WOMAN'S LEADER

AND THE COMMON CAUSE

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CONTENTS.	PAGE
THE MENACE ON THE RHINE	11
TWO SPRING VISITS TO PALESTINE, 1921, 1922. By Millicent Garrett Fawcett, G.B.E., J.P., LL.D.	11
FAMILY ENDOWMENT: A REPLY TO DAME MILLICENT FAWCETT'S OBJECTIONS. By Eleanor F. Rathbone, J.P.	
FAMILY LIFE AMONG THE BOLSHEVIKS. By M. D. S	13
THE BIRMINGHAM BRANCH OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN. By M. Danielson	
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NOTES AND NEWS.

The Opening of Parliament.

The Opening of Parliament on 10th February will lack inevitably that touch of excitement for which we have been accustomed to look at this time of the year. For this year's opening is not that of a new Parliament, nor even of a new session. The King's Speech, with its forecast of forthcoming legislation, was made in December, and we know pretty well what we have to expect for better or for worse. Nevertheless, we confess that our pulses quicken to a certain extent. Many of the statements in the King's Speech were necessarily vague. The Government had not been in office sufficiently long to enable Ine Government had not been in office sufficiently long to enable it to be prepared, in many cases, to make more specific statements. We know, for instance, that subjects such as Housing, the Guardianship of Children, Probation, Separation and Maintenance Orders, Factories, Juvenile Employment, are to be tackled; but how? That is still to be declared. And what of the points that received no mention in the King's Speech—Equal Franchise, for instance? The Prime Minister has been asked by the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship to receive a deputation on this point, and this request has been backed up by many other organizations. During the Parliamentary recess, moreover, much has happened in the realm of public affairs, with some aspects of which we deal in our leader this week, which will inevitably produce comment and discussion of a lively nature

Mr. Baldwin on the League of Nations.

Mr. Baldwin's speech at the Reception of the League of Nations Union last week was of the kind that may mean little or much. "I hold myself," he said, "and so do my colleagues, that we have to cling to the ideal of the League and do all in our power to make it effective. But I always prefer to under-state rather than overstate. It is very easy to push about the League of Nations, but not so easy to steer a right course for that vessel." A very characteristic speech, but we have yet to learn how much Mr. Baldwin's plain, blunt speeches really stand for. One section of his speech, however, will be un-reservedly welcome, as he spoke strongly of the need of having

the Foreign Secretary as the representative of the Government at Geneva. He also emphasised the importance of full discussion before the Geneva meetings so that there should not be a clash between the attitude of the British representatives at Geneva and that taken by the British Government or the Dominions when it comes to carrying out the decisions of the League. This is all sound sense, and if Mr. Baldwin does not lose sight of the fact that idealism has as real a value as common sense the League of Nations may find solid support in him.

The Liberal Party Convention.

A notable feature of the historic Liberal Party Convention, which opened last week at the Kingsway Hall in London, is the ingenious part played by prominent women Liberals. On Thursday, 29th January, the position of women in the party was the subject of special discussion. Mrs. Frances Acland spoke in favour of including both men and women in a single organization. This met with some opposition from representatives of the Women's Liberal Federation. Mrs. Alderton, Mayor of Colchester, pointed out that men and women of the same household were often unable to attend the same meeting at the same time, and Miss Sydney Brown, of Manchester, pressed the need both for a joint organization and for separate women's organizations. Sir Donald Maclean, to test the feeling of the meeting, asked whether there was general agreement with the Liberal Party Reorganization Committee's recommendation that one third of the officials on the committee of all Liberal associations should be women. He was greeted with shouts of "no." There was, be women. He was greeted with shouts of "no." There was, however, general agreement that, apart from any mandatory proposal, women should be more adequately represented.

Widows' Pensions and the Liberal Party.

On the following day the question of Widows' Pensions came up for discussion in connexion with proposals for wider conception of social insurance, which is familiar to students of Liberal policy. Dr. Macnamara put forward a reasoned plea for an "all in" insurance scheme, ably supplemented by his daughter, Mrs. Elias, with a special plea for the adequate treatment of widows. Referring to her election experiences in London, she declared that no question so much occupied the hearts of women as the question of Widows' Pensions. We ourselves are not enthusiastic about this particular solution of the problem of the widow with dependent children. We would infinitely prefer to see the widowed mother treated under a non-contributory scheme having no reference to the irrelevant consideration of somebody else's industrial services. We hold that she is entitled to her pension not as the "relict" of an industrial worker, but as a person who is herself actively engaged in rendering an ardividal service of national importance. Nevertheless, we are political opportunists in this matter, and were we to find ourselves faced with the sad alternative of adequate widows' pensions on an insurance basis now, and a non-contributory scheme in some misty and uncertain political future, we should leap without hesitation at the "bird in the hand." Therefore we are glad that the claim of the widow should be pressed, and forcibly pressed, wherever and whenever the extension of national insurance is under discussion. We are glad to note that the section on "Women and the Family" was strengthened later in the day by a declaration in favour of "equality—legal, social, political-between men and women.

"QUALITY

WRITE CADBURY, BOURNVILLE ABOUT CIFT SCHEME

Lady Astor's Portrait.

We are glad to learn that, failing the Houses of Parliament, the portrait of Lady Astor has been lent by the First Commissioner of Works to Bedford College "until such time as the Government may require it." Bedford College can claim the honour of being the first university college for women founded in the country and as such it is a fitting place to house this memento of the first entry of women into the legislature of the nation. We hope, though, that the College Authorities will see their way to give an opportunity to women interested in this historic event to view the portrait.

Women and the International Care of Children.

