

THE

# WOMAN'S LEADER

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

AND

## THE COMMON CAUSE

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## NOTES AND NEWS

### The Equal Guardianship Bill.

It is the very greatest disappointment to find that this Bill will not get its Parliamentary chance this Session. It is not a controversial Bill among any classes of men, and it has the overwhelming support of women, organised and unorganised, behind it. And yet it cannot come on in the House because there are so many amendments "on the paper," and it is, therefore, technically controversial. The amendments stand, practically all of them, in one name, a name famous for reaction and antediluvian obstruction, famous for anti-feminism and anti-progression, and famous for nothing else—in the name of the "Honourable Member" for the City of London, Sir Frederick Banbury. Unfortunately, he is as persistent as he is pernicious: he is always in the House, and night after night he alone has successfully obstructed the rights of married women to the guardianship of their own children. It makes one despair of Parliamentary powers. If in most ways they are the protectors of our liberties, they can, in perverse hands, become the instruments of oppression. This old-fashioned old man is a past-master of forms, but he has managed to miss all the sense and spirit of the age. It would be very refreshing if his seat at the next election were to be filled with a different kind of a person.

### The Criminal Law Amendment Bill.

The House of Lords has passed two amendments to the Criminal Law Amendment Bill which now returns to the Commons for their approval. They rejected the new clause which sought to make "any act of gross indecency between female persons a misdemeanour." As Lord Malmesbury, Lord Desart, and the Lord Chancellor pointed out, this clause had been introduced without any notice, without consultation with legal opinion, and without any reason save that of trying to stir up controversy, and so upset the whole Bill. The proposal, moreover, being foreign to the main subject matter of the Bill, should, as Lord Crewe said, be made the subject of a separate measure if brought forward at all. These criticisms are very just. There are many people who believe that the existence of the parallel law as to men is a serious mistake, and that it allows a most unwholesome system of blackmail. The truth is that all legislation on moral questions is fraught with difficulty, and it should certainly be reduced to a minimum. Commercial-

ised vice, which verges on slavery, public indecency, and all offences against children are proper subjects for legal action; but for the rest, a nation is moral because of its own health and sanity, and not because of its laws, and it is well to remember this fact.

### Two Eminent Women.

We chronicle with regret the deaths of Rosalind, Lady Carlisle, and of Mrs. Mary Sumner. Lady Carlisle was, in her youth, a celebrated beauty. She was a tremendously energetic woman, the mother of many children, and an influential political hostess until the divergence of her political opinions from those of her husband made this rôle difficult. She championed many causes, and most of all the cause of temperance, in which she was active all her life. She did for women's suffrage the great service of thrusting it upon the notice of a Liberal Party which desired to concentrate its forces upon Home Rule and Home Rule alone. She was a masterful woman and she had her way, partly by insistence, partly by the influence of an eloquence of speech which has caused her to be compared to John Bright. Mrs. Sumner, founder of the Mothers' Union in 1887, has died at the age of ninety-two. Though very little in the public eye she worked until extreme old age for her organisation, which now numbers more than 400,000 members and associates, and whose influence is gradually extending from parochial to larger civic concerns.

### Contrasts.

Stipendiary magistrates, like other human beings, vary astonishingly between extremes of wisdom and unwisdom. This week Mr. Forbes Lankester, reminded that he had power to clear his Court during the evidence of a child who had been the victim of an assault by her stepfather, stated that he would never use such a power, and that he would prefer any woman then in the Court to remain, since their presence would give confidence to the child. We are glad to chronicle this example of humanity and common sense. At the other pole is the magistrate who, wishing to rebuke a woman for appearing in his Court in a blouse cut too low for his approval, scolded her for coming "in her nakedness." Intemperate comment of this kind is not merely ridiculous, it runs the risk of making discretion in dress and demeanour odious by its approval.

**Mixed Juries in South Africa.**

Sir Thomas Graham, Judge of the Supreme Court in Grahamstown, South Africa, declared himself in favour of mixed juries in cases of breach of promise of marriage. We can believe that their presence would be useful whenever women or children are concerned in any kind of legal proceedings, though breach of promise cases are not by any means the most important, and we hope that this pronouncement may lead to a movement in this direction in South Africa.

**Women in Public Appointments.**

Mrs. Banks-Martin, who was Mayoress of East Ham during four years of the war, has been appointed a magistrate for that district, with Mrs. Wiseman as her colleague. The Lord Chancellor has appointed Miss Enid Rosser as Secretary to the Committee which is inquiring into the revision of Supreme Court Fees. In America a new departure has been the choice of a woman, Miss Mary Towle, to be United States Attorney for the Southern district of New York. Mrs. Mary Irene Parly, a farmer's wife, is a member of the new Cabinet of Alberta, Canada, as Minister without Portfolio. Women's Societies in Great Britain are pressing for a woman as member of the Civil Service Commission, and it is difficult to see how this obvious justice can be refused to the women in the Civil Service.

