

THE

# WOMAN'S LEADER

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

AND

## THE COMMON CAUSE

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## NOTES AND NEWS

### The League of Nations.

The second meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations was opened at Geneva on Monday. Notwithstanding the withdrawal of Argentina, the number of States sending delegates was fifty-one as against forty-eight last year. The international character of the Assembly was marked by the presidential address, delivered by a Chinese statesman in the English language. The provisional president then made way for his newly elected successor, Dr. Van Karnabeek, the chief Dutch delegate. Dr. Karnabeek's success was hardly expected, since the Swiss President, M. Ador, received ninety-one votes in the first ballot. The meetings of the Assembly will need all the tact and impartiality the new president has at his command. There is a risk that Italy may withdraw her delegates on the plea that she has not her due share of posts in the secretariat; there is the probability that the Little Entente may resent the attempt to admit Hungary to membership of the League; there is the reported ultimatum to Poles and Lithuanians, who have refused to meet for negotiation in obedience to the decision of the League Council. But these difficulties have their bright side. They demonstrate the falsity of the cry that the League is merely formal and ornamental, without influence or functions, and unworthy the attention of practical statesmen. It is not a painted ship upon a painted ocean, but is setting forth on a stormy voyage towards a splendid port.

### Disarmament.

The Armaments Committee of the League of Nations has resolved, by a narrow majority, in favour of a proposal by M. Jouhaux for the summoning, if necessary, of an international conference for the suppression or control of armaments, the procedure of the conference to be determined by the League. It is wise to have a second alternative in case the Washington Conference should miss the full success which is anticipated for it. If it should prove that the atmosphere of the United States is too rare, and its situation too remote from our troubled Continent to promote practical solutions to the problem of disarmament, the Geneva Conference could take up the task without delay. The world is certainly not ripe for inviting the lion to lie down with the lamb, but that is no reason for encouraging them to arm to the teeth at the cost of money needed to keep them from starvation.

### The International Council of Women.

The Board of Officers of the International Council of Women is holding its annual session at its Headquarters in Geneva. The officers are drawn from the National Councils of Women in eight different countries, and include the Marchioness of Aberdeen and Temair, Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon, and Miss Elsie Zimmern from Great Britain, and Miss Forchhammer, a member of the Danish delegation to the League of Nations Assembly. Since the large meetings held in Christiania last year, notice has been given of the affiliation of three additional National Councils, bringing the total number of countries represented within the International Council of Women to thirty. Among the subjects under discussion are the methods by which this widely distributed organisation may give effective help to the League of Nations and the Red Cross organisations in their efforts to ameliorate conditions in the famine-stricken areas, and special consideration will be given to the question of the removal of Armenian women from the Turkish harems, and their further assistance.

### Poplar.

The imprisonment of the Poplar Councillors is a dramatic event and is attracting serious attention to the problem of the London rating system. It is a plain fact that the burden of the coming winter will be too heavy for the poorer boroughs to endure: indeed, the burden is almost too heavy already, and the "Poplar martyrs," as the *Times* indignantly calls them, have chosen a striking way of bringing the matter forward. It is impossible to consider the equalisation of London rates, however, without also considering the centralisation of the spending of the money so raised: and the action of some of the Labour boroughs in fixing rates of relief as high as the lower scales of wages is causing consternation in other parts of London. Obviously, there ought to be some degree of uniformity. A thousand abuses can easily be imagined if the present state of confusion is allowed to last. The idle might all congregate in the lavish districts: all the workers might then down tools and go upon the rates: all the prosperous people might hurriedly move away, and so on. There is no end to the justified outcry which can be raised. And yet these unconventional boroughs, in treating their unemployed as human families instead of as

unwelcome derelicts, are only putting into practice what modern public opinion requires. The claim to work or full maintenance is perfectly reasonable, but the hitch occurs over the work part of it. The whole problem of employment and unemployment needs clearing up. If we could only differentiate between the person who cannot get work and the person who will not take it, that would be one step forward. But even that is incredibly hard to do. Work, after all, is not a thing like a sixpence—to take or put down. People who can, and will, do one sort of work cannot necessarily do another, and a violin maker can as little lay down pipes as a bottle-washer can cook a dinner. And yet this is a problem which must be straightened out. We cannot have all the Borough Councillors going to prison, and all the unemployed storming the Town Halls.

#### Adequate Relief.

The decision now awaited from the Ministry of Health as to what shall be considered "adequate relief" will not be easy to attain. Until 1911 no able-bodied man could obtain outdoor relief; the Relief Regulation Order passed in that year permitted "adequate relief" in cases of emergency, leaving the interpretation of "adequate" to the discretion of the Guardians, and stipulating only that notice of the scale adopted must be given to the Ministry of Health within twenty-one days of the granting of such relief. Hitherto the guiding principle of most Boards has been the prevailing wage for casual labour in the locality, but in present circumstances hardly any casual labour is in demand and the criterion would be difficult to apply. Moreover, the Boards now granting high relief consider that the wages of casual labour are in almost all cases inadequate to the proper maintenance of a family. The Ministry has made difficulties for itself by the vagueness of its original order, and has let matters drift into chaos before making any attempt to inform Guardians, unemployed, or the general public what it did mean. Cast-iron regulations have their drawbacks, but waiting till local authorities have acted before deciding what they are justified in doing is a course that has nothing to recommend it.

