

NOT TO BE TAKEN

THE WOMAN'S LEADER

AND THE COMMON CAUSE

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NOTES AND NEWS.

The Position of Women in Local Government under the Proposed Reforms in Poor Law Administration.

The position of women under the proposed alterations in the Poor Law is a matter of concern not only to women Guardians, but to all women in the country. At the deputation which the National Council of Women recently arranged to the Minister of Health, inquiry was made as to whether the position of women as administrators in the work of relief would be safeguarded, and the grounds for the Minister's view that "there will remain available to members of Boards of Guardians under the proposals undiminished and indeed enlarged opportunities of public service". At the present time 2,300 women are members of 535 of the 625 Boards of Guardians in England and Wales. Only 298 women are members of the County and County Borough Councils, and there are fifteen County Councils and fourteen County Borough Councils to which no women have been elected. It is true that a large number of women serve as co-opted members on the Statutory Committees of these Authorities but, as has been recently stated in these columns, the position of a co-opted member is very inferior to that of the elected member. The National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship has pointed out in its pamphlet on the "Proposed Reforms in the Poor Law" that it is of vital importance to secure the inclusion of an adequate number of women either by the enlargement of the elected bodies or by an increased use of the method of co-option, with a definite proviso that a certain number of the latter persons shall be women. The fact that only "one county councillor" can be returned for each electoral division is a handicap to the election of women. Electors are often prejudiced against entrusting their interests to a woman as their sole representative; the cost, too, of an election for the individual member is greater, as it cannot be shared, and the question of expense is always a difficulty for women. Probably the introduction of the system of Proportional Representation into Local Government Elections, or of two-member constituencies, would facilitate the return of women, and should be considered in connexion with the reform of the Poor Law.

Irish Free State Elections.¹

A correspondent writes: "Results of the first count in this election are interesting, as showing what proportion of first votes were given to the women candidates. In County Dublin Mrs. Noel Guinness was thirteenth and Dr. Lynn fourteenth in a panel of twenty. In North Dublin City Mrs. Clark was

¹ Miss McSwiney, Mrs. O'S. Leamy, and Mrs. Guinness have been defeated. So far as the results have been declared, Mrs. O'Driscoll, Mrs. T. Clark, Madame Markievicz, and Mrs. Brughá have been elected for the new Dail.

fifth, Mrs. Colins O'Driscoll eighth, and Mrs. O'Shea-Leamy nineteenth in a panel of nineteen. In South Dublin City Madame Markievicz was sixth in a panel of fifteen. In Cork City Miss MacSwiney was fifth in a panel of fifteen. In Waterford City Mrs. Cathal Brughá was fourth in a panel of twelve. Mrs. Noel Guinness' courage in standing as an independent candidate and her selfless enthusiasm will, whatever the result, "blaze a trail" which will be followed by other women candidates in the future. A very heavy proportion of women went to the poll, in some cases outnumbering the men by three to one. It was described on the polling day as a 'woman's election,' but the oft-repeated warning that under Equal Franchise women would combine to sweep the unhappy male candidate from the electoral arena has not so far been verified."

Edinburgh Corporation Provisional Orders.

Further moves have been made in the struggle concerning the clauses relating to venereal disease in the above Orders. A letter appeared in the Scottish Press signed by the Edinburgh S.E.C., the Scottish Eastern Federation of S.E.C., the Women's Freedom League, several branches of the Women's Co-operative Guild, etc., and others protesting against the action of the Town Council in holding a secret session for the purpose of discussing the amendments to the clauses concerned, and pointing out that: "The whole question of the measures to be taken for the prevention and cure of venereal disease is one that should in the interests of the ratepayers and the citizens generally receive the fullest publicity. The fact that the Council, while asking for such far-reaching powers, should sit behind closed doors conveys the impression that they fear honest criticism and desire to carry through in secrecy measures directed against a section of the community." Although a motion was moved in the Council providing for the deletion of these clauses, it was lost. Certain amendments have, it is true, been carried which purport to protect from malicious denunciation persons who are to be reported to the Medical Officer of Health as suffering from venereal disease. The fact remains that the Medical Officer of Health can get information of persons who are supposed to have the disease and who have not consulted a doctor or attended a clinic only from some other person. The powers of compulsory examination and detention still remain, not only for people who cease to attend the treatment centres before cured and for the parents of children born with congenital disease, but also for persons who neglect or refuse to undergo treatment. The fight will probably be removed next to London.

More Bureaucracy.

The Audit (Local Authorities) Bill which comes up for the second reading this week is important in so much as it will bring into practice "a new process in the representative system." Under the Bill any person surcharged to an amount of £500 by a district auditor will be disqualified for membership of a local body for the next five years. An injured person may appeal to the High Court, or "in any other case" he may appeal to the Minister of Health, "to vary or quash the decision of the auditor." Doubtless the object of the Bill is to protect the ratepayer against the representatives whom he has elected, but it will be a new departure in the law of this land if a Minister is given the right to decide if a person is entitled to serve as a public representative. If surcharges were only made in cases where local bodies had shown marked incompetence or corrupt tendencies there might be a case for this drastic step, but it is notorious that some district auditors are using the machinery of the surcharge in order to force their own policy on to local authorities. In these days of violent parliamentary changes

and unrepresentative majorities any step which tends to fetter local autonomy and tie it to the chariot wheels of the party in power should be looked at more than once before it is approved.

Women at Oxford—A Backward Step.

