

THE WOMAN'S LEADER

AND THE COMMON CAUSE

Vol. XVII. No. 11. One Penny.

REGISTERED AS
A NEWSPAPER.

Friday, April 10, 1925.

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Annual Subscription for Postal Subscribers: British Isles and Abroad, 6/6.

Common Cause Publishing Co., 15 Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W. 1.

NOTES AND NEWS.

Women's Affairs and Parliament.

In the debate in the House of Lords on its own reforms, Lord Buckmaster advocated the question of the admission of women, and referred to the Act of Parliament "deliberately declaring that women shall not be robbed of any single privilege by virtue of their sex." Unfortunately he received on this point no support from other Members of the House. In the House of Commons Mr. Pethick Lawrence pressed the Government as to whether, in connexion with the Nationality of Married Women, the attention of the Dominion Governments had been drawn to the Resolution in the House of Commons on the subject. The inadequate answer was received that the Colonial Secretary had left "the record of the proceedings to speak for itself"—not a very satisfactory solution. We learn that on the initiative of Mr. Pethick Lawrence, who has fortunately constituted himself a champion on this question, the British section of the Inter-Parliamentary Union is suggesting that this question should be placed on the agenda of the forthcoming International Conference at Washington. On Wednesday, as we go to press, both the Guardianship of Infants Bill and the Summary Jurisdiction (Separation and Maintenance) Bill will be coming up for their report stage and third readings. Amendments to both Bills have been put down largely at the request of the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, dealing with the many points in which these Bills—more especially the latter, falls short of what is desirable. An account of the debates will be given next week.

French Women and the Municipal Vote.

The debates in the French Chamber on the Bill for granting women the municipal franchise are reminiscent of suffrage debates in our own House of Commons. Extracts from some of the speeches, which have had a good Press in this country, will have, we imagine, the effect of increasing the already considerable driving power of French suffragists—a quality which we are told women possess fifty per cent. less than men.

As we go to press we learn from *The Times* that the debate led to the highly satisfactory result that the Bill, amended by a clause lowering the age limit from 25 to 21, was passed by 390 votes to 183. Our warm congratulations to the women of France.

Adopted Children.

Two Private Members' Bills were on the order paper last Friday, but the second and much wider measure was not reached. The first simply enabled parents and guardians to transfer to another person their authority and duties in respect to a child under the age of ten upon the approval of the High Court or County Court. It was introduced by Sir Geoffrey Butler and supported among others by Lady Astor and Sir Robert Newman. The House of Commons is always at its best when the welfare of children is under discussion, and an interesting debate ensued, enlivened by a passage at arms between Lady Astor and Mr. Hayday, which has been greatly exaggerated in the Press. Mr. Locker-Lampson, speaking for the Government, referred to the Home Office Committee on this subject, of which the Duchess of Atholl and Miss Jewson are members, and considered that to pass the second reading of the Bill before this Committee presents its report would be injurious to the prospects of legislation. He was wholly sympathetic to reform, and not only promised to hasten the report of the Committee but pledged the Government to bring in a Bill dealing with the matter in the life-time of the present Parliament. Objections were made to the withdrawal of the motion, and the debate was adjourned.

Housing and the Social Conscience.

All students of Housing should acquire the Housing and Building Supplement issued by *The Times* on Tuesday, 7th April. It forms a valuable illustrated handbook of up-to-date information for the social student. It opens with messages from the present and past Ministers of Health. Mr. Neville Chamberlain says that the social conscience of the nation is fully awakened to unsatisfactory housing conditions; "the public now only need to be told how they can be made better, what means are already available, and what developments possible." In our last issue we printed an appeal from a correspondent to enfranchised women to stress adequate housing as an aspect of an equal standard of morality between the sexes, and we propose once again to open our columns to articles on this subject which will help our public to know "how conditions can be made better." The first, by Captain Reiss, will appear in our issue of 24th April.

Occupational Disease.

Following on our note last week in regard to married women's work as piecers in Lancashire cotton mills, and the excessive sickness attributed to these women in some quarters (and denied in others) as the direct result of their employment, it is interesting to note a further reference to an undoubted occupational disease among cotton spinners, this time men. It is announced that the Home Secretary has appointed a Committee to consider evidence at present available as to the occurrence of the disease popularly known as mule-spinners' cancer, and to report what measures are practicable for the protection of the workers and what regulations (if any) are required. The subject is one which has been receiving the attention of the trade (with the assistance of the Medical Inspectors of Factories) for some time past, and the Committee is fully representative. If the regulations referred to in the terms of reference are found to be necessary, they can be made under Section 79 of the Factory Act, 1901. Protection in regard to health and safety is a matter in which women have no monopoly under the law: many of the existing codes of regulations deal with industries in which no women are employed. All that is necessary is that the Secretary of State must be satisfied that the process is injurious to health, and he can then make "such regulations as appear to him to be reasonably practicable."

The New Boards of Guardians.

As we write very few returns of the result of the election outside London has reached us, but so far as we can judge a considerable number of women have been returned. We read in *The Times* that an even smaller percentage of voters took the trouble to go to the poll than three years ago, when the percentage of votes cast was 22.8. In Shoreditch, Islington, and Hackney, respectively, only 12.6, 14, and 15 per cent. of the electors voted. One regrettable feature of the London results has been the rejection of several women who have given long and devoted service. Miss Emily Hill has been a member of the Wandsworth Board for eighteen years, Commissioner Adelaide Cox, of the Salvation Army, has served for the same period on the Hackney Board, and Miss E. Henry for twenty-four years.

The Factories Bill.

The Cabinet has decided to present the Factories Bill soon after Easter, and it is hoped that it may become law by the end of July. In view of this important decision we propose to publish a series of short articles in our coming issues dealing with different points in the Bill of special concern to our readers, particularly the question of differential legislation between the sexes, which aroused such a lively debate at the recent Council meetings of the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship. The policy of this paper is that legislation should be based on the nature of the work and not on the sex of the worker.

