

THE WOMAN'S LEADER

AND THE COMMON CAUSE

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NOTES AND NEWS.

Homeward Bound.

Just too late to be inserted in our last week's number came the announcement in *The Times* and other papers with regard to the report of the special committee of the Cabinet, which was set up under the chairmanship of the Home Secretary to consider the whole question of Equal Franchise. "The Committee," *The Times* informed us, "has considered a number of suggestions, among them that women should be given the vote at the age of 30 without any of the restrictions that exist at present; that women should be given the franchise at the age of 25, and that no new men voters should be added to the register until they reach that age; and that the Parliamentary vote should be given to men and women alike when they reach the age of 21.

"It is understood that the Committee have rejected any measure which may be regarded as a compromise, and that they are prepared to recommend to the Government that the vote shall be given to women at the age of 21 on the same terms as it is given to men."

It was further stated that it was understood that the Cabinet Committee felt that a redistribution scheme would not be necessary before the next general election. We do not mind confessing that this announcement raises the very highest hopes. We feel our consistent optimism has been justified. The fact that the Government does not intend to tackle redistribution before the next general election clears away what might have been made use of for purposes of obstruction and delay, and the Prime Minister has subsequently declared that he does not intend to complicate the issue by dealing with other questions of electoral reform. It is an immense step in advance to see the Government's policy foreshadowed in this way. We are, however, not out of the wood yet, and regret intensely that Mr. Baldwin did not think it likely that legislation providing Equal Franchise will be introduced this Session. The danger of the Government's being too late, should an unexpected general election occur, is thus still with us, as also is that of pressure from some of the less enlightened back-benchers of the Conservative party in the House of Commons. During the next year

the main duty of women's organizations will clearly be to ensure that no Conservative members shall be left in ignorance of the desire for Equal Franchise. We shall publish shortly a list of Unionist members with their views and pledges as far as we know them.

Suppressio Veri.

Feminists who read the handful of women's papers which stand for equality must be somewhat baffled by the conflicting reports which appear in their accounts of the recent meetings of the Council of the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship. In *Time and Tide* they read that an amendment was carried which in the spirit if not in the letter amounted to a declaration in favour of protective legislation for women. In *The Vote* they read that the Council showed itself at one in objecting to protective legislation for women. In *Time and Tide* they find not a single word about equal franchise—the most topical and crucial question of the moment. In *The Vote* they read that equal franchise had "pride of place and was carried with hearty unanimity." On both points our older contemporary *The Vote* is in the right, while we regret to find in the younger so startling a verification of the old saying *Suppressio veri suggestio falsi* (Suppression of the true, suggestion of the untrue).

Conscription of Women.

Equalitarians will be pleased to learn that the French Government have decided, in the event of another war, to take the logical step of enrolling all women and girls for national service. We understand that in the original draft of the measure they were simply conscripted. It was pointed out that this would deprive the entire nation of any immunity which may attach to non-combatants, and would render legal the deportations of women, forced labour, etc., which inflamed opinion against the Germans during the late war. The wording was therefore changed, and women and girls are now simply to be enrolled along with boys and men over military age as non-combatants. At the same time the whole of the national resources will be placed at the disposal of the State, so that no private individual shall be in a position to profit monetarily from the war. In theory this should act as a deterrent, though the war impulse, once roused, does not need hope of profit to inflame it. In practice we hope that the theory will not be put to the test. But if they are to be pressed without exception into the national service in time of war, surely Frenchwomen are worthy to receive the long-delayed vote in time of peace.

A Blot on Our Civilization.

The first part of the report of the recent investigation into the international traffic in women and children has now been published officially. It will be remembered that this inquiry was undertaken at the instigation of the special commission of the League of Nations and the expense was borne by the American Bureau of Social Hygiene. Seven nations were represented under an American chairman with Dame Rachel Crowdy, a member of the permanent staff of the League and responsible for the work of the Commission dealing with protection of women and children, as secretary. For some reason, we are told, the publication of the second part of the report has not yet been "released." But large quotations are apparently being issued unofficially from Geneva. We are glad to find universal disapproval of this state of affairs. "Publicity," says *The Observer*, "is the weapon of the League, and must be used fearlessly." *The Times* dubs it as "bad policy." This incredible scandal of modern civilization has been pushed

underground long enough by a conspiracy of silence and secrecy. We sincerely trust that this report by experts will drag it into the open and that the nations of the world will unite in their determination to bring this hideous traffic to an end. We shall be publishing an article on the report by Miss Alison Neilans next week. In the meantime let us rejoice that just at the time when our minds are turning towards the centenary of Josephine Butler, the report insists "that the retention or abolition of houses of ill fame has acquired an international, as well as a national character." The connection between these licensed brothels and the traffic in women and girls is made so clear that it is difficult to think that even the least advanced among the nations can put forward anything in their support.

Reform of the Poor Law.

Clouds seem to be gathering round the prospects for the reform of the Poor Law in the near future. Some of our contemporaries have gone so far as to state that the scheme is to be withdrawn. Apparently the big guns both of the Unionist Agricultural Committee and of the London Municipal Society, as well as of the Boards of Guardians themselves, are being trained on the proposals. In view of the urgent need for reform, we hope that the Minister of Health will not be daunted, and will not take refuge in merely letting things slide. Though the doctors disagree, they unite in realizing the sickness of the patient.

Married Women (Employment) Bill.

This Bill has been drafted by Sir Henry Slesser and will shortly be printed. In the meantime, copies can be obtained from the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, 15 Dean's Yard, London, S.W. 1. It is a two clause Bill, which states simply that a woman shall not be refused employment or dismissed from employment by any Government department or Local Authority on the ground only that she is married, or is about to be married. Provision is made for those working under existing contracts requiring resignation on marriage to be brought within the scope of the Bill. We would urge all women's organizations and our readers to approach their Members of Parliament well before the second reading of the Bill, on 29th April, asking for their support.

Women Students at Oxford.

The question of the number of women at Oxford University has been exercising the minds of those who wish to see a considerable restriction of numbers. A petition to the Congregation has been organized asking to have the number of women allowed to matriculate every year to be limited to 250 or one-fourth of the average number of men matriculated during the three preceding years. A communication has been sent to members of the Congregation signed by several Heads of Colleges and the Chairmen of the Councils at the Women's Colleges setting out the reasons for opposing the petition.

The Irritation of Lord Hugh Cecil.

Lord Hugh Cecil has committed himself to the statement that men and women cannot be together—even in surroundings as disheartening as the House of Commons—without feeling either attraction or irritation. This type of remark, apart from its scientific value, is always certain of a good Press. But for all that, it comes from the theorist rather than the practical man. In actual practice nearly all men and women over twenty can be together without feeling anything more thrilling than the slight boredom from which arises the necessity for bridge and small-talk. There are exceptions. There are amateurs of emotion—and a great nuisance they can be—who seem able to collect personal relations as a conjurer collects half-crowns, from the empty air and upon a public platform. But there are not very many of them, for most of us have neither their skill, their optimism, nor their unflagging curiosity. In addition to these, there are the cloistered and the extremely shy—the people who suffer from the very state of things which Lord Hugh seems anxious to perpetuate. Human beings who cannot be in a room with persons of the opposite sex without being unduly affected by it are not seeing too much of men or women, as the case may be, but too little. The remedy is not to separate the sexes, but to associate them in the joint pursuit of wholesome interests. But even if this were not so, rather than drive women out of public life, we would urge the unfortunate attracted or irritated, when they feel these emotions rising ungovernably within them, to take a course of Pelmanism, pull their hats over their eyes, and endeavour to concentrate their thoughts on some nice point

of Parliamentary procedure, or even on the business before the House.

