

WOMAN'S LEADER

AND THE COMMON CAUSE

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NOTES AND NEWS.

Bills before Parliament.

Although the time of Parliament after the Easter recess will be mainly devoted to Budget resolutions and to the Trade Union Bill, time will still be found for many Bills of special interest to women. The debate on the *Married Women (Employment) Bill* will be taking place on the day this reaches our readers' hands (April 29th). We dare not hope that this Bill will proceed very far in its Parliamentary career, but at any rate the debate should provide interesting propaganda, and will, we hear, be extremely lively. On 20th May the Labour Party will be introducing its *Representation of the People Bill* to give Equal Franchise between men and women. Would that the Government had been so prompt! Lord Astor's *Parliament (Qualification of Peeresses) Bill* has been introduced and will be coming up for its second reading in the House of Lords on 21st June. Its new form was described in our issue of 15th April. It does not propose that all Peeresses shall be eligible, as are Peers, to sit in the House of Lords, but gives the Crown discretion to summon to Parliament Peeresses in their own right, and gives Peeresses of Scotland and Ireland the right to elect certain of their number and to be elected as representatives. We recognize the need for this half loaf, but regret that it was not possible to press for complete equality between Peers and Peeresses; failing this we would ourselves have preferred a measure by which English Peeresses were placed in the same position as are Scottish and Irish Peers now, and as is provided in the Bill for Scottish and Irish Peeresses (see above). If English Peeresses are not to have the same right as have Peers to sit in the Upper Chamber, we consider this to be the more democratic method of selection. The *Lead Paint (Protection against Poisoning) Act (Amendment) Bill* will be discussed under the Ten Minutes Rule later in May. The *Mental Deficiency, Wild Birds' Protection, and Nursing Homes Registration* are all waiting their Committee stage. The *Midwives and Maternity Homes (Scotland) Bill* has already reported.

Mr. Lloyd George and Equal Franchise.

As the outcome of a meeting on Equal Franchise of the National Council of Women in Bangor, a deputation of representative women, arranged by the recently formed group for Equal Citizenship, was received by Mr. Lloyd George last week. Mr. Lloyd George was, as we of course anticipated, sound on the principle of equality at the age of 21. His reply to the question as to whether he would oppose any attempt to link up the question

of equal franchise with any controversial changes in the electoral system was, however, rather less satisfactory. He thinks that if the Government proposes to make a large extension of the electorate it should take advantage of the opportunity thus offered of setting right the grievance which minorities in this country suffer under the existing system. "I am all for Equal Franchise," he said, "but I cannot imagine that it would interfere with the progress of the measure and its completion if it were accompanied by a Bill which would redress a grievance—a palpable one—from which the masses of the men and women of this country are suffering. Electoral reform has always been accompanied in the past by a redistribution of seats." Mr. Lloyd George did, however, add that if the association with other reforms endangered or delayed the Bill, he would not press these. Fortunately there is no serious danger of any such impediment to progress, as the Prime Minister has definitely announced that redistribution of seats is not considered necessary. The introduction of a complicated issue, such as Proportional Representation for instance, would, in our opinion, lead to delays which might prove fatal to the rapid progress which is imperative if, as the Prime Minister has promised, women are to vote on the same terms as men at the next general election. We are convinced that when Mr. Lloyd George realizes this he will find other means of introducing his proposals for remedying the present inequalities of representation. The deputation to the Leader of the Liberal party and his definite avowal of faith in the proposed extension has been widely quoted, even in the type of paper that has run the flapper stunt to death within the last week or two. Few groups of women have such conspicuous responsibilities as those which were so opportunely and successfully grasped by the women of Bangor, but in constituencies with less prominent representatives there is similar work to be done within the next few months.

The Numbering of the Peoples.

An extraordinary mass of facts of social interest and importance is packed into the General Report of the Census of England and Wales of 1921 published last week, which will be reviewed later in our columns. Perhaps the sections of greatest interest to our readers will be those dealing with the relative numbers of women and their distribution according to occupation and age. The war resulted in a depletion of males at early adult ages and a deficiency of very young children of both sexes owing to the abnormally decreased birth-rate during war years. The "surplus" of women now exceeds one million, seven hundred thousand as compared with half a million in 1911. The preponderance of women is strongly marked at the old ages because they survive in far greater numbers. Several interesting facts emerge with regard to housing. The total number of rooms is greater in relation to the population than in 1911; at the same time the proportion of population living under the overcrowded conditions of more than two persons per room has increased from 9.1 per cent. in 1911 to 9.6 per cent. in 1921. The explanation of this apparent inconsistency is that since families are smaller than they were ten years ago, and since small families can usually afford a higher standard of housing than the larger, they have absorbed a greater share of the available houseroom in 1911. What an argument in favour of Family Allowances! The figures relating to the numbers of dependent children, as is already well known to students of this subject, form another argument for overthrowing from its niche the fiction of the three children standard family. The average for all married men is 1.27 children. The average even for miners is 1.82, while the professional man can only boast .9. More than 43 per cent. of married men have no children under 16, while another 23 per cent. have one child

only. Thirty-seven per cent. of the children come, however, from the families with more than three. These are only a few of the facts which should be studied by all interested in the great social problems of our day—population, distribution of occupations, transport, migration and housing.

Boards of Guardians and Women Chairmen.

