

THE
WOMAN'S LEADER

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

AND

THE COMMON CAUSE

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NOTES AND NEWS

The Russian Famine.

Dr. Nansen, who is at present in England trying to rouse public sympathy with the famine victims, spoke last week in London to an audience which filled the Queen's Hall to its utmost capacity. He told, in a quiet, unemotional tone, of the greatest famine the world has ever seen, and the pictures thrown on the screen caused a shudder through the hall, and roused the ever ready response of the English public. It is, unfortunately, necessary to give people visible proof of the miseries of the famine before they can realise the extent of the calamity. The horrors of the war, the agonies of Vienna, the disaster of the typhus epidemic in Poland, have, one after another, blunted the vividness of our imaginations, and Russia, unknown to most of us, and far away, did not stir us to practical sympathy. But Dr. Nansen and his pictures have done so, and made us feel a weight of shame for our responsibility that cannot let us rest. Thirty-three millions of men, women, and little children are faced with a lingering, torturing death unless our Government acts now. No consideration, neither Russia's past sins, nor threats of France's displeasure, nothing should prevent our Government from taking immediate action to avert the greatest tragedy the world has known. We know from bitter experience that the Government will never act until it is compelled to, and it is up to us to create a public opinion which will force our Government to act, adequately and at once. This is a responsibility which rests on each one of us, and where the weight of every individual counts.

Indian Women and the Vote.

The Legislative Assembly has passed a non-official resolution by forty-one votes to twenty-six, removing the sex disqualification with regard to voting in the elections for the Assembly. This resolution enfranchises women in Bombay and Madras in the elections for the Legislative Assembly, whereas formerly they had only won the right to vote for their State Councils. The resolution does not apply to other provinces, where woman's suffrage does not as yet exist.

Labour Party's Support for University Women.

Cambridge University women, in their struggle for admission to University degrees and membership, have lately received

strong support from the Labour Party. At a big Labour Party meeting, held in Cambridge on January 31st, both Mr. W. Graham, M.P., who is a representative of Labour on the Universities Commission, and Mr. Hugh Dalton, prospective Labour candidate for the Cambridge Borough seat, made powerful speeches for the removal of the archaic sex restriction. Mr. Graham, whose remarks were continually cheered, said the decision of Cambridge University to exclude women from full membership was most regrettable. If the time came when Oxford and Cambridge had to apply to the State to give them largely increased grants, the women taxpayers would be perfectly entitled to say with regard to the Cambridge demand: "You will not get one penny of our money for such a purpose until we are perfectly satisfied that its use is open to men and women without discrimination of any kind." He added that although he could not pledge the Labour movement in the House of Commons or in the country, in advance, he could say with perfect certainty that on that controversy there would be no doubt or hesitation on their part, and to the last, in Parliament and out of it, they would stand for full equality in the use of public resources as between the sexes in Great Britain. This was a noteworthy statement, and one which makes women thankful that the Universities Commission has been strengthened by the inclusion of a man of Mr. Graham's calibre.

The Commission's Report.

Mr. Dalton expressed himself with no less emphasis. He declared that while all the other Parliamentary parties had been divided on the question of the rights that women should enjoy, the Labour vote in the House of Commons and in the country had always gone solid for women's enfranchisement and the removal of the sex disqualification. He could not encourage the hope that the Report of the Commission would be published for some time. He believed it would not appear before the General Election. He therefore drew significant attention to the forecast made in the Press that the Labour Party might have at least two hundred seats in the next Parliament, and stated that Labour members of the House of Commons, when the question of Cambridge University came before them, would insist that there should be a clause in the Bill giving women full membership on equal terms with men. Declarations of this kind from prominent

spokesmen of the Labour Party are of special value in view of the coming elections. Many members of Cambridge University must recognise that the University has placed itself in a most undignified position. Instead of leading public opinion it is stupidly fighting it, and in the final resort the University is bound to suffer defeat. Quite needlessly, it is bringing humiliation upon itself.

Mrs. Haslam.

We have received from the Irish Women Citizens' and Local Government Association a report of their meeting on January 31st, with the information that their veteran President has resigned her office. The resolution passed by the Committee refers to the fact that the society owes its origin to Mr. and Mrs. Haslam, and that both were guiding and inspiring forces in the development of the work. The Committee also express an earnest hope that Mrs. Haslam, though no longer feeling herself able to undertake official responsibilities, will give them the benefit of her wise counsel and ripe experience, and Mrs. Haslam's life work will indeed be an inspiration to those who follow after. The younger women will not forget that she came to London to take part in the meeting held in 1919 to urge the removal of the age limit in the Reform Act. This, her last public appearance in London, was characteristic of one who has ever trusted in the future, and in the young, and never for a moment has been tempted to cry "Enough." It is satisfactory to learn that the Association which she founded is carrying on its work in the same spirit.

Equal Franchise in Ireland.

Women's societies in Ireland are anxiously watching the situation with regard to the possibility of securing the recognition of equal franchise. The position is not clear, as no one exactly knows whether legislation would be needed for this purpose, and if so, whether such legislation could take effect before the coming elections. The Irish Women's Franchise League has, as we reported last week, approached Mr. de Valera and Mr. Griffith, asking that the law be amended by Dail Eireann to include all adult women. The Irish Women Citizens' Association has written to Mr. Collins, head of the Provisional Government, asking that in the Constitution of the Free State provision be made for giving to women the vote on the same terms as to men. It is not known yet whether the Provisional Government intends to draft a Constitution and submit it to the electors at the coming election, or whether this work will be left for the Assembly, which will then represent the twenty-six counties. In either case it is practically certain the Constitution will include a recognition of equal citizenship, as all the leaders are known to hold democratic views on the question.

Mme. Curie.