#### Milk Grants.

The Ministry of Health has given notice that it must cut down its grant in aid of expenditure on milk for nursing and expectant mothers almost to vanishing point. The prevalence of poverty and unemployment has led local authorities to spend much larger sums than usual in safeguarding the health of mothers and babies in their districts, with the result that the Ministry's share of the cost has reached alarming proportions. But the decision to pay only five per cent. of the cost of milk consumed in 1920-21 is cruelly harsh, and the prospect of the five per cent. rising to seven and a-half in respect of the current year is, in view of the ruling price of dairy produce after a prolonged drought, ominous for the welfare of young children in the populous London boroughs. If local authorities have been over-lavish in the past, they will not learn wisdom by being forced to undue parsimony in the future, when all-important matters are at stake. No Government, Central or Local, can spend money it has not got; but the most thriftless dweller in the slums knows better than to begin by economising on the babies' food.

#### The Civil Service.

We publish this week an article which gives another view of the recent Civil Service decisions. It is, perhaps, rather a suspicious view. We have plenty of cause for suspicion, and yet, on the whole, we cannot but think that it is not a good thing to indulge too much in this method of thought. It is a counsel of perfection to be as watchful as if you were suspicious, without giving way to bitterness, and, of course, in regard to the Treasury we cannot attain it. If we are not to be gulled, however, we need not run to the other extreme either. The provision which our correspondent notes, as to the allocating of posts after facing competitive examination is, although dangerous, perfectly understandable. It is, in fact, exactly what does, in practice, prevail for men (only that it has never been put into words), and it is really a precaution that any responsible administration would be bound to take. If it is honestly worked it will be quite a proper one: if it is not honestly worked, we have Parliament there to put it right. It cannot operate in secret, and that is our great safeguard. We refuse, therefore, to be afraid on this head. With our correspondent's other point, namely, the need for the immediate appointment of a woman Civil Service Commissioner, and the right woman at that, we are in whole-hearted agreement. Now is the time for the Treasury to show those

*bona fides* in which it wants us to trust. So far its only action has been to repeat the regrettable ban on the employment of married women. We expected this, of course, but it is hardly tactful to put that out first, with no compensating announcement. We suggest that a good follow up would be the announcement of the appointment to the important and necessary post of woman Civil Service Commissioner.

#### Memorial to Mary Macarthur.

The Committee which is collecting funds for a Memorial to Mary Macarthur believe that this tribute should take the form of aid in equipping women for the service of humanity, and of succouring women in sickness and pain. They intend, therefore, to use the money subscribed in providing scholarships for women desirous of serving the Trade Union movement, and in endowing a bed or beds in a hospital or convalescent home for women. To contribute to the memorial is, therefore, not only to honour the memory of a woman greatly beloved, but to carry on the work for which she most cared. The address of the Committee is Dilke House, Malet Street, W.C. 1.

#### Underpaid Women Workers.

Many instances of long hours and inadequate wages paid to women in the catering trade have been made public since Lady Astor drew the attention of the House to this form of sweating at the end of last Session. One of the latest examples comes from South-East London, where waitresses work from 7 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day in the week, and on alternate Sundays, for 11s. a week. The more publicity which can be given to this disgraceful state of affairs the better, for a roused public opinion will demand, and insist on securing, the setting up of Trade Boards for this and similar trades. Cases of sweating are, unfortunately, not so rare as they should be nowadays. The Women's Bureau of the Department of Labour in Kansas reports that less than a living wage is paid to more than half of the women employed in the industries of that State. The Women's Bureau describes the pitiful economies which the underpaid women resort to in order to live, and sounds a challenge to the people of Kansas to take action on behalf of their working women. Although the State has fixed a lower minimum weekly wage than most other States, one-fifth of its women workers are earning \$2 less than the minimum. We hope the Women's Bureau will be able to insist that at least the low standard fixed should be adhered to.

#### Wages of Landwomen.

On October 1st the Agricultural Wages Boards will cease to exist, and agricultural wages will be dealt with by temporary Conciliation Committees, whose members will be appointed by employers and employees. There is no provision for women members of these Committees, though they will deal with conditions of work as well as wages. Everyone admits that the prosperity of the countryside demands the presence of at least a proportion of women occupied in agriculture and horticulture, and the Farmers' Union and the Workers' Union and National Union of Agricultural Workers have expressed their willingness to nominate suitable women. It is for women themselves to see that this willingness is translated into action, for if through inertia no women members are appointed to carry on the work of the women who watched over landwomen's interest during the war, girl recruits for landwork will dwindle and finally vanish.

#### Woman Suffrage in Uruguay.

It is reported that President Brun's Bill to give the franchise to women has been favourably received by the Congress of Uruguay. We are eagerly awaiting news of its success from the newly formed Council of Women, and shall hope to congratulate them on being the first women of South America to receive the vote.

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

## WOMEN AND LABOUR.

This week a great meeting of the Trade Union Congress has been held in Cardiff, and many and serious have been the issues before it. It is not our place to comment, one way or the other, upon the attitude of organised labour to the big national and international problems with which this country is faced, but we cannot but look with satisfaction upon the growing stability of the Labour movement. There is still much for everyone (even loyal members of the political Labour Party) to criticise; and, for those who hold to other beliefs there is more still; but everyone must be glad of the increasing coherence which makes Labour's contributions to political thought increasingly practicable.