**Vaccination.**

The smallpox epidemic at Nottingham, though at present trifling in extent, raises again the burning question of vaccination. Since the beginning of February Nottingham has had forty-six cases of smallpox, thirty-six of which have been those of unvaccinated persons. It is not generally recognised that in some districts only a very small proportion of the children are protected by vaccination. In Coventry, for instance, only 9.6 per cent. of the infants born were vaccinated, as against 22 per cent. in 1916. These children are safe so long as they do not come in contact with the disease. They have no doubt been spared the discomfort and the slight risk of a small operation, but if any town in England should come within measurable distance of the two thousand smallpox deaths suffered by Liverpool in 1871, the parents of Coventry will probably change their minds about the advantages of vaccination. We can hardly consider ourselves a vaccinated nation when, in 1919, the last year for which figures are available, very nearly half the children born in England and Wales were exempted.

**Cholera in Russia.**

The news that there is a terrible epidemic of cholera in Russia has roused the more fortunate nations to consider what they can do to help that unhappy country. It should also spur us to put our own house in order. It is said that in mediæval times epidemics travelled at the pace of a man walking. Later they scoured the highways at the pace of a trotting horse. Now they may arrive like an express train, or with the speed of an aeroplane. The Medical Officer of Marylebone mentions in his annual report a case of scarlet fever brought to Croydon from Copenhagen, and we learn that the Air Ministry has already appointed a medical officer to one aerodrome. This, saving their presence, is as useful as to have an officer at one port and leave the others unguarded. Our sanitary cordon on the coasts and at the Port of London is the best in the world, and so soon as we realise the new danger from the air-traveller there must be a new chain of forts against the invisible foe. Science has given us the means of protecting ourselves from these visitations, but secure as Great Britain is in her sanitary armour for the most part, there are still chinks by which death may enter and take, as death in this form does, the youngest and most dear.

**Women on Hospital Committees.**

The Voluntary Hospitals Commission is asking hospitals to defer their applications for grants until they have appointed their local committees. These are appointed by co-operation between the Commission and the county and county borough councils, and only one of the five members selected by the Commission must be a woman. At the present time little or no use is being made of the experience of the very many women who controlled hospitals with outstanding success during the war. The "Ladies' Committees" which are mentioned in the reports of most large hospitals are concerned almost exclusively with the raising of funds and with almoner's work, the hospital house-keeping, obviously women's work, being in the hands of men,

who are seldom chosen for special knowledge of catering or other domestic talents. We shall expect an adequate representation of women on local committees to lead to economies in hospital administration, and, if that is not utopian, to a state of things where patients do not have rice pudding 182 times a year, sago 182, and plum pudding on Christmas Day. Modern medicine recognises that diet is a part of treatment, and that the diet which suits all cases exists only in the imagination of hospital cooks who dislike trouble.

**Domestic Service.**

Ministers are not at their best when they consider (or speak without consideration about) domestic service. Sir Montagu Barlow tells the House of Commons that "constant attention is paid to the possibility of offering domestic service vacancies to applicants on the register." What we should really like to know is whether women have been considered suitable for domestic service merely because they are women. This has certainly happened on occasions. On the other hand, subordinates in other exchanges have been known to refuse to register young women who expressed a wish to live in, on the ground that resident domestic service was slavery and should be put an end to. If a Minister encourages or condones lapses of either kind on the part of exchanges, he is doing a disservice to women, both employers and employed, and through them to the community.

**Canal Boats.**

The Minister of Health has received the report of a Committee appointed to inquire into the well-being of the families who live on canal boats. In spite of their nomadic life and the cramped nature of their dwelling places, the canal boat dwellers are proved at least the equals of the town population of a similar class in health, cleanliness, morality, food, and clothing. Londoners have only to walk along the canal between Uxbridge and Brentford for half a mile to meet one or more gaily painted barges, often with a woman steering, and a strapping girl riding or leading the horse on the tow-path. Bargee families, even when the wife and children live ashore, keep themselves somewhat aloof from their neighbours, but their manners and tastes are primitive rather than decadent. What the children of the canals need is education. They have a special school at Brentford, but few make attendances enough to learn to read or write. The Committee recommends that after a period of grace children of school age should be forbidden to live in boats during term-time. This judicious regulation will not be easy to enforce.

**Italian Congratulations.**

Lady Astor has received, and handed to THE WOMAN'S LEADER for publication, the following translation of a letter from Dr. Ancona, well known to our readers as a leading Italian suffragist. Lady Astor's accompanying comment is to the effect that the thanks and congratulations are not due to her, but to the women's organisations which have worked so hard for the cause of women in the Civil Service. We are afraid we cannot wholly agree.

"Dear Madam,—I have read in your political papers an account of the new women's victory in the House of Commons, and, imperfect as the newspaper reports may be, I can imagine the part you will have played in the passing of this new law on the admission of women to the public service.

"Allow me, in the name of all Italian suffragists, to express to you the deepest admiration and the sincerest gratitude, for if we Italians have in this case outstripped the English, every woman's victory for all women in all countries is a step towards the attainment of those aims for which we all strive.

"(Signed) (Dr.) MARGHERITA ANCONA."

