked and Mary Wollstonecraft defended it, but quite violent enough to destroy the atmosphere in which historical scholarship can breathe. Everyone who thinks about these great events at all must do so in thoughts that are coloured by his own upbringing and the events of his own age. This is perhaps especially the case with us, the onlookers at another revolution, as noble in its origins, as tragic in its immediate consequences, as mighty a portent for the future of the world as that which overwhelmed Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette. We readers of 1926 study the French Revolution with feelings that are deepened and prejudices that are strung up by watching the Russian Revolution. Miss Bradby has her own point of view, her own feelings, and one would suppose her own prejudices; but never in the whole course of her book does she suffer them to obstruct her outlook. She treats events and characters all through, not only with serene justice, but with that deep imaginative sympathy which is the historian's noblest gift. That is why I do not hesitate to call this "Short History" great.

I. B. O'MALLEY.

BIRTH CONTROL.¹

This is a moving appeal for the right of the poorer women to the best medical knowledge of Birth Control methods. "Fewer, but healthier and happier children," is the ideal aimed at, and the author asserts that "the limitation of families is practised by every thinking married couple to-day." But, as is emphasized in the introduction, the conditions which elicited the demand in this particular form are not our conditions, but the desperate state of Austria. Miss Maude Royden, and Christian Roland, the translator, both dissociate themselves completely from Herr Ferch's wish to legalize abortion, and they uphold the English view that the difference is irreconcilable between ending a life already in existence, and preventing the beginning of a problematical life. Johann Ferch, founder of the Austrian League for the Protection of Mothers, and his wife, are devoting themselves to the work of teaching the women the science of contraception, and this book is a description of existing conditions, and a plea for help in rescuing the mothers from unscrupulous quacks. Perhaps too much space may appear to be given to repeated appeals to sentiment, but we are accustomed in this country to markedly unemotional statements of social evils.

Two lingering fallacies are exposed: the belief that the only "excuse" for married intercourse is the procreation of children, and the devilish superstition that the child is a punishment for sin. There is a poignant chapter on the married woman's terror of frequent pregnancies, showing clearly how estrangement is caused between the man and his overburdened wife, and the tragedies resulting therefrom. There is a bitter complaint that the opposition to the dissemination of knowledge so often comes from the unmarried, which reminds us of Dr. Inge's attack on the "bachelor bishops" of the Birth-rate Commission. And there is a justifiable outburst also against "the hypocrites who condemn in others what they themselves do in their own life"; those women who have themselves long practised a sensible regulation of birth, and yet remain hypocritically silent, and against those also who assert that the fear of "consequences" is the only thing that "keeps girls straight." The technical chapter on the methods adopted by the fifty doctors who are working with Herr Ferch will not meet with universal approval; the most usual method is one generally condemned in this country. But the work is all based on the scientific researches of J. Kurrein, Doctor of Medicine, and the experience will be invaluable. To sum up, we should like more stress to have been laid on the spacing of babies in every family—the insistence on economic pressure is after all a temporary urgency—but the spacing is a universal need.

Miss Royden and Christian Roland give an account of the present situation in England, and make a strong appeal for the support of those working for the freeing of information in our Infant Welfare Centres. C. U. F.

¹ *Birth Control*, by Johann Ferch, edited, with an introduction, by A. Maude Royden. (Williams and Norgate, Ltd., 3s. 6d.)

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF LABOUR WOMEN, HUDDERSFIELD, 11th and 12th MAY, 1927.

The First Agenda for the National Conference of Labour women has just been issued, and covers no less than 228 resolutions, many of which have the names of several organizations appended to them. Mrs. Hood, J.P., who is chairman of the Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organizations for this year, will preside, and everything points to a large attendance of delegates. The Conference opens with a resolution recording admiration for the magnificent heroism shown by miners' wives during the lock-out. The resolutions show that the two subjects on which most interest will be displayed are those of Birth Control and War and Peace. Questions of Family Endowment, Education, Housing and Health are well to the fore, and a host of resolutions on the Franchise for women at 21 occupies a prominent position. The Conference is representative of the rank and file of women in the political, industrial, and co-operative movements, and anybody reading the agenda will realize what subjects are taking first place in the minds of active Labour women throughout the community.