The fight we feared Mme. Curie's supporters would have to wage on her behalf has not materialised, for at a private meeting of the Committee of the Academy of Medicine recently, the claims of various candidates to the vacancy caused by the death of Edmond Périer, were discussed, and it was decided by forty-four votes to twenty-three to add Mme. Curie's name to the list. We have since learnt that the other candidates have now retired in her favour. Her victory is not only a personal one, but a victory for progress over the forces of reaction. We congratulate both her and the other candidates.

Trade Boards.

The Trade Boards Inquiry is still pursuing the even tenor of its way, although not much information reaches the general public about its activities. Mr. Weathered, at a recent sitting, voiced the general opinion amongst wage-earning women when he said that if the protection of enforceable minimum rates was withdrawn the wage rates of very large numbers of women and girls would again speedily fall below a living wage. Some machinery is necessary to secure and maintain a reasonable standard of life for large sections of the industrial population, to safeguard the economic position of women and girls, who are not so insistent as men in demanding and sticking out for a proper wage, and also to secure the position of good employers, and as a means of security against industrial strife. Mr. Addington Willis said that a system of national minimum wage, to be satisfactory, must meet the special circumstances of the many persons who are subnormal in earning power. A man who is subnormal for some occupations may be normal for others, and he instanced the case of deaf mutes in the boot repairing trade, who are often found to be superior workmen. On every ground the Trade Boards must remain with us.

Women and the Nobel Peace Prize.

It has been suggested by the National Council of Norwegian Women that the Nobel Peace Prize should this year be given to the International Council of Women. M. Halversen, the President of the Storting, apparently endorses this proposal.

Mrs. Ashworth Hallett.

Mrs. Ashworth Hallett, whose death we regret to announce, was one of the earliest supporters of Woman's Suffrage. For more than fifty years she has been working for the woman's movement, and has cared deeply for it along every line. She took a great interest in educational progress, and for some time served on the Bath Technical Education Committee, and on the Committee of the Bath High School for Girls. She worked assiduously for the Unionist cause at elections, and helped her husband actively in his plucky but hopeless fights at Galway and West Wilts. She was a woman of high intellectual attainment and great ability, and she will be greatly missed in Bath, and gratefully remembered by suffragists all over the country.

Practical Internationalism.

It is most desirable that the artificial barriers to intercourse between different races and nations, an inevitable result of war, should be broken down, and that ideas of sociology, science, literature and art should become international currency again. The opening of International House in London, at 55, Gower Street, W.C. 1, is welcome, affording as it does a centre where men and women of all races and nationalities can meet for social and educational purposes. It will, no doubt, particularly attract the young people just starting in life, or still in the colleges, who are eager for the modern ideas of the whole world, and impatient of narrow, insular limitations. Foreign students and apprentices in lodgings in London will find it a boon to have a centre where they are received, not as aliens, but as fellow world-citizens, and where possibly they may converse with others in their own language. Inexpensive meals on the speedy "Help-yourself" system will also meet their needs. The very small subscription of 5s. a year will suit everybody's pocket. International House Cafeteria and Reading Room may be the setting for the springing up of an international understanding among the young which will place the shaken world back on a solid foundation in the future.

A Pioneer Day Nursery.

The first day nursery for the children of holiday makers and excursionists was opened fourteen years ago by Southport. A prize was presented some time ago for the 65,000th child to be registered, and as she happened to be a twin, her little sister was honoured in like manner. Many seaside places have followed Southport's example, but none have been more successful, and, though the coal strike reduced the tide of holiday makers, the nursery received 5,400 children this year. The nursery idea was a stroke of genius and the way it has been carried out is worthy of it.

Ourselves.

This week we close our appeal, and we are able to do so because we can announce a most splendid donation, which puts us upon a much more secure financial footing, and relieves us of our worst anxieties. The Viscount and Viscountess Astor have each given us £200 this week, and with this generous gift we feel that we are, for the time being, safe. It is impossible to express the gratitude we feel to all our kind friends: perhaps they will take our renewed struggle to do our work as well as we possibly can as an earnest of our thanks.

NINTH LIST.		£	s.	d.
Previously acknowledged	...	172	11	2
Viscountess Astor, M.P.	...	200	0	0
Viscount Astor	...	200	0	0
		£572	11	2

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.

BLANKET LEGISLATION.

All those people who work for political causes for any length of time realise that election promises are liable to be valueless, and that the hopes held out by Governments in their programmes frequently prove to be illusory. It is, however, rather a new departure for an actual Act of Parliament to be worthless, and it takes even the most hardened and cynical propagandist a little time to grow accustomed to the idea.

Such, however, seems to be the case in regard to the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act, which was introduced ostensibly to carry out the Prime Minister's fine-sounding election pledge to remove the injustices and inequalities of the law as between men and women, and which was put upon the Statute Book in 1919.

This Act has now been in force for a great many months, but the injustices and the inequalities remain; and the only thing which it can be shown to have actually achieved is the admission of women to the legal profession, the magistrates' bench, and the jury box—things most excellent and needful, but limited and partial in their scope. In all other respects the Act breaks down when it comes to the test of practice, and it is so loosely worded that it is apparently extremely difficult to base any legal action upon it. The Civil Service remains for the most part obstinately closed against women—for all its fine talk—and those women, whether permanent or temporary, who have found a footing inside, are treated to the very worst of every bargain and are herded and confined in the bottom places of the lowest grades of work.

Marriage, which by this Act is not to be penalised, remains a ground for dismissal from the public service, and one by one, as appointments are made, women find themselves passed over. In employment, in politics, in life, the artificial sex disqualifications remain, the Act of Parliament notwithstanding, and the only thing which has been done is to lull the consciences of politicians with the belief that all is settled. We still have to toil, as hard as ever, to open, for example, Cambridge University to women, while in the matter of the Civil Service we seem almost to be in a worse position than before the Act was passed. Everyone who watches the progress of events must observe the general backsliding which has taken place from the promises and hopes of 1919, and it is futile to suppose that this Act of Parliament has arrested or altered its course.

