

THE WOMAN'S LEADER

AND THE COMMON CAUSE

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NOTES AND NEWS.

International Prospects.

Most of our readers will no doubt have read first-hand, or seen Press references to, the remarkably interesting interview between Norman Angell and the French Prime Minister which appeared in last week's *New Leader*. Like the blindfolded lady in Watt's famous picture, we are willing to listen hopefully for the last tremor of sound on the last string of a broken harp. Such a tremor of sound comes from M. Herriot during the first weeks of his descent into European politics. In his interview with Norman Angell above mentioned, he makes the striking announcement of his readiness to enter a mutual pact of security to which Germany would be admitted on equal terms. We express no opinion as to the desirability of any kind of mutual pact under present conditions. We merely refer to this particular admission on M. Herriot's part, because coupled with his resolve to accompany our own Prime Minister to the forthcoming League of Nations Assembly, and his recent decision to allow the return of 60,000 exiled Rhinelanders to their homes, there does appear to be some prospect of conducting future international discussions in the spirit which is pre-eminently represented in this country by Lord Cecil.

Baby Week.

The presidential address at the opening of the third English Speaking Conference on Infant Welfare was delivered by Mr. Wheatley, Minister of Health. Mr. Wheatley hoped the time was not far distant when there would be a Welfare Centre within reach of every woman. Mr. Neville Chamberlain, who presided at the afternoon session, referred to the fact that the Legitimacy Bill had now passed through all its stages in the House of Commons. He felt that this measure would remove one of the causes of the excessive mortality among illegitimate children. Other speakers included Colonel R. J. Buchanan, M.D., and Mrs. Wemyss Grant, M.D., who described conditions of child welfare in India, Dr. Julius Levy, chief of the Bureau of Child Hygiene, New Jersey, Dr. Janet Lane-Clapton, Dr. Lætitia Fairfield, and Miss E. J. Higson. In this connexion the articles on Saving Infant Life, contributed to *The Times* during the week by Mr. Benjamin Broadbent, discuss the reasons why five English towns, Oxford, Cambridge,

Worcester, Swindon, and Northampton, have a much lower rate of infant mortality than other towns in the country. This week the attention of the community is focused on the needs of the new generation. Baby week has become an important institution, and this is as it ought to be.

France and her Population Problem.

The Times of 30th June publishes some illuminating information concerning the movement of French population. The census of 1921 shows an actual diminution of something over two millions in the total population of France during the preceding decennial period; meanwhile the war years were accompanied by a fall of over 50 per cent. in the birth-rate. But apparently it is not the low birth-rate, but the high death-rate which is the significant fact in contemplating present and future prospects. And this, as *The Times* correspondent remarks, "is a serious matter, for it is obviously much easier to produce children than to keep people alive." In England and Wales, for instance, in the year 1923, an excess of 758,386 births over 444,869 deaths, gave an increase in the population of 313,517. In France during the same year an excess of 761,861 births (a larger number, be it noted) over 666,990 deaths, gave an increase of only 94,871. The infant mortality rate per 1,000 births was 69 in England and Wales, as compared with 96 in France. It is interesting to consider these comparative figures of births and deaths in connexion with two somewhat paradoxical facts: the fact that in France, the discussion and promotion of birth control is penalized by law, and the fact that the population of France is far less highly industrialized than the population of England and Wales.

The Legitimation of Children.

An animated discussion took place on Friday last, 27th June, on the occasion of the Third Reading and Report Stage of the Legitimacy Bill. The discussion was almost entirely confined to the consideration of Mr. Rawlinson's amendment:—"Nothing in this Act shall operate to legitimate a person whose father or mother was married to a third person when the illegitimate person was born." The arguments brought forward, both for and against this amendment, followed the lines familiar to those who have followed similar debates on the same point in earlier Bills. Considerable difference of opinion was to be found among the women Members. The Duchess of Atholl and Mrs. Philipson put forward the case for those who believe that to legitimize a child, one or both of whose parents at the time of its birth was married to someone else, would tend to weaken the marriage tie by increasing infidelity and by giving an additional reason to husbands or wives to divorce the unfaithful spouse. Lady Astor supported the amendment, but hoped the Bill would be passed whether with or without the amendment. Miss Susan Lawrence representing, she said, "the opinion of a very large body of women," was strongly against the amendment. "Is it right, is it reasonable, that the one person who is always innocent in all this . . . should bear through life the very heavy stigma of illegitimacy?" In the division list we find Mrs. Wintringham and Lady Terrington against the amendment. The same difference of opinion can be seen also among the lawyers: Sir Thomas Inskip, Solicitor-General under the last Government, spoke against the amendment, and quoted the support of the Mothers' Union and the Joint Parliamentary Advisory Committee, whereas the present Attorney-General passionately opposed it. The two Members of Parliament,

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Captain Bowyer, who is in charge of the Bill, and Mr. Neville Chamberlain, who was responsible for the first Children of Unmarried Parents' Bill, were both opposed to the amendment, which was finally lost by 136 votes to 165. The Bill itself was carried with a few minor amendments by 177 votes to 13, the tellers for the Noes being Mr. Rawlinson and Mrs. Philipson.

Wrecking Tactics.

Those who are devoting their energies to complaints against the Government for not having introduced a wider Bill for Equal Guardianship, are advised to turn their attention to protecting the present Bill from amendments which have been put down for the Committee Stage of the House of Lords. Some of these are merely verbal, others—such as Lord Fitzalan's, to provide that pre-nuptial promises between parents with regard to the religious upbringing of their children should be honoured in Courts, and Lord Raglan's, that when a Court is in difficulties as to determining what is for the welfare of the child it shall incline towards deciding in favour of the father in the case of the boys and the mother in the case of the girls—are honest endeavours to meet real difficulties. Others, however, such as those put down by Lord Banbury to delete many of the most important provisions of the Bill would, if carried, result in a Bill so emasculated as to be useless.

Family Endowment and the Housing Bill.