Physique of Women in Industry.

Professor Cathcart of Glasgow has been conducting at the request of the Medical Research Council an inquiry into the physical condition of industrial women workers. Three thousand women were tested for strength of back and leg muscles, weight, grip, power of crushing, etc., and the results were checked by comparing them with 400 former factory workers who had not been so employed for a considerable period, and 500 students from a teachers' training college. In the results it appeared that the employed women whose ages were nearly all between 17 and 22, weighed on an average the same as the unemployed, and were considerably stronger, although the unemployed were as a rule engaged in housework considered by the investigator more strenuous than most of the factory operations. The student teachers, ages 18-22, were markedly above both other groups in health, strength, and weight. This Dr. Cathcart attributed partly to the time spent by them in the open air, partly—as far as strength is concerned—to their superior mental training, which enabled them to co-ordinate their muscles more skilfully and more quickly. The "most perfect specimens of young womanhood," from the point of view of physique and carriage, were found in Glasgow chemical works and brickworks. Here the work was not machine-minding, but heavy lifting and carrying—one worker in chemicals moving from 20-25 tons of material a day. These girls had been born and bred in the worst slum districts of Glasgow, and were the daughters and granddaughters of women who in their youth had done similar work. This information is of the greatest interest and value, and we hope that it will be quoted in the House during the debates on the Factories Bill. It is a pity, however, that an attempt was not made to increase the percentage of older and married women in the group under examination, as half the women in industry are over 22, and the data obtained at present can only be said to apply to the other half.

What is Wrong with Nursing?

A correspondent writes: The difficulty of obtaining suitable candidates for the Nursing Service is not likely to be lessened by an advertisement which lately appeared in a contemporary Nursing Journal for a Staff-nurse for a special institution. "The nurse was to receive an extra £6 per annum if she held a certificate of general training." There is something fundamentally wrong with a service that values a certificate granted after three years' training at £6 per annum.

Miss Rosamund Smith and London Theatres.

We congratulate Miss Rosamund Smith on her election as Chairman of the L.C.C. Theatres Committee, on Saturday, as the first woman to hold the position. Miss Rosamund Smith, well known to many of our readers as a member of the L.C.C. and as at one time joint Honorary Secretary of the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, has done valuable work as Chairman of the L.C.C. Sunday Entertainments Committee. The work of the Committee relates mainly, we understand, to questions of public safety rather than of morals, these being still in the hands of the Lord Chancellor.

The Problem of Forced Labour.

Mr. Harold Grimshaw, of the International Labour Office, addressed a conference on the above subject last week, at the offices of the Women's International League, which had arranged it, attended by representatives of women's organizations and of several missionary societies. After an extremely valuable discussion, led by Mr. J. H. Harris, it was decided to form a council of representatives of women's organizations and others and from this to appoint a committee which would prepare a memorandum dealing particularly with forced labour and women to present to the I.L.O. conference.

Question in Parliament.

Thursday, 10th March.

ELECTORAL MACHINERY.—In answer to a question from Mr. Briant whether in addition to the question of the extension of the franchise to women on the same terms as men, he is also considering the question of the reform of the electoral system, the Prime Minister replied: The answer is in the negative, unless the Hon. Member has in mind certain minor or consequential amendments of the electoral machinery.

MARRIED WOMEN AND THE PUBLIC SERVICE.

One of the most considerable checks to the women's movement since the granting of the franchise has been the refusal of the Government and the municipalities to employ married women. It was perhaps inevitable nine years ago that they should refuse to establish the married woman who had worked for them during the war. The desperate need of the ex-Service men demanded some sacrifice, and even the women concerned were not, in the circumstances, prepared to ask for their own retention. But there was no reason then, and there is still no reason, why those who enter in the normal course should be compelled to resign their positions if they marry. The prohibition was made in a spasm of monkish horror at the thought that married women have children, and that if this doom were to overtake a female civil servant special arrangements would be needed to meet the case. The reason given was that in a time of unemployment no Government could put itself into the position of paying a second income to a family already in receipt of one. This argument would be valid if (1) no married women were permitted to work in this country; (2) no man could remain in the Civil Service who married a monied wife; (3) no Civil Servant were allowed to undertake spare time employment for pay. As it is, the regulation does not apply to charwomen. But the compelling reason is that Civil Servants will not face the problems which would follow on allowing their members occasional spells of leave. Their minds are rooted in the conception of human beings who enter an office at sixteen, eighteen, or twenty-one, remain in that office, and preferably the same corner of it, until sixty or sixty-five, and retire without ever having missed a day except their punctual annual fortnight or month... If England to-day is on the brink of ruin, this is the type of idea which has sent her there—product, as it is, of staleness, age, and the terror of poverty. In a vigorous country a man turns

from one task to another—all the more freely if he has been successful. A vigorous mind demands fresh difficulties, fresh interests, fresh adjustments. No human being remains at his best after he has left off learning. No first-rate man has ever been contented to go on doing the same work all his life. Compelled to do so, he either ceases to be effectively first-rate or puts his interest and vitality into something outside his work. There is no minor change which would do more good to the Civil and Local Government Services than that all their officials should be turned adrift for a year at a time, and brought into sharp contact with another life and an entirely different atmosphere. The good would be doubled if, when he returned, each man were to find himself posted to an entirely different department where he would meet new problems and bring to their solution judgment and experience gathered in a foreign field. In the meantime those left behind could be reorganizing their jobs and their souls. The curse of all bureaucracies is exactly the people who have thumbed a dozen files or a card-index in one room for so long that the very walls will tell you their brand of tobacco. Of them there will always be enough and to spare: the problem is to create movement, not to suppress it. The truth may very well be that young people are out of place at the desks of government and administration. They should be in the world, testing themselves, adventuring, discovering what life is like. Let the Civil Service be recruited at forty, from men and women of proved ability and integrity. There will be no lack of recruits: one of the great evils of our present society is that too many people are very much too good for their work. Then no question would arise with regard to married women. But as things stand, let that authority which sincerely desires the good of its service allot one or two married women to each department on the strict understanding that they are to be the mothers of large well-cared for families.

NEWS FROM WESTMINSTER.

BY OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT.

The most interesting part of the discussion upon the Army Estimates, which was taken on Monday, 7th March, was the debate upon Disarmament. Sir L. Worthington-Evans introduced the Estimates in a somewhat colourless speech, and the criticism he received was directed chiefly against the cutting off of the bounty for Territorials. The debate ran in ordinary channels, and many speeches of no particular interest were made. It was Mr. Greenwood, from the Labour Front Bench, who moved the motion for reduction of armaments, calling upon the Government to secure this in the Preparatory Commission at Geneva. As a matter of fact, the great majority of all parties are agreed on this policy, and though the Government voted against the motion, the speech of Capt. King (Financial Secretary to the War Office) told the House that Lord Cecil, who was going to Geneva as representative of the Government, would do all in his power to secure the object in view. In fact, the disarmament problem is approaching that dangerous juncture when all parties are agreed—a juncture in which, in the opinion of the late Lord Salisbury, nothing is ever done. However, we must hope that it will be falsified in this instance.

