THE

WOMAN'S LEADER

AND THE COMMON CAUSE

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NOTES AND NEWS.

The Crisis of the League.

As we went to press last week we ventured to predict that honour and commonsense would prevail at Geneva, and that the powers would eventually make up their minds, with a good grace, to the unconditional assumption by Germany of a permanent seat on the League Council. Unfortunately British public opinion and its *de facto* representative, Mr. Unden, the Swedish Foreign Secretary, have failed to disperse the spirit of diplomatic intrigue, whose flames M. Briand and Sir Austen Chamberlain have so diligently fanned. We cannot resist here quoting the mot which we are informed has been going the round in Geneva: "England expects that every Swede this day will do his duty." Now, at last, a sorry compromise, having its origin in the statesmanship and self-sacrifice of Sweden or Czecho-Slovakia, appears at the time of writing to have opened a way out of the miserable complication. It has not, however, left undamaged the European reputations either of M. Briand or Sir Austen Chamberlain. With the former we have little sympathy. He is a *real politiker* with an uncritical press behind him, and an acquiescent public opinion so far as events at Geneva are concerned. But our own Foreign Secretary is a more guileless man. From the meshes of the diplomatic net in which he has managed to wrap himself up it is doubtless difficult for him to see, quite as his fellow-countrymen see, breaches of trust, both to German representatives and to the British people, implicit in his recent diplomatic activities.

News by Wireless.

Since the above was written we have ourselves actually listened to the opening speeches at the critical meeting of the Assembly at Geneva to-day. Thanks to the enterprise of the B.B.C., the British public—those who could spare time from their various avocations—were enabled to be present at the Assembly and to hear the speeches. All the speakers joined in the warmest tributes to Sweden and Czecho-Slovakia for their "generous, unselfish, noble conduct," to quote the words of Sir Austen Chamberlain, and M. Briand expressed the most cordial admiration of the behaviour of the German representatives in very trying circumstances. Unfortunately, in spite of agreement among the Locarno powers, the attitude of at least one member of the Council made postponement inevitable. We do not wish, however, to join in a general chorus of despair; much as we regret past errors, we believe that the spirit of goodwill will prevail and that the Commission proposed by the President of the Assembly will lead, as many speakers anticipated, to a complete solution of all difficulties and that in September Germany will receive an even warmer welcome into a steadier and stronger League.

Equal Franchise and Hopes Deferred.

The Home Secretary has again been referring to Equal Franchise, this time at a meeting of the Primrose League at Croydon on Wednesday, 10th March. The Times reported him as saying that "It was quite possible that there would be an extension of the Franchise to the young women. All that was being carefully considered, and would be considered, probably year, by a Speaker's Conference. There were many inequalities in our registration laws. They would all be reconsidered, and among them—he was not prejudging—was that very great question of the Equal Franchise for women with men at the same age as men. If that came about, there would be some millions more young women untrained politically, uneducated politically, and the women would have control of The italics are ours. We must confess that we Empire. find it difficult to reconcile the Home Secretary's hopes and fears with the definite pledge he gave last year, and which we quoted last week: "The Unionist Party are in favour of equal political rights for men and women—there is no doubt whatever as to the Prime Minister's pledge or its meaning and intention, and we do mean to carry out that pledge. We do mean to give equal political rights to men and women." His announcement that the Conference would be set up "probably next year" only confirms what we have suspected for some time, viz., that both he and the Government are prepared to disregard his announcement made on its behalf in February, 1925, viz., that the Conference referred to "could be set up in 1926." It is not surprising that we feel we cannot take the Home Secretary's views of the probabilities of the case as carrying us very much further. It becomes increasingly urgent that women's organizations should make it their first duty to bring about the end of this dilly-dallying and the fulfilment of the promise

The Economy Bill and National Health Insurance.

We go to Press before the end of the debate on the second reading of the Economy Bill, but unfortunately the carrying of the second reading is a foregone conclusion. We deplore the proposed reduction of the State grant to the National Health Insurance Funds from 2ths of the sums expended in benefits and the costs of administration to 17th in the case of men and th in the case of women. We have been studying with some care the Actuary's Report on the Bill, and while we accept his contention that the proposed reduction will neither affect the present benefits which are given nor certain extensions proposed, we require no Actuary's Report to make it absolutely clear that the reduction of the State grant will make it still more difficult to obtain those extensions of the Statutory benefits for which this paper stands. It will be remembered that the Majority Report of the Royal Commission on National Health Insurance, although convinced of the need of provision for allowances for the dependents of insured persons, and improved provision at the time of pregnancy and child-birth for insured women and the wives of insured men has only placed these among extensions of Statutory benefit to be met "as and when funds are available to meet the cost." On grounds of expense the Majority Report does not even include among those benefits the need for providing medical benefits for the dependents of insured persons. It is, we feel, a poor kind of economy which proposes to save a small sum at the expense of the health of the married working woman and the children of the community. Until these are included, how can any Insurance Scheme be counted as National?

Women and the New South Wales Legislative Council.

A curious situation has arisen in New South Wales. In order to expedite the abolition of the Legislative Council, the Premie,

persuaded the Governor of the State to nominate twenty-five new members towards the close of last year. These new members, apparently unwilling to relinquish their new honours, failed to turn the scale as expected for the Government measure, for the abolition of the Upper House was defeated by forty-seven votes to forty-one. The Premier thereupon urged the necessity of another batch of new members, and recommended the appointment of women in this capacity. It appears to the outsider a doubtful compliment to women to urge their nomination to a body which is expected immediately to vote for its own extinction. Miss Wilkinson raised the question on Monday in the House of Commons, and the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs stated that he understood that the refusal of the Governor to make additional appointments was not on the grounds that the persons proposed were women.

Unemployed Women.

Both Lady Astor and Miss Wilkinson rose in defence of the unemployed women when in reply to a question relating to training centres, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour stated that no further development is at present possible. Miss Wilkinson pointed out the inconsistency of almost halving the expenditure on a scheme which had justified itself, and Lady Astor received no reply when she asked if the Government were doing anything else in aid of the unemployed woman. We have repeatedly expressed the view that the provision of training centres for men, women and adolescents is an indispensable part of any scheme for dealing with unemployment. Mr. Betterton admits that the money spent has been justified by outward and visible results. Who can estimate the unseen results that cannot be tabulated? We greatly regret economies in this direction.