We have been asked by the International Woman Suffrage Alliance to draw attention to the position with regard to the care of children under the League of Nations. The League has agreed to take over the work of the Association Internationale pour le Protection de l'Enfance and to extend the functions of the Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children for this purpose. In order to enlarge the Committee by the addition of persons especially qualified to deal with the care of children, the Council of the League agreed to appoint five new assessors, and have invited the following bodies to name them: the International Association for the Protection of Children, the International League of Red Cross Societies, the International Organization of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, the Union Internationale de Secours aux Enfants, and Dr. Bascom Johnson. It will be noticed that the women's international organizations have not been invited to nominate an additional assessor, although they have a representative on the Traffic Commission. They are protesting against this omission on the ground that health and welfare organizations are not capable of dealing with all aspects of the question. None of the organizations represented by these new assessors have any especial interest in such questions as the legal position of the child in the family and the State, the treatment of the young offender, the illegitimate child, child-marriage, or maintenance and separation laws. If the Committee is to deal with the question of the care of children from every aspect, the international organizations of women feel that they should have a representative on the Committee. They have always regarded the care of children as one of their chief duties, and have a wider knowledge of this question involved than is possible for any specialized organization. A letter on these lines has been sent to The Times, and signed by the International Council of Women, the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the World's Y.W.C.A., the International Federation of University Women the Medical Women's International Association. The Council of the League meet on 17th February, and the societies concerned are anxious to get as much evidence as possible to show they have support of the women of this country behind them. Copies of any references or letters on the subject which can be got into the local Press should be forwarded to Sir Eric Drummond, K.C.M.G., C.B., Secretary General of the League

The Minor Offence.

A correspondent calls our attention to the Press report of a peculiarly outrageous case of child cruelty from Warrington. It appears that a boy of $3\frac{1}{2}$ years was found naked, and with his hands tied behind him, in a place where coal is stored. His back was bruised and lacerated as though by heavy strokes with a buckle. His face was badly discoloured. Such a serious view did the local magistrates take of the matter that both parents were given the maximum sentence of six months. We are struck anew with the leniency of our legal system in its dealings with injury to human life in comparison with the severity with which it regards interference with private property.

Summer School.

We publish in another column particulars of the Summer School for Citizens and Magistrates which is being organized by the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, at St. Hilda's Hall, Oxford, from 25th August to 8th September. The main groups of subjects to be studied are (1) the Status of Women, (2) the Administration of Justice as it specially affects Magistrates, (3) Problems of Urgent Importance of special interest to Social Workers, and (4) Political Party Ideals, including the ideals and programmes of the three political parties. Special arrangements are being made for visitors from overseas and for mothers with families. In making their summer plans our readers are advised to consider very seriously whether they cannot fit in some time at Oxford. The Summer School movement is spreading rapidly on account of the success of the many schools

that are now being held. The combination of both intellectual and holiday pabulum is a very alluring one.

The Government and Health.

Last week Mr. Neville Chamberlain received a deputation from the People's League of Health which submitted the resolutions passed at the Conference held at Wembley last year. These resolutions covered a very wide field, and Mr. Chamberlain's answers to some of the points raised were of considerable interest. The questions brought forward included questions of diet and the need for further publications on the subject; the need for further regulations with regard to infant foods was also raised, and it was urged that the labels should declare the constitution of the food and the use of preservatives which, it was said, were often used as a substitute for cleanliness. On this point, Mr. Chamberlain said he proposed to accept the recommendation of the Food Preservatives Committee. He also foreshadowed the introduction of certain Bills. He had already given a pledge to Lord Newton that a Smoke Abatement Bill would be introduced, though it might not be possible this session. On the question of preventive tuberculosis work, he was prepared to give general powers to Local Authorities to remove tuberculous cases comoulsorily; many local authorities had already taken power to do this in Private Bills and general powers could be given in amending the Public Health Bill, which he contemplated introducing as early as possible. That Bill would be a preliminary to the consolidation of the Public Health Acts, and he hoped to get both measures through this session. Other points to which Mr. Chamberlain gave his sympathetic assent were the co-ordination of the Hospital Service treatment of children suffering from the after-effects of "sleepy sickness" and the treatment of mental cases at an early stage. With regard to the last point Mr. Chamberlain pointed out he himself had introduced a Bill to meet this under the last Unionist Government, but the dissolution prevented its completement. Further action was now hung up pending the report of the Royal Commission sitting on this subject. He understood the Board of Education was making special provision for children who were suffering from the after-effects of sleepy sickness.

An Opportunity for a Woman.

The Trustees of the Albert Kahn Travelling Fellowship have forwarded to us the following statement which we have pleasure in handing on to our readers: "Nominations for the Albert Kahn Travelling Fellowship are to be made at the end of The value of the Fellowship to be awarded this year is £1,000. Women as well as men are eligible for election, but candidates must be British subjects and graduates of some University of the United Kingdom. Nominations are in the hands of the Vice-Chancellors of the Universities of the United Kingdom, the President of the Royal Society, and the President of the British Academy. The Trust is administered at the University of London and the election takes place in May. The essential object of the Foundation is to enable persons of proved intellectual attainments to enjoy a year's travel round the world free from all professional pursuits, with a view to an unprejudiced survey of various civilizations and the acquisition of a more generous and philosophic outlook on human life. In no sense is it the intention of the Founder to further any special line of individual or academical research. It may be recalled that the first appointment of this most enviable Fellowship made after the war, was that of Miss Eileen Power, late director of Historical Studies at Girton College, Cambridge, and at present lecturer in Economic History at the London School of Economics. Miss Power was the first woman to receive the Albert Kahn Fellowship. Readers of *Time and Tide* will no doubt recognize in her recently published poem, "Pekin," a wholly delightful by-product of her Far Eastern

Belgium and Women's Suffrage.

The question of Women's Suffrage seems likely to lead to a political crisis in Belgium. The question has continually threatened the relationship of the Liberals and Catholics in the Coalition Government, and the Liberals have made it known that they would leave the Coalition if their Catholic colleagues in the Government forced a discussion of the question in Parliament. Last week the Catholics, supported by the Socialists, succeeded in passing a motion that the question of women's suffrage should be discussed immediately after the forthcoming debate on the salaries of State Officials. It is probably that this will lead to a split in the Ministry and the dissolution of Parliament.

THE MENACE ON THE RHINE.

With the conclusion of the London Agreement last August. followed inevitably by a League Assembly made memorable by the harmonious presence of the French and British Prime Ministers, peacefully disposed Europeans breathed again. The old prickly problem of Reparations had been removed, as it were, from the arena of hot indeterminate conflict and set on a workable, non-political business basis, under the cold shadow of the Dawes Plan. It almost seemed, in those days, as though Europe might be about to reconstruct its life on an orderly pasis with the rational ideals of a profit-making joint stock company. So, too, it seemed in the autumn of last year when the German loan was successfully floated. So it still seemed when Mr. Austen Chamberlain took over the direction of the Foreign Office. Almost—at that time—did it appear as though the League of Nations might really, and for the first time, come into its own as the universal provider of "security" and the ultimate arbiter of international discord.