On Tuesday, 8th March, a bitter debate sprang up upon the dispatch of the Shanghai Defence Force. The occasion was the Supplementary Estimate for that purpose. Argument swung to and fro, Conservatives accusing the Labour party of a reckless disregard of British lives in China, and Labour Members retorting that they were the real conservers of life, for not only would their policy be safer for residents in China, but they spared casualties in the Army and Navy also. In a controversy of this sort each must take sides according to temperament and political affiliation, and it only remains to call attention to the speeches in support of the two views. Mr. Clynes opened for the Opposition and Mr. Dalton wound up. The best speech was made by Col. Wedgwood from Labour benches and Capt. Eden from Conservative.

In the evening Mr. Greenall moved for a Select Committee to provide schemes of work for the unemployed, and Mr. Cadogan, from the Conservative side, moved an amendment that it was undesirable to do so, and his speech was to the effect that a

Commission could do nothing. The debate was a good one, Mr. Lloyd George indulging in hopes which the House had often heard before, that the application of money to England, and above all to derelict Wales, would produce wealth beyond the dreams of avarice. Mr. Boothby, from the Conservative side, distributed his blows on all parties with a joyous impartiality, and made a delightful speech, and he was followed by Mr. Rose, from Labour benches, with one of his rare utterances, which deeply impressed the House.

Wednesday, 9th March, was a day of small things. The Bill changing the title of the King and of Parliament on the lines directed by the late Imperial Conference passed Second Reading after a short discussion. The Government of India (Navy) Bill had a more stormy passage, and was heavily fired at from Labour benches. In fact, it did not get through until nearly eight o'clock, when the sitting was suspended until 8.15 for the Newcastle-on-Tyne Corporation Bill to be discussed. This passed. A week earlier Bradford Corporation had tried to get a Bill through enabling them to run motor buses through wide districts outside the city area, and this power the House refused to give. Newcastle at first asked for the same concession, but in view of Bradford's fate, it wisely shortened its demand and the Bill was read a second time without a division.

On Thursday, 10th March, Sir Samuel Hoare, the Minister for Air, gave an amusing and pleasant review of his recent flight to India, and this, combined with the fact that Air Estimates are down by nearly a million, put the House in a good temper. A somewhat rambling discussion followed, in which airships, civil aviation, and the alleged inefficiency of the contract side of the Air Ministry, all in turn came in for comment, and at night there was a debate, similar to the one upon Army Estimates, calling on the Government to help disarmament in the Preparatory Commission at Geneva.

On Friday, 11th March, Captain Holt, from the Conservative side, brought in a Bill to prevent Seditious and Blasphemous Teaching to Children, and a keen though good-tempered discussion followed. There was an acute difference between the two sides of the Houses upon the facts, but in the end the Bill was read a second time.

PROGRESS IN PALESTINE.

By DAME MILLICENT FAWCETT.

It is more than six weeks since I left London, and I have sent no record of new impressions to THE WOMAN'S LEADER made by this my third visit to Palestine.

My earlier visits were in 1921 and 1922; and I well remember my first conversation with Sir Herbert Samuel on the occasion of my second visit. He asked me what changes, if any, I had noticed in the general condition of the country, and I replied "There are more roads and better ones; and there are more animals and they are better fed"; and he rejoined "Your observation is corroborated by my statistics."

On this occasion, after an absence of five years, the greatest and most obvious change I have noted is in the very considerable extension of building in the immediate neighbourhood of Jerusalem. The old walled city remains unchanged to outward view: its crowded narrow streets are absolutely impassable for wheeled traffic, because they consist of flights of stairs—shallow stairs no doubt—but still unmistakably stairs, down which camels proceed with their stately disdainful tread, and donkeys in any number pick their way with dainty deliberation; but the smallest wheeled vehicle would be an obvious impossibility. Nevertheless Jerusalem in 1927 is a very different city from what it was in 1922. The growth of well-developed, well-planned suburbs has been very marked. One sees it immediately on arrival at the railway station, where a whole new town of well-built stone houses has come into existence since I was last here; and I gather that what I have observed in Jerusalem is true to a large degree of other towns and villages. Tiberias, for instance, looked to me half as large again compared with what it was in 1922: moreover the whole place was cleaner and better kept than on my former visits.

The readers of THE WOMAN'S LEADER may have heard of our party being marooned in Transjordan. We had intended to visit Jerath where there are splendid Roman remains from whence the very beautiful sculptured head, now known as the Jerath Head, is now on loan for a year in the British Museum; but our expedition was spoiled by our being snowed up at Amman, now the chief place in the domain of the Emir Abdullah. Whilst waiting there, in the hope of being able to get on, we had the good fortune of a conversation with the British resident officer, Colonel Cox, who with his wife has lived in Amman for more than two years. They told us that the place has changed and developed immensely. Two years ago there was hardly a stone built house in the whole place: now it is almost completely stone built and the shops have become very much more useful from the British housekeeper's point of view. Schools and other features of civilized life have been established, and we were glad to learn that the tiny place already has a branch of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. This had been started by a young girl, a colonel's daughter, who had been horrified by the needless sufferings of animals which is unfortunately such an almost universal feature of Moslem life. It is something to have made even a beginning of a better state of things. There are, however, long arrears to make up not only in regard to the treatment of animals but especially of the animal called "woman".

An old friend of our women's movement, who has been resident here in an official capacity for more than five years, told us that her ménage was run, in the domestic sense, by two women, an elderly experienced housekeeper and a young girl. Wages run high in Palestine, and this young servant was paid by her mistress the monthly wages of £2. She was paid this sum, that is to say, by her mistress, but she did not receive it. Her brother came regularly to the house every month and took it from her not as an exceptional thing or to meet a special emergency, nor in any way as a matter of grace or favour; he simply possessed himself of it as a matter of right and was astonished and aggrieved when the girl's mistress interviewed him and said she would not allow this misappropriation to go on. He expostulated and said he had every right to take the girl's wages: if he chose he could sell her in marriage and get as much as £30 for her and no one could say him nay. However, the mistress has actually succeeded in convincing the young man that the girl's wages are her own and not his.

But the circumstances just narrated show that the National Council of Palestinian Women has a heavy uphill task before it if it is to establish anything approaching a satisfactory relationship between men and women. I have agreed to speak at a meeting of this Council before I leave Jerusalem. I may have something to say about this meeting when I next write.

THINGS INDUSTRIAL SEEN IN CHINA.¹

By DAME ADELAIDE M. ANDERSON.

IV.

The ordinary quiet moderateness of the aspirations of associated workers was illustrated by another deputation a few days later, in February, 1924, from women silk workers; they came chiefly to see me on behalf of child workers in filatures. More reasonable hours of work, not more than 10 daily, with a fortnightly rest day, kindly treatment and education for the children, and their supervision by forewomen were the chief desires. They too made their protest that they are human beings not animals. In view of the extreme heat and steam that pervade the majority of reeling rooms in the silk filatures, I put a question to them about the possibility of good ventilation to moderate these ills. The swift reply came that they wanted nothing that could interfere with production. And indeed in almost any country such problems of hygiene can only fairly and effectually be handled by expert and skilled engineers, under equal State regulations for all manufacture.