By a vote of 229 to 164 the Congregation has decided that the admission of women to Oxford University ought to be artificially limited. The world has hitherto looked upon Oxford as the more progressive of the older Universities, by reason of the generous manner in which it admitted women to full membership in 1920. It is particularly unfortunate that it should now forfeit this character. Fine speeches against the preamble of the new statute were made by Mr. Cyril Bailey, Chairman of Lady Margaret Hall. He pointed out that from the point of view of the women's colleges the new statute was "an attack on their autonomy, status, and security," and showed that whereas the University had always existed on the mutual trust of Colleges and University, restrictive legislation would impair these relations. Miss Margery Fry, Principal of Somerville College, said that she was "weary of the discussion of the position of women, and that women did their best work when they were allowed to do it, not as women, but as human beings. The passing of the statute would mean the continuance of the woman's question and the strengthening of what was avowedly a woman's party. It did not make for the peace of the University. If there was alarm at the change in the social life at Oxford, that was no more than a pale reflection of a marked change throughout the country. And from the national point of view it was Oxford's duty to justify its benefactions and its use of the taxpayer's money by spreading the ideas it stood for throughout the body politic."

The Centenary of Josephine Butler and an S.O.S.

Last week we printed an article by Miss E. M. Turner on the Centenary of Josephine Butler, which will be celebrated in April of next year. This week we wish to call special attention to an appeal for funds from the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, an organization founded by Josephine Butler, which still carries on the work which she began and to which she devoted her life. This association has recently issued two useful publications, one a brief account of the life of its founder and the second a description of the work and needs of the association to-day. It is hardly necessary in these pages to enlarge on the activities of an organization so well known to our readers. The names of Dr. Helen Wilson and Miss Alison Neilans and perhaps not less the late Mr. George W. Johnson, whose book, *The Evolution of Women*, must find a place in every feminist's library, carry great weight with all who believe in a true equality between the sexes. It is unthinkable that their work and that of those who are associated with them should suffer for lack of funds. We believe that all who stand for an equal moral standard and for the abolition of inequalities in law between the sexes will, when they hear of the seriousness of the need, contribute willingly according to their ability. The Association asks for thankofferings for Mrs. Butler's life and hopes to enter on the Centenary celebrations free from financial anxiety about the future. We never appeal in these columns in vain, because we reach the right people, and we shall not do so now.

Some Housing Problems.

The Manchester Women Citizens' Association is organizing a two days *Conference on Some Difficult Housing Problems* to take place on 23rd and 24th June. What these particular problems are is indicated in the conference prospectus: "A. The size of houses local authorities should build now. Should they be guided by the present insistent demand for the smallest houses because the rents are lowest, or by what would be appropriate proportions of large and small houses in ten or fifteen years' time? Is there a place for experiments in this direction? B. (1) The problem of moving up the large families from pre-war two-bedroomed houses to the larger municipal houses leaving the small houses for the small families; (2) The need for a new standard of overcrowding. C. (1) The selection of municipal tenants. Should there be a minimum or maximum income limit? (2) The management of municipal estates." It would appear from these questions that the Manchester W.C.A. intends to face the facts of that amazing but almost universal paradox that the larger the family the smaller the house that it is in a position to occupy. The presence of Miss Eleanor Rathbone as one of the speakers provides a certain assurance that its underlying causes will not be blinked! The title of her paper will be

"Rents and Wages". The Town Clerk of Chesterfield will speak on the selection of tenants and the management of municipal estates, and Mr. E. D. Simon on the need for a new standard of overcrowding. Lord Astor will preside.

If Women Were Not in Offices.

Putting aside all our preconceived ideas—which is a most wholesome exercise—if a Mussolini were to arise to-morrow and banish women from trade and industry, what would the results be? Sir Abe Bailey thinks that in the absence of feminine distraction and competition our young men would be encouraged to work better. Certainly conversation in offices—if there is conversation in offices—would concern itself more exclusively with masculine interests, such as brands of tobacco and safety razors, roses, betting, motor-cycles, and beer. The offices themselves would be more expensive to run, and the men who filled them would have, relatively, far fewer chances of promotion. The women meanwhile would presumably remain in their homes—not the comparatively spacious homes of the last century, but the cramped and begrudged flats and hutches of to-day. There, the exiguous housework finished, they would hang about waiting for the return of the young men from the offices. The newspapers would write leading articles about pavements full of idle women staring into shop windows. A family of daughters would once more be a social and economic catastrophe—our readers may remember that a daughter a year was the severest punishment Miss Charlotte N. Yonge could devise for her most selfish and flighty characters. There would in all probability be fewer marriages, and brides would come to their new homes from years of disintegrating boredom instead of independent and self-respecting activity. Men's and women's interests would fall further apart. There would be a recrudescence of wax-flower modelling, crochet, and ballad-singing. . . . On the whole, disregarding, as Sir Abe seems prepared to do, the effect on women, we doubt whether men would gain. As youths they might find it easier to obtain employment as typists, but as fathers they would be overwhelmed by the demand for house room, clothes, crochet cotton, and cinema tickets. In times of boom it may be possible for more than half the population to live on the earnings of less than half, but in hard times the economic inequalities which result from such a system quickly show themselves for the intolerable injustices they are.

Suffragette Prisoners' Dinner.

A correspondent writes:—Twenty-one years ago, on 21st June, 1906, the first "suffragette" was arrested and sent to prison in London. The "militant" fire lighted by Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenny the previous October in Manchester had spread fast and far, and Miss Teresa Billington, now Mrs. Billington Greig, was the first London prisoner to be arrested, for disturbances outside Mr. Asquith's house in Cavendish Square. A Suffragette Prisoners' dinner is being held on the night of Tuesday, 21st June, to celebrate the occasion, and it is hoped there will be a great rally of "gaol-birds" to meet and greet each other. The dinner will be at the Restaurant in Craig's Court, at the top of Whitehall; the hour will be 7.45, and ordinary dress may be worn.

Mrs. Barbara Wootton and the Economic Conference.

Mrs. Barbara Wootton, one of the two women delegates invited by the Council of the Economic Conference on the work of the League of Nations, will be giving an address on the Conference on Monday, 27th June, at 2.30, under the auspices of the Joint Standing Committee of Women's International Organizations at the Caxton Hall, Westminster. This should be a singularly interesting occasion. We would remind all those who would like to attend, that although fixed for the same afternoon as the Garden Party to Mrs. Stanley Baldwin, Dame Millicent Fawcett, and Dame Rachel Crowdy, organized by the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, it would be possible comfortably to attend both.