The following Boards of Guardians have elected women chairmen: Deptford, Fulham, Leigh, Manchester, and Northampton. Women have been elected as vice-chairmen at Leeds, Northampton, and Sculcoates (Hull). Mrs. Booth, who has been elected vice-chairman at Leeds, has been a Guardian for fifteen years, and is the first woman to hold the office at Leeds. It was expected that Mrs. Gofton, who was vice-chairman of the Whitley and Monkseaton Urban District Council last year, would succeed to the chairmanship. The Council has, however, not followed the usual practice, and in an interview with *The Northern Mail and Newcastle Chronicle* Mrs. Gofton stated: "I want the district to know that it is not through unwillingness on my part that the ordinary precedent has not been followed upon this occasion. I am debarred—just because I am a woman!" We congratulate the Fulham Board of Guardians on the recent appointment of Miss C. Fulford as chairman. This is the first time this Board has had a woman chairman, though Miss Fulford has been vice-chairman for some years, and chairman of several important committees. Few women are better qualified for such work, and the Ministry of Health recognized this by appointing her as a member of the Special Advisory Committee appointed for the administration of West Ham's complicated affairs. An article by Miss Fulford expressing her views on Poor Law reform will shortly appear in these pages.

Two Brave Women.

The death of Dr. Caroline Matthews recalls the heroic part she played in Serbia during the war. She remained in charge of its military hospital at Uzitsi after the Serbian army had left, knowing that the Austro-German troops would shortly arrive, and that she would have to face them alone. Later she returned to nurse certain men in the Army of Occupation, and was taken to Belgrade as a prisoner and spy. Miss E. de Stourton Preedy, who was decorated by the French Government for her services with the French Red Cross, died the same day. She was in France from 1915 until after the Armistice, during a large part of which time she was under shell fire.

Women and the International Economic Conference.

Three women delegates have been appointed to attend the International Economic Conference which opens at Geneva on 4th May. They are Dr. E. C. van Dorp, lecturer at Utrecht University, Dr. M. E. Luders, a member of the German Reichstag, and Mrs. Barbara Wootton, Principal of Morley College. Mrs. Wootton is known in this country as one of the most brilliant of the younger Cambridge economists and a member of the Colwyn Committee appointed by the Labour Government to investigate and report upon the National Debt.

An Approach to the Women of China.

The Women's International League is attempting to get into touch with the women of China for the purpose of inviting their co-operation in an attempt to settle matters of dispute between Great Britain and China by negotiation rather than by force. To this end they have addressed a friendly letter to the Federation of Feminist Organizations in China, in which they congratulate the women of China on their movement towards liberty and education, pledge themselves to oppose the war spirit on this side of the world, and ask the Chinese women to do the same on their side.

The Policewoman's Review.

The Women's Auxiliary Service, 51 Tothill Street, Westminster, is publishing early in May the first number of a monthly paper, giving the national and international position of women police. This paper will be called *The Policewoman's Review*, and will include articles by well-known men and women on the question. The first number will contain an article by Mrs. Cecil Chesterton, the promoter of the "Cecil Houses," and another by Dr. Elizabeth Sloan Chesser, a summary of the present position of women police in this country, a survey of the movement in Europe for women police, and a descriptive account of a League of Nations

Meeting at Geneva, in connection with women police and the White Slave Traffic. This is an excellent move, and the modest subscription of 3s. 6d. brings the new publication within the reach of every woman interested.

Dame Clara Butt and the Guildhouse.

We hope the Queen's Hall will be crowded on the two Sunday evenings, 1st and 29th May, when Dame Clara Butt will come before the public in a new rôle. She will speak on "The Returning Tide of Faith," and Miss Maude Royden will also speak. Dame Clara will also lead Community singing, and will herself sing Dvorák's Biblical Songs. The proceeds after a proportion has been deducted for the Bishop of Pretoria's Diocesan Fund, Africa, will go to the Guildhouse funds. The Guildhouse is a sort of beacon of good causes, and even without Dame Clara as the magnet, many of our readers will, we are sure, gladly take advantage of this opportunity of furthering its good work.

New Ideas of Education.

Teachers, school managers, club workers, parents and others—who are not—interested in new standards of education will welcome the announcement that Dr. Paul Dengler, the Director of the Austro-American Institute of Education in Vienna, is to lecture in London in May (see advertisement). The school reforms in Austria are attracting much interest in the educational world and those who cannot study them at first hand should make an effort to hear such an experienced exponent as Dr. Dengler. An exhibition and sale of children's handwork from Austria, France, and Hungary has been arranged at the same time by the Save the Children Fund.

In Memoriam.

A correspondent writes: Many of your readers who are interested in the Temperance Council of the Christian churches, may wish to share to some extent in the memorial which, in a manner after his own heart, will commemorate the life and work of the late Dr. Pereira, Bishop of Croydon. Dr. Pereira founded the Council, and held the post of Chairman until his death, and it seems fitting that a suitable and permanent headquarters in Westminster for the cause which he had so much at heart, should stand as a lasting tribute to the distinguished service he rendered, not only to temperance but to united and harmonious action between those professing different religious faiths, and what is possibly more difficult, between those holding different views as to the solution of the temperance problem. The memorial is warmly supported by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, the Rev. Dr. Scott Lidgett, and General Bramwell Booth. Full particulars of the scheme may be had from the offices of the Council, 410-415 Abbey House.

Mrs. Arthur Johnson.

On 24th April, Mrs. Arthur Johnson died at Oxford in her 82nd year. With her passing, the University loses one of the most strenuous and devoted of its many women educational pioneers. Her activities date from the early seventies when she co-operated in the formation of a committee to promote lectures and classes for women. This committee was the direct ancestor of the four women's colleges, of the Society of Home Students, of which Mrs. Johnson was herself the Principal until 1921, and of the *Association for the Education of Women* which guided the destinies of women's education in Oxford until 1920 when the University opened all its doors to them. Indeed it is not often that a pioneer is privileged to witness so steady and complete a development of her life's work as Mrs. Johnson was able to witness during her 54 years of active life in Oxford. To all Oxford women her death will bring a sense of unfamiliarity, for the work and personality of Mrs. Johnson is so integral a part of the texture of Oxford memories. It is difficult to believe that so vital a part of Oxford's social and academic life has been cut away. Nevertheless it is difficult to lodge any complaint against a Fate which rounds off so fully and so abundantly the circle of a human life.