The one large gathering of workers whom I met was on May Day, 1924, the first Labour Day on which, by permission of the Chinese authorities of Shanghai outside the Settlement, a great meeting of labour associations was organized. It assembled in the open Court of the Heavenly Queen Temple and it was estimated by the organizers that about 2,000 attended—a cheerful and eager crowd. To this I was invited by the Central Labour Group of Shanghai, composed, so I was informed, of twenty-eight Labour Unions, the first rise of which in Shanghai is dated, says Mr. Moss in his valuable memorandum,² from the growth of factory production during the European War. The invitation, as translated for me, ran as follows:—

"Anderson Teacher,

Our Labour Union will unite with all the other labour unions to celebrate the World's Labour Day on May 1, beginning at one o'clock at North Honan Road in a Temple.

We always respect your zeal in social work and desire to promote improved conditions among the working people. We write you specially to ask you to come to the meeting and talk to us. We shall be very glad to have you."

After satisfying myself that the meeting was authorized and likely to be free from disturbance, I consented to go and to speak a few words. This was my very first attendance at a Labour Day meeting, anywhere, and it was a strange and delightful experience! That it should be in the Court of the Heavenly Queen Temple, in Chinese Shanghai, was one of those happenings in real life that sometimes outstrip the flights of fiction. For those who have never seen either a Buddhist or a Tao-ist temple it should be explained that in the outer court there is a large balustraded dais or theatre stage, facing towards the main altar. There the speakers were grouped with their friends and called to the front of the stage as their turn arrived for speaking. And there we looked down on and spoke briefly to those we could see of the 2,000. The friendly faces looking up seemed determined to be pleased. Yet as I stood there I found there was a new kind of flutter in the sudden realization of the significance of such a gathering, the adoption by Chinese workers of the forms of Western Labour organization, and the tremendous need they have for understanding help from all who know of the immense potentialities for good and the risks of going astray in labour organization to meet modern industrial development. My few words to them through an interpreter were of the new realization by Western nations that the international promotion of "fair and humane conditions of labour" makes for the peace of nations. I bade them be of good cheer in peaceful working for steady improvement of conditions of labour in China; and pointed to the great possibility of lightening human toil by industrialized production if accompanied by good conditions and use of science in care of labour. I reminded them that England took at least eighty years of building up factory law to attain to a good code for health and safety in factories, and even longer in developing trade union organization, to attain to a Labour Government—the arrival of which in Great Britain at the time of speaking—seemed to be a source of new hope to the workers of China. Thus thoughts of patience

¹ Previous articles appeared in our issues of 4th, 18th, and 25th February.

² See *Papers respecting Labour Conditions in China*, China No. 1 (1925). Cmd. 2442, page 83 and following.

THE ECONOMIC MAN AND THE EQUALITARIAN WOMAN.

By ELEANOR RATHBONE.

Half the preventible evils in the world are the result of confusion of thought. Sometimes it is the thinker himself who is to blame. More often a thought or conception, perfectly sound and useful in itself, works mischief because it falls upon the ears of a world too untrained in thinking to make a proper use of it. It is like a motor-car driven by a clumsy or reckless driver.

During the early nineteenth century, economists worked out the conception of an Economic Man; that is, they calculated how mankind would act if actuated solely by enlightened self-interest, bent upon producing and enjoying the maximum amount of material wealth. They did not say or mean that human beings either are or ought to be solely so actuated. But a stupid or self-interested world so misunderstood them. Manufacturers and merchants, together with all the lesser fry dependent on their wealth or their votes, believed they had found justification in the "laws of political economy" for working little children almost to death, for buying everything including human labour in the cheapest market and selling it in the dearest, for in short behaving in all the affairs of their business lives as an Economic Man would behave. Hence all the human suffering, the class bitterness, the defacement of nature which we associate with the period of the industrial revolution.

The economists woke up too late to the evil they had wrought. Indeed, some even of the earliest of them had foreseen and tried to prevent it, by introducing into their writings the qualifications and explanations that seemed necessary to prevent this misuse of their teaching. But the men of business—(or most of them, for there were noble exceptions)—paid no attention to these qualifications and explanations. They saw in the new idea a machine which could be made to serve their purposes, and without troubling to master the delicate adjustments necessary to its proper control, they drove it recklessly ahead.

There are some would-be feminists among us whose attitude towards the idea of sex equality reminds us of that nineteenth century tragedy. They have got hold of an idea—a fundamental and important idea not created by themselves—and in their enthusiasm for it they are ready to drive it ahead, without regard to the consequences to the human obstacles they may encounter on the road.

Let us examine their handling of this idea, as exemplified in the recent discussions at the Annual Council of the N.U.S.E.C. Those who resigned from the Executive Committee of that body did so largely because of the passing of a resolution which laid it down that, in deciding between two alternative methods of working for equality in the matter of protective factory legislation "the well-being of the community and of the workers affected" and "the wishes of those workers" should be taken into account as well as which method was "more likely to meet with a rapid and permanent success." Their view is that only the last-named factor should be considered. If such an attitude were prescribed by an individual for himself, its wrongness would be perceived by everyone. But it is argued that the Union in its collective capacity may rightly do what would be wrong for the individuals composing it. Because it is a Union existing primarily to promote sex equality, it must (they think) isolate this one aim and ignore every other. There is a real confusion of thought here. It is possible, and may or may not be desirable, for an Equal Citizenship Society to confine its attention entirely to questions into which the factor of sex equality enters. But in considering such questions, the Union cannot disregard every other consideration except sex equality without the risk of doing, in its collective capacity, a wrong which its members in their individual capacities will be unable to undo.

Let us take a concrete hypothetical case:—Suppose that the Union finds itself obliged to define its attitude towards a particular measure which aims at protecting women workers from the dangers of an industrial process apt to result in a certain torturing or disabling disease. Suppose its investigations into this subject convinces the committee that the danger is grave, but that it is one to which both sexes are equally subject; further, that the process is not essential to the industry's prosperity, since there is an alternative process which might be substituted. Sex equality, it is obvious, could theoretically be achieved in such a

and hopeful organization were my only contribution. Gladly would I have stayed on in touch with this movement.

The other speakers spoke chiefly in Chinese and Japanese, not interpreted for English listeners, and we descended from the dais to meet a group of special friends in the little group of silk filature workers whom we had seen with their banners and flags below. After warm greetings from them, my companions and I passed into the inner court of the temple and waited for a later translation of the recommendations and resolutions passed at the meeting.

The foremost aim in these was "To unite the workers of the world for promoting the happiness of all people, and destroying all that hinders the cause of humanity." Among the conditions demanded were: Establishment of an eight hours' day; no employment of children under fourteen years of age; if injury, sickness, or death are caused by work in the factory, employers should give proper aid; women workers should be given eight weeks' rest during confinement, with regular wage-payment. Workers were exhorted to pay attention to insurance and savings, to report their conditions of labour to their union, and the opinion was registered that "all labour unions should open free schools and hold moral talks."

Features of special interest were the giving of a brief history of Labour Day, by Mr. Zia, a speech from Mr. Shastre, a Hindu, and the attendance of Mr. Suzuki, President of the Japanese Federation of Labour, on his way to attend the Sixth International Labour Conference at Geneva. Our friends from the conference of 8th February, on the twenty-nine questions must have found an answer to several of their questions at this May Day meeting!