Women in Police Courts.

We deal elsewhere in an article by Mrs. Coombe Tennant with the exclusion of women from police courts. Some correspondence in the Bath Press has taken place with reference to a recent case in the Bath Police Court in which a girl was cross-examined for nearly two hours on a sex question in a court full of men without the moral support of a single woman. We shall be glad if our readers will send us similar instances which come to their knowledge.

Geneva in Spring.

All roads lead to Geneva nowadays. An attractive exhibition of woman's work has been announced for 24th April to 3rd May. It will include fashions, furniture, fine arts, household contrivances, gardening, literature, science, the nursery, and the home. Geneva is lovely at this time of year, and this exhibition should attract many visitors. We hear that Swiss suffragists mean to take the opportunity offered by the exhibition for a campaign of education and propaganda.

Family Allowances in the French Civil Service.

Although the allowances are still only a contribution toward the costs of child maintenance they are tending to become a substantial contribution. In the debate on Civil Service salaries in the French Chamber a clause was agreed to by all parties, increasing the rates of family allowances (as from 1st January, 1925) to 540 francs for first child (altered from 495 francs); 720 francs for second child (altered from 495 francs); 1,080 francs for third child (altered from 840 francs); 1,260 francs for fourth and subsequent children (altered from 840 francs).

Women in other lands.

A brief review of the excellent March number of the *International Woman Suffrage News* lies in proof on our table, crowded out with other good things week after week, and now we have the April issue before us. Among reports from auxiliaries to the I.W.S.A., perhaps the most interesting deals with the new Marriage Law in Denmark. This brings about real economic rights in marriage with regard to property. In 1922 mothers and fathers were given equal rights over their children. Readers of our paper who are interested in the international welfare of women should certainly read this paper regularly.

This Week's Issue and Next.

Mrs. George Cadbury, the first woman President of the National Free Church Council, contributes an Easter message to this issue. Next week we publish a sketch of home life in French Canada, contributed by an Oxford University woman graduate now resident in Quebec.

AN EASTER MESSAGE.

By MRS. GEORGE CADBURY.

Faith—Hope—Love, and of these three, says the Apostle Paul, the greatest is "Love." Was he right? Or may we question the statement, debating which place should be given to the quality of Hope? And suggest that without Hope, Faith might be a delusion and Love a tragedy? There are three great Church festivals: Christmas, Easter, Pentecost; the first represents the Incarnation of Love; Pentecost brought tumultuous conviction to the Disciples of the reality of their faith; but Easter is the symbol of Hope, perhaps the most wonderful of God's gifts to man. The short day of "the young Prince of Glory" had set in gloom and horror. He was apparently a failure; disappointment, bereavement, despair, filled the hearts of His followers. "There was darkness on the face of the earth." But with the dawn of the First Day, Christ rose from the tomb. The whole face of the earth is changed; lives are changed; new hopes are aroused; new standards of conduct are to be followed; fine thoughts and enthusiasms spring to life in the crushed hearts.

Yes, glorious Easter, coming at the time of the return to the dull, cold earth of the tokens of renewed life, riotous beauty of colour, exquisite fragrance of flowers, blue windswept skies, scudding white and grey clouds, is the symbol of all that makes life wonderful; wonderful in spite of its bereavements, its disappointments, and failures, telling year by year of victory not only over death, but of possible victory over untold difficulties, discouragements, privations, limitations. Is this only an expression of the facile optimism of the comfortable? Or can the hopes inspired by the Easter story reach down to the depths?

I shall meet as usual this week my Class of women, some 150, living in the courts and back streets of a big city, and I shall say, "Here are daffodils and primroses, my friends, to tell you that Easter is coming; and after Easter will come the bluebells, and we shall spend a day in the bluebell woods, and bring back sunshine and blue sky to our homes," and we shall talk of the meaning and beauty of Easter and the message of the

flowers, and there will be tears, because during the year many of us have said good-bye to those we loved, and our hearts have been wrung with sorrow, and our faith strained; but also there will be joy and laughter, and a looking forward.

And where did the wonderful event that changed the world take place? In Jerusalem, a stronghold of religious prejudice, dominated by a narrow formal religion, from which had departed the life and spirit. Against its will, by virtue of the Easter victory, Jerusalem became the cradle of the spiritual Renaissance. Recent political allusions to the works of Disraeli have revived a youthful affection, and I have turned over the pages of old favourites with interest. In *Coningsby* I read again the intriguing description of the Spanish Jew, Sidonia; he was enormously rich; he had travelled all over the world, he knew "everybody." "He was master of the learning of every nation, of all tongues, dead or living, of every literature, Western and Oriental. He had lived in all orders of Society, had viewed every combination of Nature and Art." "He nevertheless looked upon life with a glance rather of curiosity than content." "He was a man without affections," but "he had an imagination as fiery as his native desert, and an intellect as luminous as his native sky." Sidonia discusses the chances of life with young Coningsby, who is eager and ardent. "For life in general," he says, "there is but one decree: Youth is a blunder, Manhood a struggle, Age a regret." The first—yes, possibly true; no one goes far without taking risks, and therefore chancing blunders; and the second is true, for the struggle makes for true manhood; but Age nothing but a regret? A thousand times No; not, at any rate, for those who have caught the spirit of Easter, and who can rise triumphant above the rebuffs, failures and difficulties of this curious, inexplicable life of ours.

The gift of Easter for those who can grasp it, is friendship with a risen and victorious Christ. Christ, the embodiment of Hope, of eternal Youth, of never dying enthusiasms, the transmuted of dross into pure gold, of lost causes into gospels, of ashes into beauty, of dreariness into splendour, sorrow into joy, "wastelands" into gardens, Death into Life.

THE WIDOW AND THE FATHERLESS.