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.

WAGING THE SEX WAR.

The prospect of Equal Franchise has stirred so much mud during the past fortnight, that we are tempted to reflect with some despair upon the continued virulence of the "Turk complex." The *Daily Mail*, speaking through its Paris edition to the continent of Europe, has poured out an unending stream of vulgar and indiscriminate abuse at the expense of British women. The *Evening Standard*, following suit in this malevolent campaign, has sought to discount in advance the intelligence of the future electorate by publishing a selection of the most imbecile letters which it has succeeded in extracting from potential voters. But it is perhaps invidious to name these two particular organs of popular prejudice, for other debased sections of the Press have joined in the clamour against "votes for flappers," thus seeking to befuddle public opinion by entangling the proposal for adult suffrage with a word which in the days when it could be applied to anybody, could be applied only to young women in their late 'teens.

But what of it? The influence of these popular organs is in no way commensurate with their circulation, and they are for the most part read by persons whose political opinions are already formed. It is when similar attempts to kindle an indiscriminate sex-antagonism are made by responsible members of the Church and the educational world that our real fears are stirred. And last week brings evidence that attempts of the kind are continually being made. There is, for example, the sermon preached by Prebendary Gough in the Guard's Chapel last Sunday. In the course of it he asserted that St. George stood for a masculine religion. The feminine man was, he said, exercising an extraordinary influence in both Church and State. Such a man praised weakness or idleness, was full of pity for any spectacle which suggested hard work, was against competition which had made our race great, and would make unemployment the most flourishing industry in the country. The feminine man was complacent to a trade agreement with an enemy and pleased to bribe English energy into sleepiness and unworthiness by doles, and such like expedients.

It is not our business to defend the attitude which Prebendary Gough so emphatically deprecates, to explain to him the nature and causes of unemployment and the

difference between national insurance and public charity, or even to suggest that industrial competition has its roots in economic expediency rather than in Christian ethics. The point is that in the eyes of Prebendary Gough, the outlook here indicated is a wholly despicable outlook, and therefore he chooses to qualify it with the adjective *feminine*. That which is good is masculine. That which is bad is feminine. We suggest that Prebendary Gough's sermon was on the whole calculated to inspire in his hearers a disrespect for women, and that its spirit was for this reason, if for no other reason, in direct antagonism to that of the religion which he professes to uphold.

When we turn from the Guard's Chapel to the deliberations of the National Association of Schoolmasters, which took place last week in the University of Bristol, we find evidences of a similar general antagonism. "The Sex War. Bristol Inspector's full-blooded remarks"—runs a headline of the *Bristol Times and Mirror*. The view of the Conference seems to be that as Mr. W. H. Young, of Liverpool, remarked, women go into the teaching profession because it is well paid, and because their parents think that it will keep them out of the temptations of city life, and give them a good education until the right man comes along. To this Mr. C. H. Clarke, Chief Inspector to the Bristol Education Committee, added congratulations to the Association on its plucky stand for its professional interests. He hoped that the schoolboys would "catch" from its members what they could not catch from women teachers, and he considered that it would be a great misfortune if the rising generation of males were to be taught by women until they were 11 years old. Up to 7 years, he thought that boys would have to be taught by women "since there were not enough men to go round." To these sentiments the Dean of Bristol subsequently added the benediction of the Church.

Our fear is, of course, that judging from the attitude of mind which qualifies all references to women made by members of the N.A.S., if the rising generation "catch" anything from their professional mentors, they will "catch" the same infection to which the congregation of the Guard's Chapel were recently exposed. We are reminded from time to time of the dangers attendant upon indiscriminate attempts to fan the flames of a class war. Is a sex war one jot less dangerous?

THINGS INDUSTRIAL SEEN IN CHINA.¹

By DAME ADELAIDE ANDERSON.

X.

The feeling of confidence inspired by the Minister's knowledge and sympathy shown at our conference at Peking, reported in last article, was confirmed some weeks later. A travelling Inspector to investigate conditions and gather statistics of labour, from the Department of Industry at Peking—a Mining Engineer with University degrees, and experience acquired in France—came south as if in response to my appeal. He arrived at Shanghai in the course of his official tour and I visited British factories in the Settlement with him for which he was provided with an introduction to the employers from the British Consul-General. Questions of administration of the Peking Provisional Factory Regulations were discussed with him by members of the Industrial Committee of the National Christian Council; we showed him how the Chairman of the Municipal Council had put in the forefront of his guiding address to the Child Labour Commission the principle of co-operation with the Chinese Government, and I introduced him to the Chairman of the Child Labour Commission. The main aim was the promotion of effectual co-operation between the Chinese and the foreign Authorities in the crusade for the protection of Chinese child and other workers.

Enough has already been said of the effect of personal conferences with high Chinese officials to show that, invariably, the next promised and practicable step was taken by each official seen. It seemed to me that nowhere in the world could I have expected to be met with greater readiness to co-operate or quickness to perceive the meaning of the cause presented than I found in Chinese officials. The obstacle which appeared later in every instance to "following-up" of the promises could only be described as arising out of *force majeure*; the large scale

political and military conditions and adventures were fatal, so long as they lasted—as they have to this day—to practical progress of the cause in hand. A train of thought, especially, about the young workers, nevertheless had been started, and when I returned to China in 1926 echoes of it met me in unexpected ways and places among devoted Chinese workers for University education. My first visit to China had been opened by a memorable conference with Dr. Sun Yat-Sen at Canton which, though not directly concerned with industrial conditions (all of which then awaited my study) yet put into my mind thoughts and clues that helped to some understanding of much that followed. A little later in an exchange of letters with Mrs. Sun Yat-Sen I learned from her that fresh attention was being given by the Kuomintang party to questions of industrial welfare.