**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.

**FOREIGN AFFAIRS.**

There are moments in the history of the world when the things which happen seem to be of more than ordinary importance, and when the inevitable sequence of cause and effect is unrolled in unmistakable fashion before our eyes. Such an era began in August seven years ago, and, so far from ending with the terrible days of the war, it has grown since then even more dramatic and more portentous.

During the last week two events have happened which are of the very first importance to this country and to the world, namely, the recognition by the Supreme Council of the possibilities of the League of Nations, and the issue by the United States of the call to the great Disarmament Conference at Washington.

Every man and woman who is alive to-day, and who lives through the next decade, will see the consequences which arise from these two great events. It may be that they will lead to the realisation of that dream of lasting peace which the war has put into all hearts, or it may be that they will break down, and that with their downfall the end of our civilisation will be upon us, and chaos, disorder, famine, disease, and utter ruin will stalk over the world we have known. Whatever the future holds, however, it is undoubted that the present is full of difficulty, and that the behaviour of every nation with regard to foreign affairs is of the utmost importance.

To those who look to the League of Nations as the great hope for the world, the action of the Supreme Council in entrusting the Silesian dispute to it, and still more in undertaking to abide by its decision, is a matter of great encouragement. The existence of the Council of the Allies side by side with the Council of the League has been one of the great difficulties in the way of the full development of that body, and the fact that a dispute which the Supreme Council has avowedly failed to settle has now been confidently referred to it, should do much to establish the League in that authoritative position from which its real usefulness will be apparent.

Now, at this moment, when the Assembly of the League of Nations is soon to meet, and when the state of Europe so obviously requires healing, and when the Russian famine brings home so forcibly and so terribly the complete interdependence of nations, this action of the Supreme Council is particularly welcome. Whatever may have caused it, whether it was a realisation of the advantage of the step, or whether, as some say, it was inspired by cynical, dilatory, or merely indolent motives, it remains a great opportunity; and it is the task of all who believe in the League to create such a public opinion as will lead to the continued reference to this tribunal of all the other international tangles to which the Treaties of Peace have given rise.

The other great event, the Washington Disarmament Conference, has not the same direct bearing upon the League of Nations: yet it, too, if wisely handled, should lead to the same end. For the need of some Covenant between nations is increasingly clear, and, if good comes of the Washington conversations it will be clear that some lasting machinery will be required to secure it. The international situation, therefore, if it is menacing and momentous, is not without hope, and those of us to whom that hope shines clearly must make it our business to spread its light as far as we can.

The Disarmament, or rather Limitation of Armaments, question is one which, on its merits, appeals to women perhaps even more than, as a whole, it appeals to men. We published recently in these pages the very striking report issued by the League of Nations Union upon the technical possibilities of the matter, and we propose, in the autumn, to return to this subject again. Meantime, we wish to call the attention of our readers to the fact that the League of Nations Union is proposing a wide popular campaign upon this subject for the autumn, and is calling upon all the organised bodies of men and women in the whole kingdom to give their aid.

Competition in armaments is a direct menace to the peace of the world, and their upkeep imposes an intolerable burden upon the taxpayer. A general reduction of armaments would save several European Governments from bankruptcy, and ease the financial problems of the rest; whereas, big armaments make for financial bankruptcy, high taxes, small trade, low wages, unemployment, bad housing, high rents, neglected education, and general social and industrial discontent and instability. All this, and the much more which might be said in the same strain, is perfectly indisputable. We commend it to the attention of every public speaker and private talker in the country.

**NEWS FROM WESTMINSTER.**

By OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT.

The end of the Session is very near. On Thursday, August 11th, the House of Lords read the Railways Bill a second time, and they will probably pass it by Wednesday, August 17th, before these notes are in print. They also read the Safeguarding of Industries Bill a first time on Friday, August 12th. There can, therefore, be no delay from the Railways Bill, and there is little chance of delay from the Safeguarding of Industries, for the Speaker has certified that it is a Money Bill, and this being so, the Lords cannot finally reject it, provided it be sent to them one month before the end of the Session. In other words, should they throw it out, all the Government have to do is to adjourn the House of Commons until one month from August 12th, call a formal meeting then, whereby the Bill passes automatically.

The only uncertain feature is Ireland, and this is uncertain indeed. Since the whole situation can be read in the Press, it is not necessary to say anything here, and indeed there is nothing more to tell. All that can be said is that negotiations are not finally broken off. But it should be added that the idea of an Independent Ireland receives no support whatever.

A somewhat dull Parliamentary week has been relieved by speculations on Sir Eric Geddes' Business Committee. Except in the Government Press, it has no backing of any kind. Indeed, that is not putting it strongly enough, for in most quarters, and these not the least influential, it is bitterly opposed. It is not believed that it can do any good, and it must weaken the authority of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. That Sir Robert Horne should have accepted it is inexplicable, except from ignorance of political realities. That a Chancellor of the Exchequer, sole champion of economy, who must fight unaided hundreds of Cabinet battles, should consent to a Committee, appointed over his head and reporting behind his back, is an extraordinary fact even in the political medley in which we are living. So strong is the opposition that it is believed that the Committee will come to nothing.