Once again we find the House of Commons devoting an evening to the discussion of pensions for widows with dependent children and once again the result of the debate is nil. This time the giving of any form of pensions has been relegated not to any specific year, but to sometime within the life of this Parliament.

In a pamphlet written by Miss Eleanor Rathbone for the National Union of Societies of Equal Citizenship on Widows' Pensions, she refers to John Morley's phrase regarding the "world's inexhaustible patience of the wrongs that only torment others." This particular form of the virtue was very patent on Wednesday, 1st April. The debate was distinctly disappointing. As for sometime past all three parties have approved of the principle of Widows' Pensions, it appears to us that the time is over when it is necessary to make an appeal on general grounds based on the number and tragic position of such a large proportion of widowed mothers. To-day, the need for the improvement of their position is universally recognized, and the interest now centres not in *whether* they should be helped, but *how* they should be helped; we had, therefore, expected to hear on Wednesday night a hotly contested and well-informed debate on the relative importance of contributory and non-contributory pensions. With few exceptions the speeches did not deal with the many and various problems involved in the working out of either of these methods—on the part of Labour they consisted of a restatement of the general case and on the part of the Government of continual reference to an "absolutely bare cupboard" and the "shaved bone," which would inevitably mean that the hungry must be turned empty away—and this at a time when rumour is rife with respect to a reduction of the duties on beer!

The resolution put down by the Labour Party was moved by Mr. Kelly in the following terms:—"That, in view of the urgent necessity that, wholly apart from the Poor Law, pensions adequate for the proper upbringing and maintenance of children should be provided for all widows with children or mothers whose family breadwinner has become incapacitated, this

House calls for the introduction this Session of the required legislation." There was a curious reluctance to define the Party's attitude with regard to a non-contributory scheme, and it needed continuous heckling to force Mr. Clynes into a positive statement that the Party stood for a non-contributory scheme.

The amendment put down by Sir Henry Curtis-Bennett and supported by Sir Geoffrey Butler was as follows:—"That this House, while approving the principle of a scheme of State-aided pensions for widowed mothers, is of opinion that this should form part of a general extension of the insurance system upon a non-contributory basis and that legislation for this purpose should be introduced during the present parliament." This was, in the end, carried by a majority of 274 to 153 votes.

Lady Astor, in a spirited and well thought out speech, presented the more important and practical aspects of the problem, but her questions remained unanswered. Lady Astor agreed with her party in supporting a contributory scheme, but she showed that she was fully alive to the weaknesses of such a scheme in her demands as to what the Government intended to do with respect to those widows whose husbands are not industrially employed, but who, whether they are small shopkeepers, hawkers, etc., are not in a position to provide for their widows. She also drew attention to the need for adequate pensions, lest in an insurance scheme a scale sufficient for a temporary evil such as unemployment or ill-health, for which insurance is accustomed to provide, should influence the judgment as to what is necessary for a set of circumstances which is to last for a period of years. We fail to see how any contributory scheme can deal with more than half the problem, but have no option except to face the fact that the present Government is prepared to consider no other. It is a very great disappointment, moreover, that no announcement was made on behalf of the Government as to when even this contributory scheme is to be introduced. "During this Parliament and as soon as our inquiries are completed" is the sum total of the Government's promise.

THE DECLARATION OF GENEVA.

By ALFRED HUGHES.

The present era, despite its difficulties and chaos, is undoubtedly the period when the importance of the child is becoming more and more recognized by thinking men and women in all nations. In some countries this realization is deeper than in others, yet in no country is it possible to say that everything is being done to secure for the child the opportunity of a full physical, mental, and spiritual development.

The "Declaration of Geneva," which was drawn up and adopted by the Save the Children Fund International Union expresses in five short clauses the least that humanity can offer to the child irrespective of race, nationality, or creed. It lays down that:—

I. The child should be given the means needed for its normal development, both materially and spiritually.

II. The child that is hungry should be fed; the child that is sick should be nursed; the child that is backward should be helped; the erring child should be reclaimed; and the orphan and the waif should be sheltered and succoured.

III. The child should be first to receive relief in times of distress.

IV. The child should be put in a position to earn a livelihood, and should be protected against every form of exploitation.

V. The child should be brought up in the consciousness that its talents are to be used in the service of its fellow men.

This document has recently been accepted by the League of Nations as its official Charter of child welfare, and it has already been accepted by many organizations and leaders in all countries.

Recognizing that the "Declaration" is couched in broad and general terms for international acceptance, the S.C.F.I.U. instructed its national committees to draw up Charters giving in greater detail the special needs of the children in their own lands. In Great Britain this has been done by the Save the Children Fund in collaboration with the National Council of Women, and a Charter consisting of 44 clauses is offered to the public as a basis for discussion and activities.

The whole field of child welfare is covered in the Charter. There are sections on Parenthood, Birth and Infancy, Infancy to School Age, Education and Training, Provision for Special

Needs, Delinquency, Cruelty and Neglect, Employment and After Care. Such a broad programme should meet with the support of all, and while it is impossible to quote all the clauses, certain ones are of special importance to women who realize that in the care and protection of the child lies the future of humanity.

No child can be given "the means needed for its normal development" if its mother is neglected during the months before birth, and Clause I of the Charter reads:—

"Every child should be born in health and honour and nurtured under healthful conditions. The responsibilities attaching to parenthood should be generally inculcated, and instruction necessary for the production of healthy, normal children should be available for all parents and prospective parents."

In Section C, Clause 9, it is urged that, "Adequate provision should be made for sufficient and pure milk supply, with special arrangements whereby it may be made available at the lowest possible prices for the use of young children." And in Clause 17 lies the basis of wide possibilities for the fullest development of the child's individuality, for it is urged that, "Inasmuch as the end of education is the formation of character, school curricula should be so devised as to draw out and train the physical, mental, and spiritual elements of the child's nature."