FEBRUARY 6, 1925.

And now things seem to be going all wrong again. There has been more tearing up of treaties and a new scattering to the four winds of "scraps of paper." Our Foreign Office has managed to combine in a truely nauseating degree the policy of blustering to the weak and pandering to the strong. We have spoken with a loud voice in Cairo and Berlin; while to the politicians of Paris we have resumed the old futile acquiescent whisper with which we condoned the betrayal of the Fourteen Points and the illegal invasion of the Ruhr.

In accordance with this policy our troops and France's troops remain posted on the Rhine in defiance of Treaty obligations which required their withdrawal last month. Not a single responsible British politician, not a single thoughtful citizen in his heart believes in the validity of the excuses given for that continued occupation. We justify our joint breach of contract with the excuse that Germany has failed to fulfil the disarmament clauses of the Treaty of Versailles. If this is so, why was the decision against evacuation taken and announced before even the Inter-Allied Military Commission of Control had issued its official report? If this is so, again, why was not the German Government precisely informed of the directions in which it had failed to honour its treaty obligations? Why is the British public not precisely informed? But it is not so. The real reason for the continued Allied occupation of this German Northern Zone is not the excuse so thinly given and so sceptically received. The real reason is that the French, being determined to retain

their military hold upon the Ruhr, are not in a convenient strategical position for a military withdrawal from the zone behind it. And our own Government, knowing full well that a withdrawal of British troops from Cologne would be the prelude to a stubborn and probably oppressive occupation of that area by the French, are not disposed (and rightly so) to hand over the destinies of Germany to our distrusted Allies. But was it beyond the wit and tact of Mr. Austen Chamberlain to make this position clear to the German Government, and provide it with a reason for our continued presence which would not, like the present dishonourable fiction, immensely strengthen the hearts and hands of the German Nationalists? ready to admit, with the deplorable history of the "Peace fresh in mind, that it was beyond this power to coerce the French Government into an honourable discharge of its Treaty obliga-But we have yet to encounter the serious critic of statesmanship who would admit that it was beyond his power to avoid the menacing international friction which has resulted from the recent exchange of diplomatic notes.

What, we are tempted to ask, is the use of employing bankers and economists on the constructive business of hammering out a "Dawes Plan" if their work is to be prejudiced at the outset by the marching of troops and the recriminations of politicians? What is the use of rendering verbal homage to the Covenant of the League (a document, by the way, to which our representatives, as well as those of France and Italy, have solemnly set their names) so long as the Allied nation is required to honour an agreement which does not at the moment happen to accord with its own individual conception of its own individual security?

"France's presence on the Rhine is the essential, perhaps the only, guarantee of her security." So spoke M. Herriot in the French Chamber last week, in a speech which, it is proposed, should be placarded throughout the country as a signal of his return to the Jingo fold. It is the most sinister menace to the power and purpose of the League that has been put into words since Mussolini's repudiation of its Covenant in connexion with the Corfu crime. For the aggrandisement of the League's power and for the fulfilment of its purpose we continue to work and hope. And for this cause, if not for the cause of common international honesty, we share the views of the more critical Conservative, Liberal, and Labour organs of opinion concerning the present Allied military occupation of Germany, and the reasons given to the world for its continuance.

TWO SPRING VISITS TO PALESTINE, 1921, 1922. By MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT, G.B.E., J.P., LL.D.

Chapter XII.—The Hadassa Association and the Jewish Colonies.

Another very useful Jewish activity ought to be mentioned. It is a society called the Hadassa or Esther Association, and is mainly run by the American Zionist women for spreading the knowledge of hygiene and sanitation throughout the towns and villages of Palestine. We heard an address explanatory of its activities given by Miss Zjold, one of its principal representatives, at the Ladies' Club in Jerusalem. The Hadassa Committee are in process of spreading this association like a network all over the country.

I had heard so much about the Jewish agricultural colonies that I was extremely anxious to see something of them; and my wish was gratified through the kindness of Mrs. Bentwich and her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Franklin, who drove me in their car on 23rd March to see two colonies in the neighbourhood of Jaffa, Rehoboth, and Rishon-le-Zion. The drive afforded a good illustration of the variations in climate of a mountain country. As we left Jerusalem, barley was in its earliest stage, with fine grassy leaves about three inches high, but as we neared the sea-level the barley was in ear. This threw a light on what I had formerly considered a pious legend. The story is that Herod sent Roman soldiers in pursuit of the Holy Family on their flight into Egypt. These soldiers passed a field in which the harvest was being reaped, and asked the reapers if they had seen the Son of Man pass by. They said "yes." Being further asked "when," they replied "when the barley was being sown." So the pursuers thought a long time must have elapsed and gave up

¹ This is the sixteenth of a series of weekly articles which will extend over a period of about six months.

Our journey gave us the experience of passing in a few hours from a cold spring morning to midsummer heat. Rehoboth, which we reached first, is surrounded by beautifully cultivated vineyards and by orchards of orange and lemon trees laden with fruit. We went to the house of one of the principal residents, and had a most hospitable reception from Mr. Sachs and his wife. He proved a very entertaining conversationalist, and gave us several amusing examples of postal vagaries in Palestine. After luncheon he took us round the village; he said that when a colony was founded the first public building to be put up was always the school, and the next was the synagogue, for which the highest point in the village was always chosen. In the colonies I visited, the inhabitants remained orthodox Jews, strictly observant of all the laws and ceremonies of their religion. The vital statistics of these colonies are almost incredibly good. The death-rate in Rehoboth was only six per thousand. Rishonle-Zion is the great wine-producing colony. Rehoboth grows grapes, but either sells them as table fruit or sends them to Rishon to be made into wine. The village is neat and orderly, and boasts of a very pleasant clean little inn. These Jewish agricultural colonies have an excellent system of local self-government. What we should call a Town Council is elected annually. Since 1918 all adults, including women, vote and are eligible for the Council. At Rishon it consisted of seven persons, four of whom were women. Each member elected has charge of a special function-education, sanitation, law and justice, and so on; in the event of disputes remaining unsettled, those who are dissatisfied have the right of appeal to Jerusalem. To Rishon, as one of the richest and best organized of the Jewish colonies, about fifty poverty-stricken Jewish refugees from Eastern Europe had been allotted, and it was one of the duties of its Town Council to provide them with housing, food and clothing, work, wages, and education. The Council had applied themselves to the task with vigour and success. Rishon has a wine-producing plant, carried out under the direct patronage of Baron Edmond de Rothschild, who had provided the colonists with instruction in the best French methods of viniculture. The Baron had built himself a pleasant villa in Rishon, and to this we all adjourned for a magnificent repast, too splendid to be called afternoon tea. I had received, on arrival, one of the greatest of surprises, a regular Suffrage ovation. I was overwhelmed by enthusiastic thanks, bouquets of lovely flowers were presented to me. It was such an entirely unexpected experience to be seated in Baron Edmond de Rothschild's house, surrounded by a little group of enthusiastic suffragists, who spent about three-quarters of an hour making suffrage speeches to me and to each other.