We need not, of course, be unduly pessimistic. Let the mood of the day slide this way or that, the cause of women's equality is moving steadily onward, and the young men and women of this generation stand on a far better footing in this matter than did their parents, or even their elder brothers and sisters. The thing is quite inevitable and quite safe in the long run, but for all that it is exasperating to have an Act upon the Statute Book which says so much and which yet is of so little practical effect. In the United States the question of introducing similar legislation, in the form of an Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution, is, we understand, being debated among the women's societies. In the expressive American phrase, such legislation is called blanket law; but from our own experience we fear that it may turn out to be one of those blankets which conceal an under-garment of rags.

There are other objections to it being raised in America also, we understand, such as that it might endanger State laws for the protection of women in industry, minimum wage agreements, and so on. These are matters of American law upon which we are not competent to express an opinion. But as far as our own experience goes, and for what that is worth, we should say that legislation of this kind endangers nothing but the reputations of the statesmen responsible for it, and accomplishes nothing but the disillusionment of those women who trusted to their words. Let each reform be taken a step at a time—or twenty steps simultaneously. But let each step be a real advance, and not a mere piece of camouflage. That is the moral we draw from our own experience of Blanket Legislation.

NEWS FROM WESTMINSTER.

By OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT.

Parliament has reassembled, and the business of the new Session has begun. As was expected, the King's Speech dealt mainly with the Irish Settlement, and with unemployment and with economy, the references to Reform of the House of Lords being vague enough to leave the matter open to immediate settlement, or to further indefinite postponement as the circumstances of the next few weeks may determine. The speech did not carry us very much further in any of the main directions of national policy. The only surprise which it contained, and a very welcome one it is, is the inclusion of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill among the promised Government measures. This is a very substantial victory for all the women's organisations, which have been working so splendidly, and with such wisdom as well as determination for this end, and it is a sign—and not before one was needed—that the Government has realised that there are some subjects upon which women must now be consulted and appeased.

The House has reassembled in a new and somewhat disturbed mood. Members are as uneasy about election prospects as cats walking upon hot bricks, and the whole place is whirling with the blasts and counterblasts of Party discussion. The Conservatives are restless and thoroughly insubordinate and their constituency and county organisations, with which they have, of course, been recently in touch, are undoubtedly urging them on towards demanding a purely Conservative Government. The Coalition Liberals are outwardly cheerful and serene; but they are everywhere suspected of being a bit hollow inside, and of resting almost entirely upon the Prime Minister's personal prestige. The Independent Liberals are full of hope and enthusiasm, and the return of Lord Grey has obviously made a very great difference to their prospects in the country. Their election hopes are laughed at in Coalition quarters, but laughter of that kind is part of the regular procedure of politics, and they take it all as a compliment. Labour is full of fight and kick, but the Parliamentary party is obviously desperately worried and uneasy, not at their election prospects so much as at the state of the country, which indeed, from the point of view of unemployment, is exceedingly grave.

Lord Robert Cecil and his friends are very greatly troubled about foreign affairs, as it is most right they should be, and, what with one thing and another, the political storm clouds are banking up. There is, of course, much talk about the break up of the Coalition from within, and the struggle over the Geddes Report is giving colour to it; but whether this thing will be the cause, or that thing, every day which passes makes a really early election seem more probable.

While all these personal, party, and political factors are acting and interacting as usual inside the Halls of Parliament, the world outside is apparently plunging further and further into its confusions. The Irish situation is not very bright; Egypt is acutely needing settlement; India is simmering with unrest; France is obstinate as ever; Germany in the throes of an intense industrial upheaval; Austria at its last financial gasp; and Russia—starving. America alone seems really secure; and from there indeed comes the only good news of the last week, namely, the final and successful end of the Washington Conference, with a sound and really hopeful settlement of the several Chinese questions, as well as of Shantung and Siberia. We have to look a long way from home for something satisfactory, but at any rate there it is.

There is one subject which must be mentioned this week, and again next week, and every week thereafter until something is done, and that is the Russian famine. Dr. Nansen is making an unanswerable case for official aid in his speeches throughout the country, and it is imperative that the British Government should meet it. Every organisation of every kind is being asked to approach the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary about it, and if the public expresses its opinion with sufficient force, they may be induced to move before it is too late to save the next harvest. As Dr. Nansen says, it is not only the claims of humanity, but the purest self-interest which demands this course: neither we nor any other European people can afford to let the richest of our granaries become a depopulated desert. And if our Government will but act it is clear that others will follow suit.

[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.]

PREVENTIVE DETENTION AT WORK* (concluded).

By F. E. WINTLE,

Governor of H.M. Preventive Detention Prison, Camp Hill, I. of W.

Sixteen men have now been received under Section 12 of the Act, which empowers the Secretary of State to commute to Preventive Detention the unexpired residue of the sentence of penal servitude. This is a step in the right direction, though as under Section 12 of the Act a prisoner must have served three years in penal servitude first, and as a prisoner with five years can, by good conduct, earn a remission of a quarter of his sentence, Section 12 can only affect the men with sentences of over five years.

The after care is all important; all reformatory measures would become futile if the organisation of the Central Association or other organisations were weak, or the labour market depressed. So many of the men are criminals through the position of the moment.

Previous to a licence being received from the Home Secretary, a man is seen by the Director of the Central Association as to his prospects, and he is measured for his liberty clothing. This is a second step towards the outer world. The licence may or may not have a special clause, such as that a man (in the case of those who have been known to have committed crime whilst under the influence of drink) must abstain from drink, or in other cases where men are well known to have committed various crimes in a certain district, to keep away from that district.