All through the Charter runs the idea that the child is all important, not only for its own sake, but for all humanity, and it points the path which we must follow if mankind is to give to the child the best that it can offer.

To press forward this Charter and to get greater publicity for the "Declaration" in Great Britain, the Save the Children Fund is now launching a scheme under which men and women are encouraged to become Associates on a basis of service in the cause of the child. Just as the common aims and needs of the world cut across national barriers, so do the needs of the international child call for the co-operation of men and women in every land. From whatever point of view we may accept the "Declaration," we know that it is only by persistent effort that the principles laid down will be fulfilled both in the letter and the spirit in all countries.

TWO SPRING VISITS TO PALESTINE, 1921, 1922.¹

By MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT, G.B.E., J.P., LL.D.

CHAPTER XX.—DAMASCUS (continued).

One of our most charming excursions out of Damascus was to a village on a neighbouring height called Sâlahiyeh, where one gets a lovely view over the city and across it to the desert stretching like the sea, and with boundaries fully as distinct. It is possible from here to trace for some distance the track of the Mecca pilgrimage. It was here in Sâlahiyeh that Richard Burton, the great traveller, resided with his wife during the time when he was British Consul in Damascus. It was at Sâlahiyeh that Burton received a dispatch from the Colonial Office which he interpreted as a rebuke. Within ten minutes of reading it, so the story runs, he had mounted his horse and ridden away never to return; leaving the celebrated message to his wife, "Pay, pack, and follow."

Every hill round Damascus has its story and its tradition; on one Abraham had the unity of God revealed to him; on another, in a place where the peaks are as stony and sterile as those on the way to the Dead Sea, the Moslems say that Mahomet, while still a camel driver, gazed at the scene below and seeing the beautiful city with its orchards and gardens, exclaimed "Man can have but one paradise and my paradise is fixed above!"

On looking into my diary I see certain places marked N.W.W. This does not stand for any points of the compass, but for "not worth while." Among these are (1) the Moslem cemetery, where the Prophet's daughter, Fatima, is buried; it is as dreary and squalid as all the Moslem cemeteries I have seen elsewhere; and (2) the house of a very rich Jew, furnished with regard to the greatest possible expense, e.g. the walls covered by marble mosaics of supreme ugliness—the place has no real attractions except the pretty garden by which it is approached.

We saw the Christian quarter of the city, which was almost entirely destroyed in the great massacre of 1860. A considerable part of this quarter is still in ruins. The horrors of the massacre were mitigated by the heroic courage of the Moslem General Abd-el-Kader. He had a company of Algerians under his command and used them with the greatest courage and devotion to save as many lives as possible. He filled his own house, and the fortress he controlled, with refugees; and probably every Christian who was not murdered owed his life to this splendid Moslem soldier. He met the advancing horde of the fanatics sword in hand, and at the head of his own troops, exclaiming: "Wretches—is this the way you honour the Prophet? May his curses be on you! You will yet live to repent. . . . Not a Christian will I give up. They are my brothers. Stand back or I will give my men the order to fire." The horde of murderers was abashed and fell back, and the massacre was stayed. But it was estimated that the outbreak had cost at least 6,000 lives of inoffensive Christians and had destroyed property worth £2,000,000 sterling. The Turkish Government made no effort to stop the massacre or to mitigate its consequences. Compared with this terrible exhibition of unprovoked savagery, which took place only sixty-two years ago, the troubles of the present Government in Jerusalem in the spring of 1920 and 1921 sink into insignificance. Things may be bad; but they are not so bad as they were two generations back.

DAME MILLICENT.

With a profound regret, which all our readers will share, we print the following letter from Dame Millicent Fawcett, the Chairman of our Board. We have nothing to add to its contents except our own tribute of thankfulness that the difference of opinion which has arisen involves on neither side any trace of bitterness or personal misunderstanding. The issue which separates us from Dame Millicent Fawcett is clear-cut and isolated. Thus, however definitely and irrevocably she may resign from our Board, we know that our separation from her cannot be complete. Our Chairman will remain united to us not only by the long years of her splendid leadership, stretching back into the past, but by our common hopes of the future in all those multitudinous aspects of feminism over which there is still no difference of opinion between us. Therefore, while we shall urge her to use our columns for expressing her point of view upon the one matter which divides us from her, we shall also

¹ This is one of a series of weekly articles which will extend over a period of several months.

trust that she will continue to express her point of view upon the many matters which, as always, unite us to her. Whatever may be our present degree of waywardness, we are, and shall remain, the child of Dame Millicent's own work. And we adhere to the point of view that such spiritual ties between parent and child are not likely to be broken by any formal rupture of official relations. We are glad to think that for some time to come, thanks to her great-hearted regard for our well-being, we shall be under obligations to Dame Millicent not only for the delightful weekly record of her Eastern experiences, but for her share in the Guarantee Fund which made our continued existence possible.

Meanwhile, it would perhaps be fitting to take this opportunity of thanking our Chairman for all that she has done for THE WOMAN'S LEADER, for the ungrudging and indispensable help that she has given to its writing, its management, and its finance. Were we to undertake such a task, the editorial "we" would have to be stretched to its widest extent to cover not merely the Board and office staff of the paper, but all its readers, past, present, and to come. Only, of course, we cannot undertake it; for in thanking Dame Millicent for what she has done for us, where should we begin? And where should we end?

MADAM.—It is with great regret that I find it necessary to resign the position of Chairman of the Board of Directors of your paper. It is a post which I have held, I think, since 1913, and one which I greatly valued.

My resignation is due to the fact that I dissent from the policy, adopted at the recent Council meeting of the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, usually called Family Endowment, the general effect of which, if adopted, would be to relieve parents of the legal obligation to maintain their children.