In a letter to *The Times* on the 1st instant, Mr. E. D. Simon, who is acknowledged one of the chief experts on Housing in the House of Commons, stated that he had "put down an amendment to the Housing Bill to authorize Local Authorities to give the proposed increased subsidy in such a way as to help fathers of large families to live in suitable houses." We hope very much that careful consideration will be given to this amendment, as it touches on one of the chief difficulties of the present housing situation, viz. that the fathers of large families, who most need adequate accommodation, are those who are least able to pay a rent which such accommodation demands.

Insurance of Young Workers.

In a leading article a few weeks ago we dealt with the Unemployment Insurance (No. 2) Bill, and criticized the proposal to include young persons between the age of fourteen and sixteen

among insured persons. In a valuable letter to *The Times*, on 30th June, representatives of Settlements express the view that it would be disastrous to reject the proposal for insuring young people without devising any constructive policy, and proceed to outline a policy which they claim would be practicable and at any rate of temporary value. Put briefly, the proposal is to extend unemployment insurance to juveniles under sixteen, as in the case of juveniles over sixteen, conditionally on attendance at unemployment centres, which should be regarded as an integral part of the educational system of the country, and further to commence the contribution period from the date of leaving school, crediting those who are attending an unemployment centre with the insurance premiums which would be payable by and for them if they were at work. We recognize the weight of opinion from those who are in actual contact with boys and girls, and hope to deal with both sides of this question in a forthcoming issue.

Women Trade Unionists.

An International Conference of Women Trade Unionists has recently been held in Vienna under the auspices of the International Federation of Trade Unions. The chief discussion was on the best methods for increasing the number of women trade unionists. The International Federation of Trade Unions declared itself prepared to convene conferences of working women when necessary, and was prepared to consider the question of the appointment of a women's committee and of a woman secretary for special propaganda amongst women workers. The conference was in favour of the organization of both men and women in the same trade unions. We are glad to learn of this movement, which will tend both to bring the working women of different countries in closer touch with each other, and to break down the antagonism which is still to be found between men and women industrial workers.

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

DISQUIETING SUGGESTIONS.

On Wednesday of last week, unfortunately a few hours after our issue of 27th June went to press, the House of Commons devoted an evening to the discussion of Old Age Pensions in connexion with the abolition of the universally unpopular "thrift disqualification." The report of that debate, as summarized in *The Times* of the following day, was such as to cause us, and no doubt many other persons, the most profound horror and lively astonishment. "The whole problem of social insurance was," Mr. Snowden was reported to have said, "in a most chaotic state. Schemes were lumped together piecemeal, and there was no co-ordination. Whatever Government might be in office within the next few years, it could not delay in dealing with the overhauling of the whole system of national insurance. This Government was not pledged to mothers' pensions. He had stated, without giving a pledge, that the Government hoped to be able to introduce a measure dealing with that very urgent matter. He was glad to be able to inform the Committee that very considerable progress had been made by the committee of experts which was inquiring into this matter, and he was in hopes that before very long—he could not say whether it would be this year or not—the Government would be able to submit to the House a scheme which would deal with mothers' pensions, and which, at the same time, would provide means by which the age of every old-age pensioner could be reduced to 65 on a new basis."

"This Government was not pledged to mothers' pensions!" We could not believe our eyes. Nor, thank Heaven, was so great an effort of credulity long required of us. A glance at Hansard revealed the fact that in this matter of a pledge, Mr. Snowden had been grossly and disastrously misrepresented by our honoured contemporary. (We hope he will duly receive the apology which he deserves.) His disavowal of a pledge referred not to mothers' pensions—of course, Mr. Snowden couldn't have said such a thing; we ought to have known it from the first—it referred to a general overhaul of our national insurance system.

And yet, our relief was not absolute. What does Mr. Snowden

mean when he says, as he authentically did say, "I am hoping that before very long—I do not know whether we shall be able to introduce it this year or not, that will depend upon Parliamentary opportunity—I shall be able to submit to the House a scheme on a new basis which will deal with mothers' pensions and at the same time will provide means by which the age for old age pensions can be reduced, say, to 65?" He meant, quite clearly, that the Government intends to hold its hands in the matter of Widows' Pensions until these can be treated on a contributory basis, as part and parcel of a large contributory scheme under the machinery of National Insurance. He means, in other words, that the Government has retreated to the position now occupied by Mr. Baldwin's party. There is not a pin to choose between their intentions as far as Widows' Pensions are concerned—which is disappointing, to say the least of it, in view of their very different records in the past.

Nor do the women of Mr. Snowden's own party appear to be any better pleased by this new prospect than we are ourselves. Dr. Marion Phillips, Chief Woman Officer of the Labour Party, writing in the *Daily Herald* of the day following the above quoted statement, confesses that it has "raised a feeling of absolute consternation." The demand for Widows' Pensions has, she reminds her readers, "been put from thousands of platforms, has appeared in thousands of election addresses, and has been printed in millions of leaflets. Always it has been for a non-contributory scheme. . . . Frankly, if this is the Chancellor's intention, he will find that he has aroused profound opposition among Labour women, and also among Labour men, throughout the country." It is a lucid and courageous article, and we would gladly quote it more fully, but space forbids. At any rate, we have quoted enough of it to show that in criticizing Mr. Snowden's present attitude to the question of Widows' Pensions we are not maliciously seizing upon the first available stick wherewith to beat a Labour Government. We are voicing, as Dr. Marion Phillips voices, a widespread sense of disappointment with this most unexpected qualification and heartbreaking delay.

NEWS FROM WESTMINSTER.

FROM OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT.

HOUSING, PENSIONS, AND SUPPLY.

Although the day was very hot and the call of the countryside very strong, the new Housing Bill brought a good number of Members into their places at 3.45 on Monday. Apart from Mr. Lansbury's question with regard to the Amritsar case, question-time was dull and so was Mr. Wheatley's expository speech.

Housing is destined to be one of the greatest domestic issues of the next quarter of a century, and the front benches occupied four of the seven hours debate, while back-bench Members with expert knowledge rose in vain to attempt to catch the Speaker's eye. The result was a small explosion when at 10 p.m. Sir William Joynton Hicks (whom everybody likes) rose to wind up the debate for the Opposition. The whole of the back-benchers were in sympathy with Mr. Neil Maclean's protest, and this was specially so in the case of agricultural Members, for in a debate of seven hours not one word was said with regard to the problems of rural housing. By this time the Minister is aware that a great deal more will have to be said on the rural side of the question, as the Order Book is full of questions about the villages and of motions for the Committee Stage of the Bill.