The conditions of the licence are far from hard. A man has only to (1) place himself under the supervision of the Central Association, (2) not to alter his address without permission, (3) to obey its instructions with regard to punctual and regular attendance at work and to report himself as required; (4) to abstain from any violation of the law, not to associate with persons of bad character, and to lead a sober and industrious life to the satisfaction of the Association.

If he commits a breach of these conditions he may be taken back for further treatment. While a licence frees him from that contact with the police which is involved in the ticket-of-leave of the ordinary convict, it demands something of him beyond a monthly report and the absence of overt criminal acts, namely, a positive and continuous effort to earn an honest living.

Previous to a man's discharge I inform him of his destination and the terms of his licence, give him a friendly word of advice and ask him not to forget to let me know how he is going on. Many are the letters I get after discharge. They all speak well of the P.D. system and say that they have been influenced for good by it. Many of these letters are touching and sad, though some are written in the happy-go-lucky style, the characteristic that has so often brought their authors into trouble.

The first question the man in the street asks about P.D. is "What are the results?" At the time of writing these notes, when perhaps the worst commercial conditions prevail, the following are the figures based over a period of nine years: known to be doing well, 52 per cent.; doing badly and lost sight of, 40 per cent.; dead, 8 per cent.

Are not these figures satisfactory in view of the large number of genuine unemployed who are unable to find work, and considering the conditions of the labour market? Only a few months ago, before the present troubles in the labour world, 75 per cent. of the men discharged were doing well.

The failures are sent back either for breaking the terms of the licence or following a short sentence for a minor crime, or on a more serious charge. When they come back they do the remainder of the Preventive Detention sentence. I am sorry for these men. Daily contact with them, and the knowledge and experience of men gained before coming into the prison service, enables me to gauge the successes or failures. The failures are the men who take the line of least resistance and make no effort on their own behalf, and for them the indeterminate sentence is the only thing. Protection of society is the primary intention of the Act. Of the men returned as "licence-revoked" there is no doubt that the minimum sentence of five years' Preventive Detention was insufficient, and there are also men in Preventive Detention who will probably not be recom-

mended for licence before their time expires. If the real indeterminate sentence had been awarded to these men they would have been detained in prison instead of being allowed to be at large to prey upon society.

Some of us who assume the responsibility keenly feel the failures, and try to prevent more of them by a close study of human nature, and by trying to strengthen and make more efficient this excellent system. But when the past history of these men is considered, and the fact that they have all been solemnly found by a jury under special indictment to be habitual criminals, the beneficial effects of the system are apparent.

The success resulting from the system of training at Camp Hill, followed by the driving force of a special licence, and the generous labours of the Central Association Associates engaged in the after care of these men, of whom I cannot speak too highly, has been such as to suggest that this system might well be extended to include those who have not qualified as habitual criminals.

A review of all cases discharged during the years 1912-1920, to the number of 325, was made by the Central Association in 1920, when it appeared that of the 172 cases doing well, 30 were doing well in Navy or Army; 49 had been in the Army or Navy but had returned to civil life and were doing well; 93 had remained civilians and were doing well when we last heard of them. Of the total 325 discharges from 1912-1920, 145 served in the Army or Navy during the war, and 180 went to work in civil life.

It has been stated in criticising these successful figures that such a comparatively short period having elapsed since the inception of the Camp Hill system, statistics were insufficient proof of the effectiveness of the scheme, or that licensed P.D. men who are still doing well are not necessarily reformed.

This opinion I strongly oppose: the figures indisputably prove that a large percentage of Camp Hill men are up to the present doing well, in fact, much better than was originally anticipated, and also that the majority of those who went astray did so within one year of liberation, and that revocations during the two, three, or four successive years rapidly diminished to almost vanishing point. The inference naturally drawn from these facts is that if men go straight for two or three years they will in all probability continue to do so. It has also been pointed out that similar satisfactory results were found in regard to ordinary convicts discharged from convict prisons; this contention was however refuted by a comparison of the respective classes of men, those discharged from convict prisons being either of the Star Class (men not previously convicted) or the Intermediate Class (with only a very few convictions), whereas the Camp Hill inmates were invariably hardened criminals, and often of a dangerous kind.

It should be borne in mind that so far as concerns the individual offenders, the objective of Preventive Detention was primarily reformatory and secondarily punitive. And from one's own experience under this less vigorous discipline (held by some as not necessarily conducive to reformation) the men are better behaved. They are afforded encouragement, and, more important still, a man's individuality is recognised, and he is encouraged to display his character through his hopes and ambitions.

The view expressed by the number of visitors and officials of high standing from other countries whom I have had the pleasure of showing over Camp Hill is that the public is not doing its duty towards a criminal by simply excluding him from society for a longer or shorter period; but that criminality must be checked by preventive measures and by treating the offender with a view to his restoration. The protection of society equally with the reformation of the prisoner and his restoration to society as a useful citizen are therefore the duties of the State.

THE END.

* From a paper read before the Howard League for Penal Reform on June 3rd, 1921, and reprinted, by kind permission, from the "Howard Journal."

ARMY NURSES.

There can hardly be a nobler profession than that of nursing. In all its essentials it calls for the highest in women, and for all the special attributes of women—sympathy, gentleness, patience and utter selflessness, ready to sacrifice self for the sake of the patient, without hesitation or question. Yet the nursing profession is disgracefully paid. Hundreds of women would gladly enter it and devote their lives to it, but in these days, besides the will to work and willingness to sacrifice, they must consider whether they can afford it. Only those with private means can do so, for the pay is so small it is practically impossible to save for old age.

The Government, instead of leading the way to the better payment of this profession, pays the trained nurses of the Q.A.I.M.N.S. and the sister Service of the R.N., a mere pittance. They have to be gentlewomen by birth and education, who must have had their full training in the best hospitals before they can join either Service, and yet they are paid less than the orderlies they have to train!