With regard to our own special women's questions, we see a great advance even upon last year's Congress. All through the history of the Trade Union movement the question of women in industry has been a troublesome one. For years it was officially regarded as entirely negligible; for other years it was regarded as a danger and a misfortune; then came a period of "pious resolutions," when lip service was abundantly paid to the principle of equal pay, and nothing very much was done. Then came the war, with all its lessons; and enfranchisement, with the increasing activity of women in all political work. And now, in the new reorganised machinery, we find women and their concerns seriously and practically considered. The Women's Trade Union League is to be taken over as it stands by the new Trade Union headquarters, and is to be the nucleus of a special women's department which will work for a "group" consisting of every Union which includes women members.

With such machinery, managed, as it will be, by women who know the ins and outs of this difficult problem, and including, as it will, not only those special trades in which women are mainly employed, but also those other groupings where women are in a minority, the economic interests of the workers should be ultimately safe. That this section will benefit by the continued propaganda of other organisations for equal pay and equal opportunity is, of course, unquestionable. Within the Trade Union movement, as we all know, some of the bitterest opponents of equal wage-earning opportunity are to be found. But some of its best friends are there too; and we are confident that the more closely and practically the problem is considered, the more quickly will justice be done.

The position of wage-earning women is not, however, the only problem connected with women which the Trade Union Congress should face. There is also the problem of the wage-earning man's wife, and this is really the root question of all, for it involves the standard of living in the home, and, therefore, also, the standard which will determine the next generation.

"No man has a right to an eight-hour day when his wife is sentenced to a fourteen, sixteen, or eighteen hour day in the home."

This saying comes from Mr. Smillie, the miners' leader, and it is a very welcome one. If we agree wholeheartedly with it, it is not because we think men ought not to have eight-hour days, but quite the contrary. But it is high time that those who are working and sacrificing so much to the effort to better the conditions of labour should remember that there is labour (and hard labour too) carried on outside the workshops, for pay that is lower than that of even the sweated trades (being nothing), with no physical or mental rest, and never a holiday all the year round. The standard of life must rise, and the aspirations of Labour must be realised; but neither thing will happen to any real and satisfactory extent until the lot of the wives of the men who work with their hands is less hard than it is to-day. Women, undoubtedly, set and regulate the level of civilisation. If they have no time to read or to rest, if they have no time to widen their outlook and no chance to beautify their homes, then be wages and Trade Union conditions what they may, the life of the working classes will be a narrow and an unlovely thing, with many of the great possibilities of the world altogether unknown. No progress will be worth much if it leaves the women out.

## "THE MARRIED QUARTERS."

"The Queen, accompanied by the Princess Mary, and attended by Mr. Harry Verney, drove to . . . the Chelsea Barracks . . . and visited some of the married quarters of the Warrant and Non-Commissioned Officers and Guardsmen of the Brigade of Guards."—*Court Circular*.

In a world full of violence and bawling statesmanship, many a harmless little item seems born to blush unseen. Like this one, for example. Millions read it with cheerful, glazed, unseeing eyes, but in the mind of anyone familiar with the slow evolution of the decencies in the modern army, that squib starts a long train of reflections.

For there was a day, and not so very long ago, when a Mr. Harry Verney would have thought twice about taking the Queen to visit "the married quarters" of a British garrison. One of the curiosities of English army administration—and that of the United States as well—has been the fact that although definitely committed, by the temper of the people, to the idea of a small, professional, volunteer army (as contrasted with the conscript armies of Russia, France, and Germany), the army administration has been stubbornly unwilling to make conditions generally attractive to a volunteer personnel. And this has been reflected, among other things, in their curious reluctance to provide adequate facilities for normal married existence for the rank and file.

Our first reference to this subject in English military records is to be found in a warrant issued in 1816, providing for a "civil comptroller" of the Barrack Department, and laying down some general provisions or regulations. There we find the married soldier's wife just barely tolerated:—

"The comptroller of the barrack department may, if he sees fit and when it in no shape interferes with or straitens the accommodation of the men, permit (as an occasional indulgence and as tending to promote cleanliness and the convenience of the soldier) four married women per troop or company of sixty men, and six married women per troop or company of 100 men, to be resident within the barracks; but no one article shall be furnished on this account by the barrack-masters upon any consideration whatever. And if the barrack-masters perceive that any mischief or any damage arises from such indulgence, the commanding officer shall, on their representation, displace such women. Nor shall any dogs be suffered to be kept in the rooms of any barracks or hospital."

These grudging concessions of 1816 were only slowly expanded. In fact, the Barrack Commission appointed in 1857 to investigate conditions turned up a scandalous situation. The Commission found that in many of the barracks there were no separate quarters whatever for the married soldiers. They reported instances in which the beds of the married couples were in the men's barrack-rooms without even a screen to separate them. In numerous other cases the married couples were placed together in a barrack-room of their own; as screens between the different families there were blankets hung upon cords. Shocked at the callousness displayed by the military authorities, the Commission demanded that separate accommodation should be allotted to the married soldiers and their families. At first this consisted of a single room per couple, but since then the accommodation has steadily improved, until now the Queen may inspect, as the "married quarters," separate homelike cottages which leave little to be desired.

