

THE WOMAN'S LEADER

AND THE COMMON CAUSE

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NOTES AND NEWS.

The Pot and the Kettle.

Monday's debate on the Unemployment policy of the present Government cut no ice at all. Nobody seriously supposed that it would. It may, however, have provided a modicum of satisfaction to members of the Opposition who were able to get a little of their own back, returning tit for tat the same accusations of impotency which were hurled at them by the Conservative Opposition of a year ago. Fortunately for their self-respect, both sides are provided with an excellent moral excuse for doing nothing effective. The Labour Government of last year was not in a position to apply the fundamental remedy of its inmost faith: nationalization of our staple industries. The Conservative Government of to-day is precluded by election pledges from adopting the only policy through which it can see salvation: wholesale high protection of the home market. Thus, by the strangest political paradox of modern times, it is the policy of the Liberal Party, which believes neither in Socialism nor Protection, that dominates the scene. As Mr. Lloyd George pointed out (and he is welcome to any satisfaction he may have derived from pressing this indisputable point) the Government is not applying a single remedy for which he himself was not responsible five years ago. Yet the Liberal Party is to-day the smallest party in the House. Nor can one say that the House of Commons in pursuing this policy (if one can apply the word policy to a course of action so purely negative) fails accurately to represent the electorate. For most of us are in truth afraid of the big remedies, and thoroughly out of heart with the small ones.

Heads in the Sand.

As we go to press formal notice has been handed in by the coalowners for the termination, on 31st July, of the present national wages agreement. We have as yet, however, no intimation of what form their proposals for a new agreement will take. But it may be surmised that these will involve a reduction of effective earnings and in all probability a lengthening of hours. It may further be surmised that any such proposals will be resisted, possibly to the point of a fierce and wasteful lock-out, by men goaded beyond endurance under the denial of a living wage. But here at least we have a piece of concrete and con-

sidered advice to offer both parties. Let the miners press for as big a share in the product of industry as they can reasonably or effectively demand. We offer no opinion as to how big that share should be. But this we do know: even if it be the whole product, under this or any other scheme of industrial organization, it will not be more than enough, taken in the lump, to provide a decent subsistence for the men, women, and children dependent upon it. Let them, therefore, see that it is distributed in such a manner as to ensure that the women and children get their fair share; and that the family is not as at present condemned to penury because there is no machinery for securing to it a larger income than is paid to the man without dependent children. And to the coalowners we offer the same advice—partly because they are, after all, human beings with children of their own; partly because they are, or should be, economists with some knowledge of what industry stands to gain in efficiency and stability by the health and happiness of its workers. In fine, we regard some measure of Family Endowment as essential to the satisfactory working of any new wage agreement in the mining industry, and we find it very difficult to account for the persistent and obstinate refusal of masters and men to consider its practical possibilities. Very difficult—not wholly impossible, for the operations of the "Turk complex" are unfathomable and illimitable.

Division of Furniture and Separation and Maintenance.

We are delighted to find that the Government has decided to accept the decision of the House of Lords with respect to the amendment initiated by the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, fathered by Lord Askwith and Lord Russell, providing that where a Separation Order has been made the court may have discretion to make an order dividing the furniture of the home between husband and wife. An amendment has been put down by the Lord Chancellor for the Report stage of the Bill on Thursday, 2nd inst., which, while recording Lord Askwith's amendment, leaves it substantially unchanged. We are informed that Lord Danesfort's amendment, which allows that a wife shall be entitled to a Separation Order if her husband insists on cohabiting when he knows himself to be suffering from venereal disease, will also be accepted by the Government.

The Machinery of Government.

The Government has decided to establish a new Standing Committee to be called the Committee of Civil Research, which will be an advisory body analogous to the existing Committee of Imperial Defence. The Prime Minister will be the President, and the Chairman in his absence will be a Minister nominated by him. The new Committee will consider questions referred to it by the Cabinet, the President, and Government departments which concern the development of economic, scientific, and statistical research in relation to civil policy and administration. The importance of such permanent advisory committees of research from a central rather than a departmental standpoint was discussed fully in the Report of the Machinery of Government Committee to the Ministry of Reconstruction in 1918, and the establishment of this new Committee should bring modern scientific and economic knowledge and experience to bear on the intricate working of the machinery of Government. As we go to press we read that in the debate on Unemployment the Minister of Labour reported that this Committee had already been charged with a full inquiry into the iron and steel industries during which their application for protection had been postponed.

'Keep fit on
cocoa'

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Slavery in the Twentieth Century.

The Council for the representation of women in the League of Nations has been pressing for the appointment of a woman on the Slavery Commission of the League of Nations ever since the Commission was first suggested. The Commission came into being as the result of a questionnaire issued to the Governments in whose dominions slavery in one form or another was reported to exist. They suggested a wide programme of work to the Council of the League which covered not only investigation into slavery in its primitive forms but into practices restrictive of personal freedom, the acquisition of girls by purchase disguised as payment of dowry, the adoption of children of either sex with a view to the ultimate disposal of their persons, the pledging or servitude of persons for debt or other reasons, and into systems of compulsory labour, public or private, paid or unpaid. The Commission also proposes to include in its purview measures to check all forms of slavery and methods of facilitating the economic transition from servile or compulsory labour to free wage labour or independent production. The need for one woman at least on such a Commission is obvious enough, and women's organizations should express their views with no uncertain voice before the meeting of the Sixth Assembly of the League in September.

The British Commonwealth League.

We feel a little uneasy nowadays when we hear of new leagues or other similar organizations, but the British Commonwealth League represents the alliance of two old friends under a new name, as it was formed out of the reconstituted British Overseas Committee of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance and the British Dominions Women Citizens' Union. The re-established body is embarking on its new career with a Conference of exceptional interest, which we warmly recommend to the attention of our readers, and a Garden Party to meet the Duchess of Atholl, M.P., and other distinguished guests. We give fuller details in our Coming Events column. At the opening meeting, when Mrs. Corbett Ashby will preside, Lord Cecil is the speaker. The subject of the Conference is "The Citizen Rights of Women within the British Empire," and Dame Millicent Fawcett, G.B.E., will preside at a public luncheon at the Criterion Restaurant in honour of the occasion, when Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Lady Astor, Lord Meston, and Lady Chatterjee will speak. Women's Societies cannot afford to be insular in their outlook, and the meeting of this conference should be supported by all who stand for the policy of this paper—Equality of liberties, status, and opportunities between men and women, for such equality between men and women of the British Commonwealth of Nations is the object of the new League.