Mr. Wheatley's Bill was carried by 269 to 206, and then Mr. Masterman moved to commit the Bill to the whole House: the Government resisted, but were beaten by 315 to 175.

Question-time was remarkable for a day or two for some rather waspish comments and rather silly threats to keep Members until September, but Members have recovered their sense of proportion, and the latest date for the adjournment is now given as 8th August. Great attempts will be made to widen the financial resolution both on the urban and rural side. On Tuesday night the London Traffic Bill pursued its way against the strong opposition of several London Members, and it did not get its third reading without a division on Friday at 4 a.m. Old Members of the House agreed that they had rarely seen opposition more skilfully done. One gained the impression that the only people who liked the Bill were those of strangely bureaucratic mind. Mr. Percy Harris deserves a word of congratulation for acting as the Member for London.

On Wednesday a little duel on Woods (Damage by Game)

THE SIXTH SESSION OF THE I.L.O. CONFERENCE GENEVA, 1924.

Here in Geneva the World's Industrial Parliament is sitting for its sixth Annual Conference. Thirty-nine out of its fifty-seven Member States have sent 124 delegates and about 160 technical advisers. Twenty-nine delegations are complete, which means that they include representatives of Governments, Employers, and Workers. Women are also taking a leading part at this Conference, for the Governments of Great Britain, Canada, and Norway have sent women as their representatives, and there are five women advisers to the Government Delegates of other countries and one woman adviser to the Workers' Delegate of Great Britain.

The items on the Agenda, including the Report of the Director of the work of the past year, make the programme a long and interesting one. The chief topics are: (1) Workers' spare time and facilities for developing it. (2) Night work in bakeries. (3) Twenty-four hours' rest in certain glass-making processes. (4) Equality of treatment for foreign workers in respect of accident compensation. Two other committees are tackling the questions of unemployment and anthrax infection. In addition, the report of the Director on the work of the past year is discussed day by day before the whole conference.

Interesting as the entire programme is, the topics of unemployment and the eight hours' convention stand out above all others in interest and importance.

As a result of previous conferences, a special study of unemployment has been made by the International Labour Office, of which an absorbing account has been published, and which is the basis for the discussions of the unemployment committee that is now sitting. The I.L.O., in collaboration with the Economic and Financial Section of the League of Nations, has come to certain conclusions in its studies which at least offer definite suggestions towards which future practical efforts should work, with the reasonable hope that some measure of solution of the problem may be more nearly in sight.

between the Member for Moseley and the Member for Dumbarton Boroughs amused the House. "Mr. Hannon: Does not the keeping of game give employment to a very considerable number of people?" "Mr. Kirkwood: The game is very useful for vermin's food."

The official report in cold ink gives no idea of the feelings aroused.

General regret was felt in all quarters of the House that the Government are unable to do anything to assist the passing of the Blind Person's Bill, which was passed without a division on a recent Friday, and Mr. Thomas Henderson, the Labour Member for Tradeston, who brought it in, received many condolences.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer had a difficult task in expounding the Old Age Pensions Amendment Resolution. The abolition of the thrift disqualification means different things to different people and as no Private Member may impose a tax, it was impossible, without defeating the new proposals, to move to amend and enlarge the Resolution. I will leave other writers to explain the means by which an allowance of 15s. per week on unearned incomes will be deducted in reckoning total income at an extra cost of four millions this year, and content myself with one or two quotations:—"Mr. Snowden: If the country had means to squander and it knew of no other purpose to which they could be devoted, then it might give old age pensions to these dukes and millionaires." "Capt. Benn: How many dukes are there?" "Mr. Snowden: Twenty-two." "Capt. Benn: Over seventy years?" "Mr. Snowden: I should think that the longevity amongst dukes is very high, unfortunately for me as Chancellor of the Exchequer." The hot weather and the attractions of the Palace gardens proved too much for the Members, and the House was counted out at 9.22 p.m. The debate on Strikes on Thursday gave the House two good speeches, one by Lord Henry Bentinck full of sound sense, and a passionate and moving oration by Mr. Maxton. His sentiments were not to the mind of the Members, but he received congratulations on all sides on the sincerity and ability of his speech.

GREEN BENCH.

the unanimous interest of governments, workers, and employers is focussed. During these discussions the hall was packed, and arguments swayed backwards and forwards between ardent appeals on the part of the workers' representatives for ratification of the eight hours' convention, and somewhat cautious statements by some of the delegates of employers and governments. There was, however, a general feeling of goodwill, showing a real desire to come to an international agreement concerning the eight-hour day.

Sometimes it seemed as if the fact that the principle of an eight-hour day and a forty-eight hour week which was adopted at the first I.L.O. Conference five years ago had become pushed into the background by the force of a more recent habit of mind which associates hours of work and payment of reparations as inseparable problems. So much is this the case that it is no longer possible to discuss the length of the working day solely on the principles embodied in the Peace Treaty (Part XIII). Nevertheless, it was valuable and encouraging to listen to the words of M. Justine Godart, the Minister of Labour in the new French Government, "The eight-hours day, established by the Act of 23rd April, 1919, has given valuable results in France. It is becoming more and more solidly based, not only on the text of an Act which served as a model in drafting the Washington Convention, but upon an evolution in social habits and upon the systematic transformation in the methods of production. . . . An investigation has recently been carried out by the French Labour Office. . . . on the basis of which I can affirm that the eight-hour day is improving family life in France, and has given a great impetus to those interesting forms of organization of social life which endeavour to improve the health of the workers by physical exercise, his knowledge by vocational and general instruction. . . . and his intelligent recreation, by the extension of musical and recreational societies." (Cf. these facts and the item on the agenda—workers' spare time.) As for the effects of the eight-hour day on output "very precise and systematic investigations have been made which would go to prove that wherever the manager of an undertaking has not merely applied the provisions of the law as they affect Labour, but has also resolutely adopted the factor constituted by capital to the system of eight hours of effective work, production has been organized in such a manner as to banish all waste of effort and to result in complete satisfaction."