The Reassembling of Parliament.

The Second Reading of the Parliament (Qualification of Peeresses) Bill has been postponed from 21st June to 27th June in the House of Lords. The time of the House of Commons being occupied to a large extent by the Trades Union Bill, there is likely to be little of immediate interest to report with regard to the points with which this paper is chiefly concerned.

Viscountess Cowdray.

Lady Cowdray has been elected High Steward of Colchester in succession to the late Lord Cowdray. Lady Cowdray is the first woman to hold this office.

A HOSPITAL SCANDAL.

"Times change, and we with time," but not in the way of the appointment of women on Hospital Boards. Recent revelations in connection with the management of the London Lock Hospital (for Women) demonstrates vividly the need for this important reform in the women's programme. We turn back to an article on the general question by Mrs. E. D. Simon in our issue of May 16th, 1924, and lift bodily some of her paragraphs—

"One would have thought that, though bitter disputes rage as to the suitability of marine engineering as a career for women, there could be no question but that hospital administration was a sphere eminently feminine. The nurses are all women, some of the doctors are, or certainly ought to be, women, large numbers of the patients are always women, and in London and all large towns there are special hospitals exclusively devoted to women and children. Housekeeping comes by usual practice and general consent within even the narrowest definition of 'women's sphere.' During the war women with no previous experience beyond that of managing their own households ran hospitals—for men only—to the entire satisfaction of a grateful country, and yet it seems as if the Boards of hospitals will prove to be the last ditch for the anti-suffragist Die-hards. . . .

"It is an almost universal practice of hospitals to have a 'Ladies Committee,' which does much hard work in the collection of money, visits the patients and arranges entertainments for them, but has no actual power in the administration of the hospital. That these Committees can never be a satisfactory alternative to representation of women on the governing body itself is obvious when one considers the functions of that body.

"It has to make all appointments, to settle the conditions under which the doctors, nurses, ward maids, and household staff have to work. It is responsible for the conditions under which the out-patients' departments are run. It passes all accounts and is responsible for the feeding of the patients and staff. It is the supreme financial authority and collects money. It decides on what scale patients shall make contributions towards their treatment, and how investigations into their income shall be conducted. It is, in short, responsible for the whole administration of the hospital, medical as well as lay. . . .

"Those who fear that women are not capable of helping to run our Voluntary Hospitals should look at our Poor Law Infirmaries, at Municipal Hospitals. It is safe to say that

P.R. IN THE UNITED STATES: DEVELOPMENTS IN CITIES.

(From a Correspondent.)

The work of securing the use of proportional representation by the political units of the United States has been the care of an organization of devoted men and women for many years. In their efforts they have derived much inspiration from the British organization, and from British thinkers like Mill and Courtney.

Over one million Americans now vote by P.R., and indications are that it will soon come into wide use for the election of the city councils in fourteen States. This is because in these States the constitutions allow of "home rule" for cities; that is to say, the citizens may determine for themselves how the local government shall be organized. Usually there are constitutional limits on indebtedness, but otherwise the grant of power is very wide and the legislatures cannot reduce it.

This condition of home rule cities and bettered municipal laws in the other States is directly traceable to the tremendous movement set in motion by the late Viscount Bryce, who at the time of his death was honorary Vice-President of the American Proportional Representation League. In *The American Commonwealth* he declared that "the outstanding failure of American government was the government of its cities." This stung into action a large number of civic minded persons who finally organized the National Municipal League. This League has worked for home rule for cities in order that by experimentation the best methods of organization and operation might be discovered. One of its committees, whose Chairman is A. Lawrence Lowell, President of Harvard University, has drafted, and periodically revises, a Model City Charter. For about ten years this has been based upon two principles. The first is that there shall be a city council elected by proportional representation, the second is that neither individually nor collectively shall the

wherever women are members of Boards of Guardians and of County and Borough Councils they are by almost universal consent put on to those Committees which are responsible for the hospitals. Public opinion would be up in arms at once if public money was spent on institutions for women and children and the sick and women Guardians and City Councillors excluded from the management. But the Voluntary Hospitals are under no control except that of their subscribers, and the annual meetings at which the governing body is elected are usually poorly attended. If those who subscribe so generously to our hospitals were to turn up at the annual meetings and vote some women on to the Boards, the public, from which the patients are drawn, would be under yet another obligation to them."

Let us examine the present position at the London Lock Hospital. Though only for women and girls, and staffed to a considerable extent by women doctors, it is administered by a Board of Management entirely consisting of men. There is, or rather has been, a Ladies' Committee nominally responsible for the internal management of the Hospital and for the control of the matron and female staff, subject of course to the confirmation of their action by the Board (the majority of whose members have no intimate knowledge of the working of the Hospital—the Chairman, in fact, only attending its annual meeting.)

A few weeks ago the matron and assistant matron were dismissed at twenty-four hours' notice without consultation with the Ladies' Committee, who have the highest opinion of their work, and without even the Ladies' Committee being officially informed of what had occurred and without any disclosure to this day by the Board of the reasons for these dismissals. Eight out of the eleven members of the Ladies' Committee immediately resigned. Two of those nominally remaining on the Committee had not attended for the last five or six years. The ladies who have resigned are pressing for a public inquiry into the whole system of management of the Hospital, and a question on the subject will have been asked in the House this week and answered by the time this is in the hands of our readers.

We appeal to all those interested, not only in the administration of the Lock Hospital itself (for which the ladies concerned feel that they cannot be any longer responsible) but also in the efforts which are being made all over the country to place women on all Boards of hospitals, to do what lies in their power to press for such an inquiry.

CITY MANAGERS.

council interfere with administration, but shall hire a chief administrator who is responsible to the council for the proper conduct of the entire administration under pain of instant dismissal.