But this is only part—though a relatively cheerful part—of the whole story. This particular reform was easy, because both church and chapel were frankly scandalised at the conditions formerly prevailing. Not so much can be said for their attitude toward the whole caste system prevailing in the Army. As Stephen Graham has shown in his naïve but powerful "A Private in the Guards," the country, by its neglect, has permitted the volunteer army to remain, in the main, essentially as caste-ridden as it was a century ago, when the enlisted men consisted of the dregs of the towns and the parish orphans. One has only to peruse that extraordinary volume "Social Life in the British Army," written by one who signs himself complacently as "A British Officer"—an unblushing record of the most unconscious snobbery—to find the system convicted out of the mouths of its own defenders.

In short, it is a thousand pities that neither in America nor in England has the Great War yet resulted in a thorough *civilian* investigation of the social conditions prevailing in the professional armies of both countries. It is true that both have overhauled to a certain extent the archaic and unjust court-martial systems hitherto prevailing, but as any articulate enlisted man in the peace-time military establishment might have told us, that is only part of the story. It is a thousand pities, because we suspect that with their military establishments thoroughly democratised the chief militarists of both countries would lose, if not their cheerful itch for power, at least something of their inborn conviction that democracies can be defended successfully only by martinets and snobs!

CHARLES T. HALLINAN.

## BURNING QUESTIONS.

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

### SOME FACTS ABOUT PROHIBITION IN AMERICA.

By JESSIE HAVER BUTLER.

Although National Prohibition became operative in America on July 1st, 1919, through an amendment to the Constitution, State Prohibition had been established in thirty-three States by the year 1916.

Recently Mr. F. B. Smith wrote a letter to the Governor of every State in the Union asking, "What has been the effect of the prohibitory amendment in your State?" I shall quote first from the letter sent by the Governor of Kansas, a State which has been dry for many years:—

"The Volstead Act (the National Prohibition Enforcement Act) has had no effect in Kansas, for the reason that we have had prohibition upon our statute books for over a quarter of a century, and for several years have had a bone dry law. We are in the second generation of young men who never saw a saloon and, therefore, the question of prohibition isn't an issue any more. Kansas went through a great deal of the same sort of turmoil that New York and other wet States are now passing through. Every fracture of the law was hailed as a proof that the law was of no account. Every time some old soak smuggled in some booze and was captured at it, all the wet sympathisers said that proved that the law was increasing crime and making hypocrites out of honest men. . . . Prohibition won out in this State absolutely upon its merits as a business and moral issue."

And from the Governor of Arkansas, which went dry with the national amendment, the following statement came:—

"Conditions are infinitely better in Arkansas than they were before this law went into effect. It is not necessary to deny that illicit manufacture and sale continues; this was foreseen. A law so revolutionising must naturally encounter vigorous opposition, but it is not doubted that the evils of illicit sale and manufacture of intoxicants will be greatly minimised in the near future. The people are more determined than ever to maintain prohibition. Of this fact there can be no doubt."

There is no doubt that unusual prosperity and plenty of work for all during the last few years has had an important effect on the decrease of prison and gaol records, but the following statements taken from news items of the "Christian Science Monitor," indicate that prohibition has been an important factor:—

"At Independence, Missouri, a jail in use since 1826 has been ordered to be closed and all employees dismissed. Judge Ladshaw, of the Criminal Court, who issued the order, said: 'The action was made possible by prohibition and will save the county \$50,000 a year.'"

"Birmingham, Alabama, built a jail costing \$125,000 (£25,000), and about the time it was finished there was no one to put in it, and it has been turned into a community building."

Much opposition to prohibition which would include wine, came from the grape growers of California, who said their industries would be ruined and their vineyards useless. But the consumption of non-alcoholic beverages increased at such a rate that the grape growers easily turned their plants for the manufacture of wine into the production of grape juice and similar drinks, and the recent reports from California indicate that the grape industry has been more profitable than ever. In addition, other fruits are being cultivated with profit, and in this connection the following story from the "Christian Science Monitor," of May 4th, is interesting:—

"Since prohibition the sale of beverage specialties, manufactured from fruit elements, has reached the annual volume of \$35,000,000 (£7,000,000) in California alone, and has developed into a great industry. Cherries, strawberries, blackberries, raspberries and loganberries, and oranges and lemons are all being used in vast quantities."

In November, 1920, the "New York Survey," a social service magazine of high standing, published the results of an intensive study made in Grand Rapids, Michigan, a typical middle western city of 137,634 inhabitants, and forty-eighth largest city in the country. The study sought to ascertain the gain from the first year of freedom from what have been considered the main causes of misery—unemployment, low wages, and drink. It covered the effects of prohibition on crime, business, public halls, saloon rentals and property, pawn-shop transactions, savings, workers in industry, recreation, health, family life, &c., and gives an excellent bird's eye view of a city with a fairly wide variety of industrial employment in which wages and cost of living reflected a cross section of American life.