Hours of Labour.

At the time of writing it is impossible to foresee the results of the International Conference of Ministers of Labour on hours of work. We understand that the conference is engaged in examining the articles of the Washington Hours' Convention one by one. In view of the fact that 90 per cent. of the workers in this country have already an eight hour day, we hope that the difficulties of the remaining 10 per cent. are not insuperable. We fear that in this country at least the excluded 10 per cent. includes a large proportion of women workers, and while we would oppose any proposal to restrict the hours of women only, we would rejoice in a universal limitation.

House of Lords and Information on Birth Control.

Lord Buckmaster's resolution, quoted in these columns on 5th March, "To ask His Majesty's Government if they will withdraw all instructions given to, or conditions imposed on, Welfare Committees for the purpose of causing such Committees to withhold from married women in their district information when sought by such women as to the best means of limiting their families", will be introduced on Wednesday next.

Midwives and Maternity Homes.

A useful Bill to amend the Midwives Act. 1902 and 1918. and to provide for the registration of maternity homes has been introduced in the House of Commons by Colonel Fremantle, supported by Major Hills, Sir Henry Slesser, Mr. Morris and Mr. Greenwood. This Bill will make it illegal for uncertified women to attend women in childbirth (except in cases of urgent necessity) otherwise than under the direction and personal supervision of a qualified medical practitioner. As the law stands at present, uncertified women are only forbidden to practise "habitually and for gain". The new Bill provides or compensation to midwives who are temporarily suspended from practice by the local supervisory authority through no fault of their own. It also authorizes authorities to make arrangements whereby an expectant mother may insure against the possible liability for the fee of the doctor. Clause 3 gives the Central Midwives Board the same power as the General Nursing Council in the case of nurses to charge a small annual fee to each midwife who wishes her name to be retained on the roll of Midwives. A curious feature of the Bill is the provision which applies all Midwives Acts to male as well as female midwives. If men are allowed to be midwives without let or hindrance, surely the field of so-called "men's work" should be freely open to women. Part II of the Bill makes provision for the registration and inspection of maternity homes. Powers for

such supervision have already been acquired by London, Middlesex, Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds and other areas, by local Acts of Parliament.

Banks and Married Women.

A protest has been sent by the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship to the directors of Barclays Bank, with reference to their recent decision that women must give up their posts on marriage. Apparently Barclays Bank deals generously with its women clerks. It gives pensions, and a gratuity on marriage. But that does not affect the decision in question, which is another instance of the intrusion into the private affairs of employees which would be regarded as intolerable if extended to men. The N.U.S.E.C. urges the Board to reconsider their decision, and to allow women workers, given the requisite efficiency, to decide for themselves whether to continue work after marriage or not. We hope other women's organizations and individual women, especially those who have accounts with Barclays Bank, will make similar protests.

Drinking by Women.

No one can accuse us of sympathy with the Trade, but we regret that the question of exclusion of women from public houses has been raised again at the Middlesborough adjourned Brewster Sessions. It is reported that when the Licensing Justices of Middlesborough excluded women from licensed premises, there was little or no drinking among women in the Borough. Since this ban was removed, women are alleged to frequent public houses in large numbers, even exceeding men. We cannot here discuss whether it is more or less harmful to drink in public houses or at home. But we do protest once again at the suggestion of reviving any sex discrimination in this connection. We imagine, however, that the views of the best type of temperance reformer will be in accord with our feminist view of this matter.

The Success of Women Barristers.

Miss Monica Geikie Cobb has been appointed deputy Chairman of the Court of Referees in London, under the Unemployment Insurance Act. Miss Cobb was one of the first woman barristers in this country, and was the first woman to hold a brief in England; this appointment is of great interest as it indicates that qualified women who have shown ability may hope to occupy positions of responsibility for which legal training and experience are required. Miss Margaret Kidd, Scotland's first woman advocate, who recently appeared before the House of Lords, is the first woman to do so in a professional capacity.

Protection from Women.

The Times has a brief report this week of a new non-political league in Vienna, for the protection of men against the wrongs inflicted by the emancipation of women. Three of the demands of the league relate to the payment of alimony, and another asks that illegitimate children be compelled to support their impoverished parents. There are people, both men and women, who are always on the look out for some excuse for starting a new society.

Questions in Parliament.

Wednesday, 10th March.

UNEMPLOYED WOMEN (see note above).

The White Slave Traffic.—Colonel Davy asked the Home Secretary whether there was a special department of the Metropolitan Police to deal with the White Slave Traffic. The Home Secretary replied that matters involving police action were dealt with by the Criminal Investigation Department under the orders of the Commissioner of Police for the Metropolis, who is the Central Authority for the United Kingdom under the International Agreement and Conventions relating to the traffic in women.

Thursday, 11th March.

MARRIED WOMEN (NATIONALITY).—Sir Geoffrey Butler asked the Home Secretary whether he is yet able to recommend the introduction of a clause supplementary to the Nationality Acts enabling British women on their marriage to foreigners to retain their nationality unless and until they acquire their husband's nationality, and whether he has received from the various Dominion Governments their views upon this suggestion. The Home Secretary replied that the reply of the Canadian Government on the subject is still being awaited.

"WHAT THE WOMAN'S LEADER THOUGHT YESTERDAY . . . "

It was a matter of chagrin to us last week that the publication of the Coal Commission's report a few hours after our issue went to Press, precluded immediate comment. That chagrin has given place to satisfaction, for in dealing with such a document quick comment is undeserved. The process of digestion needs time. Many years ago Karl Marx, most furious of Socialists and parent of social cynicism, was driven by force of experience to pay reluctant homage to a certain feature of English public life which seemed to cut across the unadulterated doctrine of the class war. That feature was the impartiality and integrity of official inquiries, commissions, departmental and select committees, by which the raw material of social reform was collected and sifted from the early years of the Industrial Revolution to our own day. No vested interest, no privileged class was safe from their investigation and criticism. No government was sure that their advice would be in convenient accordance with party policy or political tradition. The Report of the Coal Comission, published last week, stands out as a worthy member of this great company, balanced, expert, impersonal. It has no headlong bias against nationalization, but for reasons duly set forth, it considers the nationalization of coal-getting under present conditions to be inadvisable. It has no doctrinaire nimus against private ownership, but it considers that in this particular case the state ownership of universal rights and the nunicipal distribution of coal are expedient. It is gravely displeased with certain features of the coal owners' propaganda against the good faith and morale of the miners—such propaganda having no adequate basis of fact. It is not, however, prepared to admit the miners' claim that under no circumstances must a wage reduction be contemplated. On the contrary, if the subsidy (which it condemns as inequitable and uneconomic) is discontinued, some wage reduction there must inevitably be. It is a present sacrifice which must precede certain slowly maturing schemes of industrial reconstruction. But indiscriminate and unconditional wage-cuts it finds intolerable. If wages are to be cut, then they must be cut in such a way as to involve a minimum of damage to subsistence life standards. It is at this point that the Report becomes of absorbing and peculiar interest to women. Let it tell its own tale :-