Compare the following pay of the Government to its fully qualified Nursing Staffs of the Q.A.I.M.N.S. and of the Q.A.R.N.N.S., to the pay of the untrained, uneducated orderlies of the R.A.M.C. :-

Trained Nurses, Gentlewomen.	Uneducated Men.
Staff Nurse, £60 to £65 per ann.,	Orderly, untrained, £54 to £73 per
Rank of Officer.	ann.; after 2 years, £73 to
Sister, £76 to £85 per ann.	£91 ss.; after examination, £100.
Asst. Matron, £85 to £95 per ann.	Lance-Corp., £77 to £108.
Matron, £115 to £185, plus charge	Corp., £91 to £127.
pay which amounts to a further	Lance-Sergt., £100 to £136.
£30 or £45 per ann.	Sergt., £122 to £162.
Principal Matron, £260 to £296.	Staff Sergt., £171 to £200.
Many Nurses help to maintain	Q.M. Sergt., £210.
members of their families and	Sergt.-Major, £255 to £292.
have no allowance.	All ranks plus allowances for
Receive board and lodging. Wash-	families if on the strength.
ing allowance, 3s. 6d., does not	Besides board, lodging, washing,
cover amount paid out. Uniform	clothing, uniform.
allowance, which at lowest esti-	
mate leaves them out of pocket to	
the amount of £31. They also	
have to find their own under-	
clothes, boots and shoes.	

Such injustice is inconceivable, and yet the Army Nursing Board does not appear to be taking any steps to increase the pay and pensions of the nurses. One is therefore led to suppose that the Nursing Board is satisfied with the present remuneration.

BOLSHEVISM.

Soviet Russia. By E. Sylvia Pankhurst. Dreadnought Publishers. 2s. 6d.

The Defence of Terrorism. By L. Trotsky. Labour Publishing Co. 3s. 6d.

If Miss Pankhurst is to be trusted as an accurate historian (which, remembering her history of the Suffrage movement, we are inclined to doubt), her little book on Bolshevist Russia is a valuable contribution to our understanding of that mighty experiment in Marxian socialism. Its author visited the Soviet Republic in 1920 in the capacity of British delegate to the Third International; along with her fellow delegates she was entertained by the Soviet authorities both in Moscow and Petrograd, and under their auspices, introduced to the most interesting institutions of the new régime. Her inability to speak the language, combined with her position as one of a group of delegates, no doubt restricted her freedom of movement and closed many channels of independent or critical information. Nevertheless her vivid description of the atmosphere of communist internationalism, her frank and interesting account of the other delegates, and of the persons who entertained them, make fascinating reading; and much that she writes bears on the face of it the stamp of truth. Occasionally, however, we are sharply reminded that Miss Pankhurst is a biased observer—as, for example, in her description of the Kolonna home for orphans. This institution, we are told, is "surrounded by extensive grounds with many fruit trees. The children might pick and eat the fruit, provided they did not take enough to make themselves ill." Now here, at first sight, we seem to be confronted by a dream of Montessorian freedom. But on examining further

To Lady Astor's question in Parliament on the subject of their pay, the answer was to the effect that the pay and pensions of members of Q.A.I.M.N.S. had already been considered, and that they knew of no reason why the matter should be reconsidered.

So it goes on, and no redress is obtained. In 1920 there was an Army Order 358, which is known as the "Irishman's Rise." It was supposed to be an increase of pay. It was a reduction as follows:—Staff Nurses, who received the previous year a sum of £67 10s. pay and bonus, now receive £65; Sisters, who received £92 6s., now get £85; only the Matron's pay is increased, and that only by £4 8s.

Then there is the case of the Sisters and Staff Nurses who were acting Matrons during the war, with the strenuous and added responsibility of larger hospitals, increased nursing staffs, with the additional anxiety of the partially trained and untried V.A.D., and, later on, the still greater difficulty of the G.S.V.A.D. Section, which often gave the Matron a further responsibility of perhaps sixty members and from fifty to one hundred charwomen, with a General Service Superintendent who knew no Army rules and regulations, had never had any training for the management of women that was necessary for her post, or of the tact needed for dealing with Quartermasters, Sergeants, &c. All manner of mistakes and difficulties had to be settled and smoothed over by the Matron. What a task! Yet these women are not to receive the extra £10 pension for each year of service in that acting rank which is given to a Matron with substantive rank, who may have done nothing but peace work with small and fully trained staffs.

Nursing is a calling from which there is never any respite, not even Sundays off duty. Night duty is often twelve or even thirteen hours out of the twenty-four. There is five weeks' leave in the year if the exigencies of the Service permit. Will nothing stir the Government to pay these self-sacrificing women decently and justly?

What other Service would the Government dare to treat in this way? And I am given to understand that the pensions are smaller than are allowed by various Superannuation Acts of Parliament.

People wonder why there is a shortage of nurses, and the right sort are unobtainable! Is it to be wondered at? What educated gentlewoman could live decently, with the ordinary necessities of life, on a pension of £60 per year? That, too, after twenty years' service of the best of her life!

M. C. WATERFIELD.

we are faced with a dilemma. Either the Kolonna orphans are allowed to pick as much fruit as they like, and do in fact make themselves ill—or else they are prevented from making themselves ill, and therefore are not really allowed to pick as much as they like. In fact the rules of this orphan asylum appear to resemble our own currency laws, which allow us to convert notes into gold at the Bank of England, provided we do not do it. But apart from the social and personal interest of Miss Pankhurst's narrative, one paragraph in her chapter on the trade unions is of such supreme economic interest that we venture to quote it in full:—

"In the first period of the Revolution the factory committees strove everywhere to become the managing authority in the factory. Afterwards, the factories were managed by boards, consisting of representatives of the factory committees, the trade unions, and the Council of National Economy, which is a body created jointly by the trade unions and the Soviets. The steady tendency is for the election of the management to give way to selection based on practical experience, technical competency and organising capacity. The Ninth Congress of the Russian Communist Party declared in favour of management by single persons. . . ."