When prohibition went into effect in Grand Rapids, there were 180 saloons selling liquor, three wholesale liquor dealers,

and three breweries. By the year 1920, 79 of the saloons had been converted into stores, 57 into soft drink parlours, and 26 into billiard and pool rooms. The remaining were used for different purposes, leaving only nine out of the 180 vacant. Winthrop D. Lane, one of the investigators, sums up the situation in Grand Rapids as follows:—

"Prohibition is a fact in the city. This does not mean that no alcoholic beverages are consumed there. They are. But consumption has been made so difficult through the wrecking of its machinery that the total amount is small in comparison with what it was. To all intents and purposes John Barleycorn is dead in Grand Rapids."

Mr. Albert A. Carroll, the chief of police of Grand Rapids, and a bar tender in early life, has this to say about the new conditions:—

"In the first place, our police force is reduced 40 per cent., as compared with what it was when we sold liquor—drunkenness in the city is reduced 80 per cent., crime 40 per cent. The effect it is having upon labour is this: men who were formerly bums are now earning a good living and taking care of their families. As to the unrest. You people over there know as well as we the cause of the unrest. One man's guess is as good as another, but I will say that in this locality it does not come from a lack of booze. The city is better off in every way than it was previously."

"They'll tell you that prohibition has increased drunkenness, but I say that is a lie. The records show that it is a lie. It's only the old soaks that we get for drunkenness now. And crime that goes with drunkenness has been reduced too."

Because the free and uncontrolled consumption of alcoholic beverages leaves the deepest mark on the homes, the benefits derived from the restraint of this consumption are subtle and difficult to obtain. But the investigators talked to many women and obtained many frank statements, of which the following, from a Dutch mother, is an example:—

"Do you see that house over there where that man is painting? Oh, my goodness, he used to drink—all the time he was in jail. He would steal if he want anything and he not have it. And his wife she tell me the other day already how he don't drink no more, and she say, 'Oh, I hope to God for Heaven's sake it will never go to be wet again.'"

"Over in that house (pointing to another) there is a man with nine children. The poor woman she had an awful time; her man he was always full, and she took the consumption and died in her misery, just because she had such a hard time by him. And now it is dry, and he is such a good man to his children, but she had to die in her misery. Yes, I hope to God it stays like it is now already."

Much has been said about the slack enforcement of the prohibition amendment. In New York City this has been particularly true, but it is largely due to the fact that it has been necessary for States to pass enforcement laws in order to co-operate properly with the enforcement machinery of the national Government, and there have been delays in bringing about such enabling legislation. To this question public opinion is now being directed, and as a result, in New York State the Mullan-Gage Prohibition Enforcement Act was passed and went into effect on April 4th, 1921. Richard E. Enright, Commissioner of Police of New York City, reports that 75 per cent. of the city's saloons have already been put out of business, and that the other 25 per cent. will close when their licences expire in October. Liquor valued at \$12,000,000 (£2,400,000) has been confiscated.

There can be no doubt that prohibition has come to stay in America. The younger generation is growing up without a taste or knowledge of alcohol, and in fifteen years confirmed drinkers will be nearly all gone. It is true that a certain kind of individual liberty has been sacrificed, but this is only a part of the trend of development whereby the desires of the community and the nation supersede the desires of the individual. We have given up the individual right to sell men into slavery, to employ little children in factories, and gradually we are giving up the individual right to employ men and women at rates of wages which are below the cost of living.

While prohibition will not bring in the millennium, there is no doubt that it is setting men's and women's minds free to tackle the complicated problems which we are facing to-day, problems whose solutions depend more than anything else on keen and accurate thinking.

## VICTORY?

It may appear ungracious to strike a pessimistic note in the general chorus of rejoicing which has greeted the Civil Service Resolutions agreed to by the House of Commons on Friday, August 5th. But too little attention has been paid to that provision by which a calculating Treasury safeguarded the interests of men, and impaired the value of a concession most unwillingly made to women. It is true that after the lapse of three years—during which the Treasury will have time to devise further safeguards—women candidates are to be admitted to the open competition for administrative grade posts on equal terms with men. The graduate from Girton or Somerville will then share with the graduate from King's or Balliol the long-denied opportunity of proving her ability to satisfy the exacting standard of the Civil Service Commissioners. It is to be expected that she will make good use of it. Nobody denies the capacity of women to pass difficult examinations. How many women are aware that it was precisely this capacity which contributed to the decision of the Reorganisation Committee of the National Whitley Council that women should be excluded from the open competition for higher posts? More than one member of the official side held the opinion that women, being of a more docile and diligent disposition than men, show better results in examinations. There was, consequently, a serious risk that women, if admitted, might obtain the highest places in an open competition; and the highest places meant the widest choice of appointments. It appeared advisable to exclude the risk by excluding the women. The bright idea of withholding the prizes from the legitimate prize-winners had not then been mooted. It has now been embodied in a House of Commons Resolution. The terrible risk that a woman, being entitled by her position on the list of successful competitors to select a Treasury vacancy, might select it and obtain it is foreseen and insured against. Women are to be permitted the satisfaction of competing: they are to be denied the satisfaction of the successful competitor.