VISIT TO THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE.

As in previous years, the League of Nations Union is organizing a party to attend sessions of the Conference of the International Labour Organization. This will include members of Employers' Associations, Trades Unions, the League of Nations Union, and any interested in labour legislation. It will be remembered that the main subjects to be discussed at the Conference are, the Methods of Fixing Minimum Wages, Trades Unions Rights, and Health Insurance. We recommend to the more fortunate of our readers who can spare anything between a week or a fortnight from 28th May in time and from 10 to 13½ guineas in cash, to apply to the League of Nations Union, 15 Grosvenor Crescent, S.W. 1.

WOMAN PRESIDENT OF NEW YORK INDUSTRIAL BOARD.

The *Manchester Guardian* publishes an interesting account of Miss Frances Perkins, who has been appointed to a position corresponding to our Home Secretary in the Government of the State of New York. The department is responsible to a large extent for creating labour law, whether in relation to factory conditions, or to questions in connection with workmen's compensation. The *Manchester Guardian* states Miss Perkins (who is, by the way, a married woman and a mother) "has won every inch of her way to the high office she now holds by service, efficiency, and a remarkable combination of courage and humour. Her courage has made her respected, her humour has made her liked by the employers and lawyers whom she fought, when, as secretary of the New York Consumers' League, she paved the way for Labour legislation, and since, first as member of the Industrial Board and then as chairman."

THE JOINT AGENCY FOR WOMEN TEACHERS.

The Agency enables teachers to find posts in PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS AND TRAINING COLLEGES at the lowest possible cost. It is managed by a Committee appointed by the Educational Guild, Head Mistresses' Association, Association of Assistant Mistresses, and Welsh County Schools' Association.

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FORCED LABOUR.¹

By E. UNWIN.

The question of forced labour is to be the subject of a special conference at the International Labour Office in June, and it is important that public opinion in this country should support the more progressive members of this conference. The question of labour conditions in countries where the native races are employed by white settlers was first brought to the notice of the League of Nations Assembly in 1924, by Sir Arthur Steel Maitland, who was in that year a member of the delegation from New Zealand. He said he had satisfactory proof that slavery was increasing in Africa. The League set on foot various inquiries in Africa and other countries, and came to the conclusion that while chattel slavery did still exist in some countries, a far larger number of natives were subject to more or less disguised forms of slavery, including forced labour, debt slavery or peonage, and even in some cases to slavery disguised as marriage or adoption.

The Report of the Temporary Slavery Commission contains a mass of detailed information. Chattel slavery is legal in some parts of Asia, e.g. Thibet and Afghanistan; it is recognized as legal in the Koran. The only Christian country allowing it is Abyssinia. The practice whereby a person unable to pay his or her debt contracts to work off the obligation, involving the status known as peonage, is most common in Latin America, and is often so ingeniously arranged that the longer the debtor has worked, the more deeply is he or she in debt. In some cases, not only is the debtor's bondage lifelong, but the obligation to labour is handed on to the next generation. It is of good augury that the inquiries of the League of Nations have brought these questions into the open.