The week itself calls for little comment. Monday and Tuesday, August 8th and 9th, saw the conclusion of the Railways Bill, which went on its expected course. A distressing incident occurred on Monday night in the death of Mr. Wintringham, the respected Member for Louth, who died suddenly in the precincts of the House, and, as always happens in like cases, the House immediately adjourned. Wednesday, August 10th, was devoted to the smallest of small beer, and Thursday and Friday, August 11th and 12th, to the end, long drawn out, of the Safeguarding of Industries Bill.

The Opposition have been successful in convincing the world that nobody wants this Bill, but, since this conviction prevailed from the first, their performance is not a great one. The Government have probably taken the wrong course. Pledged to a policy of protection, they suddenly found themselves called upon to carry it out at a time when protection was not only unsuitable but mischievous. The strong course would in this case have been the right one. They should have said that they intended to wait until the absurd topsy-turvy of wildly fluctuating exchanges, a Russia in dissolution, and no money existing for the purchase of anything, had somewhat settled down. However, they took another course, and tried to ride two horses at once, with the usual result. Their Bill talks protection but does not effect it, and it is difficult to find a measure which has fewer supporters. Were it to be slaughtered there would be few mourners.

The Prorogation will probably be on either Friday or Saturday, August 19th or 20th.

[The views expressed in this column are those of our Parliamentary correspondent, and are not our editorial opinion. Like so many other things in this paper they are expressly controversial, and comment upon them will be welcomed.—Ed.]

## BURNING QUESTIONS.

We call the attention of our readers to the fact that in the topical and controversial matters which we treat under the heading of "Burning Questions" we endeavour to present the principal views on each question held by differing groups of political thinkers. We do not ourselves express an editorial opinion, beyond this, that it is each woman's business first to be well-informed and then to come to her own opinion.

### THE CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT BILL.—II.

By M. FRIDA HARTLEY.

The Criminal Law Amendment Bill, having been cut down to the minimum of its original intentions, there is the greater reason why every support should be given to the one step forward which it represents. Time alone can show the actual result of the abolition of the "reasonable cause" excuse, but, in any case, the girl over sixteen will remain where she was, except in such cases where she may be taken for younger, and avoided for immoral purposes. Girls of sixteen and seventeen will still wander about our streets as they please; and uncontrolled and uncontrollable, will still have the right to enter houses of bad repute, so that prostitution, or partial prostitution, amongst such girls will continue to be no uncommon thing.

Since the girl under eighteen is to be better protected by education, as not having reached an adequate standard of mental development, she should also receive control as not having arrived at full moral responsibility. The admission of the one need must pre-suppose the other, if extended education is to have its full effect; and her position as a partly irresponsible citizen should entitle her to be dealt with under the Children's Act of 1908, by means of raising the age as stated in Clauses 18 and 58.

By the iniquitous provision of our present system, we have so little control over neglected girls of sixteen and seventeen that, generally speaking, they may or must become offenders as common prostitutes before we can deal with them, and any man or woman who has had to deal with the "temperamental" girl of seventeen, knows that there is no time of her life in which she is more easily swayed by atmosphere and influence. For what other purpose do we of the "comfortable class" send our girls to expensive and carefully chosen boarding schools? That it should be a criminal offence to subject a girl to the risk of seduction or prostitution up to the age of sixteen and no further is unthinkable from the personal standpoint, and quite out of keeping with all that the Education Act or the Criminal Law Amendment Bills sought to achieve. By such an amendment of the Children's Act, the misused "liberty of the subject" argument would cease to exist, since it is generally inapplicable to a juvenile. Clause 18 of the Children's Act would be applied before a girl had the opportunity of earning the term "prostitute," parents or guardians would be held responsible, and the machinery for the juvenile offender would be ready in case of the impossibility of control at home. But the valuable suggestion has been made by Dr. Helen Wilson that the exercise of the powers of the Children's Act should be transferred from the authority of the Police and the Poor Law acting under the Home Office, to the local Education Authorities acting under the Board of Education, and that Industrial and Reformatory Schools should be redeemed from penal stigma, and should be known as Public Boarding Schools, to be provided for under the Education Act of 1918. In this proposal lies the groundwork for real and lasting reform, but if such schools continued to be provided only for youthful miscreants, their character would actually remain the same. The widening out of such facilities to young persons to whom boarding school life would obviously be beneficial, and the possible classifying and grading of such schools to whatever extent was necessary would fulfil two objects. Wealthy families in these days send their boys to public schools as a matter of course, and their girls to boarding schools as a matter of expediency, and the protest so often made by philanthropic persons that it is a mistake to take the working man's daughter from her parents is inconsistent from the sentimental point of view, and from that of wage-earning futile, since very few girls under eighteen are able to contribute the full cost of their board; and where the girl is unruly and the parent has lost control, it is a cruel kindness both to parent and daughter. Whether or no it is at present actually possible for the country to spend the large sums needed for such education is another matter, and should not for one moment blind our eyes to the real issues at stake.