We had a wonderful drive back to Jerusalem in the sunset, and as we neared the city saw the full moon rising majestically over the towers and walls of the city. We grieved that it was not as peaceful as it looked, and thought of the troops of Indian cavalry we had met on our way towards Ramleh in the morning to guarantee an Easter undisturbed by broils and possible

FAMILY ENDOWMENT.

A REPLY TO DAME MILLICENT FAWCETT'S OBJECTIONS.

By ELEANOR F. RATHBONE.

Nothing that Mrs. Fawcett writes (one slips irresistibly into the old title), and no opinion she holds, can fail to weigh heavily with the innumerable women, myself among them, who through the long years of the suffrage struggle learned to regard her as the wisest, bravest, sanest leader any movement could have.

It was therefore with a somewhat anxious and heavy heart that I opened my Woman's Leader and began perusing her case against "Family Endowment" (let me at once disclaim responsibility for the name. I did not invent it and am not sure who did). I was relieved to find that her objections apply almost entirely to one of the three possible methods of making direct economic provision for children which are usually grouped under the obnoxious title. These are:—

- 1. Family Allowances, paid for by the State out of taxation for all children and possibly also for their mothers.
- 2. Family Allowances, paid for by an extension of the system of contributory compulsory insurance.

3. Family Allowances, suppplementary to wages, paid for out of the product of industry, either directly by individual employers or through "Equalization Funds" on the French model, which is spreading so rapidly abroad.

It is obvious, I think, not only that it is the first of these methods that Mrs. Fawcett has chiefly in mind, but that it is the only one of the three to which her arguments are really applicable. The gist of her whole case is her objection to "relieving parents of their legal obligation of their maintaining their children," and so weakening, as she thinks, the father's incentive to industry. I do not admit myself that this would be the effect even of a universal State scheme. But in any case, even those who believe, as I do, that such a scheme will be the ultimate and best solution, will agree that it is not at present, nor probably will be for many earsy, within the sphere of practical politics.

Leaving State provision then for the moment aside, can it be said that provision for childhood either through contributory insurance or through Equalization pools would "relieve parents of the responsibility of maintaining their children"? Much of course would depend on the details if the scheme, but it is probable that in either case the children's allowances would be contingent on the father's employment. When he was out of work, the allowances under that particular scheme would stop, and they would have to be maintained, as they are at present by another kind of collective provision, by the dependents allowances attached to unemployment pay, or by out-door relief, or by a combination of both. There is a strong case for doing away with the overlapping which now exists between these two sources. But that is another story. The point for us here is that, as regards the children of those who either from fault or misfortune have ceased to work, the community has already long ago thrown over the principle that their parents are legally obliged to maintain them. It has more recently even abandoned the practice of offering public assistance only in its most repellent form of "the House." As a result, in some of the worst paid

occupations, such as agriculture and unskilled labour, a man with five or six children is often actually better off when living on unemployment pay plus out-door relief than when working. In such cases, a system of Family Allowances for children of workers would positively increase the incentive to retain or regain employment.

But it may be said the alternative is not merely between employment and unemployment. The question is: would men on the whole work less hard and less efficiently, would they make less effort to improve themselves, if they knew that in addition to their wages an allowance would be paid into their homes for each dependent child so that the household income would bear some rough relation to the number dependent on it? It seems to me contrary to all we know of human nature to assume that they would. Does anyone think that, on the whole, men with seven children work better than men with five, men with five than men with three, and so on? It is true that men of indolent disposition and of an exceedingly low standard of life would find it easier to satisfy that low standard on a small wage, and so far the incentive to industry would be diminished. But are not such men a small and decreasing minority? Most parents desire other things for themselves and their children besides the bare minimum of physical subsistence—a good house, country holidays, travel, opportunities for education, a wireless set, a motor car, etc., etc. On the other hand, does not the very greatness of the strain which the present system places on the father of a family often defeat its own ends? The years when the children are young are ordinarily the years when the wage-earner should be at his best. But how can he realize that best when the food is insufficient to keep up his strength, when the overcrowded home offers no privacy for study, when anxiety about how to make both ends meet fills his mind to the exclusion of ambition or self-improvement, when his wife's bad housekeeping and nagging tongue (the natural results of an over-tasked and under-fed body) set his nerves on edge and upset his temper?

Another generally overlooked result of the present system of providing for children through wages which bear no relation to their number is that it supplies the careless and neglectful parent with an ever-present excuse. It is patent to everybody, let us say, that A's children are always thinly and shabbily dressed, inadequately provided with dinner, while the reverse is true of B's. But only the few who know precisely the incomes of the two homes in proportion to the size of family, can judge whether Mr. A or Mrs. B, or the economic system of which both are victims, are to blame for the deficiency. Under a Family Allowance system, the offending couple would be tried at the bar of their neighbours' and work-mates' public opinion, and there is no Court whose verdicts are more respected.