During the last meeting at which this question of the eight hours was discussed, the Director made a long and impassioned appeal for the ratification of the Convention. And there is reason to hope that it will not be necessary during many coming sessions of the Conference to appeal on this subject to the conscience and intelligence of nations, for certain leading industrial countries asserted their willingness at this Conference to ratify, viz.: Great Britain, France, Belgium, and Poland. If this goodwill is carried into practical effect, the question and the hope arises that Germany will follow their example. In any case there has been during these discussions ample proof that the "round-table" method of tackling international industrial problems and securing agreements is not merely a theory on the part of a number of idealists, but that it possesses ample power to achieve the ends in view.

MARJORIE E. COHEN.

AN EASY SENTENCE.

A Cambridge correspondent sends us details of a case recently dealt with at the Caxton Petty Sessions, as the result of which a young man was sentenced to a term of two months' imprisonment. The case concerned three tramps brought up on a combined charge of assaulting one young lady. Apparently the three tramps were lying on the grass by the road at the top of a hill when they perceived the young lady in question slowly coming up the hill, absorbed in reading. As one of the three confessed, they "made up their minds to stop her," but when the moment came only one acted on this resolve by springing out upon her, catching her in his arms, punching her chest, and attempting to throw her to the ground. In sentencing the young man in question to two months' imprisonment, the magistrates expressed regret at their inability to impose a heavier sentence and extend its operation to the two more passive offenders. We share their regret, hoping sincerely that it was inspired by true realization of the incalculable effects which such an attack may have upon an average level-headed young woman. We only hope that in this case the memory of it will not for ever poison the beauty of the lonely countryside or the mutual trust of fellow travellers on the open road.

WHAT I REMEMBER. XLIII.

By MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT, J.P., LL.D.
LATER STAGES OF THE WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE STRUGGLE

(Continued.)

During all the difficult but encouraging times through which we were passing in the years immediately preceding the Great War we were battling with Mr. Asquith in defence of the elementary principles of his own party, while he, with great ingenuity and resource, was battling against them. During these anxious times, when the final issue seemed to hang in the balance, we received very great help and encouragement from the leaders of the Labour Party. I would mention particularly in this connection the names of Mr. Philip Snowden, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Mr. Keir Hardie, Mr. W. C. Anderson, and Mr. Arthur Henderson. First came a resolution adopted at the Labour Conference in London to the effect that any Government Reform Bill for the further representation of men would be "inacceptable" to the Labour Party if it did not also include women: when we asked exactly what "inacceptable" meant we learnt, with joy, that it was equivalent to "would not be accepted." This attitude was emphasized a little later. At a moment of deep discouragement on our part, after the fiasco of the Government Reform Bill of January, 1913, and when Mr. Asquith and his satellites were offering us the absolutely worthless alternative of a day for a discussion of a Private Member's Bill, there was an important and representative session of the Labour Party Conference. The resolution when officially brought forward presented a not unusual blend of ambiguous and conflicting views, when Mr. Snowden rose to move an amendment which had been placed on the paper by the Fabian Society and the Women's Labour League. There was nothing ambiguous about this: it ran thus:—"It further calls upon the Party in Parliament to oppose any Franchise Bill in which women are not included." Those present describe the thrill that went through the audience as Mr. Snowden's speech proceeded. A card vote was demanded and intense excitement prevailed as the tellers went round. The result was: "for the amendment 870; against 437." That went a long way to console us for what we had suffered from Mr. Asquith and his anti-Suffrage colleagues. The effect of the vote was to kill any Manhood Suffrage Bill which might have been intended by our opponents; and every member of Mr. Asquith's Government realized that it had placed the idea of re-introducing a purely male Franchise measure in the region of the impossible. The resolution of the Conference was a definite instruction which every member of the Party was bound to observe. This was followed in the ensuing September at the Trades Union Congress by a resolution censuring the Government for not fulfilling their promises to us, and demanding a Government Reform Bill which should include women. In the opinion of many competent observers the question of women's Franchise now absolutely dominated home politics. The chairman of the Labour Party, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald (now Prime Minister), spoke out very plainly: "We shall take care," he said, "that a Manhood Suffrage Bill is not used to destroy the success of the women's agitation because we have to admit that it has been the women's agitation that has brought the Franchise both for men and women to the front at the present time."

Mr. Keir Hardie attended the Congress of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance at Budapest in 1913, and did much to remove the apathy and ignorance of the Labour men there in regard to the significance of the women's agitation. All through this time, too, we were getting invaluable support from a section of the home Press, chief among which I shall always remember the *Manchester Guardian* which struck blow after blow, telling and well directed, in our support. The drama also was a great ally. Sir James Barrie's *What Every Woman Knows* and *The Admirable Crichton*: Mr. Shaw's *Androcles and the Lion*, besides many passages in other plays, were immeasurably helpful to us. At this time, looking forward, or trying to do so, into the future, I could see plainly that we were on the high road to success in the House of Commons; but I was wholly baffled when I tried to imagine what power on earth could get a Women's Franchise measure through the Lords. When Lord Selborne introduced an extremely mild Women's Suffrage Bill in the Lords, in May, 1914, we thought we had done well when it was only defeated by 104 to 60. And we had other consolations: Lord Lytton's magnificent speech, the support of the Archbishop of Canterbury and of all the Bishops present and voting, also scraps of overheard conversation

from members of the House. One, which I heard myself during the anti-Suffrage speech of Lord Charnwood, was from a middle-aged peer who looked the picture of an old-fashioned English country gentleman: he got up from his seat and flung out of the House, exclaiming as he passed me: "If I listened for another five minutes to this fellow I should vote for the Bill." Another I did not hear but only heard of. It was said to have been uttered by Lord Curzon: the story as told to me was that as Lord Lytton sat down Lord Curzon exclaimed: "What a tragedy that such talent should be wasted on Women."