I regard this parental responsibility as twice blessed; blessed to the children and blessed to the parents and providing one of the most valuable educational influences in many lives. I feel I cannot continue to be in any degree responsible for a paper which is now bound to advocate an economic change of great importance of which I entirely disapprove. But I do this without anger and without bitterness. I have received unlimited kindness from all the members of the Board, especially from those who have acted as Editors. I hope that neither they nor I need the reminder which Cromwell made to the Scottish Presbyterians in 1649 when he wrote to the General Assembly: "I beseech you think it possible you may be mistaken." Everything, moreover, concerning our difference of opinion has been quite open and above board, so that we can, I hope, differ without being indignant or dispirited.—Yours faithfully,

MILICENT G. FAWCETT.

28th March, 1925.

[THE WOMAN'S LEADER is not the organ of the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, but by the articles of its association its political policy is based on the objects, programme, and policy of the National Union as defined and interpreted by the Council of that body. At the last Council Meeting it was resolved to include work for the principle of Family Allowances on its general programme. The six points of its immediate programme still comprise:—Equal Franchise, an Equal Moral Standard, More Women in Parliament, Equal Pay for Equal Work, Equal Guardianship of Children, etc., and Equal Opportunity for Men and women in the League of Nations.—ED.]

ANNA'S.

Miss Nina Boyle, in addition to being a good suffragist, is a good story-teller—and with her the story is the thing. With the grand prodigality of a Drury Lane producer she assembles her great galaxy of characters, assigns them their parts with cold-hearted and impersonal precision, and that done, weaves their fates into the web of her intricate drama. The method has the defects of its qualities. As with some of the more striking Drury Lane melodramas of our time, so many characters are assembled on the stage during the first act that only by the time we reach the third or fourth can we remember who they all are. Moreover, to a soft-hearted reviewer it is at times a little heart-breaking to see human characters (however criminal) subjected to the cold-blooded brutality of treatment which Miss Boyle metes out to these obedient creatures of her imagination. Nevertheless, heartless though she may be, she really does tell us a good story—so good that we shall not spoil it for its future readers by telling them who the returned heir really is—nor what the proprietress of a certain sinister quayside eating house did with a corpse which she happened to have on hand.

¹ *Anna's*, by C. Nina Boyle. Allen and Unwin, 7s. 6d.

THE SAAR: BRIDGE OR BARRIER.

By W. GLADYS RINDER, Women's International League, 55 Gower Street, W.C.

"Small as the district is," an official historian of the Peace Conference said, when speaking of the Saar Basin, "the settlement of the problem might well be decisive of the future welfare of Europe." To-day the Saar is what M. Clemenceau said it might become—"a hot bed and forcing ground for continual Franco-German conflicts." The territory, which only covers 700 square miles, is for its size the most industrialized area in Europe. The last census showed a population of 750,000, ninety-nine per cent of whom claimed German as their mother tongue.

The "entire coal district of the Saar Valley" was given to France under the Franco-Russian secret agreement of 1917, and at Versailles the French at first took annexation for granted on economic and political grounds, although for at least 900 out of the last 1,000 years the area has belonged to Germany, and it was admitted that the population was "overwhelmingly German." President Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George did not assent to the French claim, and it was finally agreed that the League of Nations was to govern the area for fifteen years, after which the inhabitants were to decide whether they wished to remain under the League, to rejoin Germany, or to unite with France. The coal mines were to be handed to France, but if the Germans won the plebiscite in 1935 they were to have the right to buy them back. The League of Nations was to have the right to appoint or remove the members of the Governing Commission, which was to consist of one Frenchman, one Saarlander, and three others who must not be French or German.

The Governing Commission will have no occupation and no interest except the welfare of the people of the territory of the Saar Basin." In these words, in 1920, the Council of the League gave its directions to the Governing Commission. How have they fulfilled their trust? In *A Danger Spot in Europe and its Government by the League of Nations*,¹ Sir Robert Donald, formerly editor of the *Daily Chronicle*, gives a convincing picture of a process which can only be described as "Frenchification." For the last five years the President has been a Frenchman, M. Rault, an "administrative autocrat" who does not speak German, and who informed the League in 1923 that he considered his first duty was "to see that the advantages secured to France by the Treaty were maintained." He has concentrated the most important ministerial offices in his own hands, and has ignored his colleagues, whom he regards as subordinates. The chief administrative posts have been filled by French officials pledged to serve France, and the Governing Commission has itself declared in 1923 that the obligations of the oath of loyalty to the Commission and the League are only binding on German officials. The French troops, who were only to act as a police force until the new gendarmerie could take their place, still occupy the area. The President is afraid to trust the gendarmerie, and considers local enlistment dangerous. "Police recruits," he said, "would themselves be of the population" . . . "it would be impossible to withdraw them from the influence of family, comrades, and companions." In other words, they would be German, not French. There are French schools, not only for the employees of the French mines and their families—as provided in the Treaty—but for German children generally, despite the clause which says that "the inhabitants shall retain their schools." No opportunity to increase the French and decrease the German influence is neglected. The Commission has decreed that persons absent for more than a year lose their status as Saar inhabitants. This applies not only to those who voluntarily absent themselves, but to those who are expelled or sent to prison in France. And the territory is "overrun with spies." The Commission has, in fact, carried out the policy advocated in the famous French Dariac Report; a policy which the inhabitants view as "a well organized conspiracy to bring about forcible annexation."

And events at Geneva last month were not reassuring. The Council reappointed M. Rault for the sixth time, a decision in which Mr. Chamberlain took no small part. It is for the people of this country to see that in future Great Britain stands for such a change in this appointment as will ensure impartial government of the Saar.

This is not a small matter: not only a question of better relation between France and Germany. It is a test case for the League. If even now the ideals for which the League stands are called into play in this, its first attempt at international government, the Saar area may yet form a bridge to peace and stability in Western Europe.

¹ Leonard Parsons, 3/6 net.

WOMEN JUSTICES AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAW.

By MRS. COOMBE TENNANT, J.P.