The efficiency of the city manager's plan has made a great appeal, and now almost four hundred cities have adopted it. The experience of many of them, especially those of the industrial type, is that the democracy and freedom from possible manipulation of elections which the proportional principle offers is just as essential as the city manager to a government which tries not only to be efficient but to be human.

This combination of the efficiency of the "city manager plan" with the real democracy of proportional representation has lately produced what is nothing less than a revolution in Cincinnati. It was controlled for many years by a political machine, which, when the revealing power of a P.R. election was applied, could only muster about twenty thousand votes out of a total of about one hundred and twenty thousand. With the single-member district system, this minority could succeed in nominating and electing thirty-one members of a council of thirty-two. The city streets were deplorable, the finances worse, and citizenship was at low ebb. A group of men headed by the present Mayor, decided to draw up a Charter based on the Model Charter. This was submitted to the people under the initiative and referendum clauses contained in the Ohio constitution. Experience shows in America that the greatest value of the initiative and referendum lies in the ability of the people to get proportional representation by its means, for representative bodies are very slow to alter the methods by which they themselves are elected.

WOMEN VOTERS AND P.R.

The actual work of securing the signatures and organizing for the plebiscite upon the question was largely the work of women. While national politics in the United States may not have been affected to any great effect by woman suffrage, it has completely altered the character of municipal elections. I do not believe that this is due to any peculiar quality in American women, but is due to the great use by them of labour saving devices within the home. The leisure thus gained they are using to inform themselves about the social and political institutions which so mightily effect their homes and their children. The National League of Women Voters is the expression of this interest and is the most valuable organization in the country among those who look to the betterment of government. Most of its leaders regard the right to mark a ballot as only half the journey towards suffrage, and urge P.R. as the means to really effective voting. I hope that in this short visit to my native land after a quarter of a century's absence I shall find the same spirit and purpose among British women.

The proposal in Cincinnati was carried by a vote of two to one. The council was reduced to nine so that a round table spirit should replace that of oratory. When the first P.R. election was over, the political gang that had ruled had only three they could call their own. The entire nine include elements in community life that have existed for years, but only gained their ends by subterfuge. Several of the councilmen are of the type who heretofore could not be induced to be candidates because "politics is so rotten."

In the year and a half of this new charter, the streets have been put into excellent shape and a conservative estimate is that in his first year of service the city manager has saved about forty times his salary of £5,000, as well as giving a vastly increased amount of municipal service. Such an official and his subordinates must do much of their work in co-operation with the citizens. This has always been forthcoming because they felt that they were all represented in the council and that the policy was the reasoned result of the deliberation of representatives of the entire community.

The members of the council are almost all above the average of ability. Hitherto on election day the question was "Which of the two rascals nominated in my ward do I dislike the least?"; under the P.R. election one is embarrassed by a surfeit of ability.

Cleveland is an even larger city in Ohio which has had the beneficent effect of P.R. The leading newspaper of that city said of the changed psychology of the election campaigns "The great god, Ballyhoo, is dead, killed by P.R."

A very interesting effect of the use of P.R. in public elections is the many suggestions for applying it to private elections. Members of trades unions and other national organizations are pressing for its use in their own field and are quoting the statistics and the generally improved atmosphere that follows in the wake of P.R.

We are going ahead, though handicapped by forty-eight separate state constitutions, great distances, and small resources. But the possibilities are enormous. We've got our snowball made now and we're going to set it rolling.

THE EMANCIPATION OF CHINESE WOMEN.

By H. J. FELS.

Chinese women in the distant past were distinguished as inventors, poets, writers, teachers, historians, and social reformers. This was in the days when in Europe the Teutonic tribes were settling round the shores of the Baltic.

Two thousand years before the Christian era Lai Tsu discovered after years of patient experiment, the proper method of raising and cultivating the silkworm. One can but estimate the economic and aesthetic value of this discovery. Lady Tsoa wrote a learned dissertation on the history of the Han dynasty. Dee Young, a woman of intrepid courage, braved the wrath of the Emperor of her day, when she appealed to him to abolish all physical torture in his law courts throughout the Empire.

The lives of these women and many others the young girls of China were wont to read in such books as *The Lives of Ancient Women* and the *Book of Good Mothers*.

In course of time grew the belief that the womanly virtues need not go hand in hand with education. The former, though highly esteemed, could be developed in the cloistered seclusion of the home. The more fortunate girl was taught from the years of five to twelve to read *Instruction to Girls*, *Four Books*, and the

Poetic Works of Tang Dynasty. With such meagre intellectual fare she had perforce to be satisfied. At the age of thirteen she undertook an apprenticeship in the domestic arts under the aegis of her mother, and was confined to the limited family circle until her marriage was arranged by the parental authority.

Her mental emancipation was primarily due to missionary effort. In 1825 the first school of a modern type was opened by Miss Grant, an English lady, at Shanghai. In 1834 a group of English women founded the "Society for Promoting Female Education in the East." When the treaty ports were opened in 1842 a good beginning was made in the herculean task.

Women's education was first referred to officially by the Chinese Government in 1903. It was little more than a question of words. Action was still retarded by the still dominant view that the girl's proper teacher was her mother, and that she needed but the fundamentals of reading, writing, and arithmetic to fit her for her right place in the scheme of unalterable things.

In March, 1907, matters had so far advanced that thirty-six official regulations were promulgated for the organization of girls' normal schools. In addition there were twenty-six regulations for girls' elementary schools, but as a sop to old prejudice they were to attend for one year less than the boys.

About 1916 co-education reared its head. This is now fairly commonplace in the lower primary schools and the Universities and Colleges, but not in what we call the secondary schools. The founding of the Girls' Higher Normal School at Peking was a landmark. Moved possibly by this the National University at Peking admitted women on terms of equality with men much to the annoyance of the Government.

Yet the problem has but been scratched. Girls under instruction can be counted in their few thousands, while boys can be counted in their tens of thousands.