'The practical difficulties in getting any guidance to the suitable level for a subsistence wage from such a consideration of actual requirements are twofold. There is, first, the difficulty of agreeing on the minimum requirements for the well-being of any individual There is second the great variation in the requirements, however measured, of each wage-earner according to the number of persons dependent on his wages. A subsistence wage adjusted to the needs of a married man with two dependent children, is more than is usually needed by a single or childless man and less than will sustain a man with a large family. Logically a minimum wage based in any way upon a reasoned estimate of requirements for any given standard of human comfort, involves and should be accompanied by a system of family allowances. . . . There is in any case no reason for doubting that, for any given wage cost, per ton, a higher standard of living can be maintained for the mining population, if a small part of what enters into wages cost takes the form of children's allowances, instead of the whole being given simply as ordinary wages. That is to say, the introduction of a system of children's allowances will raise the standard of living if the total wage bill remains unchanged, and may neutralize largely or completely any evil effects that would otherwise result from a fall of

Thus the Coal Commission proposes to recognize for the first time the existence of the miner's w fe. And its recognition implies that she too has certain work to do-important workwork which requires resources proportionate to its intensity, and which should therefore give her on behalf of her children a direct claim to some part of the product of the industry. There are doubtless miners and mine-owners who will reply that a man's wife and family are his own personal concern, and that the way in which he chooses to spend the bare surplus of his own subsistence wage (whether on a family, or any other form of personal property) is no concern of the community. But the women's organizations will see in this significant recommendation of the Coal Commission, the thin end of a tremendous feminist reform the first faint reflection of a new view of woman's economic status and the importance of her work. And seeing it thus, they will not allow it to be ignored or belittled in the course of the formidable deliberations that lie ahead of the Report.

NEWS FROM WESTMINSTER. BY OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT.

The week has been more notable for what has happened outside Parliament than for what has been done inside. The Coal Commission Report has been lodged, the Economy Bill printed, and the League of Nations has got into a tangle at Geneva. The last is lamentable, but assuredly it was foreseen. Without being wise after the event, it is permissible to say that if Sir Austen Chamberlain had put his foot down at the beginning no trouble would have arisen. At the same time, do not let us exaggerate the quarrel, nor forget that its very acrimony shows the importance attached to seats on the Council. Three years ago so much bitterness would have been unthinkable.

Upon the Coal Report it is best to follow the wise advice of the Prime Minister and say nothing hastily. The industry, both employers and men, have obeyed this with a commendable spirit, and for the moment there is a breathing space. The Economy Bill is frankly disappointing. If all the savings that it makes are reflected in the estimates (and it is believed that nine-tenths of them are) the nett result is mighty poor. Different newspapers and different amateur financiers arrive at opposite results, but the best way to consider the figures is to deduct from both sides of the account (from the present year and from next year) Coal Subsidy payments, for the Coal Subsidy is surely a capital charge, and will not recur. If this is done the Civil Service Estimates are up by between 3 and 4 millions. The estimates for the fighting Services are down by rather more than 4 millions, so that our total expenditure is decreased by only 1 million. This, it should be added, is the most favourable interpretation, and it may be that we shall actually spend more next year than last. It should be borne in mind that under the term Civil Service Estimates are included practically everything except National Debt payments and the cost of the fighting Services. Therefore Civil Service includes Education, Health, Housing, Pensions, and Unemployment Pay.

Now to come to the chronicle. On Tuesday, 9th March, the Bill subsidising the Unemployment Insurance Fund of Northern

Ireland was read a second time, and also a grant in aid of £1,200,000 given to Northern Ireland for the cost of Special Constabulary. These gifts, though they passed with the assent of the Government's supporters, were in reality given most reluctantly. The best that can be said is that it is hoped that we have seen the last of them. At 8.15 Captain Hope moved a motion calling for a Select Committee to inquire into the grievances of ex-Service Civil Servants, but this was talked out.

On Wednesday, 10th March, there was a debate on the Ministry of Labour, in which nothing new emerged, and at 8.15 a motion by Commander Williams calling for the encouragement of the fishing industry. After that, at 11 o'clock at night, the House settled down to the Trade Facilities Bill, and did not adjourn until 6 o'clock next morning.

On Thursday, 11th March, came the Naval Estimates. Mr. Bridgeman is a popular character and conceals great astuteness under a simple exterior. Therefore, though the House on all sides was uneasy at the size of the naval estimates, he got through without serious criticism. At the same time the movement for economy in the defence services has gone far and will go farther. The Colwyn Report is kept invisible, the Prime Minister asserting that it is a private Cabinet document; but rumour, always busy and sometimes accurate, alleges that its cuts in the fighting services, specially in the Navy, were immensely greater than the savings which have been shown. Accordingly, there is a concerted desire, by no means confined to one side of the House, to spend less on national defence, and a Ministry of Defence is supported with this object.

Mr. Scrymgeour made a forceful appeal for pacifism, and

Mr. Scrymgeour made a forceful appeal for pacifism, and was listened to with respect and attention, but Mr. Lansbury, speaking late at night, made a bitter attack on the Navy and on the attitude of this country in the late war. He said that wars waged by the Navy are waged on behalf of capitalism and exploitation, and that the late war was waged on behalf of

(Continued at foot of next page.)

ROYAL COMMISSION ON HEALTH INSURANCE. II.

By JOSEPH L. COHEN.

MAJORITY RECOMMENDATIONS.