An "Open Letter to Women Magistrates" which appears in *The Vote* for 27th March, draws attention to a matter of considerable importance to the community at large, and it is to be hoped that public opinion will be aroused by the publication of the facts to which it refers. The letter states that "recently the Chief Constable of Southport requested a woman magistrate not to take her seat on the Bench when a case of assault on two young girls by an elderly man was being dealt with, because he (the Chief Constable) would feel 'humiliated' if he had to give his evidence before a woman; and that the woman magistrate acceded to his request."

If the administration of the law is to continue to command the confidence of the average citizen, then the repetition of such an incident must be made impossible. Women Justices *sit as Justices*, and every case to be dealt with is placed in their hands equally with their male colleagues.

Moreover, it is especially desirable that in cases in which women and girls are concerned, either as witnesses or otherwise, members of their own sex should be present on the Bench.

The rate at which women are being elevated to the Bench is deplorably slow. The choice of new Justices for Counties lies in practice in the hands of the Local Advisory Committees, on which women are for the most part—if not entirely—unrepresented. The result may be seen in such a list as that of the newly appointed Justices for Merioneth which has just been issued. It contains the names of thirteen men (of whom one is stated to be the husband of "the only woman Magistrate in the County") and of not one woman. Is not this question of "More Women on the Bench" one that might rightly find a place in the immediate Programme of the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship and be specifically defined therein?

It is very necessary that women justices should think out clearly their position in regard to their duties beforehand, as it is always possible that when faced suddenly with the need of an instant decision on some point they may, on the spur of the moment, do the wrong thing.

This Southport incident should also arouse in the minds of women as a whole a realization of the great need for active and aggressive propaganda tending to educate public opinion in favour of a real equality of liberties, status, and opportunities between men and women. Many women are inclined to sit down and assume that battle won—the real truth being that the "Turk Complex" forms the background of the thought of a large mass of the population in every class and in every political party.

Quite recently, at the Glamorgan Assizes, women serving on the Grand Jury were invited by the Chairman to absent themselves during the hearing of certain cases in which men were charged with unnatural offences. The three women present had obviously a very different background of environment and experience, but all three independently resolved that there could be no question of their withdrawal, and the senior woman Justice was deputed to advise the Chairman during the lunch interval of their unanimous decision, with the result that all cases were investigated by the whole of the Grand Jury. On the next occasion when charges of a similar nature were to be dealt with, no suggestion was made that the women members of the Grand Jury should withdraw.

As to immediate action, in regard to the Southport incident it would be well to get a question put in the House of Commons with a view to obtaining an official statement defining the action of the Chief Constable as illegal, and to securing that a circular addressed to Magistrates' Clerks should be issued making a repetition of such action impossible. In Southport itself the women's organizations should co-operate in a public protest on the lines they think wisest. A public meeting on the co-operation of women in the administration of the law, to be addressed by such a speaker as Miss Margery Fry and a prominent male magistrate, has much to commend it. This is an occasion for quick and decisive action.

THE WOMAN'S LEADER

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NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN TEACHERS. THE BURNHAM AWARD.

The National Union of Women Teachers repudiates the idea that the Award represents an "agreement" between local education authorities and the teachers since the members of this Union were not represented on the Standing Joint Committee on Teachers' Salaries and were not consulted at any stage of the proceedings.

Moreover, the terms of reference to the Arbitrator did not even include the question of Equal Pay for Equal Work, one of the most burning questions in the salary controversy. The partial nature of the terms of reference together with the exclusion of evidence from members of this Union are not surprising, since the Committee responsible was composed of 47 men and only 3 women.

In the opinion of the National Union of Women Teachers the whole proceedings constitute a grave indictment of present methods of government in this country and indicate why, in spite of so-called "agreements" there is so much unrest and dissatisfaction among large numbers of the community.

The Award shows an actual decrease in the aggregate salaries of all teachers, but the decrease is much greater for women than for men. This is chiefly secured by reducing the increments for women teachers from £12 10s. to £9, whereas the decrease for men is only 10s.

A further result of this sex differentiation in increment is the "marking time" which it will impose upon women. Men teachers not already at their maximum salary will receive an increment in April of this year, but women teachers will have to wait from 2 to 5 years before proceeding on the Scale.

To the injustice of sex differentiation in salary scales is now added this further injustice and indignity of discriminating in the annual increments, increments which avowedly are in return for a year's additional experience and service. The difference amounts to the paltry sum of 2d per day. Some people may think the small amount not worth the bother the women teachers are making about it. We reply that it is the smallness of the amount that exasperates us. The absurd difference gives away the case against Equal Pay entirely and shows that opposition is based, not on financial reasons, but upon sex prejudice.

Women teachers' salaries are fixed at approximately $\frac{2}{3}$ of the men's rate. The arrangement is absolutely unjust. Women who are economically free live (a) on their personal earnings, or (b) upon dividends earned by their incomes. Women teachers, for equal work with men teachers, receive $\frac{2}{3}$ the men's rate. Is there a similar arrangement in the financial world, whereby women, simply because they are women, receive only $\frac{2}{3}$ dividends to the men's $\frac{2}{3}$? We call upon those women who expect to get, and who do get equal dividends with men for their capital, to support the women teachers in their demand for Equal Pay for Equal Work. If industry can afford to pay $\frac{2}{3}$ dividends to women owners of money, it can also afford to pay women teachers and women workers $\frac{2}{3}$ for their work.

The National Union of Women Teachers vehemently protests against the Burnham Award as it affects women teachers. "No question is ever settled until it is settled right." We hold that the salary question is not settled, since it is not based on right principles.

The N.U.W.T. adheres to its claim for Equal Pay for men and women teachers of the same professional status, a claim based upon logic, justice, and common sense.

ETHEL F. FROUD,
General Secretary.