The writer had, a short time ago, to deal with a girl who had been on the streets for two years, that is to say since she

was just under sixteen years old. The girl came of decent parentage, though there was some bad blood in her veins. She was affectionate, self-willed, "temperamental" to a degree, but had surprisingly clean and fine ideals concerning the very side of life which she had abused, or rather, it might be said, which had abused herself. Her mother, who had brought the bad blood, had died when she was seven; the father had neither interest in nor understanding of the child, and later on, when an aunt was installed to "keep house," the shrill voiced, "pernickety" woman had as irritating an effect upon the sinner as she would have had upon a saint. The girl, bored, uncontrolled and unloved, had for lack of a more wholesomely stimulating occupation joined the foolish throng who parade the streets at night, "To see what would happen," as she naively put it. She began with the low-class suburb in which she lived, and then aspired to Regent Street. She was no more vicious than the girl of any other class, nor was she of necessity sillier; and what happened was exactly what would have happened to any girl who had been permitted to wander about at nights giggling, curious, playing with forces that older women touch with all due precautions. Then came pleasure, and pleasure as nearly approaching that which is considered normal to the wealthy girl, as she could procure clothes, suppers, jewellery, love of sorts. Her head was "turned," and turned, not from a life of wholesome interest varied by clean amusement, but from the boredom of life in the stifling tenement room, the long evenings without distraction or occupation, the scolding aunt and the indifferent father. So she succumbed, and it is difficult to say that at the start the girl herself was more abnormal than our own treatment of her.

Two years later she was persuaded to attend hospital for the treatment of venereal disease, as nothing would induce her to enter a Home. The writer saw her daily, and listened to many piteous and half-coherent accounts of how it all came upon her, of her spasmodic cravings for decency and for clean affections (so curiously mingled with the coarseness of outlook which had been fostered by environment) and of her growing inability to govern herself. When the trouble was partly cured, and the tedium grew less endurable, she decamped, not because she had lost her desires for cleanliness, but because she had lost the possibilities of self-discipline which would have carried her through, and because there was no power above her own weakened self to detain her. Shortly after her disappearance the writer received from her a letter (with no address given) which was pitiable in its realisation of her own helplessness. It must be remembered that this girl had started on her downward career whilst little more than a child, for lack of the very control which might have saved her afterwards.

Such cases are common enough, and in the telling of the tragedy, with its bearing upon the intricacies of legislative remedies, to the owner of a comfortable suburban house, a simple, motherly soul who had not the wit nor the time to drive her brain through such matters as the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, the writer received the reply, which, in its matter-of-course, dull common sense, went so absurdly near to the root of the trouble. "Well, but really, my dear, what can you expect? Preparing to educate a girl up to eighteen, and then, in her free time, letting her go traipsing up and down the bad streets at night, where trouble is waiting for her? *Messing up all her ideas of life!* It's simply silly from the very start! Why, I'd no more let my girls—but then," she added, as an afterthought, "who would?"

Is it not possible, that in all our laudable efforts to preserve national equity in the observance of the liberty of the subject, we are but adding the last straw to the young working girl's already heavy burden, the burden of our own complacent desire to put old heads on young shoulders in the matter of wage-earning? Is it not reasonable to pause and wonder whether we, ourselves, do not need a more domestic, it might be said a more primitive outlook?

## MINIMUM WAGES FOR WOMEN.

By DOROTHEA BARTON.

Minimum wages, or, indeed, any kind of fixed wage-scale, are a novelty for industrial women brought in within the last dozen years. Before then, except for the well-organised women in the cotton trade, there was the greatest variety of rates for similar and even identical work, and this not only in different places, but in neighbouring factories. This variety caused great hardship, for the women, who were paid an already inadequate wage, lived in constant fear of further reductions, justified by the lower rates of competitors.

Just as the early battles of men's trade unions were fought round the recognition of a standard wage, so the most urgent problem of industrial women was to secure a firm barrier to the downward course of their earnings. This can be done in two ways by means of legal minimum rates fixed by Trade Boards and enforceable in a court of law, or by voluntary minimum rates agreed between employers and workers, and maintained by collective vigilance. Both movements had small beginnings. The first Trade Boards Act of 1909 applied to four trades, only two of which—paper box-making and wholesale tailoring—included more than a few thousand workers. The vanguard actions of the new women's trade unions were won on behalf of the charwomen of the L.C.C. Schools, the jam and pickle girls of Bermondsey, the net-making lassies of Kilburnie. Both have now spread so far that between them they cover a large proportion of industrial women.

Voluntary agreements are the rule, as they are the tradition of the comparatively well-organised textile trades; only in the badly paid "rough textiles" have Trade Boards recently been set up. The clothing trades, laundries, and most food-workers have minimum wages fixed by Trade Boards. In the other women's trades both legal and voluntary rates are to be found; for instance, in the metal trades, there are Trade Boards in the trades making buttons, hand-hammered chains, hollow-ware, pins, hooks and eyes, and snap-fasteners, stamped and pressed metal wares, tin boxes and canisters; on the other hand, voluntary agreements fix the wages of many women in engineering works, women making pens, screws, hosiery needles, locks, latches and keys, women in the gold and silver trades.