The insuring clause runs: "Provided, further, that the allocation by the Civil Service Commissioners of such candidates as qualify at the examination shall be made with due regard to the requirements of the situation to be filled." Lord Robert Cecil paid a well-merited tribute to the fairness of the Civil Service Commissioners. No one who has had the privilege of serving with or under the present First Commissioner will question either his sense of justice or his generous appreciation of the services which women have rendered and are capable of rendering to the State. He is one of the ablest of the State's servants, and women need not be afraid to trust his judgment. But ability and authority are not always commensurate, and the judgment of the Commissioners is not always unfettered. Few

people outside the Civil Service suspect the dead weight of the Treasury hand upon the smaller Departments, the growing tendency of the Treasury to minister to its own sense of importance by treating them as subordinate branches, its mischievous habit of meddling with matters outside its lawful province of finance. One illustration will suffice. It was recently desired to hold an open competition for Assistant Examinerships in the Patent Office; to draft the relevant regulations was the business of the Civil Service Commissioners. The Patent Office wished to admit women to this competition; the Commissioners approved and concurred, and regulations were drafted accordingly. The Treasury, however, insisted upon the exclusion of women. No question of additional expense was involved; the considered opinion both of the Department concerned and of the Commissioners was disregarded, and an excellent opportunity for a small-scale experiment in equality was deliberately rejected.

Is it to be anticipated that the Treasury will leave the Commissioners a free hand in the allocation of successful women candidates? Is there any guarantee that the qualified women will obtain a fair proportion of the vacancies? Is there any guarantee even that they will obtain any vacancies at all? It is known that the First Commissioner is favourable to the immediate appointment of a woman upon his own staff; but he has admitted his powerlessness "to defeat systems and circumstances" in this connection. If his opinion of "the requirements of the situation to be filled" carries no weight even in reference to the Department of which he has been head for many years, is it likely that he will be permitted freely to exercise "due regard to the requirements" of other Departments? The allocation of qualified women candidates may be assigned, on paper, to the Civil Service Commissioners: does any woman Civil Servant doubt that it will be determined, in practice, by the Treasury, and determined on lines which shall exclude women as far as possible from posts offering scope for the exercise of initiative and something more than the minimum opportunity of promotion?

Two things are needful, if the promised equality of competition is to prove more than a farce. One is, to secure the independence of the Civil Service Commissioners in the invidious work of allocation. The other is to secure the appointment as Woman Commissioner of the right woman. The appointment of the wrong woman will do more harm than good. It should be made clear that there is no place in the Civil Service Commission for a Treasury nominee of advanced years and conservative outlook, seeing all things with the Treasury's eyes, and reiterating with the voice of the Treasury the Treasury's everlasting No!

A. M. S.

## REVIEWS.

### ICONOCLASTS.

Prices and Wages. By Percy and Albert Wallis. (P. S. King & Son. 25s.)

Mr. Percy Wallis and his brother have thrown a challenge into the arena of economic theory which will, we hope, involve them in a life-long battle with hordes of infuriated experts. We express this hope partly because we believe that they richly deserve the castigation which they will assuredly get, partly because it would denote churlishness on the part of the academic world to ignore the great measure of daring originality and patient hard labour which these public-spirited collaborators have brought to their task. Ruthlessly they have torn down the whole rickety edifice of economic theory which six generations of economists have bequeathed to us. Cheerfully they have built it up again to their own design—definite and self-sufficient, compact and convenient. Not a brick, not a tile, not a plank of the old structure will these brave builders willingly incorporate in the new; a vast and mouldering scrap heap surrounds their building. And yet, most strange to say, its rooms are haunted. Those of us who were familiar with the musty aroma of the old house scent faint remembrance in the disinfected atmosphere of the new.

Briefly, the authors of "Prices and Wages" handle their subject on the following plan. They open with a statistical calculation of the "National Income," which they estimate from the side of production, industry by industry, in contrast to Professor Bowley's aggregate of individual incomes. That done,

they consider its distribution as between wages, salaries, and profits. From this they pass on to "capital," which they define as "the permanent organisation of the social production, and its produce that is used up in the production of income, including all those goods and services that are a necessary part of that organisation and have a price." It is, they say, "a continuous stream of work that consumes all it has made, and makes as much as it has consumed"—a definition which we commend to the notice of the Inland Revenue Department in the event of its requiring a practical basis for some future capital levy. At this point the authors plunge into the problem of value and price, and we get the group of chapters which constitute the main interest of the book and contain the bulk of its original material. After pouring scorn upon all existing theories of value, classical or modern, the authors assert that labour—not, be it noted, the cost of labour—is the sole creator and determinant of value. Labour constitutes in the finished commodity an intrinsic quality which, in comparison with the labour cost of gold-mining, will determine its average money price. As an outcome of their price theory, which is worked out with the help of a wealth of statistical detail, and of a really fascinating device designated as "normal value," the authors claim that given certain data such average prices should be capable of forecast. Such data would, of course, include knowledge of current conditions in gold-mining, together with some estimate of supply in the case of the commodity under

consideration. In confirmation of their faith—and this is without doubt the most interesting and arresting section of the book—the authors produce records of a number of surprisingly successful experiments in American cotton price forecasts. It should be noted that in dealing with American cotton they are dealing with a commodity whose sources of supply are known and well defined, one for which the demand is steady, world-wide, and uncomplicated by the vagaries of tariff policy. Finally, the authors turn to wages and profits, presenting a theory which stands in close connection with their theory of prices. Wages, it is argued, do not enter into price. They depend upon the ratio in which a predetermined and inevitable price is distributed between employer and employed. This ratio is established as somewhere in the neighbourhood of 36:64. It is, the authors consider, kept at this figure by competition in the labour market generated by a normal 12.5 per cent. of unemployment. Such, briefly, is their theory of wages.