Now here, it may be surmised, is truth, and nothing but truth—truth which has been confirmed by the testimony of many independent observers and by the authentic utterances of Lenin and Trotsky. But, alas, it is not the whole truth; and the breakdown of these Russian Works Committees, the actual effect upon production of pure control by the producers, when it comes to be fully and impartially investigated, will provide material for which economic reformers have been hungering

since the days of Robert Owen. It is heartbreaking enough to contemplate the waste of life and material which has resulted from the isolation of Russia by the Governments of Western Europe. But it is an additional torment to contemplate the waste of economic knowledge resulting from the same policy, which prevents us from directing all our searchlights upon the series of gigantic experiments in industrial control now being carried on at someone else's expense.

Accurate or inaccurate, we are grateful to Miss Pankhurst for her book. And it is possible that some of our distrust arises from envy, that fruitful parent of malice. For oh! Miss Pankhurst, and comrades of the Third International, "many prophets and kings have desired to see those things which ye see, and have not seen them."

When we turn to Trotsky's "Defence of Terrorism" we are introduced to a different aspect of the Revolution. Here is yet another statement of orthodox Marxism up-to-date. It does not add much to our knowledge of that enthralling philosophy, because the ground has already been well covered by the numerous writings of Lenin which have been translated and published in this country. Like Lenin's "State and Revolution," and "Proletarian Revolution," Trotsky's book is in the main a violent and highly technical polemic against the heresies of the German Marxian, Karl Kautsky; a writer who has incurred the undying wrath of the two Russian defenders of the faith, by taking a *bourgeois* line in the matter of violence and terrorism. To persons unacquainted with the doctrines at issue, the greater part of Trotsky's book will suggest an incomprehensible theological discussion over the interpretation of a sacred writing whose plenary inspiration is unquestioned. The interest of such stuff lies, for the general reader, not so much in the points at issue, as in the light which their very discussion throws on the mentality of the Russian leaders. It is a significant phenomenon that these men of action should find time, under the most crushing administrative burdens ever imposed upon human shoulders, to deal thus in metaphysics and economic theory. The explanation is, of course, that they are working under the inspiration of a very definite and consistent philosophy, and that the conversion of the world to that philosophy is essential to its effective application. It is true that between the Marxian and

the Christian philosophy an impassable gulf is fixed. Nevertheless, when we read these two books together it becomes obvious that the Marxian philosophy, when it comes to practical application, is one which demands and indeed engenders a supreme degree of altruism. It requires that the individual shall lose his life in order that his class may have life more abundantly; it may even require that a whole generation shall lose its life in order to create the conditions of more abundant life for generations unborn. And these demands it makes of the individual without any accompanying assurance that his sacrifice "repaid a thousand times shall be."

When we have ploughed laboriously through two-thirds of Trotsky's remarkable book, we find to our relief that the metaphysical mists suddenly lift, leaving us in the comparatively clear atmosphere of a discussion on the organisation of industry. The author deals here with the developments hinted at in Miss Pankhurst's book. We get a justification of the proposition that "the road to Socialism lies through a period of the highest possible intensification of the principle of the State"; a passionate defence of "one man control" in industry; and an explanation of the apparent capitulation of communist to capitalist principles, on the theme that "the sailing ship has to manoeuvre before the wind, yet no one will see contradictions in the manoeuvres which finally bring the ship to harbour." This is without doubt true—yet (to follow up the author's simile) some of us may be tempted to believe that the long tacks to leeward will never be made good by Lenin's ship of State, and that a ship which cannot sail nearer to its wind is unlikely, in such stormy weather, to make its port of destination. If the ship were not so unwieldy, if its ballast were better stowed, if there were fewer disgruntled passengers batted down below, if its stores would only hold out, if its repairs had been done in dock instead of day by day under pressure of other duties on a storm-swept sea—with all these "ifs" the port might have been reached, and it may still be reached. Meanwhile, we privileged children of fate, who look on from the shore at this reckless adventure, whether we hope for shipwreck, or diversion, or success, must involuntarily hold our breath and bow our heads in wonder before the doings of this indomitable skipper and his mate.

M. D. S.

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

Offices: Evelyn House, 62, Oxford Street, London, W. 1. Telephone Museum 6910.

THE LATE MISS ESTHER BECKER.

We regret to announce the death of Miss Esther Becker at the age of eighty-seven. She was one of our Vice-Presidents and sister of the late Lydia E. Becker, one of the pioneers of the Suffrage Movement. Her niece, Miss Alice Crompton, writes that Miss Becker retained her mental vigour until a few days before her death, and that she was in warm sympathy with our aims. We have a letter from Miss Becker written by herself as recently as November in reply to an invitation from Headquarters, from which we should like to quote a few lines: "I much regret that age and infirmity prevent my accepting the kind invitation of the Committee. . . . I was rejoiced at the success of Mrs. Winttingham. How would my late sister Lydia E. Becker have rejoiced! We little thought in the old days that women would ever sit in Parliament. With best wishes for the success of the good cause."

ANNUAL COUNCIL MEETING, MARCH 7th, 8th, and 9th.

Full details of the Programme of Events to be held in connection with the Council Meeting will be issued after the meeting of the Executive Committee this week. It is probable that these will include a public luncheon at the Holborn Restaurant, to which distinguished guests will be invited, and a public meeting to be addressed by women candidates for Parliament. A Conference for Officers will be arranged, at which successful experiments carried out by different societies will be described, and difficulties discussed. A Conference on a subject which affects women concerned in local government, equally with women who stand for equality between the sexes—the treatment of venereal disease—will also be organised, when both sides on this controversial subject will be given a hearing.