Mrs. Fawcett has read my book, but she has not told us how she meets the figures, quoted from Dr. Bowley and Sir Josiah Stamp, which prove the practical impossibility of satisfying out of the present resources of industry, the reasonable "human needs" of Labour through the present system of flat-rate wages; nor those other figures, drawn from Dr. Bowley and Mr. Rowntree, which show that of the families living in "primary poverty" (i.e., below subsistence level) in nearly three-fourths the cause was the insufficiency of the wage to support families of the size dependent on it. It is these and kindred facts, I believe, which have induced Sir William Beveridge, the Director of the London School of Economics, to declare, as he did the other day, that he believes some system of Family Allowances to be absolutely inevitable, because he sees no other cure for poverty.

I would therefore make a fervent appeal to Dame Millicent, and to all who share her views, that they should not—just because this or that form of Family Endowment seems to them open to grave objections—therefore shut their minds against the whole idea; but rather that they should join with us in seeking a method of realization which will avert the dangers they fear while securing the great good for which we hope.

OBITUARY-SIR JAMES YOXALL.

We regret to learn of the death of Sir James Yoxall. During his time as member of the House of Commons he was a steady supporter of the causes for which we were working. He will, however, probably be remembered less for his political work than for his work in connexion with the National Union of Teachers. His chief interest in life was the welfare of the school child and its teachers, and he leaves a name which will stand for much in the history of British Education.

FAMILY LIFE AMONG THE BOLSHEVIKS.

So much was said at the last general election concerning the deplorable effects which commercial intercourse with Russia might have on English family life, that we gladly welcome any publication which seems to throw light upon the potential source of infection: the Bolshevik's home. And the recently published translation of M. Trotsky's Problems of Life (Methuen, 6d.) certainly carries us a stage towards fuller knowledge Here, that debonair and delightful personality surveys a wide field. Politics and their incapacity to fill the whole of life the evils of drunkenness, the possibilities of the nationalized cinema as a popular substitute for religion, bureaucracy and its evils, the struggle for cultured speech, and "civility and politeness as a necessary lubricant in daily relationships matters of universal interest claim the service of M. Trotsky's versatile pen. There are, of course, moments when we are tempted to question the author's consistency. For instance, is "let the twaddlers babble away" cultured speech when translated into Russian? We doubt it. But there—the point is mmaterial to the main drift of this article which is concerned with M. Trotsky's conception of family life and the position of vomen. In its practical applications his outlook is that of Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gillman, as set forth in her well-known work Women and Economics. It has, too, many intimate points of contact with our own Labour Party's report on "Motherhood and Child Endowment." Let none of our readers take frightthere is no "free love" involved; apart from the element of 'free love' which is involved (to the more rigidly ecclesiastical of us) in the insistence upon a purely civil marriage. The development of home life which M. Trotsky foreshadows consists merely of a further speeding up of the process to which we in this country have already accorded a modicum of allegiance : the provision of communal public services. From communal education and communal medical attendance to communal meals, dress, laundry, mending, club-rooms. . . . And all this in the interest of greater freedom, greater opportunity for leisure and self-development on the part of the woman. "A revolution does not deserve its name if, with all its might and all the means at its disposal, it does not help the woman—twofold and threefold enslaved as she has been in the past—to get out on the road of individual and social progress." In another passage M. Trotsky records the plaint of certain women to his colleague Kartchevsky You only think about yourselves and you have no thought It is quite true, our author confesses: no limits to masculine egotism in ordinary life. In order to change the conditions of life we must learn to see them through the eyes of women." Or, in yet another passage: "To institute the political equality of men and women in the Soviet State was one problem and the simplest. A much more difficult one was the next—that of instituting the industrial-equality of men and women workers in the factories, the mills, and the trade unions, and to do it in such a way that the men should not put the women to disadvantage. But to achieve the actual equality of man and woman within the family is an infinitely more arduous problem. All our domestic habits must be revolutionized before that can happen. And yet it is quite obvious that unless there is actual equality of husband and wife in the family, in a normal sense as well as in the conditions of life, we cannot speak seriously of their equality in social work or even in politics. As long as woman is chained to her housework, the care of the family, the cooking and sewing, all her chances of participation in social and political life are cut down to the extreme." Such is M. Trotsky's feminist faith. Not a bad one, we are inclined to add. At any rate, if he has a Turk complex" he is not sublimating it in the written word! Nor is his feminism all his own. Here, at least, heretic though he may be, he speaks with the voice of his regimented and doctrinaire party. In all countries (no less in the East) shall it be the duty of Communists to enlist women on a basis of equality and independence, to accord to them a full and equal hare in the "construction of new forms of society" and "to recognize the functions of motherhood as a social function, promoting and supporting appropriate measures to aid and protect women as the bearer of the human race." Such are the world orders of the Communist International as embodied in the decisions of its third Moscow Congress in the summer of

But there is another side to the picture: a destructive as opposed to the constructive side. M. Trotsky does not deny that "family relations are shattered." "This was stated as

a firmly established fact in the debates of the Moscow Propagandists, and no one contested it. They were only differently impressed by it-each in his own way . . . It was, anyhow, clear to all, that some big process was going on, very chaotic, assuming alternatively morbid or revolting, ridiculous or tragic forms, and which had not yet had time to disclose its hidden possibilities of inaugurating a new and higher order of family life." And this our author attributes largely to the upheavals of the war and revolutionary period, quoting typical cases: the man or the woman who is drawn into the wider life of active revolutionary citizenship leaving a disgruntled and bewildered spouse outside its mental orbit: the decline of home comfort where both go forth and set their shoulders to the political wheel: the struggle over religious symbolism abandoned by the husband at the behest of his Communist 'call' in the teeth of his wife's conservatism. This, in outline is Trotsky's diagnosis of an evil which he recognizes and (most

But is it the whole story? With all deference to our distinguished author (who must, after all, know more about the conditions of his own country) we venture to think not. There is—and we have often expressed this view, for it is the ground of our general opposition to the Bolshevik régime—a fundamental inconsistency between the broad philosophy of Communism and the ungrudging feminism which is its most pleasing aspect. The first is based upon a frank materialism in which violence, coercion, and bloodshed have their necessary and unavoidable place. The second can, we believe, never flourish in practice save in a society which has definitely turned its back upon the employment of these three weapons as a determinant of human affairs, and adopted an absolute standard of ethical values which our Communist contemporaries are not disposed to accept.