A Common Cause.

Among many international congresses, one of the most interesting has been convened by the International Council of Nurses, and will be held this month in Helsingfors. On past occasions the Council has met in Buffalo, Berlin, Paris, London, and Cologne, and it is anticipated that at least a thousand delegates will be gathered together at Helsingfors to confer on questions relating to their profession. Another interesting event in the nursing world took place on Wednesday, when the Duchess of York opened a Hall of Residence in Manchester Square, established by the League of Red Cross Societies for International Nursing Students who come to London for special courses of training organized by the Red Cross League in connexion with Bedford College.

The Old Standard.

On 26th June a labourer, of Newcastle-under-Lyme, was convicted of brutally assaulting and neglecting his eleven year old daughter and sent to prison for a month. Evidence was brought forward to the effect that the child, in her mother's absence, was in full charge of the house, and did all the cleaning single-handed. Her work did not, however, satisfy her father, who expressed his dissatisfaction, as indicated above, with the assistance of strap and poker. We marvel afresh at the perverse standard reflected in our legislative and judicial system in its relative valuation of life and property. On the preceding day (we select a case at random from the columns of *The Times*) sentence of nine months was imposed on a man, tried before the Central Criminal Court, for forging and passing a £1 currency note. We do not for a moment deny that to forge a £1 note is a desperate and wicked act. But is it nine times as wicked as brutally to assault a little girl of 11? And it must be remembered that we are not on this occasion quoting extreme cases. The Newcastle sentence was not abnormally light, nor the London sentence abnormally heavy.

We have, in past issues, quoted far more striking contrasts in treatment to illustrate this same point. Meanwhile there remains always the indisputable fact that it is easier for a Government to conscript a nation's manhood than to conscript a nation's wealth. Can there be some relevance in the fact that the creation of wealth is the chief concern of men, that of life the chief concern of women?

"Ladies not Allowed . . ."

The *Sunday Chronicle* of 25th June gives prominence to a vigorous protest against the insulting treatment meted out to women by certain publicans and restaurant keepers in the Metropolis—and to our personal knowledge its indictment applies to other cities. It quotes, among others, the case of a large and famous luncheon bar (unnamed) in Central London. This place is, it appears, adorned with a notice: "Ladies not allowed to remain more than ten minutes in this bar." The management claim that it is necessary "for the protection of their male customers." Other examples of such gratuitous insult are embodied in regulations (not by the way confined to licensed premises) excluding in some cases ladies "unless accompanied by a gentleman"—in other cases prohibiting women from smoking where men are allowed to smoke. The *Sunday Chronicle* correspondent is even able to quote the case of a café where women are permitted to smoke if they can find a seat, but not while standing! Such regulations are, it is argued, and so far as licensed premises are concerned, legally unenforceable at Common Law. We do not propose to promote a test case on the matter. It is unimportant. Moreover, there are, in London and elsewhere, a multitude of excellent catering establishments where women are treated as free and equal and respectable citizens. But we agree with the *Sunday Chronicle* that regulations of this kind are irritating, insulting, and out of harmony with the present position of women. And we would add to its spirited protest the suggestion that they represent yet another faint echo of our first forefather's cowardly excuse for his own bad behaviour in the Garden of Eden.

Questions in Parliament.

A WOMAN DELEGATE TO THE LEAGUE.—On Wednesday, 24th June, Major Crawford asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the British delegation to the Assembly of the League of Nations will be composed as in former years of representatives of the political parties and whether a woman will again be a member of that delegation. Mr. Chamberlain replied that the composition of the delegation must depend to some extent upon the character of the agenda which the Assembly has to consider. In reply to a further question, he stated that he anticipated that there would undoubtedly be a woman member.

JUVENILE UNEMPLOYMENT.—Mr. Mackinder asked the Minister of Labour how many juveniles under 16 years of age are at present unemployed? Mr. Betterton stated that the numbers between 14 and 18 on 15th June were 61,675. Mr. Hurd asked when the Select Committee on Juvenile Unemployment is to be set up? No information was given.

JUVENILE EMPLOYMENT CENTRES.—Mr. Maxton asked the Minister of Labour how many Juvenile Unemployment Centres are now open in England and Wales and Scotland respectively, and how many juveniles are in attendance? Mr. Betterton replied that on the 29th May there were 82 centres in England and Wales and 40 in Scotland. The average attendance during the week ended 29th May was 7,563, or 12 per cent. of the total number of juveniles registered for employment at all employment exchanges and juvenile employment bureaux.

SLEEPY SICKNESS.—Mr. Haden Guest asked the Minister of Health whether any special institutional treatment is available for cases of encephalitis lethargica (sleepy sickness), and whether any special homes are available for children permanently damaged by this disease? Sir Kingsley Wood stated that such cases may, in general, be properly admitted to isolation hospitals, infirmaries, or general hospitals; the provision of a special institution for the reception of children suffering from the after-effects of the disease who cannot be admitted to mental hospitals is now under consideration.

PROBATION OFFICERS: CRIMINAL JUSTICE BILL.—Sir W. de Frece asked the Home Secretary whether, in view of the provisions made in the Criminal Justice Bill for the appointment of probation officers, any approximate scale of salary has been settled by his Department as suitable to the post. Sir W. Joynson-Hicks replied that the Bill will give power to the Secretary of State to make rules for fixing the scales of salaries, and that such scales will be based on those recommended by the Departmental Committee of 1922.

WHAT WOMEN THINK OF THE PENSIONS BILL.