They are receiving but little secondary education, but there are about two thousand in vocational schools. Here they learn embroidery, handwork, dressmaking, the cultivation of the silkworm, nursing, medicine, physical training, and commercial knowledge. Teaching is the chief opening for women. In the higher ranks of learning they muster but a thousand at the Universities.

ITALY: FASCIST CHARTER OF LABOUR.¹

The Bolshevik Government in Russia and the Fascist Government in Italy are each at work on gigantic experiments in the social and economic life of their countries. We should do well to study these carefully and intelligently, not without gratitude to those who have had the courage to make these ventures towards solving our social problems, even when we differ from their solution. Such an experiment is Mussolini's Charter of Labour, recently approved by the Grand Council of Fascism.

This Charter is not, as its name would suggest to English ears, a foundation of liberty, but sets up a complete despotic control of industry by the Fascist State. The basic idea of Fascism, as of Bolshevism, is that of the State is an organism for which its members exist only as servants.

The State at the same time acknowledges responsibility for the well-being of the people. In the new Charter, the Fascist State, while not abolishing the private capitalist, assumes the right to see that the organizers of industry make the best of the means of production, material, plant and labour. In case of the management of a business not coming up to the required standard, the State will take it over.

The Fascist trade unions have alone the right to protect the workmen, they also select them, and employers are obliged to give preference to good Fascists. The advantages given to the workmen by the Charter are, among others, a weekly day of rest, an annual holiday, insurance against dismissal or death, accidents, maternity, sickness, unemployment, and a living wage and healthy conditions for the homemaker as for the factory employee.

In order that Italy may compete with advantage in the world markets, costs of production are to be kept as low as possible, and it is in the financing of the scheme that there will be rocks ahead.

The test of the Charter will be to carry out the plans for improving the conditions of labour so as to enlist the workers' support for the Fascist Government without increasing the costs of production.

M. L. LLOYD.

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

EQUAL FRANCHISE.

The Opinions of M.P.'s—The Turn of the Tide.

Sir Frank Sanderson, Unionist Member for Darwen, at a garden fête of Women Unionists, stated that women of 21 were more mature than men of that age, and that if a woman could become a member of the House of Commons at 21, who was going to say that she was not capable of the vote.

Major Carver, Conservative Member for the Howdenshire Division of E. Yorks, expressed the fallacy of calling the proposed extended franchise "the flappers' vote," giving figures (which will sound very familiar to readers of this paper) of women over thirty and women of twenty-one and twenty-two. Mrs. Carver, who also spoke, said "a girl of 21 is quite as capable as a boy of 21, and we can trust them both."

An Equal Franchise Garden Party.

Much interest has been aroused by the garden party to be given by the Executive Committee of the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship in the beautiful grounds of Aubrey House, Kensington, on Monday, 27th June, when the wife of the Prime Minister, herself a convinced suffragist, will, with Dame Millicent Fawcett, be Guests of Honour. It was, indeed, an event in the history of the woman's movement when a few weeks ago the head of the Government took the opportunity at a great women's meeting in the Albert Hall to speak in favour of votes for women of 21. It is another significant event that his wife should be the guest of a women's suffrage organization in order to receive a message of thanks to be conveyed to her husband for his determined stand on this question. Many suffragists, new and old, from many different camps, will rally together on this occasion.

DAME MILLICENT'S BIRTHDAY PRESENT.

Last Saturday afternoon many friends of Dame Millicent's met in the beautiful rooms of Crosby Hall on the occasion of the presentation to Dame Millicent of a birthday gift, consisting of a cheque for £1,000 to endow a Dame Millicent Fawcett study bedroom in the new building. Mrs. Oliver Strachey, in making the presentation, made a delightful and amusing parallel between interesting events in the woman's movement and the years of Dame Millicent's life. When she was one year old Queen's College for Women was founded, and when she was two Bedford College for Women. When she was nineteen the first Suffrage petition, which she was too young to sign, was presented to Parliament, and so on until at the age of seventy-one the first instalment of the vote was won. Before her next birthday it is confidently hoped that the final stage will be reached. Mrs. Strachey spoke of Dame Millicent's leadership through storms and troubles, and of her wisdom and her unflinching courage. Dame Millicent handed the cheque to Professor Caroline Spurgeon with a characteristic speech, in which she recalled episodes of the early days of the struggle for the emancipation of women, and Mrs. Alys Russell spoke of the remarkable ease with which the amount required had been obtained.

Our readers, both those who were able to be present and those who were there only in spirit, will rejoice to think that our paper, always so closely associated with Dame Millicent, played some part in this happy event, and those who by some accident did not contribute to the scheme will be glad to hear that it is not too late. One donor of £50 wishes her gift, if possible, to be used for furnishing the room, so that a sum of £50 is still required to complete the £1,000 for the endowment. It is, indeed, a privilege to be in any way associated with this beautiful and historic building, which exists to encourage research and to promote friendship between the women of all nations, and those who have not yet contributed their share should do so before the opportunity is over. A list of those who have already done so will appear in our columns next week.

OBITUARY.—DR. ESTLIN CARPENTER.

We very much regret the death of the Rev. Dr. Estlin Carpenter, the Unitarian divine and scholar, who died at the age of 82. He was long associated with Manchester College, Oxford, first as Lecturer and then as Principal. Even for so long a life, Dr. Carpenter's activities were amazing. As teacher, as writer, as organizer, and as administrator he was honoured in every way, and has left a long list of books behind him to enshrine his memory and to carry on his teaching. His keen sympathies and courageous outlook showed themselves in the early and devoted support he gave to the woman's movement. His connection with

the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies was signaled by his having been made a Vice-President. A letter from Miss Darbishire in *The Times* gives a delightful picture of him. She says: "Dr. Estlin Carpenter was first and last not a man of learning, but a man of religion. He read the Hebrew Prophets like a prophet himself . . . He had the divine sympathy that knows the secrets of the human heart and reaches to the farthest depths of grief . . . A pure and austere religious passion is the rarest thing we meet. In Estlin Carpenter it was one with a singularly strenuous intellectual life, and its roots were in the human experience that is common to us all."