We do not as a rule go out of our way to castigate the exponents of physical force in Eastern Europe, because there are still a sufficient number of them masquerading under most respectable party colours in our own country. Nor can we wholeheartedly castigate an author who expresses so strong and generous a brand of feminism. All the same—there is a dangerous snag in it!

THE BIRMINGHAM BRANCH OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN.

The Birmingham Branch of the National Council of Women is fortunate in combining women of all classes and every shade of political opinion in work for the social reforms so urgently called for at the present time.

First and foremost we attempt to educate public opinion by disseminating the knowledge obtained from experts on various national and civic problems. Largely attended Council meetings are held each month where, in addition to the ordinary business, an address is usually given by some well known public speaker on such subjects as "Family Endowment," "The Solicitation Laws," "Equal Guardianship," "Prison Reform," etc. Our meeting last month was devoted to short addresses by local women Councillors and Guardians, in order to persuade more women, and especially the younger women, to take up Local Government work.

The activities of the Society are many and varied. Recently a series of talks by our members has been broadcasted. Several sub-sections have been formed, so that our work may be more expeditiously accomplished.

The Citizenship Sub-section is always busy. With it is amalgamated the local branch of the N.U.S.E.C. Not only is this section engaged in pressing the claims of Bills approved of by that Society and the National Council of Women, but through its speakers it is helping to interest and educate women of all classes on a great many matters. A list of nearly forty voluntary speakers is sent out each year to some 250 women's organizations in the city and surrounding country. Women's institutes, Mothers' Meetings, Girl Guides, Adult Schools, Co-operative Guilds, etc., are addressed on a variety of subjects, ranging from Parliament and Local Government to Home Nursing and travels in many countries.

Three years ago a Discussion Society was formed. Many of our speakers have found the experience gained through it invaluable.

In the spring of every year a Citizenship Competition is arranged by this section, and all the societies addressed by our

speakers are invited to take part in it, prizes and certificates being awarded not to individuals, but to the successful organizations. At the request of the Girl Guides' Association, this competition is now taken as the standard for the Local Guide Citizenship Badge.

This section was very active during the recent General Election, In view of the high pressure at which the election was fought only a short questionnaire dealing with subjects of special interest to women and children was sent to the 27 Birmingham candidates. The replies received from 21 were announced in the local Press. An article urging all women to do their share towards obtaining the reforms we desire was published in the papers and also broadcasted.

We are always in touch with our Members of Parliament, urging them to support Bills we are especially anxious to see on the Statute Book, and reminding them of their promises

The International Section carries on educative work chiefly by means of a Study Circle. The country chosen for study this session is China. Two special addresses have been given, one by Miss Agatha Harrison of the Y.W.C.A., on "Industrial Problems in China," and another on "Progressive Movements in China," by Mr. E. W. Sawden of Cheng-Tu University. In February we are to hear Dr. Lionel Giles, one of the greatest authorities in England on ancient Chinese literature.

Our Police and Preventive Sub-Committee has been strengthened by the addition of representatives from several societies which have recently formed a federation for developing the work among the unmarried mothers and their children.

Among much useful work accomplished, perhaps the most important is connected with the additional supervision of the Parks. Following on a deputation to the Parks Committee a memorial, signed by 10,000 citizens, was presented to the City Council on 1st July, as a result of which twenty more Park Keepers have been appointed, of whom five are women.

Birmingham at present possesses five policewomen, and although they have not yet full status, we are glad to say that our Chief Constable acknowledges the value of their work.

The Police and Preventive Sub-Committee is anxious that better care should be taken of those mentally deficient girls who are continually getting into trouble. To this end, Councillor Miss Clara Martineau, J.P., an authority on the subject, addressed one of our recent Council meetings on the "Care of the Mentally Resolutions containing certain recommendations were sent from the meeting to the City Councillors and the Board of Guardians

This short record of our activities will have served its purpose if it stimulates other groups of workers to share their experience in working for better conditions in our social life.

M. DANIELSON,

Hon. Secretary.

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

ANNUAL COUNCIL.

The Women's International League is holding its annual Council Meeting at Caxton Hall, on Thursday and Friday, 19th and 20th February. Among the most interesting things which will come up for discussion will be discussions on the future of the League, and its immediate, as well as more distant objects; and on the opium question. Resolutions will deal with international and domestic politics of current interest; thus the two aspects of the work undertaken by the Women's International League will receive attention.

The resolutions dealing with foreign politics will embody the attitude of the League on the Egyptian question, the position of the self-governing Dominions, of the British Empire in the League of Nations, the Geneva Protocol, the Occupation of Cologne, and the Naval Base at Singapore. In home politics the employment of Women Police, and the present position of women in industry and the professions, will be under consideration.

Members of the League who are not going as delegates can obtain Visitors' tickets by application to the London Head-quarters Office, 55 Gower Street, London, W.C. 1.

CONFERENCE OF BRITISH OVERSEAS COMMITTEE, I.W.S.A.

We would like to remind our readers of the Conference to be held by the British Overseas Committee of the I.W.S.A., at the victoria Hotel, Northumberland Avenue, on Monday, 9th February, at 2.30. The object of the Conference was explained in our last number. All interested are welcome

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EOUAL CITIZENSHIP.

President: Miss Eleanor Rathbone, C.C., J.P. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Sondy. Parliamentary Secretary: Mrs. Hubback.

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

ANNUAL COUNCIL MEETING, 11th-14th MARCH, 1925.

The following are the times arranged for business and other meetings of the Annual Council:

Wednesday, 11th March. 2 p.m.-5 p.m., Afternoon Session of Council; 8.30 p.m., Reception to Delegates and Council visitors

Thursday, 12th March. 10-12.45 p.m., Morning Session of Council. 2-4.30 p.m., Afternoon Session of Council; 4.30 p.m., Tea to be given by the President to delegates and visitors to

Friday, 13th March. 10 a.m.-12.45 p.m., Morning Session of Council; 1 for 1.15 p.m., Public Luncheon at the Holborn Restaurant; 3-5 p.m., Afternoon Session of Council.

Saturday, 14th March. 10 a.m.-1 p.m., Morning Session of

SUMMER SCHOOL, ST. HILDA'S HALL, OXFORD, 25th August to 8th September.