The policy outlined in the series of resolutions passed last week at the Conference of Women's Societies arranged by the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, and given in full in our last week's Headquarter Notes, was further endorsed at the monthly meeting of the Consultative Committee of Women's Organizations held a few days later.¹ The result shows a very large consensus of opinion among representative women. The changes these demand in the Bill fall roughly under four headings:

1. They consider that the children's allowances should be more adequate in amount, that they should be continued up to sixteen where the child is receiving full time education; and that at least the excess of expenditure entailed by the increase, if not the whole cost, should be paid for by the State and not provided out of contributions at the expense of the other beneficiaries of the Bill.

2. They consider that the rights of the widow to the pension which has been paid for by her husband's and her own contributions and by those of the other contributors should not be arbitrarily taken away from her for reasons which are not held to justify the confiscation of Old Age Pensions, even when these are a free gift from the State; further, that the authority of a widow over her children should be held no less sacred than that of married parents.

3. They are not in favour of cutting out of the Bill the provision which it proposes to make on a contributory basis for widows without dependent children, recognizing that these so-called "childless widows" have in the vast majority of cases spent the best years of their lives in bearing and rearing children and that they cannot therefore reasonably be expected to become economically self-dependent merely because there is no longer any child under fourteen in the household. The resolution proposed by the Six Point Group which would in effect exclude every widow who at the time of her husband's death had no pensionable child was rejected at both conferences by a large majority. At the same time, both conferences endorsed by a large majority the view that a widow who had no pensionable child and whose marriage had lasted less than five years could be excluded from pension without causing any serious hardship, and that her exclusion was a necessary precaution against the risk of marriages contracted for the purpose of qualifying for pension.

TWO SPRING VISITS TO PALESTINE, 1921, 1922.

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

CHAPTER XXVI.—THE THREE RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS: EASTER, NEBY MUSA, AND PASSOVER (*continued*).

THE PASSOVER.—The intimate connexion between Judaism and Christianity was very vividly brought home to us when we had the privilege, through the invitation of our friend Miss Landau, Headmistress of the Anglo-Jewish School for girls, of attending the Passover Supper and service on 12th April. We knew, of course, that Jewish poetry supplies Christendom with its sacred songs; that the most popular poet in England and Scotland is not, as Disraeli said in *Tancred*, Shakespeare or Burns, but David, that his 23rd Psalm is sung at our weddings, funerals, and christenings, while the 24th supplies us with the otherwise almost inexpressible emotion of great national thanksgiving, and the 46th puts new strength into us in hours of danger or tribulation. When we suffragists won our fifty years' struggle for the free citizenship of women, the 126th rose spontaneously to our lips; it seemed to have been written expressly for us. But we did not know until we attended the Passover Supper how much, and in what detail, our own religious ceremonial is in direct descent from that of the Jews. We might have supposed this probable if we had reflected that the first Christian missionaries were Jews, and that the first Pope of Rome was a Jew. But we had not thought of this until the Passover Service forced us to do so; nor had we realized until we saw in it what a charmingly domestic atmosphere the history of Israel, its sufferings, and its deliverances are blended, in the Passover Service, with songs and parables for children. Another point of great interest is that this Service, with its main features unchanged, has been celebrated in every orthodox Jewish family for more than 3,000 years. These facts made the Passover

¹ See page 182.

² Readers are also referred to a memorandum by Miss Rathbone, issued by the N.U.S.E.C., and obtainable at their office.

4. They consider that the Bill in its present form inflicts an injustice upon two classes of contributors—the woman worker who does not marry, and the woman worker who marries an uninsured man, both of whom are being asked to contribute at a rate considerably higher than is necessary to pay for the actuarial value of the probability that they will ever benefit by their contributions by receiving Old Age Pensions between the age of 65 and 70.

Every point in the policy outlined above has been embodied in amendments which are before the consideration of the House this week, while the Bill is passing through its Committee stage. Most of them have been put down in several alternative shapes, some stronger, some weaker, backed by groups of Members of different political colour. It remains to be seen which, if any, of these amendments will be adopted. At the time of going to press the first day's discussion has taken place. Three points only have been dealt with: the contributory nature of the scheme, the inadequacy of the children's allowances, and the injustice done to the woman contributor who marries an uninsured man. On none of the three has the Government shown any signs of yielding anything; on the last of the three the Minister put up the amazing defence that the Widow's Pension is paid for under the Bill out of the men's contributions, the women's contributions being destined only to provide their own old age pensions between 65 and 70! If our readers will refer to the article by Miss Rathbone and the letter by Mrs. Mott in our issue of 19th June,² they will find overwhelming proof that this view is in flat contradiction to the Government Actuary's own Report, which makes it perfectly plain that women's contributions make a substantial contribution towards the cost of paying the benefits to widows, children, and wives of insured men. The fight for the woman married to the uninsured man must be fought over again on the Report Stage of the Bill, for the injustice done her is too great to be tolerated without a further struggle.

[As we go to press we hear that in the small hours of Wednesday morning the Government agreed to the proposal that children's allowances should be continued until 16 when the child is still attending school. This is an immensely valuable concession.—ED.]

Service one of the most moving and interesting things we had ever seen.

Miss Landau had lent us a service book beforehand, English on one side, Hebrew on the other, so that we were able more or less to follow the meaning of what we heard. The table has to be prepared during daylight with as much elegance and luxury as possible in order to present a contrast to the abject poverty of the children of Israel in Egypt. Every person of the Jewish faith in the house, no matter what his or her position, must be present and share equally in the celebration. The Service is usually conducted by the Father of the family, but as this was impossible in Miss Landau's case she had invited one of her friends to sing the Service. The leader is called the Cantor and he is provided with a cushioned seat. This is supposed to be a survival of the custom in the East 3,000 years ago, of the chief persons at feasts reclining in lieu of sitting at table. The voice and intonation of the Cantor, as we heard him, exactly resembled the chanting of our best Cathedral services at home. This then, our church chanting, was one of the many things which, without knowing it, we had inherited from the Jews. I have already tried to give some description of the domestic preparations which are observed in all orthodox Jewish families for Passover. But there are others of a deeper significance. On the eve of Passover in each Jewish family, the first-born son fasts; if he is an infant so young that fasting would be dangerous or undesirable, his father fasts for him; if the father is dead or absent his mother fasts instead. This is "in remembrance" of the preservation of the first-born among the Israelites when the first-born of the Egyptians were destroyed. The whole ceremony is "in remembrance." We thought of "this do in remembrance of Me," and of the combination of a meal with the most solemn religious ceremony of Christianity. The note throughout the whole Passover Supper is the note of intense thankfulness, of joyfulness, of gratitude to God for unspeakable mercies and blessings. There is no tinge of melancholy or of repining or grumbling from one end of the Service to the other.