OUR RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH.

On 30th June and 1st July a Conference is to be held on the subject of the Social and Industrial Position of Women of other than British race governed under the British Flag, at the Royal Society of Arts, John Street, Adelphi.

Commenting on its programme, the *Manchester Guardian*, in an interesting article of 27th April, points out that a natural consequence of the political enfranchisement of British women is the sense of responsibility towards women of native race who live under the British Flag. This is true—the problems are many and complicated, but they must be faced. Every action and reaction of Overseas and Empire policy is felt keenly in England. Each justly administered and wisely governed territory is an asset to the whole world, but the same careful watchfulness which characterizes the British suffrage and citizen movement must be employed in regard to the position of women in each land overseas. Tremendous developments are taking place. Few realize the fact that active preparations are going on for university and secondary education in places like the Gold Coast and Nigeria, and that there are already many native women employed in other services. Fewer still realize that here and now is the time to put in a plea for equal opportunity for the women of these countries, both in the superior and lower grades of work. Mr. Ormsby Gore's report on this matter is particularly noteworthy. In speaking of education on the Gold Coast he says: "It is obvious that, if the general standard of the country is to be raised, increasing provision must be made for female education, as no society can really advance if there is a great disparity between the number of educated men and women." The Conference of the British Commonwealth League has been arranged to open up this whole range of problems, and should be extraordinarily interesting. We stand or fall together; a strong and enlightened woman's movement in the distant Gold Coast, for example, is no ridiculous dream—it is a serious possibility. Already associations exist amongst educated native women in certain African territories; they are eagerly asking for help along the forward path, and women of British race are deeply concerned that they should get it.

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

THE PRESIDENT & EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

propose to hold a

GARDEN PARTY

On MONDAY, 27th JUNE, from 4 to 6 p.m.,

AT

Aubrey House, 11a Aubrey Walk, Kensington, W. 8

(By kind permission of the Misses Alexander.)

Among the Guests of Honour will be

Mrs. STANLEY BALDWIN,
Dame MILLICENT FAWCETT, G.B.E.,
Dame RACHEL CROWDY.TICKETS 2/6, to include Tea, to be obtained from the Secretary, N.U.S.C.,
15 Dean's Yard, S.W. 1.

BRITISH COMMONWEALTH LEAGUE.

CONFERENCE.—Royal Society of Arts, John Street, Adelphi. 30th June to 1st July. "Women of other than British race governed under the British Flag." Admission 1s.; Full Tickets 3s. 6d.

RECEPTION.—Wednesday, 29th June. In honour of the Women Members of Parliament. Lyceum Club, 9 p.m.

LUNCHEON.—Thursday, 30th June. Criterion Restaurant, 12.45 p.m. Lady Galway, O.B.E., Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Overseas Speakers.

All Tickets from Miss Collison, 117 Buckingham Street, Adelphi, W.C. 2.
TICKETS.—Reception: Conference Members, 3s.; others, 3s. 6d. Luncheon: Conference Members, 5s. 6d.; others, 6s.

THE LAW AT WORK.

By C. D. RACKHAM, J.P.

JUVENILE OFFENDERS.

The recent Report on this subject is so important that no apology is needed for returning to it in these columns. It is interesting to note that many of its recommendations were made in 1920 in the Report of the Juvenile Organizations Committee of the Board of Education, and it is a sad fact that in seven years very few of these have been carried into effect. This is particularly noticeable in the case of (1) special magistrates, (2) separate rooms, and (3) simplification of language in Juvenile Courts, and also of the medical examination of child offenders and the prohibition of the publication of their names and addresses in the newspapers. The fact that all these things are still waiting to be done makes us realize how essential it is that public opinion should be brought to bear upon Reports of Committees if definite action is to follow and their recommendations are not to remain a dead letter. In view of the controversy aroused by the recommendation of the majority of the Departmental Committee to extend the powers of magistrates in respect of whipping it is interesting to note the opinions of the earlier Committee on this subject. After quoting figures to show the very high proportion of boys who, after having been birched, then reappear in the police court, they state: "The only object of birching and detention is that they should have at least a temporary restraining effect, and it is here that they most conspicuously fail. There remains little or nothing to be said for them now that the express purpose of the law in regard to children is no longer retribution on the offender, but his correction and reform." The Committee which came to this conclusion contained such experts in boy life and character as Sir Robert Baden-Powell and Dr. A. H. Norris, and it is unfortunate that the high standard of reasonableness set forth in 1920 should not have been maintained in 1927. The Departmental Committee do not give any figures to justify their proposed extension of the powers of magistrates to order whipping. It is particularly to be regretted that the offences which it is now proposed to make punishable by whipping should include cruelty and indecency, for which corporal punishment may be specially undesirable.

It is natural that the development of Probation should be an important feature of the Report. It is expected that as the Probation system is perfected and Officers are attached to all Courts the number of boys and girls on Probation will be very much larger than at present. It is a frequent experience that a Probation Officer finds that he cannot be responsible for the well-being of his charge as long as he or she remains at home. The conditions may be too demoralizing or the influence of bad companions too strong. At present the Officer will often place the boy or girl in a Voluntary Home with the object of getting him or her into fresh surroundings. The Committee are not in favour of this course as they consider it inconsistent with the idea of Probation that the probationer should be compulsorily detained in an Institution with no opportunity to prove his ability to keep straight amid the ordinary temptations of life. They urge that as an alternative plan Hostels should be started at which young persons could reside and go to their daily work, thus leading a life of freedom and responsibility while being under some discipline and supervision.