As the House will be in session, deputations to Members can be arranged if desired, and opportunities provided for delegates who wish to visit the House.

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL ELECTIONS.

We are most anxious that at the forthcoming elections all candidates should be asked to answer our questions, and therefore appeal to our members who live in the L.C.C. area to write to Headquarters for copies of the questionnaire to send to their candidates and to put to them at meetings. The candidates should be informed that their answers will be made public in the local Press, &c., for the benefit of their constituents.

GLASGOW S.E.C.

A meeting on "Inequalities in the Law as between Men and Women" was organised on January 26th by the Glasgow Society for Equal Citizenship in co-operation with the Women Citizens' Association, and supported by the National Council of Women (Glasgow Branch), at which Miss Melville, B.D., J.P., presided. Dr. Neilson (Stipendiary Magistrate, Glasgow), the first speaker, said that of all the functions of government there was none so important as legislation. Women now called, late in the day, to share in the glorious but perilous art of legislation need to go carefully, knowing the wrongs their sex had suffered by a thousand years of exclusions in the interests of man. Their policy must be guardedly framed. There was no phase of home law-making more vital to the country than to secure the full liberties of legislation for women. Miss Eunice Murray, who spoke on the inequalities of the franchise, said that she believed women had only to make a great public demonstration against the provision that required them to attain the age of thirty before securing the vote, to have that provision removed. She said that in spite of the great advance the women had made and the emancipation they had won, the position of many women was in jeopardy to-day. They found women being turned out of positions because they were married. That was a matter that women ought to protest against most strongly. Miss Melville then spoke briefly on the reforms which had been, and still are being, worked for by women, including the Equal Guardianship, Maintenance, and Custody of Infants Bill and the Criminal Law Amendment Bill. Miss Helen Fraser said she had just come from America, where she had opportunities of watching the Washington Conference and meeting people who were there from other countries. She came back with clear ideas of many of the great issues, none more clear than that this country was the sheet anchor of the world and that the greatest task we had in front of us was to get stability and peace in the world. That was the first great fundamental task that confronted men and women alike. There was a large and attentive audience at the meeting, at the close of which Mrs. Albert Gray (Parish Councillor, Glasgow) moved the vote of thanks to the Chairman and the speakers.

CHESTER W.C.A.

On January 25th, at the invitation of the Chester W.C.A., Sir Charles Cayser, the Conservative Candidate, met a deputation of women, representing the Chester W.C.A., the Chester Women's Unionist Association,

the Chester Women's Liberal Association, and the local Branch of the National Union of Women Teachers. Representatives of the Co-operative Guild, the Labour Party (Women's Branch), and the British Women's Temperance Association were, unfortunately, prevented from attending.

After hearing the views of the deputation about the anomalies of the present state of women's franchise, Sir Charles Cayser said he was in favour of removing the difference between men and women voters with regard to lodgers, residence, and business qualifications, which he regarded as absurd. But he feared the consequences of lowering the age for woman franchise in view of the greater number of female voters. He also awaited a greater demand for this extension of representation.

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

A resolution, calling upon the Government to redeem its pledge to pass a comprehensive measure of Licensing Reform which would give "a proper adaptation to peace conditions of the experience which during the war we have gained in regard to the traffic in drink," has been passed by the Consultative Committee of Women's Organisations on the motion of the Women's State Purchase Committee. The resolution was broad and non-controversial, its purpose being to call attention to the inadequacy of the Licensing Act (No. 2), 1921. That this recent Act was recognised in the House as merely a stop-gap was shown by Sir Donald Maclean's speech on the passing of the Bill last August, and Sir Gordon Hewart, in thanking the House, referred to it as "a modest and useful instalment of licensing reform."

Very definitely the promised comprehensive measure is still due to the people of this country. At this period of history it is too late for the wheels of progress to be stayed. The great combine of firms who make their 25 per cent. and 20 per cent. dividends out of the sale of intoxicating liquor may know that their halcyon days are over. Great Britain cannot afford to sleep comfortably as she did in the eighties and nineties. One country after another is tackling its drink problem—some by prohibition, some by public ownership. The people of England desire to have their say in the matter of the drink trade, and possibly the solution will be dealt with best locally—local conditions vary and local self-government is an ever-spreading principle of control. Two essentials, however, must be borne in mind: (1) The Trade in each locality must have equitable compensation if the decision of the majority is for closing the licensed houses. (2) An alternative to "No Change" must be provided for those localities who do not desire to close their public-houses but who wish to see them very much changed—not only reconstructed and made "respectable," but under *disinterested management* and supplied with non-alcoholic refreshment and other counter-attractions. In both these essentials former Local Option Bills have failed. The compensation offered to the Trade has been in time, not in money, and nothing better than the negative "No Change" has been offered to the great majority of this country who, as in Scotland, do not desire to see the country "go dry." The Local Option Bill brought forward by the Bishop of Oxford fulfils both these conditions. It would mark a new era in Temperance Reform if public opinion demanded that this Bill should become law. It sets out sound moderate constructive proposals that should be acceptable to all—the local veto-ist as well as the moderate or even hardened drinker! The solution to modern problems is co-operation. If a Local Option Bill such as this is opposed by the Prohibition Party because it contains the option of State Purchase as well as Local Veto, it is a lamentable outlook for progress. Why strain at the gnat of "State Purchase" and swallow the camel of "No Change"? But perhaps they will see, after all, that the Bill offers an unprecedented opportunity for securing a Local Option measure after half a century of failure.

For literature and speakers apply: Miss M. Cotterell, O.B.E., Women's National Committee, Parliament Mansions, Victoria Street, S.W. 1.