The question with which the coming Convention will be chiefly concerned is that of forced labour, and the greatest demands in this direction are made in Africa. Before the coming of the white man it was the practice of the native chief to call out his people in any kind of emergency, fire, and flood, etc., to do what was necessary; in some cases the chief demanded labour for the cultivation of his own ground. There were customary limits to these last demands, e.g. they were not made in such a way as to interfere with the cultivation of the labourer's own plot. This custom has been taken advantage of by the white settlers to call out labourers in large numbers, and for long periods, for almost every kind of public work, roads, railways, posts, portage, etc., and even in some cases for private profit. If the League of Nations aims at "the abolition of slavery in all its forms", forced labour must certainly go. But it is impossible to make drastic changes by a stroke of the pen. If legislation involving great changes were made, it would not be carried out, and it seems wiser to proceed by way of stricter and stricter regulation of forced labour, leading, it is hoped, to its extinction at no distant date. Among the immediately necessary regulations are the following:—

1. Such labour should only be required from adult males.
2. It should always be paid the market rate of wages.
3. It should not involve the removal of men from their ordinary place of residence.
4. The time required should not be long enough to interfere with the cultivation of the natives' own land.
5. The proportion of men taken from any one district should be strictly limited. From disregard of this rule, famines have in some cases resulted, there not being enough men left to grow food for the villages.

Many other restrictions as to medical inspection before work is imposed, medical care while it is carried on, etc., should be required to mitigate the hardships and dangers of forced labour;

(Continued in next column.)

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

WOMEN AS CANDY MAKERS IN THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

Lady Frances Balfour has been given nearly a column in the *Scotsman* for her indictment of the Church of Scotland in the matter of the position it accords to its women. Those who have the honour of Lady Frances' acquaintance know her for so keenly patriotic a Scottish woman that it is hard for her to believe that any good thing can come out of the South. Her indictment, coupled with praise for Southern churches' comparatively greater progress, is the more significant. "It is well known that the Church of Scotland dreads the entrance of women into the eldership." "It is only a few years ago that an earnest minister said he did not like to see the women missionaries on the floor of the Assembly standing with their fellows and being thanked by the Moderator." "There is no equality or responsibility given to women. All are kept in subjection." "The only post assigned is the safe one of cake and candy makers to the schemes of the Church." "Why has the Church of Scotland never produced from its great body an Elizabeth Fry, a Catherine Booth, a Mary Slessor, or a Maude Royden?" These are samples of the extensive ground of her criticism, and in spite of the existence of Scottish Church Deaconesses and Parish Sisters her case seems hard to answer. Englishwomen are rightly dissatisfied with the position accorded to them in their own churches, but Scottish women are in worse plight. Let us consider whether this is our affair. Many members of the woman's movement still believe it is indecorous to allow a free spirit from outside to blow over their own particular denomination. They hold that such things are best dealt with behind closed doors. But there are others who passionately dissent from this view, who believe it to be a betrayal of all that is best, not only in the woman's movement but in religion. The day of the pigeon hole is past. It would be an impertinence for the outsider to try to dictate the precise method by which a denomination should deal with the various problems it has to face, but the taboo laid upon women in the spiritual sphere is a big human matter. It is a canker eating into the heart of the social fabric and all who hold that "spiritual things", whatever the exact connotation of these words may be, are real things must unite in an onslaught upon the monster, those inside organized religion with those of goodwill outside. The time is ripe and over ripe. The old Bible words: "Neither Jew nor Gentile, neither bond nor free, neither male nor female" have not yet fulfilled themselves. It is in this generation we are beginning to learn something of their meaning, and of how the three phrases stand or fall together.

ST. JOAN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ALLIANCE.

The St. Joan's Social and Political Alliance held its sixteenth annual meeting on Saturday, 19th March, in St. Patrick's Club, and elected Miss Helen Douglas-Irvine chairman for the coming year.

SILLY SAYINGS OF THE WEEK.

Lady Scott (Mrs. Hilton Young), reported in the *Observer*: "You see there are no women among my subjects. I find them too vain and uninteresting, and I never have the slightest desire to do them. Their only concern is to be made beautiful..."

Ian Hay in the *Manchester Evening Chronicle*: "Women are so constituted as to be constantly at loggerheads with nature. . . . The healthy woman does not care much about a man unless he takes the lead. I am no believer in the cave man but I do believe that what a woman appreciates in a man is a certain gentle but inexorable firmness."