This proposal for Hostels is perhaps the most valuable and original in the Report and is indeed essential to the proper working of Probation. The vital question is, how are these Hostels to get started? The only one mentioned in the Report as already in existence is that at Liverpool, which was started by the Probation Committee of the City Justices and was originally supported by voluntary contributions; it is now financed almost entirely by the Corporation and by the payments made by the boys themselves. The Hostel is only available for boys on Probation or those on licence from Home Office Schools and the demand for accommodation is very great.

It is much to be hoped that the example of the Liverpool justices will be widely followed, though no doubt different lines of development will open out as the movement goes forward. Hostels are still to a large extent an experiment, and if we follow out national precedents voluntary effort will play a large part in the experimental stage until the time comes when public authorities are willing to undertake the full responsibility.

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

President: Miss ELEANOR RATHBORN, C.C., J.P. Hon. Treasurer: Miss MACADAM. Parliamentary and General Secretary: Mrs. HUBBACK. Offices: 15 Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W.1. Telephone: Victoria 6188.

WEEK-END SUMMER SCHOOL AT ILKLEY. Friday, 1st July, to Monday, 4th July, 1927.

We hope to have a really large attendance at the Summer School, which promises a delightful combination of work and pleasure. We append a programme of lectures and urge all intending students who have not already done so to apply without delay to Mrs. Lovelock, 23 Richmond Place, Ilkley, in order to facilitate the arrangements for the School.

Programme of Lecturers.

Friday, 8.30 p.m.: "Equal Franchise and other Legislation Affecting Women and Children," Miss Macadam, M.A.; Chairman, F. H. Hawkes, Esq., J.P., C.C.

Saturday, 10.30 to 12 p.m.: "Problems of Population," Mrs. Stocks, B.Sc. (Econ.); 12 p.m. to 1 p.m.: Business Meeting, Problems of Organization; afternoon: Excursions on the Moors and in the Valley of the Wharfe; 8.30 p.m.: "Women and Social Insurance," Mrs. Hubback, M.A.

Sunday, 4 p.m.: Tea at Upper Ewe Croft, followed by a discussion on the Object of the N.U.S.E.C.—"What is Equality?" to be opened by Miss Macadam; 8.30 p.m.: "The Married Women, her Employment and Legal Status," Mrs. Hubback.

Accommodation may be reserved at well recommended hotels at prices ranging from 10s. to 18s. a day. All the hotels are in a good position near the moors.

THE TREASURY—A CHALLENGE.

Miss Macadam writes: "I am delighted to strike a much more hopeful note. A few weeks ago our luck turned, when Miss Hovey, Penrhos College, Colwyn Bay, our very constant friend, wrote announcing her decision to renew her yearly subscription of £100. Shortly after another friend, who insists on anonymity, sent £100, earmarked for equal franchise. This was almost immediately followed by a letter from a friend of long standing, Mrs. Corbett, of Woodgate, Sussex, promising £100 on certain conditions—that four other gifts of £50 each and eight of £25 shall be received. I now throw out this generous challenge from Mrs. Corbett in the confident hope that it will be accepted. She writes that the money may be sent from single individuals or collected in smaller sums. An immediate response will be the best thanks to Mrs. Corbett and a great encouragement to your treasurer. Another interesting donation is the sum of £8 5s. 6d., the profits of the Malvern Week-end School. But though cheques of £100, £50, or £25, are very acceptable, smaller gifts in large numbers are equally welcome, and all those who have already renewed their contributions to the Guarantee Fund or subscribed to the one year Equal Franchise Fund (a certain number have done both) are very warmly thanked for their generous support. Copies of the different appeals with lists of guarantors may be had on application. A heavy year lies in front of us. The Equal Franchise Campaign first and foremost demands all we can put in to it, and much remains to be done before equality is attained. Six weeks lie before us before the comparative calm of August descends on Headquarters and our Societies. If the officers are to be freed from the strain of anxiety gifts or promises to the extent of £1,000 must be secured in that time. A larger sum would mean that organizers would be sent to carry on campaigns in constituencies at present without any active Women's Equality Organization. If you have helped already, interest your societies or your friends. Suffragists know how to give, and I know that I shall not appeal in vain."

RESPONSES TO THE GUARANTEE FUND, 1927-9.

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Courtney, Lady of Penwith (earmarked P.R. in Local Government)	2	0 0
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C. E. R.	4	0 0
Farmer, Mrs. A. K.	1	1 0
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Malvern Summer School Profits	8	5 6
Members of Round Table Group		5 6
Raleigh, Mrs.	1	1 0
	£119	17 0

CORRESPONDENCE.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

MADAM,—Will you permit me the favour of a reply to the article on Capital Punishment by A. B. W.? For a long time this subject has seemed to me of vital importance, and I regard the view taken by the writer as entirely wrong. He declares that nobody knows exactly why we imprison and execute; but ought we not to know? And is the community justified in avenging itself on people as nuisances when to a very large extent it is the social state which has made them "nuisances"? Ought we ever to inflict a punishment when we can never redress it, should the wrong person have suffered? A. B. W. cites certain evils—the deaths in industry, the high infantile and maternity rate—and declares that because these exist it is an unhealthy emotion to desire not to execute any wretch, however degraded he may be. Is it not certain that, whatever the causes of any man's degradation may be, among them there is sure to be the social evils of our state of society, as well as hereditary and pre-natal circumstances? In short, we degrade men and then punish them for being degraded. When A. B. W. declares that alienists desire cases for study, seeing that our knowledge of psychology is so small, his charge leaves me cold. But these arguments are mere hair-splitting. The true points are: First, is Capital Punishment a deterrent? The facts, as shown in countries where it has been abolished, prove that it is not. Second, is it right to hurl a man into the unknown when, by right treatment, he might learn to expiate his offence here? But Capital Punishment is a cowardly way of shuffling off a social obligation that we are too feeble to face. And thirdly, has A. B. W. any notion of what it means to put a murderer to death—to warders,

governors, and hangmen? Have we a right to demand as a community a deed that is naturally abhorrent to untouched human nature? Or, putting it another way, have we a right to make men callous? I submit that A. B. W. is up in the clouds. Let him, then, read the statistics of those States that have abolished Capital Punishment and then go and live for a few months in the prison where a man awaits his execution and so goes through a far more harrowing experience than that endured by a murdered man.