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COMING EVENTS.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

- FEB. 10. Bromley, Public Library, 8.15 p.m. Speaker: S. Sherman, Esq., B.A.
 FEB. 11. Windlesham, School. Speaker: Frederick Whelen, Esq.
 FEB. 12. Woking, Grand Palais de Dance, 3 p.m. Speaker: Frederick Whelen, Esq.
 FEB. 13. St. Annes-on-Sea, Ashton Pavilion, 3 p.m. Speaker: Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, Esq.
 FEB. 15. Berkhamsted, School Sessions Hall, 8 p.m. Speaker: Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, Esq.
 London, Women's Institute, 92, Victoria Street, 5 p.m. Speaker: Miss Muriel Curry, O.B.E.
 FEB. 16. Eastbourne, Town Hall, 8 p.m. Speakers: Col. D. Borden Turner, Rear-Admiral S. R. Drury Lowe, C.M.G.

SUNDERLAND W.C.A.

- FEB. 16. Social Centre, The Royalty, 7.30 p.m. "The Training of Disabled Soldiers." Speaker: Dr. Hort. Chair: Rev. S. R. Bawtree, A.T.S.

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.

- FEB. 13. At Minerva Café, 144, High Holborn, 8 p.m. "False Economy in Education." Speaker: Miss Agnes Dawson. Chair: Miss Lilian Pierotti.

PIONEER CLUB.

- FEB. 14. Debate, 8.15 p.m. "That Englishwomen do not easily adapt themselves to Overseas Conditions." Opener: Mrs. Alan Bright. Opposer: Mrs. Pickett. Chair: Mrs. Field.

EDINBURGH S.E.C.

- FEB. 16. New Gallery, 12, Shandwick Place, 8 p.m. Mock Election. Candidates will make short speeches and voting will be by Proportional Representation.

BRITISH DOMINIONS WOMEN CITIZENS' UNION.

- FEB. 13. Dinner at International Women's Franchise Club, 6.30 p.m., to meet Dame Adelaide Anderson, O.B.E. (late H.M. Chief Woman Inspector of Factories), before she leaves to visit South Africa and other of the Overseas Dominions.

WOMEN'S ENGINEERING SOCIETY.

- FEB. 21. Club Room, 26, George Street, Hanover Square, 6.15 p.m. "Model Experiments in Aeronautics." Speaker: Mrs. H. Irving. Chair: Miss H. P. Hudson, M.A.

WOMEN'S INSTITUTE.

- FEB. 8-MAR. 1. Exhibition of Decorative Designs by Women, 92, Victoria Street.

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

- FEB. 13. Carlisle, Women's Co-operative Guild, 7.30 p.m. "State Purchase at Work in Carlisle." Speaker: Mrs. Renton.
 Marylebone, Women's Co-operative Guild, 7 p.m. "The Carlisle Experiment." Speaker: Miss M. Cotterell.

- FEB. 14. Woodgreen, Women's Co-operative Guild, 2.30 p.m. "Public Ownership a Solution of the Drink Problem." Speaker: Miss M. Cotterell.
 FEB. 15. Middlesbrough, Women Citizens' Council, 7.30 p.m. "The Carlisle Experiment." Speaker: Mrs. Renton.

- Woodgreen, Women's Adult School, 7 p.m. "State Purchase of the Drink Trade." Speaker: Miss M. Cotterell.

- FEB. 16. Barnsley, Society for Equal Citizenship, 5.30 p.m. Debate: "State Purchase v. Prohibition." Speakers: Mrs. Renton, Rev. Gordon Mee.

- Guildford, Women's Co-operative Guild, 8 p.m. "Public Ownership of the Drink Trade." Speaker: Miss M. Cotterell.

INTERNATIONAL FRANCHISE CLUB.

- FEB. 15. 9, Grafton Street, Piccadilly, 8.15 p.m. Subject: "Poland, 1919-21." Speaker: Mrs. Cecil Chesterton. Chairman: Miss C. Nina Boyle.

N.U.S.E.C.

- FEB. 16. Petersfield S.E.C. Speaker: Mrs. Hubback.
 FEB. 17. Hertford W.C.A. "Men and Women who are Building up the League of Nations." Speaker: Mrs. Walter Layton. (N.B.—Date of meeting as now given, not Feb. 10, as stated last week.)

- Shanklin S.E.C., 8.15 p.m. Speaker: Mrs. Hubback.
 FEB. 18. Ryde W.C.A., 3 p.m. Speaker: Mrs. Hubback.

- Church Army Sisters' Training College, 11.45 a.m. Speaker: Miss Macadam.

THEOSOPHICAL ORDER OF SERVICE.

- FEB. 15. 3, Upper Woburn Place, W.C.1, 8.30 p.m. "Our Relationship to the Animals: Immediate Problems." Speaker: Miss L. Schartau. Chair: Miss Ford.

MEDICAL, Etc.

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ANNOUNCEMENTS.

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INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S FRANCHISE CLUB, 9, Grafton Street, Piccadilly, W.1.—Subscription: London Members, 42 2s., Country Members, 41 5s. (Irish, Scottish, and Foreign Members, 10s. 6d.) per annum. Entrance fee, one guinea. Excellent catering; Luncheons and Dinners à la Carte.—All particulars, Secretary. Tel.: Mayfair 3932.

THE FELLOWSHIP SERVICES.—Eccleston Guild House, Eccleston Square, S.W. Sunday, Feb. 12, 6.30, Miss Maude Royden. "Our Responsibilities, II. Education."

THE PIONEER CLUB has re-opened at 12, Cavendish Place. Town members, 45 5s.; Country and Professional members, 44 4s. Entrance fee in abeyance (pro. tem.).

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CONSERVATIVE WOMEN'S REFORM ASSOCIATION, 48, Dover Street, W.1. February 23rd, Sir Robert Newman, M.P., on "Separation and Maintenance Orders Bill."

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