The intimidated majority of the Royal Commission on Health Insurance have had good fortune in discovering a "surplus" to dispose of, and certain small "reforms" which lay near at hand and which any Government seeking a constructive policy would be expected to find easy to adopt. Broad issues were ignored, and details gone into with great zest.

An essentially standfast policy was thus embodied in one hundred and twenty-two conclusions and recommendations. Let us summarize but a few of the more important of these

(1) The abolition of insurance committees charged with the administration of medical benefits is recommended, and that their work should be handed on to committees of the appropriate local authorities.

(2) They emphasize the need of fixing the rate per head paid to doctors" over a reasonable period of years, so as to give to all parties a settled financial basis for their relations".

(3) They wish to mitigate inequalities in benefits which arise in practice. Another system of partial pooling of surpluses is recommended. This is not to apply to the existing surpluses Half the surplus revealed in the last valuation is to be pooled

(4) The majority decided not to recommend developments which could not be paid for out of the present income of the health insurance scheme. But as and when funds become available to meet the cost they recommended that statutory benefits should be placed in the following order of priority:-

(a) Extension of the scope of medical benefit. (b) The provision of allowances in respect of dependents of insured persons in recept of sickness or disablement benefit. (c) Improved provision at the time of pregnancy and child-birth for insured women and the wives of insured men. (d) The provision of dental treatment as a normal benefit.

On the most important question of all, on the continuation of the Approved Society system of administration, they confess that "this question might have to be reconsidered in the event of fundamental changes being made in the system of social insurance." Surely this must be a unique instance of a Royal Commission charged with the duty of inquiring whether 'fundamental changes" ought to be made, evading its responsibility on the ground that some other Royal Commission some day may have to consider "fundamental changes! But in spite of their efforts to delay the inevitable, and all their skilful handling of the case for the Approved Society system, which has, in effect, broken down, the Majority Commissioners have not taken up the attitude that all the contradictory claims made on behalf of the present arrangements are sound, and therefore have incurred the wrath of those whom they would defend. The narrow, selfish cunning of the Approved Society officials has seen through this half-hearted case made out on their behalf, and they realize that even the present proposals, the abolition of insurance committees and the further extensions of pooling, must sooner or later lead to their complete abolition. Logically, but madly, they are adopting an extreme individualist position. We will not allow interference with "our surpluses," our funds," "our members." Experience shows conclusively that once the Government decides on a national system of insurance with compulsory contributions from employers and workers, with State subsidies, it is impossible to administer the scheme through such anomalous bodies as Approved Societies. As well try and run a national system of education through private organizations.

MINORITY RECOMMENDATIONS.

The proposals of the Minority, who, incidentally, included the only two women members on the Commission, belong to an entirely different category to those of the Majority. They have a definite, logical, well-thought out policy and have visualized the end with a consistent programme of means. They have a vision of a comprehensive public health policy, properly unified and carried out by the local authority. They boldly face the main issues. They do not feel bound, of course, to confine their suggested developments of the national health insurance scheme to such as can be paid for within its present financial resources. They set out an overwhelming case for the abolition of Approved Societies. The failure to give effect to the provisions as to inquiries into excessive sickness has been largely due to the fact

that the approved society system is not adapted to the purpose and conclude that this system is a hindrance to the development of a complete public health policy. The intentions of Parliament as to the control of Societies by their members have not been realized. The test of good administration is not merely a low expenditure on benefits, but the securing also that the insured persons receive the benefits to which they are entitled. It is undesirable to retain Approved Societies any longer as the agencies for the distribution of cash benefits. They recommend that the Local Authorities could and should take the place of Approved Societies as the bodies through which sickness and disablement benefits should be administered. They recommend that a complete medical and treatment service should be instituted and should not depend for its finance entirely upon current contributions.

MARCH 10, 1026.

They urge that the normal rates of sickness benefit should be raised to 18s. a week for men and 15s. a week for women. Medical service during pregnancy and confinement should be reorganized and extended, and monetary benefits provided for the twelve weeks laid down in the Washington Convention. All employed persons should be brought into insurance, i.e. there should be no gap between the school medical service and that provided for those engaged in industry.

THE GENEVA TANGLE.1

Well-wishers of the League have been deeply concerned at the course of events at Geneva during the past week, and our hopes of progress towards international unity have been rudely The entry of Germany into the League of Nations should have been a sign of friendly relations between nations and of a desire to put away the old suspicions and animosities. The special meeting of the Assembly was convened for the express purpose of admitting Germany to the League and in accordance with definite assurance and understanding she was to be given a permanent seat on the Council. The whole situation has been complicated by the recent claim of Spain, Brazil and Poland to be accorded permanent seats at the same time as Germany. We see here evidence of the danger of rival and antagonistic grouping of State members of the League and Germany has ground for asserting that she has been tricked

The cynical disregard of the welfare of the League itself is one of the most disturbing features of the controversy. We have seen nations claiming that their national prestige and political necessities shall qualify for the coveted permanent seats on the Council and in an atmosphere of wrangling and intrigue interested parties are bargaining. Unfortunately Great Britain appears to have been compromised by neglecting to take a firm stand before these claims had gathered impetus and hence she has been unable to take her place as a leader in rescuing the League from the present embarrassing situation

In reviewing the short history of the Council of the League we find that when the first change in its composition was made in 1922 it was the result of calm and careful consideration. In 1921 a proposition to increase the number of non-permanent members from four to six roused some heat and controversy. The delegates to the League were wiser then than they are to-day, and it was agreed to postpone the question till it could be considered in more favourable conditions. In 1922 the proposed change was adopted unanimously by the Council and by the Assembly with one dissentient.

We have no cause for satisfaction with the part our representatives have played in events. The German attitude from first to last has been correct and dignified, while the honours of the day are with Sweden, who from the first has made a consistent and courageous stand for the welfare of the League and for loyalty to her engagements.

NEWS FROM WESTMINSTER.

(Continued from page 63.)
plunder and loot. Mr. Bridgeman replied, but what was more interesting was that Mr. Lansbury was thrown over by his own party. Both Sir Henry Slesser and Mr. Jack Jones dissociated themselves entirely from him. In the end he only got 19

On Friday, 12th March, the House refused to pass a Bill allowing Local Authorities to run omnibuses, and on Monday. 15th March, discussed the Army estimates. These are two million pounds below last year, a retrenchment that is eminently

THE ADOPTION OF CHILDREN BILL.