In front of the Cantor is erected a small dumb waiter in two stages on which are spread Passover cakes, bitter herbs (either parsley or horse-radish), the shank bone of a lamb, an egg, and a cup of vinegar or salt water, and a compound called "Haro seth," which represents the lime and mortar with which the Jews pursued their labour in Egypt. It will be noticed that most of these things are symbolic. There is no pious necessity now for each household to slaughter a lamb for itself; the shank bone is representative of the Pascal lamb. The whole idea of the service is built up on the passage in Deuteronomy vi, 20-24. "And when thy son asketh thee in time to come saying, What mean the testimonies, and the statutes, and the judgments, which the Lord our God hath commanded you? Then thou shalt say unto thy son, We were Pharaoh's bondmen in Egypt and the Lord brought us out of Egypt with a mighty hand . . . and he brought us out from thence, that he might bring us in, to give us the land which he swore unto our fathers." At the Passover this question is actually asked by the youngest present as well as an explanation of the unleavened bread and of the bone of the lamb and of the bitter herbs.

Before we had been present at the Passover meal and only trying to gather an idea of it from the service book, we were rather alarmed by the sentence: "Every person is obliged to drink the four cups of wine which are indicated in the service. The capacity of the cup should be one rebingith, the greater part of which quantity must be drunk each time." We did not know what a rebingith was and hoped it meant only a thimbleful, but quickly discovered from our book itself that it equals the fifth of a pint, and although we are not teetotalers nor prohibitionists we trembled to think what would become of us if we had to drink nearly a pint of the powerful Palestine wine before we had had anything to eat. Our fears were quite superfluous. The glasses were large and the wine was strong but the four rebingiths were only symbolic and could therefore do no harm to anyone. Each glass was placed on a small saucer and as the plagues of Egypt are mentioned in the service each person present pours out from his glass into the saucer a little drop of the wine. I would add that when the wine is first poured out, one glass for each person, an extra glass is also filled; some explained that this was "for Elijah" others said it was for the "absent guest" and the symbol of Jewish hospitality.

There is one particularly beautiful part of the service where there is a sort of litany reciting God's mercies to Israel, of which the refrain is, if it had been this only "it would have sufficed us." It cannot be denied that there are savage things in it too. It is not all on the model of "If he had given us the Law, and had not led us into the land of Israel: it would have sufficed us. If he had led us into the land of Israel and had not built the temple of his choice: it would have sufficed us"; but there are also the terrible verses, "If he had executed judgments upon their gods and had not slain their first-born: it would have sufficed us. If he had slain their first-born and had not given us their wealth: it would have sufficed us."

But do not let us be too self-righteous over such verses as these. That they are in daily life practically repudiated now by all good Jews as well as by all good Christians is in the main due to the teaching of the greatest Jew who ever lived, He who had the strength nearly two thousand years ago, to set aside the old law, "thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy," and give to mankind the new law which we so imperfectly obey, "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you."

The Passover ceremony and celebrations last over two nights. I believe that both are characterized by a combination of a domestic and family feast with religious passion of remembrance of, and gratitude for past mercies; special arrangements exist for enlisting the sympathies and active co-operation of the children and young people. Their share in the ceremonies, we saw, was one of the most charming parts of it, and makes its resemblance to our Christmas festivities all the more pronounced. The songs for children which are found at the end of the Passover Book bear a strong resemblance to "Green grow the rushes O!" (England's most ancient folk-song) and to "The House that Jack built." One verse quoted from the translation of the second Passover song will prove my assertion: "The ox came and drank the water, which had extinguished the fire, which had burnt the staff, which had smitten the dog, which had bitten the cat, which had devoured the kid, which my father had bought for two zuzim." Have we then inherited from the Jews not only the songs of Zion, but also the nursery rhymes of our children? For there is no doubt at all that they originated and that we imitated.

"THE POLICE COURT AND ITS WORK."

A book with the above title by Mr. H. T. Waddy, Magistrate at the Tower Bridge Police Court, has just been published by Butterworth at the price of 7s. 6d. All women magistrates will be interested in reading it, though they may not always agree with the views contained therein.

Mr. Waddy has his prejudices. He dislikes munition workers, the Rent Restriction Acts, and women witnesses. His passion for "the liberty of the subject" makes him curiously blind to other considerations. He asks, "Can any reasonable person explain . . . why the pre-war conditions as to the hours during which intoxicants could be purchased and sold should not be restored?" A person would have to be unreasonable indeed who was not ready with an explanation. And while he writes at length on the hardships caused to landlords by the Rent Restriction Acts, he leaves on one side the widespread anxiety and misery that would be caused if rents were to be suddenly exposed to the free play of the laws of supply and demand.

We are told that women are not only bad witnesses, they are also quarrelsome and inclined to run to the police court for a summons on the slightest provocation. Applications for summonses appear to be heard in public in the London police courts which is surely unnecessary. If they are heard in private much less harm is done where the application is a frivolous one, and the magistrate has also a better opportunity for eliciting the circumstances and giving his own opinion or advice. At Tower Bridge all women applicants for separation and maintenance orders are dealt with in the first instance by the Court missionary, who sifts the cases, and apparently decides which are worthy of the magistrate's attention. Between 80 and 90 per cent. do not come back to the magistrate, but are "happily settled through the kind and wise offices of the missionary." We realize the value of the missionary's services in these cases, but it is difficult to be quite as happy as Mr. Waddy appears to be at the large number which are settled without coming into Court. May it not sometimes happen that a woman who has at last screwed herself up to the point of seeking a separation from a cruel husband is too easily persuaded by a well-meaning interceder to "go back and try once more"? It may often be that court proceedings and a separation (though perhaps only a temporary one) are just what the husband needs to bring him to his senses and show him that his wife is a person of some spirit and importance, and that life without her services and companionship is not altogether an easy or pleasant thing. Every case differs from one another; it is impossible to generalize. It is also impossible to assume that when a wife withdraws a summons, or decides not to apply for one, she necessarily does the wisest thing.