The two interviews that I had, in February and May, 1924, with the Civil Governor Han Kuo-Chuen, in Nanking, introduced me for the first time to a Provincial Chinese Governor in his Yamen. "A princely man in the Confucian sense" was the description of him given me by a Chinese Scholar, and my personal experience encouraged that view of him. On the first occasion I had two interpreters, the Rev. Mr. Shen, Assistant Priest at the American Episcopal Church in Hsiakwan, and Mr. Mcloy, Secretary in Nanking of the Y.M.C.A. The Governor listened attentively (asking questions) to my case on behalf of Chinese children as I had seen them in factories in and around Greater Shanghai, and to a rapid sketch of our own factory laws. The copies I took, to the interview, of Redgrave's stout volume of the British Factory Acts and of the Peking Provisional Regulations set out on two sides of a sheet of paper (in striking contrast) seemed to make a strong impression. Perhaps that is reflected in the second paragraph of his Ordinance of 20th May, 1924, which refers to the Peking Regulations: "Although there are special articles in regard to child labour, they are perhaps

¹ Previous articles appeared in our issues of 4th, 18th, and 25th February, 18th, 25th March, and 1st, 8th, 15th, and 22nd April.

not perfect since there is no careful inspection. This would tend to make them exist in name only." He goes on to announce his plan for setting up a Child Labour Commission "of the same nature" as the Commission "appointed by the Municipal Council in Shanghai" to investigate factory conditions, "so that regulations in regard to children in both the Chinese and foreign factories will be similar". Here we seemed then almost to have attained to realization of the joint working, administratively, for the protection of the children, so strongly desired and worked for ever since January, 1923, when the foreign and British manufacturers had asked for it as an essential.

At the former interview the Governor had explained the difficulties, political and economic, in the way of administering the law and had asked me for the memorandum on our own factory law and administration, which I brought and presented to him at the second interview, after the conference with Dr. W. W. Yen at Peking. Miss Zung Wei-Tsung, who was my interpreter and reporter at the second interview with the Governor, was much struck by the very cordial appreciation shown by the Governor of our efforts and our concern for the children. In her account of the interview she said, "Seeing the difficulty of carrying out his orders because of the complicated political situation in the Province . . . he wisely proposed that a Child Labour Commission be appointed . . . He said that he would introduce Dame Adelaide to Mr. Hsü Yuan, Commissioner of Foreign Affairs in Shanghai and notify the Commissioner of the Industrial Bureau in Kiangsu." Both steps promptly were taken, the Ordinance was issued within a week and my meeting with the Commissioner of Foreign Affairs followed in early June. Later the Industrial Committee of the N.C.C.C. were invited to co-operate with the Provincial Commissioner of Industry by suggesting names of suitable people to serve on the proposed Commission. Before the end of the summer the Provinces in Kiangsu and Chékang were at war, and in September a "State of Emergency" was proclaimed by the Municipal Council of the International Settlement of Shanghai. When I left on the homeward voyage to England in October, the Settlement was protected by barbed-wire barriers, against the more than possible sudden incursion of defeated Chinese soldiery into the haven of the Settlement.

(To be concluded.)

CHILDREN'S ALLOWANCES. By ELEANOR F. RATHBONE.

FINAL REPORT OF THE FAMILY ENDOWMENT ENQUIRY COMMITTEE OF THE WOMEN'S NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION.

This Report—as those who know the able band of women responsible for it might expect—is an admirable production. For a modest 3d., plus postage, the enquirer can obtain an attractive pamphlet, bound in Liberal true blue, containing a lucid, forcible statement of the case for Children's Allowances, so clearly segmented that he can turn at once to the section he desires, backed by all the most important facts and figures, both as to existing schemes and as to possible applications in this country, necessary to give it realism. The Report is the result of over a year's close and independent study, yet is so up-to-date that it contains particulars even of the New South Wales Child Endowment Act—the first considerable State experiment—which passed into law in March of this year with slight variations on the form the Report foreshadows.

The following extract is a good example of its methods of packing its facts tightly, yet so scientifically that they are not distorted or unduly squeezed. It follows a summary of Sir Josiah Stamp's latest calculations as to the possibility of raising the standard of living by distributing wealth as between rich and poor.

"That is to say a comparatively small number of people would be much worse off, and the majority would at best only receive from 5s. to 10s. a week in the first year, and the amount in later years would probably be less. Meantime, according to Mr. Rowntree's calculations, 15 per cent. of the wage-earners of the country have an income which is not sufficient to meet the bare needs of their families, and 50 per cent. of the children—the future workers of the country—live, during the years which will determine their physical health and capacity throughout their life, below the minimum standard at which they can be kept in reasonable health. These have to suffer for the upkeep of the children who do not exist. Where the family income is insufficient it is eked out by the mother going to work while the children are still young enough to need her at home, by letting rooms at the very time when the family most needs space, and by relief in the form of school meals, and by charity."

After considering the relative advantages and difficulties of the three possible alternative methods—a State scheme, contributory insurance, or industrial pools (equalization funds)—the Committee comes down in favour of the pool method, supplemented by State allowances to those in the public services and encouraged perhaps by the State offering to pay the administrative costs of properly run pools and requiring that the scheme should be put into effect in trades regulated by Trade Boards and (when practicable) by firms taking Government contracts.