It was earlier than this, in November, 1912, that, feeling, I suppose, that anti-Suffragism on its merits was not making much way in the House of Commons, other methods were tried. On the 21st November the Marquis of Tullibardine (now Duke of Atholl) asked the Home Secretary if his attention had been called to an "obscene pamphlet" sold by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies and whether he would take any steps to prohibit its further sale or prosecute the N.U.W.S.S. Mr. McKenna replied that he had not been acquainted with the publication in question until his attention had been called to it by Lord Tullibardine, and that he would consider it. His answer indicated that the pamphlet was then in his possession. The little book in question, called *Under the Surface*, is very short. Its aim was much the same as Flexner's well-known book, published by the Rockefeller Foundation, called *History of Prostitution in Europe*. Its purpose was obvious to the meanest understanding, namely, to warn its readers against actions which are almost certain to involve suffering and degradation—national and personal. Its author was Dr. Louise Martindale, then of Brighton, a lady of the highest character and excellent professional standing, and greatly respected wherever she was known. Lord Tullibardine and Mr. McKenna between them kept up the question and answer game in the House of Commons on the lines above indicated for nearly a fortnight. Of course, the lowest papers, which might be described, if I may paraphrase the words of St. Luke, "as lewd rags of the baser sort" made the utmost of the implied accusation against the N.U.W.S.S. I wrote to the Home Secretary on the subject and asked him if our Society and the writer of the pamphlet were to be for an indefinite period under the imputation of the intolerable insult implied in Lord Tullibardine's questions. I do not remember receiving an answer. Mr. McKenna was absent from the House when the reply to the offensive question was at length given: the Under-Secretary, Mr. Ellis Griffith, appeared, and said: "The Secretary of State is advised that the institution of proceedings would not be warranted in the case of this book." Pressed further by the Marquis, Mr. Griffith reiterated: "I am advised that a prosecution on these lines would not be successful." Mr. Snowden then intervened, asking with indignation if the Home Office accepted the insinuations implied in the questions. Lord Robert Cecil also spoke and with good effect, but Mr. Griffith could not be driven from the perfectly safe position from which he had sheltered himself and his chief: he only reiterated, "We are advised that a prosecution, if instituted, would not be successful." Of course it would not. But I have always considered that the whole thing was a dastardly trick intended to discredit the women who were working for the political liberty of their own sex. This sort of thing had been tried a year or two earlier, in 1909, but in a more amateurish, hole-in-the-corner way. The procedure then was to whisper scandals against Suffragists in back drawing-rooms in Kensington to timid maiden ladies who were told that the villainies perpetrated by the Suffragists were of so black a dye that details could not possibly be disclosed except to married women. It was a case of "I wants ter make y'r flesh creep," and it certainly in some instances had this desired effect. I was furious about it, especially as the culprits, when run to earth, tried to placate me by saying that those whom they were blackening were not members of "my" Society but of "Mrs. Pankhurst's." I did not care which Society was being attacked in an absolutely unjustifiable way. I succeeded in stopping it, partly by appealing straight to Mrs. Humphrey Ward and partly by letting the guilty scandal-mongers know that it was not improbable that legal proceedings would be instituted against them.

I here insert an amusing instance of the degree to which Suffragette versus Suffragist occupied people's minds, by quoting three advertisements which appeared in the "Agony Column" of *The Times* on the 7th, 10th, and 11th of February, 1911, respectively:—

7th Feb. Will the lady who at Dover Street Station on Wednesday afternoon gave up her seat to a lame gentleman, allow him to express his sincere thanks for a kindness from a woman, which is rare in this age of Suffragettes?

10th Feb. Dover St. Tube. The lady who was happily able to assist a lame gentleman appreciates his thanks in *The Times* of the 7th inst., but must confess that she herself is an ardent advocate of, and worker for, Women's Suffrage.

11th Feb. I tender my humble apologies for a needless reflection on the courtesy of Women Suffragists in general and one in particular. In accepting this the lady will perhaps pardon an old man if he refuses to shed a life-long prejudice as to the respective spheres of men and women.

Another of the difficulties connected with this period lay in the fact that the W.S.P.U., not content with the autocratic control of their own followers, also tried to control ours. They deliberately endeavoured to limit our choice of speakers to such as they approved. For some reason which was never disclosed they had a vendetta against Mr. Henderson (the present Home Secretary). At a big Albert Hall meeting held by us in February, 1914, he was one of our speakers; as soon as he rose an organized uproar was started with the object of drowning his voice, under the orders of a well-known leader of the Suffragettes. But they had reckoned without their host. Mr. Henderson held his own splendidly. He has at command a gigantic voice, and as the shrill cries of the Suffragettes rose he first changed his pitch, drew out another stop, as it were, from the big organ of his vocal chords, flung out his voice at its loudest and went on undisturbed, unhurried, without ever losing the thread of his argument or taking the slightest notice of the riot. He never lost his temper nor his nerve, and the consequence was that instead of overwhelming him in confusion, exactly the contrary effect was produced: everyone in the Hall became aware that they were witnessing the pluckiest performance that they had ever seen at a public meeting, and as he sat down the audience rose at him, clapping and singing "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow."

After this, with the exception of one belated effort made after the Suffrage campaign had ended in victory, we had no more trouble with attempted Suffragette interference in our choice of speakers. This I will describe when I come to the events of 1918.

A CHOICE OF BOOKS.

THE SAGA OF DIETRICH OF BERN AND HIS COMPANIONS, preceded by the Saga of Wayland Smith. Retold in verse by KATHERINE BUCK. (A. H. Mayhew, serially in 1s. and 3s. parts.)

Miss Buck proposes to retell in verse the Sagas which, crystallized in the 10th to the 13th centuries, are hidden from most modern readers by the difficulties of mediæval language. Three numbers are to appear each month with a study of the subject at the end. Miss Buck's verse is free and vigorous, and this design of hers should introduce the Sagas to a large and appreciative public.

SELECTIONS FROM THE WORKS OF AMBROISE PARÉ. With a short Biography and explanatory notes by DOROTHEA WALEY SINGER. (Bale, Sons, and Danielsson, 12s. 6d.)