As we plough through this monumental work with the hideous concentration of thought which its closely knit reasoning demands, we find ourselves growling continuously in hot protest against the authors' arguments and assumptions. They have grossly and patently misunderstood the theories against which they tilt so merrily. They present us with a theory of value which, by denying any place whatever to demand as a determining factor, fails to explain why things have a cost of production at all, and why some things have none because it is not worth while to produce them. Moreover, so much of this destruction is sheer wicked waste. The authors could have developed their conception of "normal value," price forecasts and all, without altering one jot or tittle of the law. No economist, either classic or modern, would deny them their right to investigate costs of production and estimate their effect upon the prices of such commodities as are produced and sold under competitive conditions. And until our authors claim to apply their price theory to such commodities as Lever's soap or German safety razors, we fail to see what more they can ask. But, on the top of it all, they are so disgustingly unpractical. They seem never to have heard of trusts, or tariffs, or trade unions; such words do not so much as figure in their index! They seem never to have read the evidence of the Government Actuary before the Coal Commission, nor do they appear to have studied the reports of the Standing Committee on Trusts. They are, therefore, unaware that the economics of the future will be largely concerned with the pursuit of that economic rent element which they do not consider "essential to the development of their own economic views." But there—space forbids us to attack point by point, page by page, as we should like to do. Reluctantly we bid the brothers Wallis farewell, confounding their impudence, welcoming their challenge, and wishing them Godspeed in a world which cries from its welter of mismanagement for serious economic thought.

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### LOUTH BY-ELECTION.

MRS. WINTRINGHAM'S CANDIDATURE.

There can be no question about the attitude of the N.U.S.E.C. in this election. We gladly seize this unique opportunity of definite work for one of the primary and most pressing reforms on our immediate programme by supporting to the utmost of our ability the candidature of so suitable a woman as Mrs. Wintringham.

Mrs. Wintringham's experience has qualified her in a remarkable degree for Parliament. She is a member of the Grimsby Education Committee, a member of the Louth Rural District Housing Committee, Hon. Organiser and Hon. Secretary of the Lindsey County Federation of Women's Institutes, co-opted member of the County Agricultural Committee, and a Justice of the Peace, besides being connected with other organisations for Social Welfare too numerous to mention here.

In addition to this Mrs. Wintringham has a very special claim on the National Union as former Vice-President of the Grimsby National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies and as now President of our affiliated society—the Louth Women Citizens' Association.

Her husband was a warm friend to the causes we have at heart in the House of Commons, and we cannot fail to feel

### The Wages of Labour. By William Graham, M.P. (Cassell. 5s.)

Mr. Graham's book, in spite of its 160 pages, covers a wide field. In his opening chapters the author visualises the problem of wages in its theoretical aspect, as part of the general problem of economic distribution. From the theoretical he moves gradually to the practical, landing us finally among the pros and cons of premium bonus systems and scientific management. In conclusion he outlines his own faith in the matter of wage policy. He believes that much depends upon the development of Joint Industrial Councils, not merely as advisory bodies, but as organs for genuine workers' control over industrial policy in its widest sense. His general outlook is reflected in his description of the school of economic thought which he describes as "revisionist" as opposed to revolutionary. It "looks to the facts." It remembers the four million co-operators, the eight millions in the trade unions affiliated to the Trades Union Congress, the thirty-six thousand friendly societies with seven millions of members, and the possession of the Parliamentary franchise by approximately one-half of the total population of the country.

Two points in Mr. Graham's book call for special congratulation. The first is his insistence upon the terrible elasticity of the income available for distribution between labour and capital. The second is his discussion of the extent to which ownership of industrial capital has permeated the wage-earning class. We feel that here is an economic phenomenon which is of vast importance to modern speculation—one whose exact measurement offers a golden opportunity for some budding economist with a knowledge of statistics.

Two points, also, call for criticism. The first is Mr. Graham's failure to face the problem of varying family needs in relation to wages—a failure which is all the more apparent because on p. 49 he actually grasps the point, only to drop it again like a red-hot poker. The second is the obscurity which seems to surround his dealings with the working of supply and demand and its relation to marginal values.

Taking the book as a whole, we suspect that the general reader will find it a little difficult to understand. Mr. Graham has concentrated a huge subject into a small space, and in so doing has perforce found himself touching very lightly upon complicated matters. This is more especially the case in the theoretical chapters. But it seems almost ungracious to criticise so good a book. What comfort it is to read the work of a writer who appears to have a real mastery of his subject; and how satisfactory to know that the voice of Mr. Graham is crying in the wilderness of Westminster.

M. D. S.

grateful to Mrs. Wintringham for her courage and public spirit in consenting to carry on his work, should she be returned.

### APPEAL FOR HELP.

An urgent appeal for workers has been issued by the N.U.S.E.C. There is no time to be lost as the polling day is fixed for September 22nd. Several members of the Executive Committee have already arranged to go to Louth this week, and it is hoped that a large number of our members who can spare a few days or longer will respond at once to the appeal. Offers of help should be sent to Miss Hartop, King's Head Hotel, Louth. Motor cars and bicycles will be very useful, as the district is scattered.