The Committee's reasons for preferring the pool system to the contributory insurance method are not very clearly worked out, but in this as in every respect they were evidently animated by an intensely practical spirit, which takes account of existent facts rather than of shadowy ideals. One small correction should be made to their statement on the contributory insurance scheme. They say "every man with more than one child will receive more than he pays in." This should read "with even one child" as may be seen from Mr. Cohen's book on "Family Income Insurance", or from the Report's own specially interesting Appendix Table, showing how a pool scheme would work out under the actual conditions of the British Metal Industry. This makes it clear that even where the whole cost of the scheme is deducted from wages, families with one or more children gain more than they lose. Under a contributory scheme, the cost would be distributed between the State, employers and workers.

It will be interesting to see whether the women Liberals as a body endorse this Report, though not surprising if they fail to do so at the first hearing. It required three attempts, scattered over six years, before the Council of the N.U.S.E.C. were persuaded to place Family Endowment on their Programme by a two-thirds majority. To the Liberal woman, however, the question may perhaps be prescribed in this way: You, Madam, belong to a Party which claims to become once more the dominant Party in the State. You have to convince the wage-earners that you can show them a way to "a better England", surer and safer than the road on which Socialists desire to lead them. The wage-earners are not satisfied now. The growing strength of the Labour Party shows that. Why should they be satisfied with conditions under which "50 per cent. of the children—the future workers of the country—live, during the years which will determine their future health and capacity throughout their life, below the minimum standard at which they can be kept in reasonable health". How do you propose to change these conditions? You reject the Socialist solution. What solution can you find surer, less revolutionary, than the scheme of Family Allowances which your own leading women recommend to you? Granted that it involves some risks! Are there no risks in the path on which the country is travelling now?

THE MIND AND CHARACTER OF HENRY SCOTT HOLLAND.¹

Whether this book tells us most about the mind and character of Dr. Holland or of Dr. Lyttelton, is one of those interesting problems cognate to the art of biography in general. The relativities of science are as nothing to the relativities of the personal equation.

Dr. Lyttelton does not claim to write a biography of his subject, but rather, to deal with two abstractions which he calls respectively "mind" and "character." It is doubtful whether anyone so vivid as Scott Holland was can be so presented—we are tempted to say whether indeed he had a "mind" and a "character" apart from all the detail of his active life. Dr. Lyttelton adopts a somewhat apologetic attitude in regard to his subject and the reason for this probably is that his own mind and character are so extraordinarily different from those of Dr. Holland, who continually said and did things seemingly "for fun" and because they were dangerous. The book is worth reading for it raises questions which really interest modern people. Was he a modernist or was he of a particularly strict orthodoxy? Was he a worker for the unity of Christendom? Was he an optimist by nature or by grace? Was he a militarist? Was he a Socialist?

Mr. Cook and Mr. Wheatley would not perhaps have called him comrade, nor he them, yet one of his chief claims to a place in history is the part he played as a founder of the Christian Social Union and in other ways, in making Christians realize it to be a virtue, not a vice, to refuse to accept a fair seeming social system at its face value. Dr. Lyttelton again and again claims for his subject that he sought to create a right atmosphere,

¹ *The Mind and Character of Henry Scott Holland*, by Rev. the Hon. E. Lyttelton, D.D. (A. R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd.)

but would not "insult the specialist and the expert by encroaching on their territory." We venture to think Dr. Lyttelton mistakes his man in this matter, for Holland had a sense of humour, and no one with a sense of humour can imagine it possible to create an atmosphere without being willing to step down into the arena where things have to be done, not only talked about. Also, no one with a sense of humour takes the specialist and the expert quite at their own valuation.

Scott Holland's views about unity are interesting to-day when this subject is fashionable among earnest thinkers, who seek to promote union among the churches and, incidentally, amalgamations of organizations of women or others having somewhat similar objects. (It is inappropriate, but irresistible, to quote Dame Millicent Fawcett's reply, when appealed to to use her influence to unite women who differed somewhat fundamentally regarding methods, "Ah, unity, yes—the Gadarene swine were singularly united when they rushed violently down a steep place into the sea.") Dr. Holland expresses himself thus on this subject, "An organism reveals its intense homogeneity by the intense heterogeneity of its parts," and again, "The more we can include of legitimate variations and the warmer our sympathetic welcome of them, the better shall we realize the common ground on which they all rest," and yet again, "Through our extreme divergences we must freely touch and fuse." Dr. Holland, an Etonian, a Balliol and Christ Church man, a Canon of St. Paul's, always with enough money, was a privileged person. He, like leaders of some of the most famous revolutions, used his privileged position in his degree, so to transform society that privilege and poverty shall fuse in the white heat of a general goodwill, or—and—of scientific co-operation.

A. H. W.

"LET US LOOK THIS DIFFICULTY IN THE FACE . . ."

Some years ago, in developing the case for Family Endowment, Miss Eleanor Rathbone challenged her critics to dispute her central proposition. She said, drawing upon the work of Seebohm Rowntree, Professor Bowley, and Sir J. C. Stamp for her raw material, that a large section of the population containing a disproportionate number of children is living in poverty-stricken conditions, that the industries of this country now and in the near future are incapable of meeting this situation by the payment to all adult males of a "living wage" adequate for the needs of the family during its years of maximum dependence, and that the only practical method of achieving a living wage is by one or another form of family allowances. This challenge was not taken up. In other words the three propositions summarized above have never been disputed. Speeches have been made and articles written against Family Endowment, but in every case this central issue has been ignored. Their authors have confined themselves to indicating certain dangers and difficulties connected with the administration of the various forms of Family Endowment which have been suggested. They have stigmatized Family Endowment as the thin end of the Socialist wedge, or as a capitalist device for enslaving the workers. They have questioned the justice of penalizing the unmarried for the benefit of the family, and the expediency of relieving the burdens of individual parenthood. But—we repeat—they have never disputed Miss Rathbone's central proposition. Like the proverbial minister of religion, they have "looked this difficulty in the face, and passed it by." Indeed, on second thoughts, there is very little evidence that they have even "looked this difficulty in the face."