There is an admirable chapter on "The Uncorroborated Word." Strong protest is made against the way in which girls and women are convicted of solicitation without the slightest attempt being made to secure the evidence of the man who is said to have been annoyed. "The attitude which the police in fact adopt may be described in the terms of an ultimatum: 'This is a prostitute, we are policemen. Choose between us.'" While declaring his belief in the fairness and reliability of the police in general, Mr. Waddy utterly disapproves of the practice of the police taking the prosecution themselves and conducting the cross-examination of witnesses. The idea is much too prevalent among the ordinary public that the magistrate is the creature of the police, and that no defendant's word is ever believed against that of a policeman. It is deplorable to read from such an experienced pen: "I have an uneasy suspicion that there are cases, not, I hope, many or the gravest ones, in which men plead 'guilty' where they would plead 'not guilty' if they thought that the same weight would be given to their evidence as to that of the police."

More space might well be given to this interesting book; this present survey may fittingly be concluded with quoting the dictum that the three gifts a magistrate most needs are patience, common sense, and skill in diagnosis.

C. D. RACKHAM.

THE WOMAN'S LEADER

EVERY FRIDAY. ONE PENNY.

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WOMEN AND BRISTOL UNIVERSITY.

FROM A CONTRIBUTOR.

Bristol kept high festival when the new buildings of the University were opened by the King on the 9th June. Professor Leonard very kindly consented to take round a party of members and friends of the Bristol Society for Equal Citizenship to see the new buildings. Between 40 and 50 assembled and had a very interesting time in seeing the beautiful architecture and recalling old memories, for some of those present had been among the earliest students at the original University College, and could look back to the splendour of those days when, in a dingy temporary building, the staff of lecturers included Professor Marshall, Professor Rowley, and many other famous names.

Some of those early students, too, became famous, among them Katherine Bradley and her niece, Edith Cooper, who afterwards wrote together under the name of Michael Field and took the literary world by storm with their play *Callirrhoe*. These two, and Miss Cooper's younger sister, took a leading part in the Women's Debating Society, organized by Mrs. Marshall, of which Professor Leonard writes: "There was a debating Society for men, but the wordy battles of the men were not quite of the Homeric character, I believe, which prevailed in the sister Society."

The Society for Equal Citizenship owes a special debt of gratitude to the University, because, from its first institution as a University College, women were admitted on an equal footing with men. Mrs. Alfred Marshall (née Mary Paley, of Cambridge) was one of the earliest lecturers in political economy, and many women have followed her in various departments. Even in its origin it is closely associated with women. In 1868 a scheme was started in Clifton by the late Bishop Percival, then Dr. Percival, Headmaster of Clifton College, and a fine series of lectures was the result. Among the lecturers were John Addington Symonds, F. W. H. Myers, Humphrey Ward, and Bonamy Price. The wonderful stimulus of these lectures, supplementing a Victorian education, is still gratefully remembered by some of the old students.

Dr. Percival soon began to urge the establishment of a University College. Professor Jowett of Balliol took up the idea warmly, and substantial help was given from some of the Oxford Colleges to the new college, which was opened in 1876, and became an independent University in 1909. The culmination of these hopes was witnessed on the opening of the new buildings, and deep gratitude was expressed to Professor Leonard for giving our Bristol Society this opportunity of seeing the new building, with its fine history, its splendid achievement, and the hope of a great future before it.

NOTES FROM IRELAND.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS.

Despite Press appeals and a leaflet circulated by the thousand by the Dublin Council of Women, the poll in these elections has been disappointing. For instance, in most of the County Dublin contests, the votes cast did not exceed 50 per cent. of the electorate. One curious detail has been the high proportion of spoilt papers, this being due in most cases, not to ignorance of the methods of P.R., but to deliberate perversity, the ballot paper being used as a means for expressing opinions on politics in general. The general feeling that reorganization is in the air partly accounts for the unsatisfactory poll. A Commission on the Relief of the Sick and Destitute Poor is now sitting, and another on reorganization of local government in County Dublin. The management of local affairs by a popularly elected body is by many thought to be out of date, owing to the complexity and the technical nature of many of the matters now included in local government. Some modification of the American or the German plan may be adopted ultimately. Under these the actual business is done by Commissioners or "managers," and an elected Assembly may or may not act as a Board of Control. The Dublin Corporation was dissolved nearly two years ago, and the administration of the three Commissioners, one a woman, appears to have been satisfactory, though it is felt some form of

elected assembly must be provided for in any permanent arrangement. But it is useless to deny that a general apathy exists, a feeling "sure, it's no use votin', there won't be anything done different." Democracy cannot be worked on a basis of a 50 per cent. poll, and it remains to be seen whether with returning prosperity this will improve.

The number of women who stood was not large. As usual, expense was probably the deterrent. The elections were not run on a party basis as far as the Government were concerned, but there were several organizations who pooled expenses; in some cases this is said to have been done by the Republicans, and the farmer's party and the Ratepayer's Associations did the same.

The more competent women have no love for these methods, one woman candidate, well known in public life preferred to stand as an Independent, though approached by every one of the numerous groups in her ward. The actual number of women returned so far is four for the County Councils, and thirteen for the Urban Councils. Of these, the most satisfactory are in the Dublin area, where members of the Irish Women Citizens' Association who have proved their efficiency by long work on Public Health or Child Welfare Committees have been elected by good majorities. Even with an apathetic electorate, good public work is still recognized.

THE WOMEN'S NATIONAL HEALTH ASSOCIATION.

"Clearing up the mess" has been woman's work since life began, probably the cave woman cleaned out the litter, while her mate went off to fish. In Ireland political agitation and Labour troubles have made plenty of mess. Unemployment is very bad; public finance is hampered by compensation payments, and therefore Health services are pinched. Long years of neglect have left the housing question to become a national scandal.