### WEST LEWISHAM BY-ELECTION.

All three candidates in this election have taken some trouble to understand and reply to our questions. Sir Philip Dawson has asked for further information with regard to Equal Franchise, and will no doubt give his final answers at the forthcoming meeting of women voters. His promises of support with regard to Equal Guardianship of Children, Women Jurors, Equal Moral Standard, &c., are all entirely satisfactory. Mr. F. W. Raffety's and Lt.-Commander W. G. Windham's replies are all favourable, though the latter, speaking no doubt as Anti-Waste candi-

date, adds the reservation to his support of pensions for civilian widows "as long as there is money, I shall certainly back a measure of this sort."

Miss Auld, the Honorary Organiser, has gathered together a good band of workers, and it is hoped that a good deal of interest has been aroused in the meeting which has been organised by the N.U.S.E.C. for Wednesday, September 7th, at which all three candidates have promised to speak and answer questions. An account of this meeting will be given in this column next week.

The polling day is fixed for Tuesday, September 13th, so that there is still time to offer help for the closing days of the campaign at the Committee Room, 86, London Road, Forest Hill, S.E. 23.

### LATEST NEWS FROM LOUTH.

Since the above was written, a representative from Headquarters staff has been to Louth, and had an opportunity of finding out the exact position of affairs there. It seems now practically certain that there is to be a three-cornered contest, so that a strenuous effort is absolutely necessary if success is to be achieved. Miss Hartop has been at work for nearly a week, and has organised a stall in the market place for the distribution of literature, and addressed a number of non-party meetings already. Mrs. Oliver Strachey, Miss Strachey, and Miss Helen Ward with her motor-car are on the way, and other members of the Executive Committee are arranging to follow as soon as possible.

Mrs. Wintringham and her husband went through the last contest together, and their work has always been so closely identified in the constituency that in a very literal sense she is carrying it on. In her attitude towards the subjects on our programme, Mrs. Wintringham is very much "one of ourselves." She is in the closest touch with everything in which we are interested, and may be counted on to serve the causes we have at heart should she be sent to Westminster. She is reported to be a delightful speaker, and is very popular locally. Although Mrs. Wintringham is very anxious that the personal element shall be suppressed as much as possible in this election, we may perhaps be allowed to say that her graciousness and charm, her kindness and overflowing generosity of spirit make her, apart from her intellectual and political qualifications, a colleague worthy of our present woman Member.

A good deal has been made in the Press about Mrs. Wintringham's health. We are glad to be able to say that this has been very much exaggerated, and that, with the rest and change which she will naturally require, she is in every way equal to the responsibility which she has undertaken.

There is only one way in which help can legally be given by an outside organisation to Mrs. Wintringham—a large supply of voluntary workers of all shades of political opinion who are in earnest about women in Parliament—and we whole-heartedly repeat our appeal for this.

## COMING EVENTS.

### LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

SEPTEMBER 14.  
At Islington, Union Chapel, Upper Street, N.1, 8 p.m. Speaker: Lt.-Col. Sir Alfred Warren, O.B.E., M.P.

SEPTEMBER 16.  
At Ilkeston, Town Hall, 7.30 p.m. Speaker: Rt. Hon. G. N. Barnes, M.P.

WOMEN'S NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO SECURE STATE PURCHASE AND CONTROL OF THE LIQUOR TRADE.

SEPTEMBER 12.  
At Women's Meeting, Penge Congregational Church, 3 p.m. Subject: "State Purchase the Way to Local Option." Speaker: Miss M. Cotterell, O.B.E.

SEPTEMBER 13.  
At Tooting Women's Co-operative Guild, 3.15 p.m. Subject: "State Purchase of the Liquor Trade." Speaker: Miss F. L. Carre.

SEPTEMBER 14.  
At Women's Co-operative Guild, Holloway, 2.30 p.m. Subject: "State Purchase of the Liquor Trade." Speaker: Miss M. Cotterell, O.B.E.

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This Society is now being organised and a number of distinguished men and women have already signified their intention of joining. A Meeting will be held in the summer to constitute the Society in preparation for the Session's work beginning next October. Those who would like to join the Society, please fill in the following—

I should like to join a SOCIETY for CONSTRUCTIVE BIRTH CONTROL and RACIAL PROGRESS when it is organised, and would pay a yearly subscription of at least 1s.

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## ANNOUNCEMENTS.

AN APPOINTMENT has been made by the Civic Worth Society to Mr. D'Arcy Denny, D.D., to entertain at the Garrett Studios, adjoining Warren St. Station, on the First Wednesdays. Consultations, 5-6 p.m., One Guinea (one or more persons). Popular Lecture and Demonstration, 6-7.15 p.m., 2s. 6d. (one shilling before the day). Dr. C. W. Withinslaw in the Chair. Dance, 7.30-10 (special ventilation), 2s. 6d. (one shilling before the day). Some of the Lecture-Titles are below, and in addition there will be something on Drawing, Speaking, Originality, and Personality. "Thriving on a Low Food Cost." "Less Food Cost and More Brain Power." "Neither Illness nor Premature Old Age." "Harnessing the Germ." "Choosing Staff and Partners." "Controlling Weight." "Painless Childbirth." "Complexion." "Difficult Children." "Thought Control." "Matrimonial Problems." "The Natural Logic of Man's Food." "Simple Life Holidays at 1s. per day, 17 miles from Westminster."

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