Interest in the writings of the great French surgeon has never waned. In this volume are extracts from the translation of Dr. Thomas Johnson published in 1634 while several editions of this work have appeared in recent years. He wrote continually, served in many campaigns, unceasing in his single-minded pursuit of knowledge. The present volume contains extracts from treatises on gunshot wounds, from journals and the Surgical Canons and Rules. Besides these there are many wise and humane sayings given in the original French as well as in Johnson's translation, which could be applied to his profession to-day, which show Paré to have been a man of heart as well as a great pioneer surgeon.

THE HUMAN PARSON. By H. R. L. SHEPPARD. (Murray, 2s. 6d.)

The rector of St. Martins-in-the-Fields is so widely known as a human parson that this little book of lectures on Pastoral Theology delivered at Cambridge will have many readers. He is concerned with the spirit and ideals rather than the practical details of his work, but incidentally he favours an extension of the Ministry to women and a greater freedom in the order of Public Worship.

THE VOYAGE. By JOHN MIDDLETON MURRAY. (Constable, 2s. 6d.)

There is very little incident in the Voyage, and no travelling. The characters discuss their plans and do not carry them out. A pleasant, friendly scheme is shattered by the deliberate interference of a mischief-making woman. It is all very slight, but the people remain with one after reading it, like friends.

E PUR SI MUOVE.

A few weeks ago an announcement was made in the daily papers that a woman had been ordained in the Primitive Methodist Church. In America the Episcopal Methodist Church decided last April by a large majority to ordain women as local pastors. Mrs. George Cadbury has just been elected President of the Free Church Council by an Assembly composed entirely of men, thus making history, for never before has a woman occupied that post. It is quite normal nowadays to see a notice outside Anglican Churches announcing that a woman will give an address (sermon?) at the short midday service. Ten years ago, before some of us began the movement for the admission of women to the ministry, papers and announcements would have been scanned in vain for any such indications as these that the Christian Churches were awakening to the necessity of giving to women wider freedom for service. To many the progress towards the abolition of the superstition that men only should be ordained ministers may appear slow, but *e pur si muove*, and those who are watching from within see indications on all sides that step by step old thought concerning the place of women in the ministry of the Churches is passing away. There is doubtless still much to be achieved, and in all probability a long path to tread before women are admitted to full ordination in the Anglican Church, yet the day will dawn when that aim is achieved as surely as the sun will rise to-morrow morning. Women have now entered into almost every profession, and it is incredible to believe that the position still held by some that they must for ever be debarred from the sacred profession of ministering to the spiritual welfare of mankind within the Churches can be permanently maintained.

A few years ago the Archbishop of Canterbury appointed a Committee to collect "historic facts" on the subject. As the Committee had no further terms of reference it is not surprising that the result, though to some extent historically interesting, had but little weight either for or against the full admission of women to Holy Orders. A few weeks ago the *South Wales Daily News*¹ in a leading article on the subject full of common sense and progressive thought called for a "full and impartial" consideration of the position of women in the Church, and expressed the belief that the free Episcopal Church in Wales would progress more rapidly in this mode than the State-bound Church of England. We hope so, although it remains to be proved that an Episcopal bench is more progressive when free from State control. Most of my readers will, I think, agree with this paragraph of the article to which I have referred: "Women are obviously more fitted for large sections of work which Church pastors are supposed to perform but frequently neglect because of the conscious unfitness. . . . With so many woeful wailings as to dearth of clergy and ministers, it is surprising that there should be such prolonged prejudice, such unfair discrimination, against those who have proved to the full limit of their opportunities a special and peculiar fitness for the ministerial office."

People often think that there has been no advance in the movement for the admission of women into the ministry. Nothing dramatic has been achieved, but I reply in the words of Galileo, "E pur si muove"—"It does move all the same."

EDITH PICTON-TURBERVILL.

REPORT FROM THE LONDON SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SERVICE.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN THE CIVIL SERVICE.

A small deputation from the Joint Committee on Women in the Civil Service waited on Mr. W. Graham at the Treasury on 26th June, to discuss the actual position of women since regrading and re-organization, and also certain aspects of the interpretation of the Resolution of the House of Commons of August, 1921, on the subject which has governed the policy of the Government since that date.

Mr. Graham, after noting that the Deputation recognized the great progress that had been made towards equal entry and opportunity, promised detailed consideration and reply upon all matters under discussion. He was able, after discussion, with the Chancellor of the Exchequer to assure the Deputation that the policy of the Government was to secure to the fullest possible extent equality of opportunity for men and women and to remove any barriers which could be removed. The Government would, however, only be misleading themselves and the Deputation if they thought that movement in this direction could be very rapid.

¹ *South Wales Daily News*, Tuesday, 10th May.

THE LAW AT WORK.¹ PRISONS IN AUSTRALIA.

The last annual Report of Prisons in Victoria has several points of interest for the English reader. The daily average of prisoners has decreased since 1913, but not very greatly, being now 802 as against 897 in that year, or '50 to each 1,000 of the population, as against '64. The number of men prisoners is about six times the number of women, whereas in England the number is about eight times as many. A very large proportion of the prisoners are under remand or awaiting trial; out of 4,319 persons admitted to prison during the year no less than 1,921 were unconvicted, and of these 1,344 were not returned to prison after production at court. The number of persons imprisoned for drunkenness has dropped from 2,052 in 1913 to 748 last year, and this drop appears to have coincided with a reduction in hours during which liquor can be sold. There is an elaborate table of the religions of prisoners: under the heading of "No Religion" appear three women but no men; under that of "Religion Unknown" there are 165 men and no women.

So much for statistics. Let us see what the Report has to tell us about some of the familiar prison problems. A new system has recently been introduced for the payment of wages to prisoners. They can earn from 1d. to 6d. a day, and can send their earnings to their families or allow them to accumulate until their discharge. Though the sum that can be earned is so small, the Report states that it acts as an incentive to prisoners to be industrious. One very interesting piece of educational work was done in Castlemaine Reformatory Prison which is an institution for lads between 16 and 21 undergoing indeterminate sentences. A patrol of Boy Scouts—all over 20 years of age—visited the Reformatory for a week-end. "They had the inmates divided into four groups and gave most instructive demonstrations in knotting, lashings, first aid, and methods of life-saving. The talks on these and kindred subjects, given by young men who had evidently been well trained, appeared to make a greater impression upon the inmates than might have been the case if the instruction had been given by men of maturer years. The Welfare Committee was in co-operation with the Scouts, and the Superintendent and officers did all that was possible to make the visit successful." There is in the prisons the usual difficulty in filling up the evening hours with educational work, and prisoners are still confined to their cells from 5 p.m. to 7 a.m.