Orderly animation was the key-note of the whole proceedings: cognizance evidently was taken of the meeting by the Police of the Foreign Settlement, for in the road outside the temple tranquillity was safeguarded by the presence of their Sikh policemen, and inside the temple were the police from Chinese Shanghai.

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

The Crosby Hall Committee gratefully acknowledge the many additional sums, large and small, that have brought this Fund up to over £800. As Dame Millicent's friends hope that she will have many birthdays after her 80th birthday in June, they are not celebrating this one in any special way other than by presenting this room to Crosby Hall where the British, Colonial and Foreign Students can use it after the Hall is opened, and can share the honour in which we hold Dame Millicent's name, and the gratitude we feel towards her for her work or women. Please send your birthday gift at once.

Further donations or promises (due June, 1927) will be gratefully received by Mrs. Oliver Strachey, care of THE WOMAN'S LEADER, 15 Dean's Yard, S.W. 1, or by Mrs. Alys Russell, 11 St. Leonard's Terrace, Chelsea, S.W. 3.

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case, either by opposing the proposed measure of protection for women, or by striving to make it include men as well. But there is (let us suppose) reason to believe that the former course will politically be the easier to achieve. Then (say the Equalitarian Women) the Union is bound to choose the former course, even if they believe that the latter is likely to secure (though more slowly) protection for both sexes and is socially the more desirable. Should the members of the Committee then, spend from 4 to 6 p.m. in the House of Commons, lobbying (*qua* Equalitarians, in favour of an amendment to cut out the protective clauses, and from 8 to 10 p.m. to showing (*qua* Social Reformers) the evils that would result and promoting an amendment in the opposite sense? The suggestion is not so farcical as it sounds. One of the resigning members from the N.U.S.E.C. committee is actually a Parliamentary candidate, who, if successful, would presumably find herself pledged to work (*qua* Labour M.P.) for a policy far more "unsound" than that which (*qua* Equalitarian Woman) she has so emphatically condemned.

Human life being what it is—a complex, organic whole—it is not possible for human beings, whether acting collectively or as individuals, to single out any one principle and pursue it to the disregard of every other consideration, without the danger that that principle may become "an arid, barren, obsessing idea, which will lead them nowhere but into the desert." For saying that of Equality, I have been accused of saying that Equality itself is "an arid, barren, obsessing idea!" Suppose one had said that a human skeleton, stripped of its encompassing flesh, blood, and sinews, was a dry and lifeless thing? Would one be accused, by a sapient British public of asserting that bones are a quite unnecessary part of human bodies?

The worst of these dissensions in the Equality camp is that they are likely to "comfort the enemies" of sex equality. These may even imagine that the party left in control of the N.U.S.E.C. steering wheel is ignorant of or indifferent to the dangers adhering to protective legislation for women only; that we have failed to notice that the motive underlying much so-called "protective legislation" is the desire to protect men from the competition of women workers. Such persons will, I think, soon find out their mistake. The N.U.S.E.C. has not changed its place of destination. We who remain believe that we shall arrive at it as surely, and perhaps not less quickly, because we propose to steer round obstacles rather than drive right over them. To drop metaphor, we believe that our cause will be helped and not hindered if we can show the workers, the politicians, and the public that we are not fanatics obsessed by an overmastering idea, but experts in feminism who yet are willing to give due weight to considerations outside feminism. In such a matter as protective legislation, it is essential if we are to succeed, that we should ultimately have the opinion of the women workers themselves on our side. What is the use of demanding votes for women at 21 and backing up our demand by the plea that the industrially and professionally occupied women are without the protection of the vote, if the next moment we ostentatiously proclaim that on the very questions which affect the working conditions of those women, we know best what is good for them and do not intend to ask or consider their views.

Nor need we be ashamed to show consideration for the views even of the men workers, for it will immensely strengthen our chances of achieving our Equality aim, if we can manage to range the men on our side instead of against us. While it is true that sex jealousy is often the motive of their zeal for "protective" legislation for women, it is not their only motive. Broadly speaking, the male trade unionist desires protection for himself. He does not regard it as something beneath him and only fit for women and children. The coal miner's demand from Parliament, for example, was not "Let my people go!" but "Protect us from the Economic Man!" When he says, "Women first!" he is sometimes using the women as the thin end of the wedge; sometimes (knowing that women's labour is interdependent with men's) he hopes to win shorter hours or danger-saving contrivances for himself "from behind the women's petticoats." To show a sympathy with and understanding of this point of view, is not to betray the women's cause. It is more likely to prove the only means of enlisting on its behalf a force which is essential to its success.

To those of us who hold this view, the tactics advocated by the Equalitarian Woman seem as politically clumsy as they are morally indefensible. When we speak of "Equal Citizenship," our stress is on the second word as well as the first. We cannot forget our *citizenship* in our *equality*. Human lives matter too much to be used as pawns even in the great equality game.

THE REVISED PRAYER BOOK OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

By A. HELEN WARD.

The preliminary draft of the revised Prayer Book issued by the Bishops has had a good Press. The much-abused Press has indeed shown once more that dramatic sense which is sometimes lacking in its high-minded but unimaginative critics. The journalists have recognized that religion, and therefore this Prayer Book, is just as much the concern of the ordinary lay person, whether of some denomination or of none, as are politics or economics or science. They have recognized that the religious views embodied, for example, in the formularies of the established church of this country do not concern those only who are definitely enrolled "C. of E."

What is true of all lay persons is true of women. The laws and the customs, the fetishes, the traditions, the taboos which have too long made a tangled net round the feet of women derive much of their strength from religion or rather from human error taking on the mantle of religion.

There are three offices in the provisional Prayer Book now brought to the bar of public opinion, which directly affect women. They are the Churching of Women (a thanksgiving after childbirth), the Form and Manner of Making of Deaconesses, and the Solemnization of Matrimony. The Churching of Women is conveyed practically unchanged from the old Prayer Book (except for the interesting suggestions that verse 10 of Psalm 116, "I said in my haste, all men are liars," is of optional use!). The consideration of this Office need not detain us, except to note in passing that a name for it less reminiscent of hoary taboos is desirable, and that it would be well in some way to provide opportunity for the man as well as for the woman to give thanks for her safety and for the child.

The Form and Manner of Making of Deaconesses, adopted by the Upper Houses of Canterbury and York, now incorporated in the Book of Common Prayer for the first time, repays careful comparison with the Form and Manner of the Making of Deacons. The deacon is given a copy of the New Testament with an exhortation from the Bishop in the following terms: "Take thou authority to read the Gospel in the Church of God, and to preach the same, if thou be thereto licensed by the Bishop himself." When the deaconess receives her book, these words are deemed appropriate: "Be diligent to study the things which are written in this Book, that, as much as in thee lieth, thou mayest teach the Gospel . . . and be an example of holy living." A distinction most surprising to those who believe that to err is common to both sexes. Why nothing to the deacon of his being an example, and why no limit of possibility of frailty such as that embodied in the phrase "as much as in thee lieth?"