Under all these conditions, the Women's National Health Association, which held its annual meeting on 23rd June, goes on with its trying work, seeking to save the infant life which has been so gravely imperilled by ignorance, apathy, and reckless disorder. The first Baby Club was started in Dublin fifteen years ago; there are now eight. There are ante-natal centres, dinners are given to expectant mothers, the rickety children are treated by a masseuse. This is done voluntarily, and the results are remarkable. The Government Model Farm supplies milk at a low price, which is given free to the destitute. Over £1,000 worth of milk was distributed free last year, the cost of distribution not exceeding 10s. a week. The Clubs are run by voluntary workers who for twelve or fourteen years have given their vitality and brains to the work. One result may be traced in the statement of the Minister for Local Government that last year's rate of mortality among infants was the lowest on record, 102 per 1,000 for urban, and 55 per 1,000 for rural areas, this being 10 per cent. below the average for the past ten years.

In its care for the infants and for the children, the Association is doing its part in the fight against tuberculosis. The figures of death from this cause are encouraging, recent figures showing a continuous decrease since 1918, and the 1923 figure showing a reduction of 35 per cent. as compared with the rate for 1911, the year when legislation first came into operation. With the restoration of normal conditions, the better prospects for this year's harvest—two years' supply of turf has already been saved during the recent three weeks of sunshine—and the steady effort to reduce the housing congestion, there is a real prospect that the heroic workers of the W.N.H.A. and other societies will see fruits of their work in the Irish Free State.

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SUFFRAGE CRISIS IN HUNGARY.¹

By GLADYS RINDER.

The woman's suffrage movement in Hungary has been passing through a very critical period. The so-called Reform Bill, introduced by the Government in January, 1924, contained a clause depriving women of their municipal vote, but thanks to the determined opposition ably organized by the women, with the support of some leading progressive politicians, it was withdrawn two months later. In May of this year came the municipal elections in Budapest, in which, for the first time, women not only voted but stood for election. Party feeling ran high, and curious means were employed to weight the scale against the progressive forces. A poster containing a threat to boycott and starve the city in the event of a democratic victory, apparently signed by women in the country districts, was actually circulated in Budapest. But in spite of these efforts the election results of May showed a majority for the progressive parties. The suffragists were encouraged by the return of no less than six women candidates. Miss Anna Ketley, the only Hungarian woman M.P., and Madame Szentirmai were among the four successful democratic candidates. They are both strong suffragists, and Madame Szentirmai was nominated by one of the women's feminist organizations. Of the two Conservative women, one is the widow of Professor Dirmer, founder and first President of the Hungarian Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

And the franchise Bill in connexion with the new Hungarian Constitution, which is now under discussion, raises once more the question of the terms of the parliamentary franchise for women. Since Admiral Horthy became Regent, it has been confined to women over thirty years of age domiciled in the same community for two years, who have been Hungarian citizens for more than ten years, and have passed the six classes of elementary instruction. The only exceptions are mothers of three or more children, and self-supporting women householders, for whom four courses is sufficient qualification; and university graduates, for whom there is no age limit. Equal franchise, which the suffragist and the feminist organizations are demanding, would entail lowering the age to 24 and the educational test to four classes. There is also the question of the women aristocrats. The Bill for the Constitution of the Upper House, also under discussion at the present time, provides for a number of elected members, including male members of the aristocracy who own estates on which they pay taxes of 3,000 or more gold crowns. The suffragists desire to extend this right to equally eligible women. Complete success is improbable at present, but it is hoped that considerable advances will be made.

CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE OF WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS.

At the last ordinary meeting of the Consultative Committee of Women's Organizations this session, held on 25th June, much time was devoted to a prolonged discussion on the new proposals to give pensions for widows and orphans. General gratification was expressed that the claims of civilian widows with dependent children had at last been recognized, but many societies felt that a number of clauses in the Bill ought to be amended. Very careful consideration has been given by the women's organizations to this complicated question, and the main criticisms of the Bill made during the debate were directed to the following points: the inadequate allowances for children; the fact that a large proportion of women contributors will never reap the benefit of their contributions since they are unable to remain in employment until the age of 65, or because they marry an uninsured man; the proposed cancellation of a widow's pension for reasons which would not deprive other pensioners of their allowances; and the proposal to pay an allowance to young widows with no dependent children.

With regard to the last provision, many divergent views were expressed. On the one side were members of the Committee who felt that it was unfair to the ordinary woman wage earner to subsidize the young widow who would still be competing in the labour market; and on the other side were members who considered that since it was a contributory scheme every widow ought to be entitled to a benefit. Evidence was given showing that marriage even for a short time was a handicap to a woman who wished to obtain employment after her husband's death, and further, that Service widows with a pension did not in fact undercut other women. It was finally agreed that a certain saving would be effected and could be used to increase children's allowances if a duration of marriage qualification of not less than five years or not more than 15 were made a condition of receiving the pension. It was believed that this would mean the minimum of hardship and would ensure that those who most required assistance would have it.

Two suggestions were made in order to remedy the injustice to the permanent spinsters; first, that they should be allowed to continue as voluntary contributors for the purposes of the Old Age Pension only, and alternatively that those women who ceased to be insured before the age of 65 should be allowed a reduced rate of benefit.

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

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

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

RECEPTION IN HONOUR OF DAME MILLICENT FAWCETT, G.B.E.

Tickets for the Garden Party to be held in honour of Dame Millicent Fawcett on 23rd July, at 3.30 p.m., at Aubrey House (by kind permission of Miss Alexander), may be had from Lady Pares, 32 Belsize Gardens, N.W. 3, Mrs. Clement Davies, 11 Vicarage Gate, W. 8, or from the Secretary, 15 Dean's Yard, S.W. 1, price 2s. 6d.

SUMMER SCHOOL FOR MAGISTRATES AND CITIZENS.

A time table of the lectures for the Summer School, which is to be held at St. Hilda's Hall, Oxford, from 25th August to 8th September, will be ready shortly and may be had on application. Those wishing to attend are asked to make early application to the Secretary, 15 Dean's Yard, S.W. 1.