[The above unfortunately arrived too late for insertion last week. In our correspondence column will be found further allusion to the subject.—ED.]

PEERESSES IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

The second reading of Viscount Astor's Bill to enable Peeresses in their own right to sit in the House of Lords, which originally been fixed for 26th March, has been postponed until after the Easter recess. The Bill is identical with that introduced into the Lords last year, but which—owing to the dissolution of Parliament—did not then reach a division.

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

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Parliamentary Secretary: Mrs. HUBBACK.

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

SUMMER SCHOOL, St. Hilda's Hall, Oxford, 25th August to 8th September.

In addition to the list of lecturers given last week the following have promised to come and speak:—Mrs. Abbott, on Restrictive Legislation for Women; Professor Carr Saunders, on Population; Captain R. L. Reiss on Housing; and Dr. Marie Stopes, on Birth Control. We are already receiving applications from students, and those wishing to attend are advised to send in their names early. Fees, from £3 3s. Booking fee, 10s.

LONDON FEDERATION.

It may be remembered that several years ago an attempt from Headquarters was made to bring Societies affiliated to the N.U.S.E.C. together in an informal federation or area group. This effort was not successful, partly owing to the small number of Societies in London and the distance apart of the other Societies.

A Federation of the London Societies, however, would assist the growth and development of the Union, and it is proposed to form a new Federation of Societies in greater London, the number of which is increasing rapidly. A meeting of representatives of these Societies is being held at 15 Dean's Yard, on 21st April, at 3.30 p.m., to discuss the formation of the Federation.

WHARFEDALE BOARD OF GUARDIANS.

Four members of the Ilkley S.E.C. have been returned to the Board—Mrs. G. E. Foster (hon. secretary), Mrs. Davidson, and Mrs. Colbert for the township of Ilkley, and Mrs. Johnson for the township of Otley. Altogether twelve women have been returned for the Union this election.

ILKLEY URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL.

For the first time a woman, Mrs. Mensforth, has been returned to the Ilkley Urban District Council. Mrs. Mensforth was a co-opted member of the Council Maternity and Child Welfare Committee.

BOLTON W.C.A.

A meeting of the Bolton Women Citizens' Association was held on 23rd March, when Mrs. Hubback gave a lucid and comprehensive account of how legislation is effected, and how Parliamentary Bills are initiated, launched, and piloted through the House. She emphasized the value of work done in the constituencies by Women's Organizations. The work of Headquarters could not be done without real backing in the constituencies. She spoke hopefully of the chances of the Government's Equal Guardianship of Infants Bill, and gave a brief outline of the Separation and Maintenance Orders Bill and its amendments, all of which have been initiated by the N.U.S.E.C.

WOMEN IN BUSINESS.

The will of the late Mr. Henry Samson Clark, founder of the advertising firm of Samson Clark, draws attention to the work that women have achieved in business. The controlling influence in the firm has been left to Miss J. A. Reynolds and Mrs. Wood who during the war was chief executive officer of the London War Pensions Committee. Miss Reynolds' career is something of a business romance, as she joined the firm as a typist and by her great business capacity worked her way up to the position of director. She is one of the pioneer women in advertising, and has specialized in advertisement as an appeal to women.

THE WOMEN'S PIONEER HOUSING COMPANY.

This useful organization held its fifth annual meeting last week, when it was reported that it now managed 100 flats. The demand continues to be far in excess of the supply. Last year thirty new flats were provided, for which 400 applications were received. The work is now on an economic basis, and in view of the urgency of the need the Committee of Management urge men and women who are interested in housing for all sections of the community to consider its possibilities as a useful investment.

THE RESIDENTIAL COLLEGE FOR WORKING WOMEN.

The Residential College for Working Women has published its fifth annual report. It is the record of a movement which is still in its infancy, but which is steadily growing. In spite of the serious unemployment of to-day, all the students who left last year are in work or taking further courses of training. Some are training for nursing, welfare work, or mission work, several have returned to their former occupations, which means, presumably, that the teaching at the College is not regarded merely as a stepping-stone to a better position, but is valued for its own sake.

CORRESPONDENCE.

WOMEN TEACHERS' SALARIES.

MADAM,—In your article on the Burnham Award you entirely ignore the point of view of the taxpayers. Why should they pay the women teachers a higher wage than they are worth in the labour market?

It is an undoubted fact, admitted by the writer of the article, that the price of men's work as teachers is above that of women.

The price of labour is fixed by many different factors. There is supply and demand, the willingness of the worker to accept the pay offered, the ability of the employer to pay the wage demanded; these causes, acting on various trades and employments, fix roughly a standard wage for various classes of employment. Does the Burnham Award offer young women the price they would get for their labour if instead of being teachers they had been typists, nurses, health visitors, saleswomen, or any other trade which requires trustworthiness and ability?

That is the question the employers have to ask themselves, as if they do not offer a wage which can successfully compete with these other employments they will get an inferior class of girl only. Teachers have many advantages which of course intending applicants take into account. Short hours and long holidays, a very secure position, and a pension.

I do not think that the fact that men are worth more in the labour market, and therefore have to be offered higher wages to induce them to become teachers, has anything to do with what is the right wage to offer women. Those who are trustees of public money are not at liberty to give people fancy wages. They are bound to pay sufficient to obtain good service. That is their duty to the public.

The real way to improve the wage value of women is to open to them as many employments as possible. It is quite likely at the end of six years, now that so many positions are opening to women which were formerly a close preserve for men, their wage value will have increased. We have seen how this broadening of opportunities has operated in the case of domestic servants. As other openings showed themselves the prices women servants were able to ask for their labour steadily rose. I am afraid that a correspondent of yours who thinks she could pay them with a name would be disappointed. They want their value in the labour market, just as the men teachers do.

MAUD SELBORNE.

MADAM,—May I thank you for your article "Overboard with the Women." The sympathy of other women certainly helps women teachers in their present struggle.