Now at last a book has appeared by Professor Gray, of Aberdeen University, which professes to embody the case against Family Endowment.¹ We hailed its appearance with eager expectation. Here, we said to ourselves, is the answer for which we have waited. The issue will be faced. Either its author will dispute the proposition that our present wage system is incapable of yielding a bare living to all those who are dependent upon wages, or he will have sufficient courage and sufficient pessimism to say that great as is the known evil of the present system, that evil must be endured because the unknown evil of Family Endowment in any conceivable form, is even greater.

In fact, however, Professor Gray does no such thing. The question of industrial productivity in its relation to human standards finds no place in his discussions. Miss Rathbone's glove still lies undisturbed in the arena of economic controversy.

M. D. S.

¹ *Family Endowment. A Critical Analysis*, by Alexander Gray. (Ernest Benn, Ltd., 4s. 6d.)

£1,000 FUND TO NAME A "DAME MILLICENT FAWCETT" ROOM AT CROSBY HALL.

The Crosby Hall Committee gratefully acknowledge the many additional donations that have brought this Fund up to £874, and confidently expect to receive the remaining £126 by the end of May, to complete the £1,000 Presentation to Dame Millicent Fawcett for her 80th birthday, on 11th June. Will those who wish to honour this occasion please send their donation at once to Mrs. Oliver Strachey, c/o THE WOMAN'S LEADER, 15 Dean's Yard, S.W. 1, or to Mrs. Alys Russell, 11 St. Leonard's Terrace, Chelsea, S.W. 3?

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THE LAW AT WORK.

By C. D. RACKHAM, J.P.

REPORT OF THE PRISON COMMISSIONERS.

This report has a somewhat depressing effect upon the reader. No new experiments are recorded, nor any particular advance in any direction. The dreary and hopeless procession of ins and outs is commented upon again and again, and, at the same time, the prolonged detention of habitual offenders at Camp Hill may almost be described as a failure. Out of twenty-three men discharged last year, eleven have already been reconvicted or found unsatisfactory, and the chaplain writes "The men are dead to all appeals of a spiritual and moral nature."

An encouraging point in the report is that the prison population continues to show a decline. The number of prisoners received under sentence fell last year from 55,619 to 54,737. The number of persons received on remand who did not return to prison after trial also shows a decrease, but there is an increase of 752 in the number imprisoned for debt. The number who were sent to prison for two weeks or for less still remains terribly high—14,601. The harm done by these short sentences is immense, and there is no doubt that many of these persons could have been dealt with by probation or by time being given to them to pay their fines. The danger is that in protesting against short sentences the impression may be conveyed that a long sentence is necessarily preferable and that it ought to be given even when the offence does not merit it. It has yet to be proved that a long sentence has a more reformatory effect on a prisoner than a short one.

An interesting account is given of the experiments in classification which are being continued in two prisons. By setting apart an Institution for those who have not been in prison before it is hoped to eliminate the "prison atmosphere" which is curiously described as the "characteristic attitude of the habitual towards society." The prison régime imposed from above has had at least as much to do in creating a "prison atmosphere" as the attitude of the prisoners themselves. But the régime is being to some extent modified in this prison with encouraging results. The beneficial effect on manners of taking a meal in association is mentioned more than once, but the practice seems still to be limited to a very small and privileged class of prisoners for one meal out of the three. The Leagues of Honour in two prisons which were reported upon last year are not mentioned in this report as existing in these prisons or elsewhere.

There has been a considerable increase in the number of boys committed to Borstal Institutions and a drop in the number of girls. Five hundred and thirty-five lads were so committed. The Borstal Association does a splendid work in finding employment for these lads when leaving Borstal. Without such assistance many of the boys would doubtless drift into chronic idleness. But with all the efforts that are made inside and outside the Institutions on behalf of these lads the number of reconvictions is high. After two years of liberty 178 boys out of 519 had actually been reconvicted and the fact that there has been no reconviction is an inadequate test of the effect of a system of training on character and mentality. The admirable work of the staffs is not the only influence at work in Borstal Institutions. There is also the influence of the lads on one another when hundreds of young criminals are congregated together, most of them for a period of two years, with little contact with the outside world. And the contact does seem very limited. Out of 1,108 inmates, 332 went to camp; 24 are reported as having attended a Technical School, and a walk with the housemaster appears to be the privilege of the few. It is pointed out in the report that much of the material is poor and many of the inmates have never had a normal home.

Both the Governor and the Chaplain of Holloway give the opinion that their Institution is utterly unsuitable for the great majority of those who occupy it—the aged drunken vagrants, the girls on remand or those serving a sentence who require the fresh air and healthy exercise that they can never get behind prison walls, and the pathetic stream of the mentally defective. And the Medical Officer states that 80 per cent. of the inmates are physically below par. One begins to wonder for what class of women prisoners Holloway is suitable.

The report tells us little of the convict prisons, the inmates of which have decreased slightly in numbers. Young convicts seem a hopeful class, and are, of course, often very superior in their mentality to the inmates of local prisons. It did not rain quite so much on Dartmoor in 1926 as in 1925, so we may hope that the convicts there suffered less from damp and depression. The Medical Officer of this prison, as previously, writes in a manner unworthy of the rest of the report.