BRITISH COMMONWEALTH LEAGUE.

We wish to draw the attention of members and others interested to the very interesting programme for this conference, particulars of which will be found in Notes and News and in Coming Events. The Conference is to be held at the Caxton Hall on 9th and 10th July, on "The Citizen Rights of Women within the British Empire." The preliminary address will be given by the Right Hon. the Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, K.C. Tickets for the Conference, price 3s. 6d., or 1s. for each session, may be had from Miss Collisson, 17 Buckingham Street, Adelphi; also for the Luncheon to be given on 10th July at the Criterion Restaurant at 1 p.m., at which the speakers will be Lady Astor, M.P., Rt. Hon. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., and Lady Chatterjee. Tickets 5s. 6d.

PERSONAL.

We have pleasure to announce that Mrs. Walter Layton, who was nominated by the N.U.S.E.C. for the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union, has been elected as one of the members of that Committee.

GARDEN PARTY FOR OVERSEAS VISITORS.

A very successful Garden Party was held at 31 Bracknell Gardens, N.W. 3, by kind invitation of Mrs. Stein. A number of Overseas representatives were present, and many members of the Hampstead S.E.C. Miss Helen Fraser made an excellent speech, and the other speakers included Miss Beaumont and Mrs. James (from Melbourne). The music kindly provided by Cernikoff and the classical dances given by Miss Helen Mayes were much enjoyed.

NEWS FROM SOCIETIES.

CONFERENCE ON WIDOWS', ORPHANS', AND OLD AGE CONTRIBUTORY PENSIONS BILL.

The name of the Hampstead Society for Equal Citizenship should be added to the list of organizations represented at the conference.

WESTMINSTER S.E.C.

A business meeting of members will be held on Wednesday, 8th July, at 5.30, to discuss the future development of the Society's work.

The Faith of a Modern Churchman.

CONFERENCE AT OXFORD

24th to 31st August.

MEETINGS AT THE UNION.

Board and Lodging at Somerville and St. Hugh's.

Further information from the Hon. Secretary, Miss Nussey, Upper Ewe Croft, Ilkley.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE CHILDLESS WIDOW.

MADAM,—I much regret to see that a conference of so many women's societies has condoned the palpable injustice of granting a pension to an able-bodied woman merely because she is a widow. Your paper was, very rightly against this at first, but the sentimentalists seem to have converted you. A bonus in respect of payments made by the husband would, of course, be right. But there are many hard-working spinsters, some with dependents, who will bitterly wonder why their poverty is regarded as unfit for State assistance.

H. A. PACKER (Councillor).

Town Hall, Fulham.

THE FOREST OF DEAN BY-ELECTION.

MADAM,—I hope THE WOMAN'S LEADER, which is so tender to the Labour Party and so hard upon the Liberal Party, will take note of the action of the Labour Party in the Forest of Dean in refusing to entertain the recommendation that Miss Margaret Bondfield should be adopted as their candidate.

They preferred a richer man of the "upper class" and chose Mr. Oswald Mosley, though the latter subsequently refused to come forward to contest the seat after having accepted nomination. It would appear that in the matter of giving women candidates fair treatment the Angels of Light are not so very different from the dogs without.

Incidentally it is interesting to read in the *Yorkshire Observer* of the 26th inst. the following comment upon the situation in the Division:—"The Forest of Dean Labour Association, one understands, is not anxious to entertain the nomination of Miss Margaret Bondfield, because when Mrs. Coombe Tennant contested the constituency in the Liberal interest the cry throughout the constituency was that a woman was not qualified to represent the miners."

These words may perhaps suggest to the Labour women who trooped down so eagerly in 1922 to knock out a Liberal woman candidate that their efforts may not have been without ultimate disadvantage to women candidates of their own party.

WINIFRED COOMBE TENNANT.

TEMPERANCE REFORM.

MADAM,—Miss Edith Neville, of the Mary Ward Settlement, writes to advocate two alternative lines of advance on Temperance. Firstly, she wants (a) some licensed eating-houses tied to and owned by brewers; (b) interested ownership and control in those other 'pubs' where there is no profitable demand for food; and (c) the continuance of the competitive private manufacture and sale of spirits, etc.

Secondly she wants an alternative policy which includes (1) less drinking, i.e., a reduction in the actual consumption of intoxicants; (2) early evening closing; (3) no advertisements of intoxicants; (4) less spirit drinking. Let me examine each policy separately. Take the first. The advantage of drinking slowly and of mixing intoxicants with water and food (contained in policy (a)) are obvious. It will be obtained for the limited number of persons who patronize the comparatively small percentage of the 80,000 on-licensed houses in the country which can be run profitably as restaurants. The development of this policy, I gather from the Trade, requires legislation. This legislation would curtail the rights of justices and increase the vested interests of brewers. It would also be controversial.

The disadvantages of the competitive private manufacture and sale of spirits, etc., and of interested ownership and control of those 'pubs' where there is no profitable demand for food, and which consequently remain mere drinking places, are equally obvious.

Next examine her second alternative, with its four points of less drinking, early closing, no advertisement, and reduction of spirits. The national advantages of this policy are surely patent. Can Miss Neville name any members of the Drink Trade who are actively trying to achieve the four points in this policy and who are encouraging politicians to take the necessary action?

Unless one faces the fundamentals of a problem and also the facts which stare one in the face, one cannot possibly solve the problem. The complexity of the drink question centres in the fact that it is impossible to reconcile the interests of the drink trade, organized on a commercial, competitive basis, with the interests of the nation.

There is a total difference between disinterested ownership and interested ownership—between the "Carlisle" system or the reorganization of the trade as proposed in the late Bishop of Oxford's Bill on the one hand, and on the other hand the so-called "Improved" public-houses tied to and owned by brewers.

It is easy to prove to Miss Neville that the Trade are trying by Parliamentary pressure to increase the national consumption of spirits; that they are actively working to extend night drinking by trying to get licensed houses opened up to a later hour; that they are constantly working to increase the sales of that which they make, i.e., intoxicants; and that they threaten to keep out of Parliament anyone who works for the four points which I have enumerated, and which Miss Neville desires as her second alternative.