(Continued from previous column.)

but this should only be tolerated for a period to give time for adjustment to a system of labour by free contract. Perhaps we should ask ourselves by what right we ever imposed forced labour.

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

President: MISS ELEANOR RATHBONE, C.C., J.P. Hon. Treasurer: MISS MACADAM.
Parliamentary and General Secretary: MRS. HUBBACK.
Offices: 15 Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W.1.
Telephone: Victoria 6188.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

RESIGNING HONORARY OFFICERS AND MEMBERS.

Considerations of space prevented us last week from briefly recording our thanks to the resigning officers and members of the Executive Committee for their past services to the Union. *Lady Balfour of Burleigh*, though a comparatively new recruit to the woman's movement, brought such enthusiasm to the cause of feminism that it was not exceeded by that of any of the "Old Gang." With our appreciation of her work we would like to couple thanks for that of her husband: Lord Balfour has given, and we hope will continue to give, very great help to our work both in the House of Lords and elsewhere. *Mrs. Soddy* has fulfilled the thankless and difficult task of honorary treasurer for the last six years. She has won the gratitude of her fellow members by the courage and cheerfulness with which she has faced difficulties during times of exceptional shortage of funds, and has never attempted to check expenditure which appeared to be really necessary for the good of the work. *Miss Macmillan* has been a member of the Executive since 1910, and has been longer connected with the Executive Committee than any other member except Mrs. Corbett Ashby. She became known to the outside world when she appeared to champion the cause of women before the bar of the House of Lords.

After the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act, 1919, she was one of the first women to qualify for the bar and passed her final examination in 1915. Her legal knowledge has been of much service to the Committee in the drafting of Bills, especially those dealing with the legal disabilities of the married woman. She has made the question of the nationality of married women her own, and as Chairman of the Committee of the I.W.S.A. dealing with that subject she may be said to have been in charge of that subject internationally as well as nationally. *Miss Merrifield's* membership of the Executive began in 1916, but as one of the leaders of the Brighton and Hove Society, and of the pre-war Sussex and West Hants Federation, her work for the Union has extended over many years. *Mrs. Abbott* and *Miss Fraser* were for some years before the war on the staff of organizers of the N.U.W.S.S. and their abilities as speakers made their work especially effective. *Mrs. Abbott* travelled in India and Australia to collect funds for the Scottish Women's Hospital during the war. *Mrs. Bethune Baker* first joined the Committee in 1917, but for a long time previous to this had been connected with the Cambridge Society. She has specialized in the subject of the Equal Moral Standard and her work as a magistrate has given a practical experience to her work on this difficult and important subject. *Miss Beaumont* while living in Yorkshire was a leading member and honorary official of the Yorkshire Federation. She was elected to the Executive Committee when she came to live in London in 1919, and gave valuable help as honorary librarian and as a speaker. *Mrs. Robie Uniacke* joined the Executive Committee during the war, but for some years before that has been a prominent member of the Reading Society. *Mrs. Phillips* and *Miss Whaley* were recent members. The former had had the distinction of being several years running Mayor of Honiton, and the latter has become deservedly popular among Societies on account of her speaking.

APPOINTMENT OF OFFICERS.

At the last meeting of the Executive Committee Miss Macadam was appointed Honorary Treasurer. Miss Macadam is so well known among the Societies that the Committee felt her appointment would be particularly welcome. In spite of the pressure of other work, Miss Macadam has indicated her willingness to accept the office, at any rate until the next Council meeting.

As the tradition of the National Union has always been that the Honorary Secretary should devote almost whole time to the work, and no one suitable was immediately available, it was decided that no Honorary Secretary should be appointed at present. *Mrs. Hubback*, who on previous occasions in the absence of an Honorary Secretary has taken on responsibility for her work, has been appointed General, as well as Parliamentary Secretary.

Mrs. Adrian Corbett, Chairman of the Kensington and Paddington S.E.C., has been co-opted on to the Committee.