The Burnham Award is ingenious, but to those who study it there is no doubt as to which section of the teaching profession is to bear the brunt of the economies effected. On examination of Scale III for Certified Teachers, two years' college-trained, I find the following:—

1. The man teacher now in the first year of service receives an immediate increase of £6 5s., the woman teacher must wait two years before she receives her first increase of £9.

2. During the first five years of service a man loses £13, a woman £62, as compared with salaries now being paid.

3. During forty-four years of service a man gains £75, a woman loses £359, as compared with salaries now being paid.

The first Burnham Award swept away several measures of Equal Pay which had been secured in different parts of the country through the efforts of the National Union of Women Teachers. The second Burnham Award has swept away the equal annual increments for men and women. Yet the organization which presented the case for the teachers says that the award is not at all unsatisfactory. Well, seeing that about two-thirds of the income of that organization is provided by women, it is not at all unsatisfactory—to the men.

ELIZ. C. EVATT,
Hon. Secretary, N.U.W.T. (Manchester Branch).

GARDENS FOR ALL.

MADAM,—There was a paragraph in praise of allotments in last week's issue. Allotments were good as a beginning in the restoration to the town workers of the contact with Mother Earth which they lost when they followed machinery into the factory in the industrial era. Now we want something better—the home-in-a-garden. We must insist that Councils in carrying out housing schemes, put three houses to the acre and no more, with a third of an acre a family you can grow and breed a large part of its food supply. With the garden close at hand, instead of a mile away, the housewife could work in it in spare half-hours, and manage fowls and rabbits and pigeons, and perhaps bees and a goat, as well as fruit and vegetables.

Those of us, who organized Women's Allotments during the war, know how keen many women are for out-door work. Professor Scott's pamphlet *Unemployment* (G. and C. Black) shows what can be done by the Homecraft Movement.

Any attempt by individuals to get a plot and build a cottage is frustrated by the price asked by the profiteers in land. Public bodies when brought up against this obstacle will see the necessity of claiming the land for the people by collecting ground-rent from the landlords.

(Mrs.) A. E. TOLLEMACHE.

A PERMANENT ADVISORY COMMISSION ON MINORITIES.

MADAM,—By an obvious slip, your excellent report of my speech on Security at the Memorial Hall made me say the reverse of what I did say about the establishment of a Permanent Advisory Commission on Minorities. Such a Commission under the League of Nations seems to me just what is required to enable the Minorities Treaties to be really effective and to provide an impartial body which might from time to time present the Council with the most valuable data for a reasonable reconsideration of "Treaties which have become inapplicable" and "international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world."

H. M. SWANWICK.

[We greatly regret the peculiarly unfortunate substitution of "not" for "now" in the report of Mrs. Swanwick's speech, which we intended to correct in this issue, but we gladly publish Mrs. Swanwick's letter instead.]

BIRTH CONTROL.

MADAM,—May I say that the letter (27th March) of Mrs. Charis U. Frankenburg, M.A. (Oxon), Certified Midwife (by exam), is no answer to mine of the 20th. I did not ask to be informed where I could study the numerous methods of contraception—such information being abundantly advertised and available. What I did ask was, if some qualified scientist in favour of them would tell me if they are not all based on a dogmatic—and possibly highly unscientific—assertion that abortive use of function is sound and to be encouraged, and even by some called Health, Beauty, and an enlightened Science.

It is perhaps not advisable to wholeheartedly admire thirty odd scientific methods, if the basis on which they all rest is radically unsound (which is a point better not overlooked or evaded, particularly when presenting them to the young).

I feel sure Mrs. Frankenburg will be amongst those who recognize the value of examination—even examination of the foundation of any doctrine or belief. About two years ago I raised somewhat similar inquiries in the *Nation*, but could get no answer. The reason for this silence may be obvious.

INQUIRER.

"CONTROVERSIAL RESOLUTIONS."

MADAM,—May I point out a misapprehension in Mrs. Western's letter under the above heading? The resolution on Birth Control passed at the Council meeting of the N.U.S.E.C. does not involve the "uninstructed laity" in the task of discriminating between different methods of Birth Control. It merely presupposes the competence of doctors at Welfare Centres to give advice on this subject where they consider it desirable. The method recommended would be, of course, entirely a matter for decision by the individual doctor in accordance with his own views on the subject, and the special needs of the individual case where advice is sought.

Doctors differ widely in their opinions on all sorts of other matters, e.g., vaccination, or the feeding of infants. The "medical profession" will never agree; hence progress!

In the case of Birth Control, we do at least know that men such as Lord Dawson, Sir Arbutnot Lane, and Eric Pritchard agree that the best known advice should be available for poor as well as rich.

(Mrs.) MARGARET LLOYD

(Hon. Sec. North Kensington Women's Welfare Centre).

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COMING EVENTS.

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

Stafford W.C.A. APRIL 23. 7.30 p.m. Report of Annual Council Meeting. Speaker: Miss Auld.

Woolwich S.E.C. APRIL 22. 3 p.m. Inaugural Meeting in Mayoress' Parlour, Town Hall. Speaker: Mrs. Ayrton Gould.

WOMEN'S CO-OPERATIVE GUILD.

Bucknall. APRIL 15. "The Position of Women To-day." Speaker: Miss Auld.

Stoke. APRIL 16. "The Position of Women To-day." Speaker: Miss Auld.

Hanley. APRIL 20. "The Work of the N.U.S.E.C." Speaker: Miss Auld.

Shelton. APRIL 22. The work of the N.U.S.E.C. Speaker: Miss Auld.

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

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES, Guildhouse, Eccleston Square, S.W. 1. Sunday, 12th April. 3.30, Music; Mr. Henry Cohen, by kind permission of the Old Vic., in "The Seraphic Vision," by Laurence Housman. 6.30, Maude Royden: "This Mortal must put on Immortality."

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