Miss Neville possibly knows almost as many brewers, spirit merchants, publicans, manufacturers of whisky, etc., as I do. I have found most of them pleasant, good, ordinary, competent business men.

They oppose her second programme not because they are wicked, but because "business is business." Less spirit drinking would mean reduced profits for the spirit merchants. Under a system of commercial, competitive, interested, private ownership, the spirit merchant who, in the national interest, reduced his sales would be the man who first went out of business ruined, whereas the one who sold most probably would get a perage. These are elementary facts, but they are crucial. They apply to brewers as to distillers.

If Miss Neville doubts my thesis let her invite any brewer or spirit merchant with whom she is acquainted to move a resolution at the next meeting of his trade association inviting Parliament to take the necessary action to reduce spirit drinking, to abolish drink advertisements, to stop the movement now being organized inside the Trade for the later opening of public-houses in London and elsewhere.

The business men who have invested their money in the drink trade must inevitably be interested in keeping up and increasing their profits. Why should they set out to reduce their profits? Spirit merchants, etc., are business men.

Disinterested ownership and control of the drink trade is totally, absolutely, and entirely different from interested ownership.

Miss Neville wants to work for the nation's interests and has correctly included in her second alternatives four points which would help the nation. But by opposing disinterested, and supporting interested, ownership and control she has put herself in the illogical position of bolstering up the present organization of the trade which is actively working to defeat the four points she sets out in her second alternative as being good for the nation.

MADAM,—May I reply to Miss Neville's criticism regarding Gracie's Banking at Annan? I visited this place at the same time as Miss Neville and, if I remember rightly, she called my attention to the number of people frequenting the public-house known as the "Buck," which is situated not "exactly at the entrance," to quote Miss Neville, but at a short distance to the left of the entrance to Gracie's Banking. I at once sought an explanation from local people, and our party was informed that on Saturdays there was usually a considerable influx of visitors to Annan in connexion with football matches, many of whom call at the "Buck" for a drink before proceeding to the football field.

Annan is the centre of considerable football enthusiasm, and the Railway Company on occasions run special trains from Dumfries and Carlisle, and it is on these days that most of the congestion occurs at the bar in question, the "Buck" being on the High Street directly opposite the road leading from the Station. The people coming by these trains make for the nearest public-house, which is the "Buck," have their drink, then rush off to the football ground. Gracie's Banking, on the other hand, is a bit off the main street and entails, to reach it, just that half minute or so which the man in a hurry refuses to give. Obviously the State Management Authority has to meet the requirements of this class of occasional visitor, and the congestion of drinkers to which Miss Neville refers occurs when the local team has a home match.

This reasonable explanation, which was immediately forthcoming at the time of Miss Neville's visit, suggests that there is little force in her criticism of State control.

With regard to the method followed by Miss Neville's Society: the one house which it manages in the East End cannot in the nature of things effect very much good amidst the number of other houses of the ordinary type in the same district. It is like using a child's hammer to break a huge rock, and unless a much more drastic method is applied, such as the State itself under monopoly conditions, one cannot expect any general amelioration in the community as a whole.

A. F. HARVEY,
Secretary, Temperance Legislation League.

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COMING EVENTS.

BRITISH COMMONWEALTH LEAGUE.

JULY 9 and 10. 10 a.m. and 2.15 p.m. Conference at Caxton Hall Council Chamber, Westminster, on "The Citizen Rights of Women within the British Empire." Speakers: Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, K.C., Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Lord Astor, Mrs. James, Lady Rhondda, Lady Astor, M.P., the Right Hon. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., Lady Chatterjee, and others. Tickets, 3s. 6d.; Sessional 1s.

JULY 10. 1 p.m. Luncheon at Criterion Restaurant. Tickets, 5s. 6d.

JULY 13. 4.30 p.m. Garden Party at Bedford College, Regent's Park, N.W.

For further particulars, apply Miss Collison, 17 Buckingham Street, Adelphi, W.C. 2.

GUILDHOUSE W.C.S.

JULY 6. 3 p.m. The Guildhouse, Eccleston Square, S.W. 1. Chief Inspector Champneys, of the Women's Auxiliary Service, on "Some Social Evils and the Need for Women Police."

LONDON SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SERVICE.

JULY 12, at 8.15 p.m., and **JULY 13,** at 2.30 p.m. Performance of "The Son of Heaven," by Lytton Strachey, at the Scala Theatre, Charlotte Street, in aid of funds of L.S.W.S. For particulars, apply the Hon. Secretary, Civic and Dramatic Guild, 35 Marsham Street, S.W. 1.

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

JULY 23. 3.30 p.m. Garden Party in honour of Dame Millicent Fawcett, G.B.E., at Aubrey House, 11a Aubrey Walk, Kensington, W. 8 (by kind permission of the Misses Alexander).

Croydon W.C.A. JULY 29. 3 p.m. Miss Beaumont on "All-in Insurance."

Kensington and Paddington S.E.C. JULY 11. 3.30 p.m. Garden Party at Pembroke Lodge, Pembroke Gardens, Kensington, W. 8 (by kind permission of Mrs. Adrian Corbett). Speaker: Miss Helen Fraser, on "The British Commonwealth Equality League."

St. Pancras S.E.C. Inaugural Meeting. JULY 14. 8 p.m. Drawing-room Meeting at 11 St. George's Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W. (by kind permission of Mrs. Seymour Seal). Speaker: Mrs. Hoster, on "The Work of the N.U.S.E.C." Chair: Lady Balfour of Burleigh.

SOUTHALL WOMEN'S LIBERAL ASSOCIATION.

JULY 13. 3 p.m. Mrs. Walter Layton, on "Widows' Pensions."

WOMEN'S ENGINEERING SOCIETY.

JULY 15-17. British Empire Exhibition, Wembley. International Conference of Women in Science, Industry, and Commerce. President: H.R.H. The Duchess of York.

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FELLOWSHIP SERVICES, Guildhouse, Eccleston Square, S.W. 1. Sunday, 5th July, 6.30 p.m., the Rev. H. S. McClelland, B.A., B.D., of Trinity Church, Glasgow.

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