CHAIRMAN AND VICE-CHAIRMEN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Mrs. Corbett Ashby has been appointed Chairman, and *Mrs. Stocks* and *Miss Courtney* Vice-Chairmen.

DAY OF MEETING.

The Executive Committee has decided to meet on the fourth Tuesday in the month at 11 o'clock.

MALVERN WEEK-END SUMMER SCHOOL.

A week-end Summer School arranged by the Malvern S.E.C. will be held from Friday, 13th May, to Monday, 16th May. The speakers will include *Mrs. Corbett Ashby*, *Commandant Allen*, and *Mrs. Hubback*. Inclusive cost, accommodation and school fee, £2 2s.; school fee (non-residents), 4s. 6d.; single lectures, 1s. Application should be made to *Mrs. Freeman*, Wyche Cliff, Wyche Road, Malvern, as soon as possible.

EQUAL FRANCHISE.

A special letter with regard to our Equal Franchise Summer Campaign will shortly be issued. A pamphlet is also being prepared showing the work for Equal Franchise which has been undertaken by the National Union during the last nine years.

NORTH SOUTHWARK BY-ELECTION.

Many of the women voters at our request put the Questionnaire to the candidates at the North Southwark by-election. All the candidates answered all the questions in the affirmative.

RESPONSES TO THE GUARANTEE FUND.

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Already published	189	18	6
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Oxford S.E.C.	2	2	0
	£192	11	0

NEWS FROM SOCIETIES.

BIRMINGHAM N.C.W. CITIZENSHIP SUB-SECTION.

On 21st March, *Miss Rose Squire*, O.B.E., gave an interesting address to the Birmingham Branch of the National Council of Women on the main provisions of the new Factories Bill. It was instructive to hear the views of the late Chief Factory Inspector on the clauses affecting women and children. Some discussion, including the question of Protective Legislation, followed, but the meeting was not intended to take the form of a debate.

ST. PANCRAS S.E.C.

In connection with the mass lobbying on Thursday, 3rd March, the St. Pancras S.E.C. approached the Parliamentary representatives for each of the three divisions of St. Pancras, with a request for an interview.

No reply to this request was received from *Sir Richard Barnett*, M.P. for South-West St. Pancras, who has subsequently written that he did not receive the letter, but that he is in favour of Equal Political Rights, and would be prepared to receive a deputation if still desired. The Member for the South-East Division, *Mr. Hopkins*, replied to the effect that he had already received a deputation on the subject, and stated that he had long supported the women's demand. *Capt. Ian Fraser*, M.P. for North St. Pancras, agreed to receive a small deputation, which accordingly met him at the House of Commons. He stated he was in favour of the proposal to extend the franchise to women on equal terms from the age of 21.

GILLINGHAM W.C.A.

The March meeting took the form of a Member's Evening, when reports were given of the N.U.S.E.C. conference in London by the four delegates sent there, all of whom agreed that attendance at such a conference was most educational. Papers were read on *Smoke* (with reference to the *Smoke Abatement Bill*), *Equality in Education*, *The Work of the Women Guardians* (with special reference to the April election, and the fact that the W.C.A. has two official candidates). Some needed Improvements in the Home, and What I owe to the W.C.A. Several of these were maiden efforts, and showed that much unsuspected talent lies hidden in the average woman.

OUR FRIENDS.

We thank *Miss Barlow*, of Edgworth, Lancashire, for her kind thought in sending us a delicious simnel cake and not less for the accompanying letter.

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COMING EVENTS.

COUNCIL FOR THE REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

APRIL 7. 5 p.m. Meeting at Women's Service House, 35 Marsham Street, S.W. 1. Dame Janet Campbell on "The Work of the League of Nations Committee on Infant Welfare." Chair: Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon, J.P.

ELECTRICAL ASSOCIATION FOR WOMEN.

APRIL 6. 7 p.m. E.L.M.A. Lighting Service Bureau, Strand, W.C. 2. Mr. T. Settle on "Women's Place in the American Electrical Industry."