In spite of the large number and variety of the rate-fixing bodies, there is a marked tendency towards a uniform wage-level. The following table shows the general minimum time-rates fixed by the thirty Trade Boards of England and Wales, to be paid on December 31st, 1920, for a normal working week of forty-eight, or less commonly forty-seven, hours, to the least skilled class of adult women with some experience of the trade:—

GENERAL MINIMUM TIME-RATE FOR NORMAL WEEK, AND TRADE.

28/0.—Lace finishing.  
30/0.—Laundry work.  
32/0.—Flax and Hemp, Jute, Perambulator, and Invalid Carriage.

32/6.—Coffin furniture and cerement making.  
33/0.—Brush and Broom making.  
33/6.—Aerated Waters, Button making.  
33/9.—Hand-hammered Chain making.  
34/0.—Dressmaking and Women's Light Clothing, Hair, Bass and Fibre, Hat, Cap and Millinery, Rope, Twine and Net, Shirt making, Sugar, Confectionery and Food Preserving, Wholesale Mantle and Costume.  
34/3.—Hollow Ware.  
35/0.—Fur.  
35/3.—Pin, Hook and Eye, and Snap-fasteners, Stamped and Pressed Metal Wares.  
36/0.—Linen and Cotton Handkerchiefs, Household Goods and Linen Piece-Goods, Milk Distribution, Tin Box and Canister.  
37/0.—Paper Bag, Paper Box, Ready-made and Wholesale Bespoke Tailoring, Retail Bespoke Tailoring.  
38/6.—Tobacco.  
39/0.—Corsets.

Twenty-six out of these thirty rates lie between 32s. and 37s., fourteen between 34s. and 36s. The voluntary minimum rates are naturally less uniform, yet they too are mostly between 30s. and 40s. for many different kinds of work. In particular, the wages in trades similar to those possessing Trade Boards are obviously much influenced by them: for instance, the printing and stationery trades have agreed upon a minimum for the lowest paid district of 37s., the legal rate in paper bag and paper box making.\*

It would seem that a minimum standard of payment for the unskilled work of women and girls has at last been created, a great achievement indeed, won by enthusiasm and hard work in face of difficulties, the full extent of which is known only to those who have shared in the fight. But this is no time to rest on laurels. Since the beginning of the year, as a result of the falling cost of living and the trade depression, lower wages are being paid in one trade after another. Wherever a bonus varying with the cost of living is given, as in the woollen and worsted trade, earnings have decreased automatically; in others war increases and bonus have been reduced or withdrawn. Sometimes, as in engineering, the adult rate is reached at twenty-one years instead of, as formerly, at eighteen years. Where rates are fixed by Trade Boards, decreases, like increases, cannot happen so quickly, and the workers are now profiting by the slowness of procedure which told against them when prices were rising. However, half a dozen proposals for downward variations have been issued, and new rates, when proposed, are on a lower level. Constant vigilance and wise action is needed to ensure that wages do not fall more than is necessary to meet changed conditions, and that a "living wage," as essential for the welfare of the community as for the worker, is within the reach of all.

\* For fuller information see article on same subject in Journal of Royal Statistical Society, July, 1921.

## REVIEWS.

**Education and World Citizenship.** By James Clerk Maxwell Garnett. (Cambridge University Press. 36s.)

Mr. Garnett's "Essay towards a Science of Education" has matter enough in it to furnish forth three books of importance on a subject in which he is an expert. In his introduction he develops the opinion that in education "disagreement on first principles is the rule rather than the exception. There is no agreement concerning the end of education, and still less concerning the means." Much of the confusion of thought which has clouded the matter in the past is the result of an unwise use of metaphor and a lack of scientific terminology; when apparent disagreements are resolved, or at least modified, by accurate statement of the position, it appears that the first aim of education should be "to build up a single wide interest."

At this point, Mr. Garnett enters upon a very full and interesting justification of the "single wide interest," as against the multiplicity of more or less unrelated subjects which now form the mental food of the pupil or student whom he prefers to call the "educand." He proves his case, but at the cost of devoting to an exposition of the laws of thought nearly three hundred printed pages, which must be traversed by the reader anxious to learn what the author has to say about his proposed

system of national education; a system which shall link up elementary with university and post-graduate teaching, which shall provide instruction from extreme youth to maturity for all citizens able to profit by it, and which shall sweep away the handicaps of poverty and of distance from seats of learning. If we had been presented with the aim of the single wide interest as the hypothetical test in the realm of education, and the chapters on neurographies and the endarchy of science had been taken as read, there would have been a larger field of truth-seekers in at the death, so to speak, having mastered the details of the ideal system. More busy schoolmasters and harassed directors of education would by now have read and debated the diagram and explanations by which Mr. Garnett makes clear the elasticity and the symmetry of his system of national education, and as it is a system which no educationist can afford to disregard, readers should be fit without being few. The aim of education being the building up of a single wide interest, the right method is shown to lie in strengthening the power of attention. Mr. Garnett finds that "general ability," which he calls "g," is the power of voluntarily concentrating attention. It is the degree in which the "educand" has this power that is the criterion of his aptitude for continued education, and

examinations should be directed to ascertaining the presence of "g" rather than to testing the knowledge of the "educand" in any branch of learning or his aptitude in any craft.