We wish to draw the attention of our members to plans for Summer School wider in its scope than originally planned. It is proposed to hold the school for a fortnight instead of only for a week. The subjects dealt with will fall into four groups :

1. The Status of Women, including (a) Rights of Citizenship; (b) Status of mothers with regard to (1) legitimate children, (2) illegitimate children; (c) Maintenance of wives and children; (d) Equal pay and opportunities in Industry and the Professions; (e) Family Allowances; (f) Birth Control.

2. The Administration of Justice as it specially affects Magistrates, including: (a) Laws affecting the Social Evil; (b) Psychiatry; (c) Probation; (d) Penal Reform.

3. Problems of urgent importance of special interest to Social Workers, including: (a) Housing; (b) Social Insurance; (c) Smoke Abatement; (d) Money Lending.

4. Political Party Ideals, including the ideals and programmes of the three political parties.

Group 2 will be dealt with chiefly, though not exclusively, during the first week of the school, and it is hoped that both men and women magistrates will take part in it. The subjects studied, will it is hoped, be worked out with the assistance of the Magistrates' Association and of the Howard League for Penal

Students from overseas are warmly welcomed, and a curriculum suitable for their special needs will be arranged in each case Accommodation will be available at St. Hilda's Hall, and a list of lodgings and hotels at various prices will be sent on applica-St. Hilda's Hall is beautifully situated on the river. Afternoons will be available for boating, tennis, and other recreations. If demand justifies it, an effort will be made for mothers who wish it to bring their children, and to have them supervised during study hours.

School fees will be £1 5s. for Members, and £1 10s. for nonmembers for the fortnight, or 15s. for Members and £1 for non-Members for one week.

DEPUTATION ON EQUAL FRANCHISE.

The Prime Minister has been asked to receive a deputation, organised by the N.U.S.E.C., urging the early appointment of the members of the "Conterence on the lines of the Ullwater Committee," promised by the Prime Minister during his election campaign, to make recommendations with regard to an agreed measure of Equal Franchise. This request is being supported by our affiliated Societies and many other organizations

WOMEN AND THE INTERNATIONAL CARE OF CHILDREN.

The attention of our societies is called to the paragraph in Notes and News" under the above heading; they are urged to take action as suggested.

MR. FISHER'S NEW APPOINTMENT.

FEBRUARY 6, 1925.

The Right Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, the President of the Board of Trade in our first post-war Government, has evidently decided to leave political life for good, and has accepted the post of Warden of New College, Oxford. When Mr. Fisher went to the Board of Education all educational reformers were filled with hope; it seemed a great step forward that the training of the ounger generation should be given into the hands of a man of his intellectual attainments. The draft of his Education Bill opened up new vistas, but the reaction and the demand for economy came all too soon. Whether anyone would have been strong enough to press the bill through in the face of the outcry for reduction of expenditure is doubtful; and one of the greatest opportunities for educational reforms was killed in an extravagant riot of economy. Mr. Fisher we imagine will be more content in the peaceful and academic atmosphere of Oxford than he could have felt amidst the bitter disillusions of political life.

CORRESPONDENCE.

FAMILY ENDOWMENT.

Madam,—You welcome, I believe, discussion on the subject of Family Endowment. While nearly all the arguments of Dame Millicent Fawcett against this can be easily answered, the comparison with the maximum amount under an Affiliation Order is, I think, particularly misleading.

1. This is not a State grant, but a charge on the parent, who otherwise could and often did, evade the responsibility of maintaining his offspring, the very thing which Dame Fawcett wishes to prevent.

2. It is not a fixed charge, but the maximum possible, the actual amount being usually fixed at much less, with regard to the means of the father and the circumstances of the mother. A high or increasing amount

father and the circumstances of the mother. A high or increasing amount is granted against a wealthy father to ensure the bringing up of the child in a manner somewhat commensurate with that of a legitimate child his station of life. A comparison with the average grant made would

The amount for an illegitimate child may reasonably be greater, ecause the father usually evades the responsibility of provising a home or the child. This is the most difficult and expensive part of providing or the child for an unmarried mother who cannot have her child with

her through the nature of her occupation.

4. The raising of the maximum from the very inadequate sum of 5s. to 10s. just after women became voters came at a time when other previously inadequate allowances were being raised (e.g. teachers' salaries) and the further increase was made in view of the increased cost of living. I do not think there is the least danger of an agitation for raising a fixed State maintenance grant of, say, 10s. for a normal child, because the grant from the father of an illegitimate child towards home and maintenance,

I think the use of the term "respectable children" is unworthy of Dame Fawcett: surely even if." base-born" the child is respectable and has the same claim for consideration as "a member of an honourable

AN EX-SCHOOLMISTRESS.

THE CASE AGAINST "FAMILY ENDOWMENT".

MADAM,—I have read with interest Mrs. Fawcett's statement of the case against "Family Endowment," and beg to offer a few comments

popular limitation of the term "endowment" need create The word itself has reference to the person or object

no difficulty. The word itself has reference to the person or object "endowed," not to the source of endowment; therefore it is quite correct to apply it to the scheme of provision for the family with which Miss Rathbone's name is associated, and which is receiving increasing support from a growing number of thoughtful people.

2. There is no question of the State, or the individual men and women composing it, relieving parents of the legal obligation of maintaining their children. Whether the proposed "Family Allowances" are paid by the State, or by the employers, the payment comes ultimately out of the product of industry; and in this production the parents have their part. What is really involved is the sharing of parental responsibility with persons who are non-parents; and, with certain appropriate conditions, this is a reasonable proposition. Indeed, it seems to me that our chief and urgent business is to create the "appropriate conditions"; for, as a matter of fact, many of the unmarried and childless are at the present time bearing a heavy share of family responsibilities, without present time bearing a heavy share of family responsibilities, without satisfactory results. Re-adjust social and financial conditions on the lines suggested in Miss Rathbone's book, and there will probably be such an improvement in the condition of those receiving the benefits of the he that those outside its scope will not grudge their contribution

3. Whilst recognizing the fact that in all classes of society certain individuals are to be found willing to live on the labour of others, I fail to see in this a reason for refusing family allowances. Such moral perversion can only be met by moral education, chiefly through the operation of a sane and active public opinion on the matter. If men and women felt that they were despised as non-producers of honest work, they would soon bestir themselves to alter their status, if only to gain the esteem of their fellows.