The ordinary lay people may not be directly interested in these two offices, but there are very few, married or unmarried, Church of England or otherwise, who do not rightly regard it as their concern what form is provided by the established church of the country for the solemnization of matrimony. And it is in revising this office that the Bishops have shown themselves not afraid to lead. Certain archaisms remain, as, for example, the quaint inquiry, "Who giveth this woman?" But in the supreme act, the mutual giving of troth, the words used by the man and by the woman are identical. That fetish of the elderly ecclesiastical layman, that provoker of the mirth of the writer of chatty paragraphs, that cause of just offence to the thoughtful woman—the word "obey"—has vanished. Milton's aphorism, "He for God alone, she for God in him" holds no longer. What should be thought of the fact that in the final prayer supplication for faithfulness is made on behalf of the wife only, it is difficult to say. Even Miss Royden and Mrs. Creighton were unable to move the House of Laity of the Assembly of the Church of England in this matter when they tried a few years ago.

It is too early to predict the fate of the Bishops' draft, but its publication, after twenty years' work, is a pledge that, given persistent effort, based on sound knowledge and reverence for what is good in things old as well as new, the full emancipation of women in the sphere of organized religion may be looked for in the near future. The quantity of such work done by the League of the Church Militant sets a high standard to be followed. Modern people are really, though not always apparently, interested in religious problems. A spiritual revival in which men and women played their part as equals would be, in the opinion of some, whether professing any organized religion or not, a remedy for

(Continued on page 47.)

NOTES FROM IRELAND.

By DORA MELLONE.

FAMILY ALLOWANCES IN BELFAST.

During the last month the question of Family Allowances has been discussed at a number of working-class meetings in Belfast. Under the auspices of the Women Citizens' Union, Miss Courtney, Vice-Chairman Family Endowment Council, visited Northern Ireland and spoke on this subject in Belfast and Londonderry. Great interest was roused in the question, and the work will be continued next winter. Rents varying from 7s. 6d. for a "kitchen house," i.e. two bedrooms, kitchen, and scullery, without hot water, to 13s. 8d. for a three-bedroomed house with hot water; wages cut to the lowest possible, without bringing certainty of a strike; coal 2s. a bag, all these and other facts render the £2 17s. 3d., which may be taken as a fair average for the skilled worker, a sadly insufficient amount for the families of three or four children.

HOW THEY TAKE THE IDEA.

At the same time, in dealing with thoughtful working women you must be prepared for surprises, "I reared twelve childhe, and never taken a penny of the dole or anything else, and I won't," said one typical Ulsterwoman. The writer reflects silently that probably, like many other Belfast working women, the speaker is only one generation removed from the well-to-do farming class, and has not yet felt the full pressure of continued struggle with insufficient means.

Discussion of the possible alternatives brought interesting results. "I think the Family Allowances would be better than the school uniforms, because the children wouldn't get them till they were six, and the mother would want the money just as the baby's getting too big for nursing. On the whole, the opinion went against the school uniforms. "I'd like to dress them alike," said a mother of twelve, "but if (note that universal pronoun. For good or ill, it is always "they." Who are "they"?) they would just give me the money, I could get the stuff at the Co., and make it go further. It would cut down like." Exactly so.

DOES SHE REALLY EXIST?

One guild was exercised about that much-discussed person, the selfish mother who spends the money on pictures or hats. "She would need to be punished," they said severely. "There's many women would just waste it and leave the childher short." Quotations from Miss Rathbone did not appease these stern critics of their own sex. "If they worked it right, a bag of coal would do a week. It does with me," said a domestic economist, who on inquiry turned out to have only one child. A mother who had married a widower, and was therefore responsible for no fewer than ten children, corrected the estimate of fuel consumption.

Two facts emerged from the thirteen meetings addressed. If any way could be found of increasing wages to the point where it would be possible to make these really support the family, the mother would prefer this method. Faced with the demonstrable impossibility of this—the tramways employees are to be reduced this spring for instance—the mother accepts the idea of a special payment to herself as a second best. I mention this as a comment on the oft-repeated statement that the working class are getting pauperized by the extension of State aid in its various forms. These Co-operative women are used to a fairly good standard of living. Consequently they are very unwilling to accept "grants in aid." This goes to corroborate the statement so clearly made by Miss Courtney that with the rise in the standard of living goes an increased, not a decreased, sense of responsibility.

"WHAT IS TO BE DONE WITH THEM?"

One more point worries the ladies. "Those big families would be very expensive," said one critic of the scheme. "Large families should not be allowed," said another sternly. How they were to be dealt with was not mentioned. One had a moment's comic memory of a Southern lady, who in discussing the sad plight of a widow, remarked, "She left him with seven childher, and he buried four. Sure, what else could he do with them?" Indeed, what else? The streets of that city were full of boys and girls. Where does that saying come from? It pictures a city where the children will be in truth "the greatest asset of the State." Not Belfast, with its latest infant mortality figures of 147 per thousand.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE DEPUTATION.

OFFICIAL REPORT.

Prime Minister: I do not know, Lady Astor, whether it is your management of this deputation, but I have received a great many deputations, and I think I would put this equal to the best that I have received in the way in which each speaker has said clearly and succinctly what she desired to say, and nothing more. The points could not have been put better, and in a little over half an hour I have heard all that I want to hear, and all you could possibly have said if you had taken twice the time.

Lady Rhondda observed that she wanted to hear my views. I will put it in this way: I wanted to hear yours. I do feel some sympathy with you, that you have not heard anything definite from the Government yet, but I would remind you that this last year has been rather an exceptional one for any Government. We all of us have been over-worked, and we have had a great load of very difficult matters coming before us to be dealt with as a result of the labour troubles of last year, followed by one of the most extraordinarily difficult situations in China that any Government has had to face. These are constant and pressing anxieties, and with the ordinary routine of Government business and the gradual fulfilment, as I hope, of Government pledges, we have had our time very, very fully occupied. We are getting very near the time now when we shall make our definite pronouncement on this matter, and the pledges which have been given you have reminded me of, but I have promised the House of Commons that before Easter a full statement of the Government's intentions will be made, and there is nothing more that I can say to you this afternoon than that we shall make that statement to the House of Commons, which is the proper place to make a statement of such vital importance, before Easter.

You ask that whatever may be done should be done in this Session. I doubt very much the possibility of that because of time, but I do not quite accept the view which has been put forward about the life of a Parliament, nor do I quite accept all the dates that have been given. If it were the desire of the Government—and here I am speaking purely hypothetically, because I cannot say anything to you at all until I have met the House of Commons—there can be no difficulty, and I think the Home Secretary will confirm me here—so far as the Registers are concerned if a certain Act is dated this year or early next year.

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks: That is so.

Prime Minister: So far as that difficulty may be supposed to exist, it is not really one that need cause you any concern. This whole matter, together with a number of very important questions, is at the moment engaging the attention of the Government, and I am very glad to have seen you. I know you asked to see me last year, and you very kindly put off this meeting because of the amount of work that lay upon us in the autumn. This meeting will be useful to me in putting clearly your views and your desires, which I shall take care are handed to the Cabinet. And I also note what you have to say in the event of such a Bill as you desire being introduced, that you wish it to be a simple Bill and clear of matter which you regard as extraneous.

I do not think that there is any question I wish to ask you. You have covered the ground so admirably, and I think amongst you you have touched upon pretty nearly all classes of women and women in all kinds of work. I think I have got your points quite clearly in my mind, and it only remains for me, Lady Astor, now to thank you for having come, for the very small amount of time which you have consumed in this deputation, and to re-affirm the statement which I made in the House of Commons that full information will be given to Parliament before Easter as to what the Government propose to do. There is nothing more that I can say to you this afternoon. I knew you wished to see me to state your views, and I was very glad to have them.