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

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

MALVERN WEEK-END SUMMER SCHOOL. 13th to 16th May, 1927.

Arrangements for the Malvern Summer School are progressing most favourably. Accommodation can still be arranged for those who did not know earlier whether they would be able to attend. A conference to consider the formation of a Midland Federation and the Work and Policy of the N.U.S.E.C. will be held at six o'clock on Saturday. We hope that every single Midland Society will send a representative to this.

PROGRAMME OF LECTURES.—Friday: 7.50 p.m., Reception; 8.30 p.m., Equal Franchise and other Legislation affecting Women and Children, MRS. HUBBACK, M.A. Saturday: 9.30–11 a.m., Women and Social Insurance, MRS. HUBBACK. 11.30–1 p.m., The Work of Women Police, COMMANDANT ALLEN, O.B.E., Auxiliary Service. 2.30 p.m., Excursions, rambles on Malvern Hills, conducted by Mr. Arthur Bennett. 6 p.m., Conference on the formation of Midland Federation. 8.30 p.m., The Right of Married Women to engage in Paid Work, MRS. CORBETT-ASHBY, M.A. Sunday: 3 p.m., The Work of Women and the League of Nations, MRS. CORBETT-ASHBY. 8.30 p.m., Informal Discussion on a subject to be selected.

SCOTTISH UNIVERSITIES BY-ELECTION.

Both the Glasgow S.E.C. and W.C.A. and the Edinburgh S.E.C. sent Parliamentary Questionnaires to the two candidates at the above by-election. Mr. John Buchan did not return the Edinburgh Questionnaire, but answered the Glasgow Society's own Questionnaire. He declared himself in favour of equal Franchise, from the age of 21, an Equal Moral Standard, Equal Pay, the Separate Taxation of the Incomes of Married Persons, Nationality of Married Women, League of Nations, Training and Relief for Unemployed Women. He had not yet made up his mind about Women Police and the Right of Married Women to Undertake Paid Employment. Mr. Guthrie (Labour candidate) answered all the questions in the affirmative.

EDWARD WRIGHT AND CAVENDISH BENTINCK LIBRARY

LIST OF BOOKS RECENTLY ADDED.

Health, Wealth, and Population in the Early Days of the Industrial Revolution. M. C. Buer.
Europe, 1927. An Annual Survey of the Economic and Social Conditions.
Report of the Proceedings of the Fourth English Speaking Conference on Maternity and Child Welfare, July, 1926.
Status of Child Life in Scotland, 1926. Medical Research Council.
Report of Departmental Committee on Juvenile Offenders. The County Councillor. H. Samuels.
The Christian Ethic as an Economic Factor. Sir J. Stamp.
These Things Considered. M. Pollock.
The English Poor in the Eighteenth Century. D. Marshall.
English Women in Life and Letters. M. Phillips and W. S. Tomkinson.
A History of Russia. By Bernard Pares.
Contraception. Marie Stopes.
The Human Body. Marie Stopes.
Medical Views on Birth Control. Edited by Sir J. Marchant.

NEWS FROM SOCIETIES.

CROYDON W.C.A.

Members of the Croydon W.C.A. heard a well-balanced debate at the Adult School Hall on Thursday of last week, on the Right of Married Women to do Paid Work, with Mrs. Corner in the Chair. Mrs. Layton based her speech in favour of the proposition on the questionability of the right of the community to take upon itself to decide for any married woman, and suggested that public authorities are appointed to see that they get the very best people for the job, and for that alone. Miss Frere, on the other hand, suggested that it is a selfish thing for the married woman to enter an already well-stocked market, and hinder the progress of a woman who is dependent on her work. It was found that married women teachers had hardly any family at all, and this went to justify the position of local authorities who made marriage a cause of resignation. There was a very general debate in which a strong opposition to married women working was apparent owing to the fact that children and homes would suffer, and other workers penalised. Several speakers stressed the principle that married women should be able to make the choice; and that their position in this matter should not be determined by outside bodies, mainly masculine in their make-up.

BOLTON W.C.A.

Sir Herbert Cunliffe and Equal Franchise.

The Bolton Women Citizens' Association held a reception in the Aspin Hall on Friday last, at which Sir Herbert Cunliffe, K.C., M.P., and Lady Cunliffe were the chief guests. A warm welcome was accorded them by a large gathering of women, presided over by Councillor Mrs. Agnew, J.P. (Chairman of the Association), who expressed satisfaction on behalf of the members that they had in Sir Herbert a friend to the cause for which they stand, worth having in a place where women want friends badly. She reminded him that he represented not merely a party but a constituency of which the members of their Association were no mean part. She also reminded the members that they were not only a part of a large industrial constituency, but also of a great union of women—the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, whose strenuous efforts for equality had their reverberations in such legal enactments as the Matrimonial Causes Act, the Guardianship of Children Act, and many others. At the present time they were focussing their energies on equal franchise, and were deeply concerned as to the promised statement before Easter by the Prime Minister on that subject.