Any attempt to reproduce in a column the argument of even one of Mr. Garnett's twenty-six closely reasoned chapters, is foredoomed to failure. Specialists in education will welcome his powerful plea for a curriculum which, without being "vocational," shall, from the beginning of the child's educational career, have a bearing upon his eventual task as a citizen. Classicists will notice the commendation of classics because, as traditionally taught, they enable form masters to secure more concentrated attention than can be obtained by specialist masters who are responsible for modern studies. Not everyone will agree with Mr. Garnett in his preference for the form master over the specialist, and some educationists will hold that a pupil has more to gain from contact with various minds than from the influence of one man continually exerted throughout a whole school year or longer. But to disagree with Mr. Garnett's conclusions is not to find his exposition valueless.

Women will read this wide and detailed survey of the ideal method of training young citizens with growing surprise at its pre-occupation with the education of boys and men. A footnote on page 386 contains almost all that Mr. Garnett has to say about girls' education. Later on he asks a question (which he does not answer) about the qualifications desirable for girls applying for instruction in secretarial or domestic duties. This bland indifference to the fact that about half the citizens of the world are female, casts a slight air of unreality over a solid and erudite work, which in other respects keeps more closely in touch with realities than is common in treatises on education.

**The Philosophy of Citizenship.** An Introduction to Civics for Adults. By E. M. White. (Allen & Unwin. 4s. 6d.)

**University Training for Welfare Work in Industry and Commerce.** A Report issued by the Joint University Council for Social Studies. 6d.

The pretentious title of Miss White's little book invites hostile criticism, which might otherwise have been silent in view of the sincere spirit of true citizenship which breathes through her chapters. To turn from her somewhat half-digested theories to ideals of citizenship, as presented by a philosopher, as for instance, in Sir Henry Jones's "Principles of Citizenship," written for classes on Civics in the Army, is to turn from the imitation to the real thing. Like most of us, whose scholarship is acquired second-hand, Miss White attempts too much when she turns from the practical to the abstract. She would have produced a more useful book if she had been less viewy and ambitious, more simple and straightforward.

The book, however, teaches two important lessons, with which we are in cordial agreement:—First, that civics or citizenship is not merely a matter of "local institutions or methods

of government." Secondly, that education is incomplete unless it provides a wide and liberal training for the citizen. Miss White outlines a syllabus covering two years for an adult student, which, starting from the family as a unit, leads to the village, the city, the State, the commonwealth, and, ultimately, the League of Nations. Space does not allow discussion here as to the best means of approach for an adult student, but we imagine that a three-year course in connection with the Workers' Educational Association on Social Economics, conducted by an experienced teacher, would follow to some extent the lines she suggests without any danger of superficiality. We shudder, however, to think of the condition of the mind of the student after a course based on the same syllabus, presented by the wrong type of teacher.

The Report on Training for Welfare Work issued by the Joint University Council for Social Studies, will necessarily appeal to a smaller public. But even the reader not specially concerned with problems of industrial welfare will regard it as a hopeful sign of the times that a University Council should summon to its assistance practical persons such as representatives of Labour, representatives of employers, and of Government departments in the task of drafting a report on the provision of training for an important and comparatively new profession for men and women. Why should not this Council institute similar inquiries into training for citizenship for instance, and the many forms of public services, professional and voluntary, for which surely some form of systematic preparation should be provided?

This particular Report gives a valuable summary of the development of welfare work, which was not, as was popularly supposed, invented by the Ministry of Munitions during the war. Its *raison d'être* is however, to discover the best form of training for welfare workers, and this is less simple than might at first sight appear. When welfare became fashionable a few years ago, schemes of training of all sorts and kinds sprang up like mushrooms; even correspondence classes were instituted. There was a real danger that the qualified nurse, or the person with a smattering of hygiene or sanitation, might be considered adequately trained. The recommendation of this Report, representing the unanimous opinion of the practical worker as well as the teacher, the experienced official as well as the employer, leave no further doubt on the subject. The University, with no axe to grind and presumably no politics or prejudices, should be the centre of training, and the training shall be such as will turn out a type of person who will not only be able to deal with the material well-being of the workers, but will understand modern economic and industrial conditions in such a way as to enable him "to gather together all the forces which make for co-operation and goodwill in the factory community." We are passing through an epoch of industrial unrest, and the outcome is still uncertain; but however the organisation of industry in the future may shape, there will certainly be more rather than less scope for highly trained inspectors and welfare managers.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### THE RUSSIAN FAMINE.

MADAM,—The calamity which has befallen Russia should unite us all in pity and help for the millions of her suffering peasantry. Throughout the wide region of the Volga, a burning drought has destroyed the harvest. In its southern districts the grain has withered, unharvested, in the fields. The peasants have slaughtered their starving cattle, and are wandering in great masses towards the east and south. There is a risk that as they move they will carry with them the epidemics that follow hunger. The totally destitute population of these stricken districts, which will perish unless prompt help is rendered, numbers at the very lowest computation ten millions. Though relief is being organised in Russia, her resources cannot suffice for the emergency.