THE REVISED PRAYER BOOK OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

(Continued from previous page.)

many evils not obviously connected with the sort of religion people love to put into a pigeon hole, cut off from its natural complements of politics, science, economics, art. It would be more than this, it would be the most hardly won, but the best worth while of all the victories of the woman's movement.

MOTHER AND SON.¹

Mr. Sadleir's remarkable book on Anthony Trollope is well named a commentary, but it is a great deal more than a commentary on that remarkable writer. In one part of the book he gives us a brilliant analysis of the mid-Victorian England in which Trollope's life was cast and a considerable proportion of his chapters are devoted to the life of Frances Trollope, the novelist's mother. Mother and son between them in the fifty years between 1832 and 1882 contributed over a hundred books, for the most part novels, some of them extending over two or three volumes, to the literature of the period. And though the work of the mother is forgotten, while that of her successful son is passing into a stage of revived popularity, there can be no doubt that the latter owed much to her example and inspiration. It is thought that one of her novels *Petticoat Government* played a considerable part in the conception of the famous Barchester series and Sadleir records conversations between the two when as fellow novelists, the vivacious old lady in her seventies chafed her more ponderous son and gave him hints full of worldly wisdom from her own long experience of what the public wanted.

Those who have not previously read Trollope's own account of his mother's life should immediately procure a copy of his autobiography. It has been suggested that the perusal of this book with its matter of fact and unromantic revelations of plodding output regulated rather by the clock than by the inspiration of the artist, robs the Trollope lover of his delight in the creations of his pen. To this we cannot for one moment agree and we believe that one of the results of Mr. Sadleir's devoted labours will be not only a boom in the sale of the novels but a demand in the libraries for one of the honestest human documents that was ever printed.

Frances Trollope's first book was published in 1832 nine days after her 52nd birthday. Books about America were less ordinary then than now and *Domestic Manners of the Americans* made a great stir and what was more to the purpose for the harassed wife of an unsuccessful husband and mother of six children, it made money. The story of Mrs. Trollope's gay and courageous struggle with poverty, her mad efforts to retrieve the family fortunes in America, her dash to Belgium to avoid the sheriff's officers, and most poignant of all, her years of nursing a dying husband and consumptive son and daughter while grinding out popular stories for their support while others slept, reads more like fiction than fact. Some degree of repose came to her in old age, happy in the friendship of her sons, but though no longer from dire necessity, she continued to write until a few years before her death at the age of 86.

Trollope's mother was not the only woman who played an important part in his life. Kate Field, whom he met first in Italy as a young American girl of great charm and promise, became in Trollope's own words "out of my own family, my most chosen friend." The friendship between this sparkling girl and the middle-aged and somewhat stolid Englishman is delightfully described in Mr. Sadleir's pages and the correspondence between them is published for the first time. The letters in which he encourages her early attempts at writing may well be commended to any budding novelist or poet to-day. Trollope was no feminist and his young friend was rapidly developing into a prominent feminist and public speaker. "Oratory," he tells her, "is connected with forensic, parliamentary, and pulpit pursuits for which women are unfitted because they are wanted elsewhere." But he urges her to write:—"I would so fain see you step out and become one of the profession in which women can work at par alongside of men."

Trollope had not much use for the unmarried woman. Violet Effingham in *Phineas Finn* (1869) says, "I do not think I shall marry Oswald. I shall knock under to Mr. Mill and go in for woman's rights." But she marries nevertheless. But his

¹ *Trollope. A Commentary*, by Michael Sadleir. (Constable, 15s.)

own favourite heroine, the inimitable Lily Dale, is allowed to reject marriage because her first and only love proved a disaster.

It is difficult to stop writing on such a book as this which throws new light on the life of a writer who has the rare gift of turning his readers into personal friends. Mr. Sadleir quotes the heroine of a modern novel, *The Rector's Daughter*, who turned for comfort in her loneliness and disappointment to Trollope's pages. He understood ordinary commonplace people with ordinary commonplace troubles. "Trollope," wrote Sir Walter Raleigh, "starts off with ordinary people and makes an epic of them." There is commonsense, worldly and other worldly wisdom, philosophy and comfort to be found in the best of his novels. Readers of this paper who are still strangers to this big-hearted storyteller should read this commentary and then immediately embark on the Barchester series. Every lover of Trollope owes Mr. Sadleir a great debt for his labour of love.

E. M.

"AND THEN FACE TO FACE."¹

Those who like short stories will find excellent entertainment in this book. The tales are of all kinds; some, like the one from which the title is taken, and "The Fatal Woman" are gruesome; some like "Henry and the Muse" are amusing; but all are natural, well worked out, and full of sympathy for the pathos and oddity of human nature. Each one has in it that element of surprise which is such a valuable asset in the storyteller's art. Each has clever characterization, lightly touched in. Each has its own charm, and, though there is no ponderous moralizing, each illustrates some truth about life and serves to reveal a very distinct attitude of mind. Altogether a most refreshing book.

I. B. O'M.

OBITUARY.—MRS. DOWSON.

In the passing away of Mrs. Dowson of Upper Broughton the women's cause has lost a great friend. In her early years she was the first secretary of the N.U.W.S.S. in Nottingham, and all through her long life she took a keen interest in the work of it, and of kindred societies. She fought in Mrs. Josephine Butler's campaign against State regulation of vice, and efforts which were made for better conditions of life of men, women, and children—and indeed of animals—had her active support. In her old age her presence at meetings or committees was an inspiration. She showed, in her own beautiful personality, how principles can be firmly held and fights tenaciously waged without any restriction of sympathy or loss of gentle kindness. Especially in Nottingham she will be greatly missed.

ELECTION OF URBAN AND RURAL DISTRICT COUNCILS AND POOR LAW GUARDIANS, 1927.²

The Home Office have issued a circular drawing attention to the times for the proceedings in connection with the forthcoming election for the above-mentioned local authorities.

- (1) Nominations, Thursday, 17th March (noon).
- (2) Statement as to persons nominated, Saturday, 19th March.
- (3) Withdrawal of candidates, Tuesday, 22nd March (noon).
- (4) Day of election, Monday, 4th April, or such other day not earlier than Saturday, 2nd April, or later than Wednesday, 6th April, as may for special reasons be fixed by the County Council.

¹ *And Then Face to Face*, and other Stories, by Susan Ertz. (T. Fisher Unwin, 7s. 6d. net.)

² For election leaflets, etc., see under N.U.S.E.C. Headquarter Notes.

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THE LAW AT WORK.

By C. D. RACKHAM, J.P.

THE UNDEFENDED PRISONER.

The new Criminal Justice Act is now in force and magistrates are dealing with cases which heretofore have been sent to a higher court. The advantages of such a plan are obvious. The defendant gets the matter settled and does not have to spend an anxious time awaiting his trial. Expense is saved and also much inconvenience to the witnesses and to those citizens who would have been summoned to sit upon the jury if the case had gone for trial. Also it is possible that better evidence may be given at Petty Sessions than would have been given after the passage of weeks or months had dulled the memories of the witnesses. We may be glad on the whole at the new state of things.