Sir Herbert Cunliffe devoted almost the whole of his speech to the subject of equal franchise. Personally he had always spoken strongly in favour of it, and had even voted against his own Government on this matter two years ago, and he was still anxious to do his share in its promotion. Sir Herbert said there appeared to be on the part of some people a movement to influence the Government not to fulfil the promise it had made to grant in the present Parliament, equal franchise to women as to men, and he observed that certain flippant people had been saying "why should flappers have votes?" That was not only an insulting thing to say, but utterly misleading. (Hear, hear.) Women of 21 were no more flappers than men of 21 were hobble-de-hoys. There were many women of 21 who were taking a very active part in the industrial, commercial, and social life of the country. With regard to the controversy as to whether the age should be 21 or 25 at which the franchise should be granted, it did seem to him to be very unfair that people who said they believed in the equality of women so far as the franchise was concerned, should be trying to postpone giving it to women because they believed that men and women ought not to vote until they reached the age of 25. He would not say there was not something to be said for making a later age at which both sexes should begin to exercise the franchise, and agree that if we were starting a new country, and modelling it from the very beginning, it might be that the whole population would come to the conclusion that 25 was the age to start at. "But we have to take the world as it is, and in our country 21 is and has been the age at which men and women were entitled to exercise their legal rights." His view was that 25 having regard to the stage of development we had now reached was really an impracticable proposition. Finally, Sir Herbert said that he had no reason to think that the Government would not fulfil its promise to place women politically on the same basis as men before the expiration of the present Parliament.

Earlier in the evening Mr. L. Chadwick (hon. treasurer) was busily engaged receiving special contributions—the result of a novel money-raising effort suggested by Miss F. M. Mather, a member of committee. The members had been invited several months ago to make jam, marmalade, toffee, etc., arrange supper or tea parties in their own homes, and hand in the proceeds on 8th April. By this means £200 was handed in to the hon. treasurer.

LIVERPOOL W.C.A.

The newly formed Central Group of the Liverpool W.C.A. held a very well-attended meeting at the Church House on 4th April, to express dissatisfaction with the present methods of dealing with offenders in cases of assaults on children, and to urge the Government to introduce

CHILDREN and EDUCATION

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Further particulars from the Save the Children Fund, 25 Gordon Street, W.C.1.

legislation for the better protection of children, and for the prolonged and remedial treatment of habitual offenders. A resolution on these lines was passed unanimously by an audience which included representatives from over twenty organizations dealing with sexual morality or the protection of children. The Chair was taken by Mrs. Rackham and the speakers (the Recorder of Liverpool, Canon Raven, and Dr. Hadfield), dealt with the problem from the standpoint of the law, the Church, and the medical profession. It was a deeply interesting meeting, and one which it is hoped will be fruitful.

EASTERN EUROPEAN PROBLEMS.¹

The situation in Eastern Europe is of particular interest at the moment for two reasons. In the Customs Union set up by arrangement between Esthonia and Latvia we have a precedent which may have far-reaching effects. These two countries are entirely different racially, but they have quickly learnt the lesson that economic pressure ought surely to teach to the rest of Europe, that the only hope for the recovery of trade lies in such mutual agreement rather than in tariff and Customs rivalries. Their example is of particular interest in view of the Economic Conference which will meet at Geneva in May to discuss these questions. The Union will almost certainly be extended to cover the Railway system and possibly the Postal Service.

The second feature of interest is of course the recent pact between Latvia and Soviet Russia. The negotiations for this have been dragged out for some time by Russia's unwillingness to accept an arrangement, insisted on by Latvia, for a conciliation Commission with a neutral Chairman in case of disputes, and a separate pact of non-aggression at the same time. These are now agreed to by Russia. Another difficulty has been the desire of Latvia to introduce stipulations concerning its obligations under the Covenant of the League of Nations. These are still under dispute, but there is no question of Latvia's loyalty to the League. It is essential for Russia to make sure of the safety of her trade through both Riga and Reval, and a similar arrangement with Esthonia is likely to follow. The importance of these moves is of great significance for the West as well as for the East; for in spite of assertions that they are due largely to the Soviet's desire to detach the Baltic provinces from the League and the rest of Europe, it is clear that on the one hand they do not achieve this disastrous end, and on the other that they do tend to promote a most desirable feeling of security among these small States on Russia's fringe.

CORRESPONDENCE.

TEMPERANCE LEGISLATION.

MADAM,—May I point out that there is an inaccuracy in the Report which you have received as to the resolution passed by the Council of the National British Women's Total Abstinence Union, on the reported great increase in licences in Jerusalem since this country accepted the Mandate for it? The Council did not call for the fulfilment of the obligation to prohibit the Liquor Traffic (Article 22 of the Covenant of the League) because this only refers to Mandates B and C, whereas Jerusalem is an A Mandate. What the Council did ask for was that Government action should be in accordance with the obligation accepted for all three Mandates, A, B, and C alike, namely, to carry out its duties as a "sacred trust of civilization." The Council felt that the reported enormously high increase in drinking facilities was not in accordance with this obligation, and that it will ultimately entrench the drink traffic as an integral part of the Government financial system, as it has done and is doing in Africa and in India, against the wishes of the people, and regardless of their moral welfare and even of their true material prosperity. The Report of the British delegates on industrial conditions in America and the important part played by prohibition in the unparalleled prosperity now enjoyed by America sufficiently established this last point.

ELDRED HORSLEY.

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

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ELECTRICAL ASSOCIATION FOR WOMEN.

MAY 11. 11.30 a.m. Second Annual General Meeting at Hotel Cecil (Richelieu Room).

MAY 12. 1.30 p.m. Visit to Standard Telephone and Cable Co.'s Works, North Woolwich.

LABOUR PARTY.

MAY 11 and 12. National Conference of Labour Women at Huddersfield.

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

London Federation of SEC. MAY 6. 3 p.m. General Meeting at 17 Campden House Road, W. 8. Chair: The Lady Balfour of Burleigh.

ST. JOAN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ALLIANCE.

MAY 1. 3.30 p.m. Equal Franchise Meeting at Round Pond, Hampstead Heath.

WOMEN'S NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION.

MAY 2, 3 and 4. Annual Council Meetings in Winter Gardens, Blackpool.

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