Although public opinion is strongly divided on the question of adoption, especially where illegitimate children are concerned, the Bill drafted by Mr. Justice Tomlin's Adoption Committee, and introduced as a Private Member's Bill, by Mr. Galbraith, K.C., M.P. (U., East Surrey), has met with a warm welcome both inside and outside the House of Commons. It was suggested during the debate on its Second Reading, that over 75 per cent of the children who are adopted are illegitimate, but as regards those adopted by private people, this was probably a low estimate. For that reason, organizations such as the National Council for the Unmarried Mother and Her Child, while disapproving of adoption except in very special circumstances, are keenly supporting the Bill, with a view to securing the protection of the law for such children. The Bill is not intended, as some people apparently think, to encourage adoptions, but to regularize as far as possible, arrangements (at present unrecognized by law) by which a child is transferred from the care of its natural parent to another individual. Anyone who has worked among unmarried mothers and illegitimate children, must realize that legislation is urgently needed, in order that some, at any rate, of the abuses which at present prevail may be done

The Bill will certainly be much discussed and many of its points keenly contested, as it makes its way through Parliament. The would-be adopter is to apply to a Court of Justice for an Adoption Order, by which the child may be permanently transferred to his or her care, and which will give them the same duties and responsibilities to each other as exist between a parent and a legitimate child. (It might be noted here that if the Court thinks fit, an interim order may be made for a period not exceeding two years, during which time supervision and inspection may be required, but in a permanent adoption there will be no supervision other than that provided under the Acts which affect all children). The Courts proposed are the High Court of Chancery and the Magistrates' Courts. It would only be a rich adopter, one would suppose, who could go to the Court of Chancery. It is said that the Magistrates' Court is the people's court", and that the Children's Court attached to t would be suitable and convenient for the hearing of adoption applications made by ordinary folk. But a great many people, particularly those with a knowledge of conditions in smaller provincial towns, feel that the County Court would be more acceptable, as not being associated with crime. It is to be hoped that it may be possible to give jurisdiction to each of these Courts—High Court, County Court, and Magistrates' Court following the precedent of the Guardianship of Infants Act passed last year. Another point which is particularly difficult is that of secrecy. It is commonly considered that much of the present desire for secrecy in such arrangements will disappear when the principle of adoption has been recognized by the law of the land, when it may be carried out in an honourable and straightforward manner, and when the position of the child, the natural parent, and the adopter, being regularized, all concerned will have a feeling of real security. But it is to be feared that there may always be certain cases, in which nothing would induce the persons concerned to face publicity; nevertheless, they will in some way get the child handed over to another person. If there is to be any hope of getting the preponderance of adoptions put through Court, as is so urgently desirable, it would seem absolutely necessary for means to be provided by which privacy may be secured if desired. The Court should definitely be given power to grant such facilities as may ensure this, when it considers that the request is reasonable.

The Bill stipulates that the consent of the parent or parents, or of a guardian must be given, and the Court is to be satisfied not only that such persons have consented, but they understand that the effect of the Order will be permanently to deprive them of their parental rights. (It is not stated that such consent must be given in person, or whether it may be accepted in writing; but the Court should have discretion to accept it, as laid down in the Act of Western Australia, either "viva-voce, on oath, or by affidavit"; the Rules of Court should show the form of affidavit to be used.) These consents may be dispensed with in certain circumstances. The father of an illegitimate child who is "liable to contribute to its maintenance", is quite justly to be consulted before the child is handed over to adopters, but

it seems necessary for wider powers to be given to the Court, to waive his objections. As the Bill stands, he must have ' persistently neglected or refused to contribute " to the child's support, but surely if his contribution is quite inadequate to maintain the child and the mother for some reason is unable to carry out her own obligations, it would seem most unfair to allow the man to stop the adoption which might be the best solution of the child's future.

There are other points which require amendment or amplification, one of which is the clause forbidding payment in connection with an adoption, except by permission of the Court. Nothing is said as to whether the acceptance of money would be an offence against the law, contempt of court, or whether it would invalidate the adoption. It is to be hoped that there would be some penalty. There is another clause in the Bill which empowers the Court to require the adopter to make provision for the child, whilst not conferring on it any rights of inheritance in the family of its adoption. It does not, however, lose the rights of inheritance in the family of its birth which it would have had if it had not been adopted, and it may well happen in the future that available sums which, under present conditions, are used for other purposes by adopters or even by people who arrange adoptions, may openly and with the sanction of the Court be paid over in trust for the education and general benefit of the

The Registrar-General is to start a register called the "Adopted Children Register", to which the names of all children adopted under the Act are to be transferred, together with the names of the adopting parent or parents. The public is to have access to this register in the usual way, but although the Registrar-General is to keep other records by which the child's history may be traced, these may only be inspected by order of a Court.

SUSAN MUSSON.

"THE DIVIDING LINE."

The subject of Lunacy administration has of late been very much in the general mind. Books and newspaper reports have stimulated this interest, and, recently, at the Chelsea Palace, a play, "The Dividing Line," by Mrs. Frances Peterson, made a very strong appeal to those who realize the tragedy, which may fall upon the life of anyone who is unhappy and sensitive, and may finish in the terrible atmosphere of a lunatic asylum.

The play deals with the unhappy story of a woman who, in her youth, meets, suddenly, the catastrophe of a father convicted of crime, a total loss of fortune, and the desertion of a weak These things happen many years before the rise of the curtain. One can imagine the woman young, healthy, romantic, and normal, when unendurable misery overtakes her and gradually eats into her nervous system, until she becomes a woman partially distraught and on the borderline between sanity and insanity. At first she is seen haunting a cheap dancing hall where the sound of the music and the merriment of the dancing recall echoes of her own past happy existence; then in charitably supported hostel where the atmosphere of theological rigour chafes her overwrought spirit and where many of her fellow guests have their heads and conversations filled with theories about life quite as cranky and unreasonable as any evidence of insanity which may have brought a man or woman to certification and the asylum ward. The unhappy woman is aroused to a violent outbreak of uncontrollable nerves, and, as a consequence, certified and sent to a private asylum, to which she is persuaded to go by the statement that she will be a voluntary boarder, free to leave at her own will. Here she finds herself imprisoned with dangerous and raving lunatics, and in the care of a nurse who is cruelly unsuited for her work. In the end she is killed by a blow on the head from one of her fellow patients. In this way ends her tragic life

Throughout the play is an appeal for knowledge and sympathy. The story of the unhappy woman might be the story of anyone of us, and in this it is a real psychological study and not a mere propagandist tract on the stage. Not one of us can say, with comfortable assurance, "I am quite safe from the asylum." In the "Dividing Line" the madhouse, which is nowadays called a hospital, is shown without exaggeration as the place of suffering and unhelpfulness. The author says on the programme that it is the system which is to blame, and not the individuals.