GUILDHOUSE, ECCLESTON SQUARE, S.W. 1.

APRIL 7. 8.15 p.m. Dame Rachel Crowley on "The Social Service of the League of Nations."

GUILDHOUSE WOMEN CITIZENS' SOCIETY.

APRIL 4. Visit to Rachel McMillan Open-air School and Training Centre, Church Street, Deptford, S.E. 8.

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

Glasgow S.E.C. and W.C.A. APRIL 7. 7.30 p.m. Annual Meeting in Central Halls, 25 Bath Street.

OPEN DOOR COUNCIL.

APRIL 4. 8 p.m. Caxton Hall, Westminster. Annual Meeting. Speakers: Miss Monica Whately, Mrs. Abbott, Mrs. Aldridge, and others. Chair: Professor Winifred Cullis.

SIX POINT GROUP.

APRIL 4. 3 p.m. 92 Victoria Street, S.W. 1. Miss Crystal Eastman on "Recent Tendencies of American Feminism." Chair: Mrs. Gram-Swing.

SOCIETY FOR CONSTRUCTIVE BIRTH CONTROL AND RACIAL PROGRESS

APRIL 6. 8 p.m. Temperance Hall, Temple Street, Birmingham. Dr. Marie Stopes on "Ideals and Practice of Constructive Birth Control." Chair: Alderman J. S. Pritchett.

WOMEN'S ENGINEERING SOCIETY.

APRIL 8. 6.30 p.m. 26 George Street, Hanover Square, W. 1. Miss E. M. Kennedy on "A Business Woman's Trip to America."

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COTTAGE on Little Hampden Common, Missenden; vacant May; 2 bed, 1 sittingroom, kitchen; charming garden; 30s. weekly.—Write, Townshend, 61 Deodar Road, Putney.

UNFURNISHED ROOM wanted, near Fitzroy Square, suitable for use by day as study.—Particulars to Mrs. Lawson Dodd, 12 Park Crescent, W.

PARSON'S GREEN.—To let, furnished, comfortable BEDROOM and SITTINGROOM; 30s. a week.—Box 1,499, THE WOMAN'S LEADER, 15 Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W. 1.

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AYSGARTH, YORKS.—Comfortable BOARD-RESIDENCE in house well situated for exploring the moors and dales. Exactly on the central line for seeing the total solar eclipse, 29th June.—Miss Smith, Low Green House, Thoraby.

FURNISHED COTTAGE to let near High Wycombe; close golf links, tennis; 7 rooms; company's water, in loor sanitation; 35s. week, long let.—Mrs. Stevens, Burton Mere, Barton Bradstock, Bridport, Dorset.

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LARGE, UNFURNISHED ROOM to let in Bloomsbury, overlooking gardens, 3 windows; rent 20s. weekly, with use of kitchen and bathroom (geyser); attendance by arrangement.—Box, 1,411, THE WOMAN'S LEADER, 15 Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W. 1.

COTSWOLDS.—Lady receives PAYING-GUESTS in country cottage; maid; bathroom, indoor sanitation.—Mrs. Durrad, Brownhill, Chalford, Glos.

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SECOND-HAND CLOTHING wanted to buy for cash; costumes, skirts, boots, underclothes, curtains, lounge suits, trousers, and children's clothing of every description; parcels sent will be valued and cash sent by return.—Mrs. Russell, 100 Raby Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne. (Stamped addressed envelope for reply.)

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ANNOUNCEMENTS.

LONDON AND NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SERVICE, 35 Marsham Street, Westminster. Secretary, Miss P. Strachey. Expert advice on what to do with your girls. Addresses to schools and societies in London and Provinces by arrangement.

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES, Guildhouse, Eccleston Square, S.W. 1. Sunday, 3rd April; 3.30 Music. Mr. Cyril Bailey on "The Religious Experiences of Ancient Rome." 6.30, Maude Royden.

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