A new name for an offender with whom we in England are very familiar is "Maintenance confinee," meaning a man committed for non-compliance with an order to provide his dependents with support. An attempt has been made to employ such persons in useful work and apply the proceeds to the support of their wives and families. It was intended to send them to French Island and employ them in tree planting, but the plan has so far failed. The reasons given are that "this class of prisoner has little capacity for productive work," and also that the period of detention is so brief and uncertain. Of 140 received into prison in the year, 53 obtained release within seven days and it is obvious that within so short a time nothing can be done. Efforts are still to be made with those whose term of detention is longer.

The proper working of the Probation system is hampered in Victoria as with us by the unwillingness of those responsible to spend money upon salaries. The opinion is expressed that the Probation system which has been successful under the Children's Court Act has never had a fair trial under the Crimes Act, that is in dealing with those released on parole while serving an indeterminate sentence. Through shortage of Probation officers many ex-prisoners, though placed on parole, are never put under the care of a Probation officer, and in consequence are soon in trouble again. In connexion with this failure to make proper use of the system the Report quotes a statement of the English Howard League for Penal Reform, advocating certain reforms in the use of Probation. There is evidently much dissatisfaction in the minds of those who write the Report with the way in which Probation is worked, and the figures as regards re-convictions are not very satisfactory. Of those discharged from Reformatories since 1915, the percentage reconvicted is 31, but at one institution, and that a large one, the percentage of reconvictions during the same period amounts to no less than 43 per cent. It is clear that in both Australia and in England Probation for Adults makes slow progress as compared with Probation for Children. C. D. RACKHAM.

¹ Under the direction of Mrs. C. D. Rackham, J.P., Miss S. Margery Fry, J.P., with Mrs. Crofts, M.A., LL.B., as Hon. Solicitor.

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

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Miss A. K. Farmer	5	0	6
Mrs. C. K. Wicksteed	5	0	0
Miss E. M. Johnson	2	0	0
Miss M. Chick	1	1	0
Miss A. M. Ferguson	1	1	0
Miss E. E. Monk	10	0	0
Miss H. G. Mutter	10	0	0
Miss E. McConnell	5	0	0

£1,174 9 6

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Total from last list	48	11	1
Bradford S.E.C.	19	12	5
Miss A. G. Evans	3	3	0
Miss F. Hoggan, M.D.	1	13	6
Miss M. R. New	5	0	0
Mrs. P. C. Robertson	5	0	0

£73 10 0

NEWS FROM SOCIETIES.

BARNSELY S.E.C.

Barnsley S.E.C. held their Annual Garden Party on 28th June in the Rectory Garden, kindly lent by Mrs. Hone for the occasion. There was a good attendance in spite of the unfavourable weather, and all present were very much interested in the account of the Bills before Parliament, given by the president of the National Union, Miss Rathbone, J.P., C.C. The Mayoress graciously presided. Tea was provided, and was followed by amusing dramatic speeches by Mrs. Willis, and the Misses Walth, Fogg, Evans, and Bedford. There was also a tennis tournament, houp-la, etc. Most of the proceeds will be forwarded to Headquarters to assist them in carrying on their valuable work.

KENSINGTON SOCIETY FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

In spite of the heat and many counter attractions, a good audience assembled in the Kensington Town Hall on the evening of 25th June for a Public Meeting on "Equal Citizenship for Women." Lord Balfour of Burleigh presided, and the speakers were Viscount Astor, Dame Helen Gwynne Vaughan, and Major Hills. Excellent and convincing addresses were given by the chairman and the speakers, and a resolution urging the Government to adopt or to give facilities for the Representation of the People Act, 1918. Amendment Bill were carried with one dissentient. On the platform were Lady Balfour of Burleigh (President, K.S.E.C.), Miss Macmillan (Vice-President, K.S.E.C.), Mrs. Corbett Ashby (President, I.W.S.A.), Miss Macadam, Lady Trustram Eve, and Miss Rathbone, who proposed a vote of thanks to the chair and the speakers, and spoke of the work of the N.U.S.E.C. and the Kensington Society.

BRISTOL S.E.C.

The Annual Meeting was held by the kind invitation of Mrs. W. C. H. Cross at her house in Apsley Road, Clifton, on 24th June. Miss Tanner was in the chair. Mrs. Cross, Bristol's delegate, gave a most interesting and comprehensive report of the Council Meeting last March. Mrs. Satchell, joint hon. secretary with Miss Leonard (who was unavoidably absent), confined her remarks entirely to the Representation of the People Act (1918) Amendment Bill. It was proposed and seconded that a warm vote of thanks be sent to Mrs. Fawcett from Bristol for her prompt and vigorous letter to *The Times* of 6th June disclaiming any honourable understanding to refrain from disturbing the 30 years age limit for women voters for at least ten years. A congratulatory telegram was also dispatched to the Chairman, Viscount Astor.

LEWES BY-ELECTION.

The Parliamentary questionnaire has been sent from headquarters to the three candidates in the by-election for the Lewes Division of Sussex, Captain Basil Hall (Lab.) has answered all the questions in the affirmative. Mr. Howard Williams (Lib.) has not yet answered the questionnaire, but has written expressing his sympathy and recording that he has always been a supporter of the Suffrage movement. No answer has yet been received from Captain Tufton Beamish (U.).

THE WOMAN'S LEADER

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WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE.

(British Section: 55 Gower Street, W.C. 1.)