An excellent cast, which included Miss Nancy Price as the leading character, Miss Olive Sloane, Miss Barbara Gott, and Mr. Fewlass Llewellyn, gave an impressive performance of a play which one hopes will be seen again before long. E. G. S.

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

Several of the points raised by Miss Musson have been dealt with by the Standing Committee since her article was written. A full account of any alterations made in the Bill will be given next week.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT NEWS. By BERTHA MASON.

ELECTIONS FOR DISTRICT COUNCILS AND FOR BOARDS OF GUARDIANS.—Once again we remind our readers that the Day of Election for these local authorities is Monday, 29th March (or such other day not earlier than Saturday, 27th March, or later than 31st March, as may for special reasons be arranged).

Men and women who are Local Government Electors in their own right (and wives of Local Government Electors who have attained the age of 30 years) whose names are on the Register are qualified to vote in these Elections. For the return of suitable representatives women electors are as responsible as men electors, and all are urged to exercise their votes on

DISTRICT COUNCIL ELECTIONS.—Energetic contests are in progress, we understand, at Tottenham, Edmonton, Walthamstow, Dartford, Erith, Hayes, Southall, and Uxbridge.

Amongst the candidates in Tottenham we note the name of

Miss Prescott, elder daughter of Sir William Prescott, who has expressed her willingness to come out as an independent candidate. Mrs. H. L. Porteous, well known for her excellent work in connection with war pensions, is standing for the Edmonton Council, also Mrs. Mary Saunders, Miss E. Smith, and Mrs. Darling adopted by the Welfare Association.

At Chingford, where there seems every prospect of an exciting election, the candidates include Mrs. Louisa Oakes, who is coming forward, as well as her husband, for a seat on the District

There is a danger that owing to the suggestions throughout to transfer the duties of Poor Law Guardians to other local Councils, suitable candidates for this office may not think it worth while to come forward, we would remind our readers that these proposals are only provisional, and even if carried further, which in view of the opposition evoked is uncertain, it will be two years probably before they are enforced.

HEARING BOTH SIDES.—Several Boards of Guardians have decided that when they discuss the Poor Law proposals of the Ministry of Health, they will try to get a representative from the Ministry and another from the Poor Law Officers Association to be present to hear their views upon the proposed scheme. This suggestion is eminently sensible, and one that might be widely adopted. Nothing but good can come from full and frank discussion of the proposals.

THE WOMEN WHO ARE LEFT OUT. A LIVERPOOL DEMONSTRATION.

Viscountess Rhondda was the principal speaker at the Demonstration on Equal Franchise and the Right of Peeresses to sit in the House of Lords, which was held at the Institute, Mount Street, on Tuesday evening, 9th March. Miss Eleanor Rathbone, who presided over the meeting representative of thirty-three organizations of men and women in the Merseyside district, said that the enfranchised women had pledged themselves to the women under 30 years of age who had been left out that they would not forget them. Lady Rhondda, in a convincing speech moved a resolution declaring the exclusion of the majority of wage-earning and professional women from Franchise as an injustice and a danger; calling on the Government to give effect to their promise without delay, and to introduce legislation securing admission to the House of Lords of peeresses in their own right; and deprecating the linking up of the question of equal citizenship with the controversial proposals for raising the minimum age for men voters. Miss N. Stewart Parnell, representing the woman under 30, spoke in support of the esolution, and was followed by Miss S. Blackburn and Mrs. Mott, who also made a strong appeal to all those present to join the Women Citizens' Association, and to offer their help in its work. The Chairman in summing up emphasized these points, and appealed to the delegates present to get their Societies to write to their Members of Parliament, and to individuals to write letters to their M.P.'s themselves. The resolution was put to the meeting and carried with enthusiasm. A vote of thanks to Lady Rhondda was moved by the Rev. H. Symonds and seconded by Miss Mabel Fletcher, J.P. The Societies represented included the National Council of Women, Women's International League, St. Joan's Social and Political Alliance, British Federation of University Women, the Woman's Co-operative Guild, the British Woman's Temperance Association, the Union of Girls Clubs,

(Continued at foot of next column.)

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

President: Miss Eleanor Rathbone, C.C., J.P. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Soddy. Hon, Secretary: The Lady Balfour of Burleigh. Parliamentary Secretary: Mrs. Hubback. Offices: 15 Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W. 1. Telephone: Victoria 6188.

BY-ELECTION: ENGLISH UNIVERSITIES.

The following questions, among others, were sent to the candidates at the above by-election by the British Federation of University Women :-

1. Are you in favour of an equal franchise, and will you support legislation for the same

2. Are you in favour of the employment of Women Police?

Sir Alfred Hopkinson, M.P., the successful candidate, replied

1. Though no doubt there are some alterations in the law relating to the franchise which would be desirable, there appears to be good reason for thinking that the effect of the recent enormous extension of the franchise should be ascertained before pressing legislation for further extension. The number of other questions too, urgently calling for early attention in Parliament is very large

2. The question of Women Police is for the local authorities and Watch Committees. Personally, I believe that there are cases in which the employment of a limited number of women police would be desirable, indeed almost necessary.

Mr. Ramsay Muir replied as follows:

'My answer is in the affirmative: I am in favour of equal franchise, and of the employment of women police.'

PROGRAMME LEAFLET.

The leaflet setting forth the Object and Immediate Programme of the Union has been brought up to date, and can be had free of charge from Headquarters.

I.W.S.A. CONGRESS, PARIS, 1st to 6th JUNE, 1926.