M. P. WILLCOCKS.

MARRIED WOMEN IN FACTORIES.

MADAM,—The assertion by Dr. Meyrick Booth in your issue of 27th May that "the statistics of infant mortality show how injurious to infant welfare is the work of married women" is not supported by the reports of any of the investigations on this subject that have been conducted this century.

In 1914 the Medical Officer of the Local Government Board organized an inquiry to be made into the infantile death-rate in seven Lancashire towns, and the statistics obtained showed no definite relation between the employment of married women and infant mortality. In the report it was stated that "differences of opinion might reasonably be entertained as to the cause of the excessive sacrifice of child life. Unsatisfactory standards of housing and grossly defective arrangements for the disposal of refuse of all kinds are closely connected with it, domestic convenience for cleanliness are inadequate and commonly there is no satisfactory storage for food."

Dr. Brend in his work *Health and the State*, published in 1917, said that "Special researches have failed to establish a close and constant connection between women's labour and a high infant mortality. In Wigan, for example, where only 12 per cent of the married women are engaged in non-domestic work, the infant mortality rate in 1912 was 180, whereas in the textile town of Rochdale with 28 per cent of the women so employed the rate was only 100."

The report of the Registrar-General for 1911 sets out the infant mortality rates for the different occupations of men and divides the community into eight classes. In the upper and middle classes the rate was 76.4 per 1,000 births, among the textile workers who come sixth 148.1. This year was a notably bad one owing to the drought and heat. Notwithstanding this fact the rate for Nelson was practically the same as the average for the upper and middle classes; it was lower than residential Hampstead and 60 per cent lower than Burnley (210), where the married women work in factories in the same proportion and at the same occupation, viz. weaving, as the married women of Nelson. It is significant that Burnley has more back to back houses than any town in Lancashire. Nelson is a modern town.

Dr. Janet Campbell in her report on "Women in Industry", wrote "The exact effect of the industrial employment of mothers on infant mortality is not easy to estimate. Poverty and an insanitary environment may have a more injurious effect than the mother's absence. This is borne out by the low rates of 1916 and 1917, during which year an increasing number of married women were being employed. Indeed, it is significant that the infant mortality rate has shown its most rapid decrease in the last decennium during which the employment of women has increased."

Sir John Robertson, the Medical Officer of Health for Birmingham for six years before the war conducted an investigation as to the relation of mothers' labour to infant mortality, and the result appeared to be that the babies of the mothers who work are better off than the babies of the mothers who do not, the rate of the babies of the mothers who work being an average of 174 per 1,000, and of the mothers who remain at home 179 per 1,000. In the opinion of Sir John Robertson, "There is only one remedy for the ill-health and high mortality of our industrial towns, viz. the replacement of slums by decent houses."

The precise effect of the infant welfare work carried on at present is difficult to estimate. It is popularly supposed to be one of the causes of the decreasing death-rate among infants. A writer in the *New Statesman* after visiting the city of Bradford and seeing the wonderfully organized system of infant welfare work that obtains in that city, said "It is true that there has been no notable decrease in the infant death-rate for some years; it is now 135 although the birth-rate is 13.06. The conclusion remains that wealthy, generous, scientific Bradford is dying out and that these wonderful and admirable efforts seem futile."

The conclusion to be drawn is that the matter is a very complex one, and the more obvious theories tend to be discounted by actual facts.

(MRS.) M. GERTRUDE CROSS.

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JUNE 23. 3 p.m. Visit to showrooms of Messrs. Hallwood and Ackroyd. Lecture on "The Manufacture of English Glassware."

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

JUNE 27. 4-6 p.m. Garden Party at Aubrey House, Kensington (by kind permission of Miss Alexander). Guests will include Mrs. Baldwin, Dame Millicent Fawcett and Dame Rachael Crowley. Tickets from Headquarters.

ST. JOAN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ALLIANCE.

SUNDAY, JUNE 19. 7.30. Jack Straw's Castle, Hampstead Heath. Equal Franchise Meeting.

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JULY 1. 3 p.m. Annual Meeting (by kind permission of the National Rose Society) in their tent at the National Rose Society's Summer Show, Royal Hospital Gardens, Chelsea, S.W. H.R.H. Princess Louise will preside.

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LONDON AND NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SERVICE, 35 Marsham Street, Westminster. Secretary, Miss P. Strachey. Expert advice on Openings and Trainings for professional women; interviews 10-1 (except Saturdays) or by appointment.

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES, Guildhouse, Eccleston Square, S.W. 1. Sunday, 19th June. 3.30, C. Leonard Woolley, Esq., "Recent Discoveries at Ur" (Slides). 6.30, Maude Royden: "Is the God of Nature the God of Christ?"

EDUCATED HOME HELPS BUREAU, 190 Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W. 1 (new address), requires and supplies educated women for all domestic work. Registration: Employers, 2s. 6d.; workers, 1s. Suiting fee: Employers, 7s. 6d.; workers, 2s. (Victoria 5940.)

SUFFRAGETTE PRISONERS' DINNER.—Tuesday, 21st June, 7.45 p.m. Restaurant, Craigs Court, Whitehall. Tickets, 4s., from 38 Hogarth Hill, N.W. 11.

ASSOCIATION FOR MORAL AND SOCIAL HYGIENE.—The Annual Meeting will be held on Wednesday, 22nd June, at 5 p.m., in the Drawing-room, Central V.W.C.A., Tottenham Court Road, W.C. 1. Speakers: Miss S. E. Hyson, "The Traffic in Women Report," and Dr. Douglas White, "The Improvement in Public Opinion as shown in Official Documents." Chair: Lady Astor, M.P. Admission free; reserved seats 1s.

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