The estimated cost of Family Allowances is indeed a serious difficulty. But it is not insuperable. As Miss Rathbone remarks in Chapter VII of her book, the nation which can afford to spend £260,000,000 in one year on drink, tobacco, and amusements ought to be able to find even the large sum required. Luxuries in all classes might have to

be cut down, but solid comfort for all might be increased—a much more desirable arrangement. There are many more interesting points in Mrs. Fawcett's article, but I leave these to be taken up by others.

A CONVERT TO "FAMILY ENDOWMENT."

WOMEN DOCTORS. Madam,—I read in some paper the other day that there were 78 applicants for the appointment of a Medical Officer which carries a salary of ± 100 .

Having been a regular reader of your paper for a long time, I should like to make a suggestion. There are many small towns and villages in Sussex and Surrey where there are openings for women doctors who are prepared to live simply until they get on their feet. I suppose lack of capital deters lots of women from starting, but it is possible in most country towns to find a couple of rooms, say large bed-sitting room and surgery, and it would be necessary to keep a car. I have a friend who bought one and it would be necessary to keep a car. I have a friend who bought one for £50 the other day. It is always possible in the country to hire a lad to clean the car for very little in order to gain experience and become a chauffeur in the end. Personally, I think anyone who had pluck and small wants for a beginning could afford to borrow to start, and I know of a very good opening and would give all the assistance I could in settling

Needless to say I do not want my name published or I should have the resident men doctors up in arms!

An interesting letter by Dr. Mabel Ramsay, of Plymouth, on the same subject appears in the *British Medical Journal* of 24th January. She explains the much quoted glut of applicants for a certain junior medical post in Sunderland as due to the few hospital posts at present open to women—pointing out that something like 99 per cent. of posts as House Physician or House Surgeon are "regarded as the strict preserve of the young male doctors owing to the policy pursued and fostered so carefully by the Selection Committees of Voluntary Hospitals up and down the land to exclude all women doctors." She adds that among newly qualified doctors the proportion of women is about one in six, the total number of registered women about 2,000, as compared with about 25,000 men. Finally she has some severe things to say concerning "prejudice on the part of male colleagues," and the need for change in the conduct of hospital management. Her final paragraph stresses the fact that the public "needs and demands medical women in many and ever widening spheres." We are in hearty agreement with her diagnosis of this attempted reaction which seems to appeal so strongly to the imagination of the Press. reaction which seems to appeal so strongly to the imagination of the Press.

SAVING INFANT LIFE.

Madam,—Under the heading of "Saving Infant Life," in your last issue, you support the proposal that "a prompt visit from a fully qualified woman" should follow the notification of a birth, and deplore that "no I wonder whether it is generally known how many persons do visit on these occasions, and how their number compares with the rest or seclusion ordained for the newly born and its mother in more favourable circumstances. The patient, if confined at home, is attended by either a doctor with a maternity nurse as handywoman, or by a midwife. If the first, he is officially able to deal with eye or any other trouble. In the case of a midwife she must, under her rules, send for the doctor at the smallest ymptom, and at the same time notify the Local Supervising Authority that she has done so.

This brings a visit from (1) the doctor, (2) the Authority's Inspector,

(3) if necessary the district nurse. Both mother and child may, in London, be removed to a special hospital, while the Health Visitor appears, or should appear, after the tenth day.

What are to be the relations of the fully qualified woman with those already in attendance? Is she to provide the doctor? Would it not be better to urge that instead of an additional visitor, those already there should be better equipped? The midwife is to have a longer and more comprehensive training and her duties are strictly limited and defined. On a large number of occasions, she has no choice but to send for a doctor. On a large number of occasions, she has no choice but to send for a doctor. But the doctor—when he comes—may do what he likes, and we know from Dame Janet Campbell's Report on Maternal Mortality and from a case—Rex v. Bateman—which has lately excited much attention that his activities are by no means always beneficial or his practice aseptic. If your paper would stir up public opinion to demand a higher level of skill and cleanliness on the part of doctors—both men and women—who attend women in child-birth, and a post mortem on every mother who dies at her confinement, you would be doing the public a signal service, and helping to reduce our regrettably high rate of Maternal Mortality.

Elena Richmond.

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COMING EVENTS.

FEB. 9. 3 p.m. The Guildhouse, Eccleston Square, S.W. Miss Edith Picton-Turbervill, O.B.E., President of the Westminster Housing Council, on "The Problem of Housing in Westminster."

LONDON SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SERVICE.

FEB. 10. 5 p.m. "I.C.C. Elections, 1925; (ii) The Council's Workers." Speaker: Miss Rosamond Smith, L.C.C.

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

Barnsley S.E.C. FEB. 11. 5.30 p.m. Lady Mabel Lantern Lecture at St. Mary's Parish Room.

Edinburgh W.C.A. FEB. 11. 8 p.m. Royal Society of Arts Hall, 117 George Street. Women and the Fress: an Experiment in Journalism. Speaker: The Viscountess thoudda, J.P. Chairman: Mrs. Chalmers Watson, C.B.E., M.D. Hereford W.C.A. FEB. 12. 8 p.m. Miss K. D. Courtney on "Family Allowances."

Kensington and Paddington S.E.C. FEB. 9. 3.30 p.m. Annual meeting at the New House, Campden Hill Road, W. 8. Miss K. D. Courtney on "Family Endowment as a Solution of the Family Day Paddad, W. 8.

Malvern S.E.C. FEB. 13. 5 p.m. Miss K. D. Courtney on "Family Allowances."

SIX POINT GROUP.

FEB. 10. 5 p.m. Committee "At Home," 92 Victoria Street, S.W. Mrs. Corbett Ashby on "Equal Franchise,"

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TWO Vacancies now at 100 GROSVENOR ROAD, S.W. 1. This house, facing the river, is opened for women students and others. Really attractive rooms facing south. Terms from 2½ guineas weekly. 24 bus passes. Telephone, Victoria 1496.

COMFORTABLE HOSTEI, for Women Students and others. Gas fires, electric light, telephone.—51 St. George's Square, S.W. 1.

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