We hope that a good many of our members will attend this Congress as visitors. Those wishing to do so are requested to communicate with Headquarters, when particulars of the programme and arrangements with regard to travelling and accommodation in Paris will be sent to them. In writing, visitors should state whether they have already made up a party, and if not, whether they would like to be put in touch with other visitors who have not yet found a companion.

NEWS FROM SOCIETIES.

GILLINGHAM WOMEN CITIZENS' ASSOCIATION.

The Gillingham W.C.A. held a successful mass meeting in support of Equal Franchise on Monday, 1st March, at Arden Street. So large was the attendance that the schoolroom proved inadequate, and the gathering was held in the United Methodist Church, which was crowded. The chair was occupied by the President, Mrs. Beaty-Pownall. Lots were drawn for the order in which the nine speakers, who represented either women occupied in the professions, in business, or young married women living at home, were to express their views. No one could be found to speak in opposition, but the meeting was a very animated one, and all the speakers

QUESTIONS FOR CANDIDATES FOR URBAN AND RURAL DISTRICT ELECTIONS.

1. Will you support the application of the principle of the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act, 1919, so that a woman shall not be disqualified on account of her sex from any post or office under the Council?

2. Will you oppose the compulsory retirement on marriage of women employees of the Council?

3. Will you support equal pay for equal work and equal opportunities of training, entry and promotion for all men and women employed by the Council?

*4. Will you in any scheme for the training or relief of the unemployed include provision for women as well as for men, and will you pay special regard to the claims of those, whether men or women, who have

*5. Are you in favour of providing equal facilities for girls and boys in

education, including technical and industrial education?

6. Will you endeavour to secure the appointment of an adequate representation of women on all Committees and Sub-Committees of your Council, either as elected or as co-opted members?

* These questions do not apply to Rural District Councils.

Women's Liberal Association, Women's Section of the Labour Party, Liverpool Physical Training College, National Union of Clerks, Amalgamated Union of Upholsterers, Dressmakers Association, and Women Citizen Associations from Birkenhead, Heswall, Waterloo, and Wallasey.

CORRESPONDENCE.

WHIPPING FOR ADULT MONSTROSITIES.

WHIPPING FOR ADULT MONSTROSITIES.

Madam,—The respective Reports of the English and Scottish Departmental Committees on Sexual Offences against Children and Young Persons are said to closely resemble each other in their findings, but whereas the English Committee are divided over the question of corporal punishment in certain cases, the Scottish Committee is agreed. Mrs. William Fyfe, President of the Glasgow Branch of the National Council of Women, and a member of the Scottish Committee, recently addressed a meeting of the Edinburgh Women Citizens Association on the subject of the recommendations. The Chairman, Lord Polwarth, passionately denounced the "whipping" recommendation—which I take to be a softer term for flogging—which is to be administered at intervals during the offender's term of imprisonment. As a confirmed feminist it goes against the grain to support a man rather than a woman, on a question of legislation for a sexual offence, and particularly one with so tragic an issue as that of child assault. The recommendation seems to me, however, to be not only vindictive, as the Chairman said; it savours of the spirit of torture. It is certainly reactionary for progressive women, and appears a little illogical. The punishment is suggested for a certain type of offender who is considered to be physically and mentally normal, yet Mrs. Fyfe in her address referred to this type of man as a "monstrosity." I agree, and suggest that the only safe and fair thing to do, is to segregate him, as is recommended for the mentally and physically deficient offenders, until, at any rate, he has outgrown his monstrousness.

A woman prominent in penal reform work remarked to me when I protested: "We must regard it as the women's first bite," they have felt so strongly and bitterly against this awful thing for so long." No doubt the tiger dies hard in women where children are concerned, but one looks to the emancipated woman to rise above the animal instinct of lesiring a first bite

"CHARITY" AND SWEATED LABOUR.

MADAM,—I enclose an advertisement for a Woman Pflarmacist as assistant at one of the leading voluntary hospitals in London, The salary offered is £2 0s. 4d. a week, and the hours are from 9 o'clock to 5. The qualification of the Pharmaceutical Society is a guarantee that the holder has received a specialized training of something over three years, has passed examinations in general and professional knowledge, and is over twenty-one. The qualification also invests the holder with full legal responsibility for work done as a pharmacist. Surely this is a great deal to purchase at £2 0s. 4d. a week. Recently a famous churchman told us that the actions of groups of men were often such as would be repudiated by individual members, and it would be interesting to know if the members of the hospital committee would offer this salary to skilled employées in their own service.

We should hold the Goddess of Charity in greater esteem if she were not so often a patroness of sweated labour.

Hampstead.

Hospital Pharmacist.

COMING EVENTS.

We have only space to touch on a few events of special interest to our readers. Those interested in current Italian politics should take the opportunity of hearing Professor Gaetano Salvemini at the Essex Hall on 23rd March at 8.30 p.m. Professor Salvemini is an exile from his own country on account of views which are shared by thinking people of all parties in this country. He has given historical courses this year at King's College and Bedford College, and is known as an advocate of liberal ideas and international reasonableness. At a public meeting at the Guildhouse on Thursday, 25th March, a new light will be thrown on the housing problem when Mrs. Atherton Smith will describe a scheme, which she thinks might be applied to this country, whereby 5,000 families were housed in Austria. The British Federation of University Women announces a play based on the records of the life of Sir Thomas More, once tenant of the Hall, which will be produced at Crosby Hall, Chelsea Embankment, towards the end of March, in aid of the Crosby Hall Endowment Fund. The play will show life in a great man's house in Tudor days, and music of the period will be played by a small orchestra, and a madrigal composed by Henry VIII will be sung. Those three events, different as they are, stand out among the multiplicity of occurrences of interest in London in the near future, and we commend them specially to readers in or near London.

"OXFORD" LIQUOR (POPULAR CONTROL) BILL.

THE Women's Committee to advocate Legislation on the lines of the "Oxford" Liquor (Popular Control) Bill will be glad to send speakers on this subject to any Societies intending to carry out the Recommendation of the Annual Council of the N.U.S.E.C that its Societies should study the various methods of Temperance Reform. Apply to the Hon. Sec., Mrs. Herbert Rhodes, 416 Abbey House, Westminster, S.W. 1.

WHAT IS FASCISM?'

A LECTURE in English, by

PROFESSOR SALVEMINI AT THE ESSEX HALL, STRAND, W.C.,

On TUESDAY, 23rd MARCH, at 8.30 p.m.