The appeals from Russia are unparalleled in their urgency; and no humane man, whatever his opinion of recent events in Russia may be, will allow his instincts of sympathy to be silenced. Among these hungry and desperate peasants, there are millions of children, and of the elders not one in a hundred belong to any political party whatever. Russians of all parties are uniting in the work of succour.

In appealing for money, we wish it to be known that the administration of the Fund in the famine districts will be under the control of the Joint Council of the Red Cross, or of some other international body duly commissioned by the Joint Council for this purpose, and approved.

Owing to the extreme urgency of the crisis and the absence of many from home, it has been impossible to obtain the full number of signatories to this appeal before going to Press; but the names of other supporters will be published in due course.

It should be clearly understood that the countries bordering on Russia, where similar conditions already exist or may shortly prevail, are included within the scope of this appeal, if found necessary.

Subscriptions should be made payable to the Hon. Treasurer of the Imperial War Relief Fund, earmarked for "Russian Famine Relief," and sent to the Imperial War Relief Fund, Fishmongers' Hall, London Bridge, E.C. Cheques should be crossed Messrs. Baring Bros. & Co., Ltd.

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### BY-ELECTION IN ABBEY DIVISION OF WESTMINSTER.

A By-Election in this constituency is, of course, of particular interest to women. Not only is Westminster the Headquarters of a great many women's organisations to-day, but the traditions of John Stuart Mill still cling around it.

An active little election campaign has already been embarked on by the National Union in co-operation with the London Society for Women's Service. Our questions have already been sent to the candidates, who will give their answers to deputations of representatives of women's organisations.

Any residents in the constituency who can give a little time until the polling day, 25th inst., will be warmly welcomed, and are asked to call at the office we have opened for business dealing with the election at the London Society for Women's Service, 56, Victoria Street, S.W. 1.

### OBITUARY.

#### MR. WINTRINGHAM, M.P.

We were deeply grieved to learn of the sudden death of Mr. Wintringham, Independent Member for Louth, in the House of Commons last week. Mr. Wintringham has always been a great friend to the cause for which we stand, and we were looking forward to claiming his help more than ever next session. We offer our most heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Wintringham, President of the Louth S.E.C.

#### MR. TYSON WILSON, M.P.

Another Member whose death constitutes a real loss to the National Union is Mr. Tyson Wilson, Chief Whip of the Labour Party.

Mr. Tyson Wilson, with his unfailing courtesy and his interest in women's questions, has on many occasions given us most valuable assistance in our work. His name is especially

## COMING EVENTS.

### LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

AUGUST 19.  
At Market Place, Darlington. Speaker: J. H. Clynes, Esq.

AUGUST 20.  
At Durham, Labour Meeting. Speaker: J. H. Clynes, Esq.

AUGUST 21.  
At Wellington Brotherhood.  
At Grand Pavilion, Llandrindod, 8 p.m. Speakers: Rev. T. C. Williams, M.A., Rev. S. W. Hughes.

AUGUST 23.  
At Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, 4.45 p.m. Speaker: Col. D. Borden Turner.

AUGUST 24.  
At Sweetswells Lodge, Crowborough, 5.30 p.m. Speaker: Frederick Whelen, Esq.

AUGUST 26.  
At Albert Hall, Llandrindod. Speaker: E. T. John, Esq.

### SITUATIONS VACANT AND WANTED.

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connected with work for Widows' Pensions. The debate in the House of Commons on April 8th, 1921, arose on a motion of his, and it was he who tried to introduce the Labour Party's Bill on this subject, which was, unfortunately, ruled out of order last session.

### GUARDIANSHIP, MAINTENANCE, AND CUSTODY OF INFANTS BILL.

At the time of writing the prospects of this Bill again appear gloomy, in view of the fact of Sir Frederick Banbury's persistent obstruction. At this late stage of the session the Government has not been able to spare sufficient time for a debate which he might protract indefinitely. If, by some lucky chance, he can be evaded, the new Standing Orders of the House of Lords, which make it possible to pass a Bill through in one day, still gives the Bill a chance to become law this session. Failing its passage now, we are resolved to make it our business to have the Bill made a Government Bill next session.

### OUR FRIENDS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

On looking back over this session, it is pleasant to be able to dwell on the invaluable services which have been rendered to our Bills by our friends in Parliament. Without in any way lacking in gratitude to many Members who have so loyally stood by us, we should like to single out for special thanks Major Hills (C.U., Durham), Right Hon. Sir Donald Maclean, K.B.E. (Ind. Lib., Peebles and Southern), to whom the victory of the Women Civil Servants was so largely due; Major Farquharson (C.L., Leeds N.), for his clever piloting to a successful issue of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill; Sir James Greig (C.L., Renfrew W.), for his untiring efforts for the Guardianship Bill, and last, but not least, Lady Astor (C.U., Sutton), for her indefatigable help with regard to these Bills, and in other ways too numerous to mention.

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