At our last Thursday evening's discussion at International House, Mrs. de Bunsen read a paper on "The New Orientation of States in the Balkans." That orientation she traced to the growing influence of Italy as the supplanter of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and to the dominating prestige of France, which was due to her support of the Treaties to which the Succession States owe their frontiers, and to the loans and credits for munitions (to be purchased in France) by which she enables those States to increase and equip their armies. Mrs. de Bunsen maintained that the interplay of internal and external quarrels is still as in the past the root cause of the unrest in the Balkans. She considered that the revival of the Balkan Federation or Bloc—it existed once for purposes of aggression against Turkey in 1912—is the one hope of eliminating in that region the danger to the peace of Europe which the ambitions of certain great Powers constitute. To facilitate this revival she held that the satisfaction of Bulgaria's legitimate right to an outlet on the Aegean, as well as some form of autonomy for Macedonia, were essential preliminaries.

AN INNOVATION AMONG THE LEATHERSELLERS.

A correspondent writes: "The readers of the *WOMAN'S LEADER* will be interested to know that for the first time in the long annals of the 'City Companies' a woman quite recently has spoken at a Court Dinner of the Leathersellers' Company. On this occasion Miss Lucy Janson was asked by the Master to return thanks to the toast of 'The Ladies,' which I am told she did excellently. Her seat at the table was under the shadow of the picture of her father, the late Mr. Frederick Janson, which hangs in the large Hall, and she could not have been in a more appropriate place, as the Janson family has long been connected with this Company. For a woman to have been associated in this manner with so ancient a corporation is, indeed, a step in advance. We are getting on!"

QUESTIONS IN PARLIAMENT.

MALAY STATES (TREATMENT OF CHILDREN).—Mrs. Wintringham asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether reports have been received from the Federated Malay States of a system similar to that of the Mui Tsai of Hong Kong; whether his attention has been drawn to the ill-treatment of a little girl at Kuala Lumpur; whether he has evidence showing that in this case the child had only been allowed out of the house once during a period of three years; that she was compelled to begin work at five o'clock in the morning and did not finish until late at night, and that she was continually and brutally beaten; and whether any reports received by His Majesty's Government will be laid upon the Table of the House?

Mr. Thomas: Mui Tsai are to be found among the Chinese population in the Federated Malay States, and the High Commissioner has promised to submit proposals for dealing with the situation. I have no information as to the case of ill-treatment referred to, but I will call for a report.

ARMENIAN WOMEN AND CHILDREN.—Mr. J. Harris asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether his attention has been drawn to the Report submitted by Miss Yeppe to the League of Nations, in which it is stated that in the region of Aleppo there are still over 30,000 Armenian women and children detained in Moslem houses; and whether His Majesty's Government propose to take any steps towards securing their release, either by direct representations to the Turkish Government or through the Council of the League of Nations?

The Prime Minister: Although the form of the question is somewhat misleading, His Majesty's Government are aware of this Report. Every effort was made during the Lausanne Conference to provide for the continuance of the work of reclaiming forcibly Islamized women and children, which had been successfully carried out since the Armistice by a League of Nations Commission in Turkey. I regret, however, that the Allies failed to obtain any satisfaction on this point on that occasion, and I see no prospect of success if the question were reopened at the present moment.

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COMING EVENTS.

GUILDHOUSE W.C.S.

JULY 7. 3-4.30 p.m. The Guildhouse, Eccleston Square, S.W. 1. Lecture by Miss Lilian Barker, Governor of H.M. Borstal Institution, Aylesbury, on "The Young Evil Doer."

INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE (BRITISH OVERSEAS COMMITTEE).

JULY 6. 5.30 p.m. I.W.S.A. Pavilion (Eastern Section, North 30). Conference on "Family Endowment." Opener: Miss Eleanor Rathbone, J.P., M.A.

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

FULHAM S.E.C. JULY 7. 5.30 p.m. Lady Margaret School, Parsons Green, S.W. 6. Miss H. Fraser on "Women's Duty in Foreign Affairs." Tea at 5, in the garden.

KENSINGTON S.E.C. JULY 7. 7.45 p.m. Oxford Mission Hall, Faraday Road. Miss Rathbone on "Pensions for Civilian Widows."

LEWISHAM W.C.A. JULY 12. 4-7 p.m. Garden Meeting at 44 Granville Park, Lewisham. Miss Beaumont on "Women's Responsibilities as Citizens."

SOUTHALL WOMAN'S LIBERAL ASSOCIATION. JULY 8. 3 p.m. Miss W. A. Elkin on "Prospective Legislation for the Protection of Children."

READING S.E.C. JULY 7. 7.15 p.m. Monthly Meeting at Co-operative Cafe. Address on "Current Legislation," by Mrs. Robie Unnack.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL HOUSING CONGRESS.

JULY 16-18. 11-1 and 2.30-4.30. Meetings at Caxton Hall, Westminster.

WOMEN'S HOUSING COUNCILS FEDERATION.

JULY 17. 8 p.m. Queen's Hall, Langham Place. Women's Housing Demonstration. Speakers: Lady Astor, M.P., Miss Margaret Bondfield, M.P., Mrs. Wintringham, M.P., Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and others.

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VISITORS to Wembley should see Brighton. Board-residence; mid-day dinner.—Miss Turner, Sea View, Victoria Road. Tel.: 1702.

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ANNOUNCEMENTS.

THE SCIENTIFIC APPROACH TO RELIGION. Conference of Modern Churchmen, 25th August—1st September, Somerville College and St. Hugh's. Programme, Resident and Non-resident Tickets from Hon. Secretary, Miss Nussey, Westfield, Ilkley.

LONDON SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SERVICE, 35 Marsham Street, Westminster. Secretary, Miss P. Strachey. Information Bureau. Interviews, 10 to 4, except Saturdays. Members' Centre open daily. Restaurant open to 7.30 (not Saturdays).

THE PIONEER CLUB has reopened at 12 Cavendish Place. Town Members £5 5s.; Country and Professional Members £4 4s. Entrance fee in abeyance (pro tem.).

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES, Guildhouse, Eccleston Square, S.W. 1. Sunday, 3.30. Music; Capt. A. A. Aaronson, D.S.O., "The Mission of Palestine." 6.30. Mr. S. S. Singha.

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The Employment Office connected with the above Centre was closed on December 14th, 1923, but the office has been open for interviews on as many Fridays as possible. Every Friday has been impossible, owing to illness, and the office will be closed altogether for interviews until further notice, except by special appointment made by letter three days at least beforehand.

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