The Chair will be taken by Mr. WICKHAM STEED (Editor of the Review of Review Tickets, price 10s., 5s., and special tickets for Students, 1s., can be obtained from Mrs. Oliverachev. 42 Gordon Sq., W. C.1. and Mrs. Alys Russell, 11 St. Leonard's Terrace, Chelsea, S. W.

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COMING EVENTS.

BRITISH COMMONWEALTH LEAGUE.

MAR. 21. 8.30 p.m. Rutland House, Rutland Gardens, S.W.7. Lecture by Mrs. Florence Ayscough, F.R.A.S., on "The Symbolism of the Forbidden Purple City," in aid of the funds of the June Congress of the I.W.S.A. For particulars apply, Treasurer, British Commonwealth League, 17 Buckingham Street, Adelphi, W.C. 2.

CROSBY HALL, CHELSEA.

MAR. 24, 25, and 27, 3.15 p.m., and MAR. 27, 2.30 p.m. Performance of "Sir Thomas More" in aid of Crosby Hall Endowment Fund. Particulars from Secretary, Crosby Hall Endowment Fund, 92 Victoria Street, S.W. 1.

ECTRICAL ASSOCIATION FOR WOMEN, 26 GEORGE STREET, HANOVER SQUARE, W.

to Showrooms of Messrs. Holophane, Ltd., Elverton Street,

THE GUILDHOUSE, ECCLESTON SQUARE, S.W.1.

MAR. 25. 8 p.m. Public Meeting on "The Housing Problem and some Ideas for its
Chair: Miss Maude Royden. Lantern slides. Admission free. Men and women welcome.

LEAGUE OF THE CHURCH MILITANT.

cil Meeting, Upper House of Convocation, Church

MAR, 20. 2,30 p.m.-4-30 p.m. Quiet Afternoon. St. Saviour's, Paddington. Open to al friends of the L.C.M. Conductor: Mrs. Marston Acres.

LONDON SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SERVICE.

MAR, 23. 5,30 p.m. 35 Marsham Street, S.W.1. Miss C. Haslett on "The Government Electricity Bill."

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

Rotherhithe Guild of Women Citizens. APRIL 13. 8 p.m. Southwark Park Hall. Miss Lilian Barker on "The Work of the Borstal Institute."

St. Pancras S.E.C. MAR. 26. 4.30 p.m. Meeting at 155 Camden Road, N.W. I, by kind permission of Mrs. Macdonald Allen. Mrs. F. W. Hubback on "Family Allowances." Southampton W.C.A. MAR. 20. 3 p.m. "Adyar Hall," Carlton Crescent. Lady Balfour of Burleigh, "Women and Questions of To-day."

SIX POINT GROUP.

MAR.29. 5 p.m. 92 Victoria Street, S.W. 1. Mrs. Corbett Ashby on $^{\rm ct}$ Citizenship—National and International.

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE, 144 HIGH HOLBORN, W.C.

MAR. 19. 3-7.30 p.m. Dr. Octavia Lewin "At Home" to Members and Friends. Sale of Work, to be opened by Lady Buckmaster.

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BOARD-RESIDENCE (Men and Women) at the New Town Hostel, Welwyn Garden City, Herts. Inclusive terms 35s. weekly. Specially suitable for young professional or business people. A healthy country life, with facilities for sport and pleasant social activities.—Apply to the Warden.

LARGE FURNISHED BEDROOM AND SITTING-Also Bed-sittingroom, constant hot water; S. Kensington, Also Bed-sittingroom, attendance if desired; 25s. room.— Apply, Box 1,232, The Woman's Leader, 15 Dean's Yard, Westminster, S. W. 1.

MAIDA VALE, W. 9.—Comfortable ACCOMMODATION for two ladies; gas-fire, ring, slot meter, constant hot water; restaurant.—Apply, Box 1,237, The Woman's Leader, 15 Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W.:

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THREE friends offer CHARMING HOME in country near Folkstone; long or short period; tennis, garage.—Miss Haslam, The Grey House, Lyminge, Kent.

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COMFORTABLE BED-SITTINGROOM tolet, furnished, near Willesden Green station; use bath; weekly cleaning if desired; rent about 15s.; references exchanged.—Box 1,242
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RISH DRESS LINENS.—Owing to the great success of Hutton's "Never-Fade" Dress Linens, guaranteed absolutely fadeless to sun and washing, they are this year offered at the reduced price of 3s. per yard instead of 3s. 6d. Ten gorgeous new and up-to-date shades have been added, making 64 colours in all to select from. These are the finest Dress Linens to be had anywhere; 3 of inches wide, every yard stamped "Hutton's Never-Fade Linen." Send for full range of patterns, FREE.—HUTTON'S, 41 Main Street, Larne, Ulster.

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ANNOUNCEMENTS.

L ONDON SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SERVICE, 35 Marsham Street, Westminster. Secretary, Miss P. Strachey. Information Bureau, Interviews, 10 to 1, except Saturdays. Members' Centre open daily. Restaurant open to 7.30. (Not Saturdays.)

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES, Guildhouse, Eccleston Square, S.W. 1. Sunday, 21st March; 3.30, Mr. Basil Dean; "Between the Public and Ourselves; by a Theatre Manager," 6.30, Maude Royden on: "Our International Responsibilities."

C.B.C. Society for Constructive Birth Control and Racial Progress, and the Free Clinic originally founded by Dr. Marie Stopes and Mr. H. V. Roe in Holloway. New central address: 108 Whitfield Street, Tottenham Court Road, London, W. 1. Social workers anxious for local instruction, but without funds for independent Clinics, can obtain the services of a C.B.C. certificated Nurse for one day weekly or morthly from above.

E DUCATED HOME HELPS BUREAU, Philbeach Hall, Philbeach Gardens, Earl's Court, requires and supplies educated women for all branches of domestic work. Registration: Employers 2s. 6d., Workers 1s. Suiting, 7s. 6d. and 2s. Telephone, Western 6323.

MORTIMER HALL, 93 Mortimer Street, W. I.— LECTURE by CLEMENT JEFFERY, M.A., on Wednesday, 24th March, at 3 p.m.: "Rheumatism and Arthritis." Admission free. Silver collection for Pearson's Fresh Air Fund.

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