One of the disadvantages of the present system is that a poor defendant in the police court has not the same opportunity of being professionally represented as he has in the higher courts and there is no doubt that in this way he suffers an injustice. It is not that men who are entirely innocent of any offence are often convicted in the police court because they are incapable of establishing their innocence. Legal proceedings cannot be described in such a crude and summary fashion. Every magistrate of experience knows that there are many offences in which the line between guilt and innocence is very difficult to draw. A man is charged with receiving stolen property; the case against him may look black, but at the same time no one except the man himself can be sure how far he actually knew the property was stolen; with him it may be a case of, He might have known or He ought to have known. Or a charge of obtaining money on false pretences is preferred. It may be very uncertain as to whether the false story was actually the cause of money being given or was only an incident in the transaction and the defendant was expecting to be able to pay the money back in due course. Or where a man is charged with being concerned with another man in some crime it may be almost impossible to ascertain how far the defendant was aware of what his comrade was doing or scheming.

These instances are quoted to show that much must depend on how the evidence in a man's favour is made to appear. An undefended prisoner is often incapable of presenting it at all. A witness gives evidence against him and the prisoner is asked whether he has any questions to ask the witness. It is a crucial moment in the proceedings. In his book, *The Spirit of our Laws*, Mr. Herman Cohen states under the heading Cross-examination, "It is hardly possible to overrate the importance of this testing instrument" and he quotes the following: "The object of cross-examination is two-fold—to weaken, qualify or destroy the case of the opponent, and to establish the party's own case by means of his opponent's witnesses." It is tragic to compare this description with the attempt at cross-examination made by the average defendant. He has not the slightest idea what he is expected to do: he wants to say something in explanation of his own actions but he cannot see what this has to do with "asking a question". At some recent court proceedings a man, when asked to put a question to his wife who had given evidence as to his ill-treatment of her, said after long hesitation, "I can't think of anything to ask her except that I should like to know if she is better now than she was."

Besides his inability to cross-examine a defendant often has no idea how he can plead mitigation of his penalty. A case recently occurred in which a lad found guilty of theft and undefended was sent by the Bench to Quarter Sessions with a view to detention in a Borstal Institution. When the lad came before Quarter Sessions counsel appeared for him and was able to put before the Bench a plan for placing the lad under careful supervision away from his old companions. As a result the boy was bound over instead of being sent to Borstal. At Petty Sessions no such arrangements were before the magistrates because there was no one to make them.

It is such cases as these that make penal reformers deplore the want of legal aid in the police courts, especially in view of the largely increased powers now entrusted to the magistrates.

EXTRA-TERRITORIALITY IN EGYPT.¹

A fierce light is beating on the privileges held by foreign nations in China. Such privileges are entirely repugnant to the sense of fairness possessed by the average man or woman; they cannot long survive in a morally-awakened world.

The interest in China has thrown into very strong relief the similar system of extra-territoriality, called capitulations, existing in Egypt. Egyptians themselves are much agitated over the question. Who can wonder? Before very long, Egypt may possess the peculiar distinction of being the only country in the world of self-governing nations which cannot be regarded as sufficiently civilized to be trusted to deal decently with strangers living within their borders. The country that was the first to rise from barbarism to a high level of civilization bids fair to be the last to be regarded *internationally* as civilized.

In Egypt, foreigners charged with crimes are not tried in Egyptian courts, but in their own Consular courts. Civil cases affecting Europeans, or Europeans and Egyptians, are tried in "mixed" international courts. No domiciliary search or arrest of a foreigner can take place unless his own consular representative is present. Foreigners are free from direct taxation. The Peace Treaties stripped Germans and Austrians of these privileges. The chief powers interested are Italy, Greece, France, Great Britain, and the United States, and the nationals of these countries can be counted on to put up as strong a case for the retention of the capitulations as British, French, Americans have done in China.

The injustice of the system viewed from the Egyptian standpoint is unanswerable. We will quote two cases. Egypt is rapidly being debauched by the drug habit, but the hands of Egyptian legislators are tied by the fact that the trade is largely carried on by low-class Europeans. And in 1911, Lord Kitchener, speaking of the White Slave traffic said: "In present circumstances as the trade is carried on, not by Egyptians, but by foreigners who are subject to their own special jurisdictions, it is impossible for the Egyptian Government to deal effectively with the situation."

Could a more damning indictment of the whole system possibly be presented than in these words of the plain, honest soldier who cared so much for the people of Egypt?

THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE ANNUAL COUNCIL MEETING.

The annual council meeting of the Women's International League was held on 25th and 26th February, at the Caxton Hall. The branches of the W.I.L. in all parts of the country were well represented, and the delegates numbered about 120. Mrs. Swanwick was re-elected President and Lady Courtney, who was present herself at the council, was re-elected hon. treasurer. The importance of continuing and pressing forward the work of the W.I.L. for arbitration was strongly expressed, and the task of urging the Government to take every opportunity of concluding all-in arbitration treaties will take a prominent place in the League's activities this year. Considerable time was taken up with the urgent questions of the day, and resolutions were passed on the following among others: Equal Franchise, the British Note to the Soviet, and China. The China resolution was as follows:—"This Council of the Women's International League expresses its satisfaction that an agreement has been signed between Great Britain and the Kuomintang Government as regards Hankow, and urges His Majesty's Government (1) to continue conciliatory methods for a settlement of all points of difference, independently of other nations if necessary; (2) to avoid any threats or provocative displays of force, and to withdraw all British troops from China at the earliest possible moment; (3) to observe strict neutrality in the civil war in China. It further asks the Executive Committee and branches of the Women's International League to be prepared directly circumstances permit to press for the negotiation of fresh treaties on lines consistent with the principles for which the W.I.L. stands."

COMMITTEE ON SHOP ASSISTANTS.

Two women, Mrs. Hilton Philipson and Miss Margaret Irwin, have been appointed to the Home Office Committee of Inquiry into the Working of the Shops Early Closing Act, 1920. We regret that the committee of inquiry into an industry in which the majority of workers are women does not contain a far larger proportion of women members.

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

URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL ELECTIONS.

We earnestly hope that those of our Societies situated in urban districts are doing all that is possible to effect the return of more women candidates. We should be glad to hear what our Societies are doing in the matter, and would remind them that we have recently established at Headquarters a local Government section to answer inquiries and give assistance. Pamphlets which you may find useful in the forthcoming elections are:—

Rural District Councils. Their powers and duties. 3d. each, 3s. per 100.
Urban District Councils. Their powers and duties. 3d. each, 3s. per 100.
Questions for Candidates at Local Elections. Free.
Useful Hints for County and Town Council Elections. 1d.

BOARDS OF GUARDIANS.

In view of the fact that the reform of the Poor Law seems about to be delayed, it is still urgent to have women well represented on Boards of Guardians. Here, again, we should be glad to be informed of your doings. We should be glad to supply:—

Why Women are wanted as Poor Law Guardians, 1s. per 100. A special price will be quoted for large numbers of meetings.

THE RETIRING MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

We propose next week to pay some tribute to the services of those members of the newly elected Executive Committee who felt themselves obliged to resign at the Council. This week we must express to members of the late Executive Committee who resigned before the Council meeting our thanks for their help and regret at their loss. Miss Evelyn Deakin, who has for many years served the Union, first in a local society, and later as speaker and as member of the Executive Committee, was compelled by pressure of other political work to resign for the present. Few speakers have done more to spread the light and keep the feminist flag flying in other circles. Mrs. Arthur Broome, who was obliged to resign on account of the difficulty to get up to Committees, gives the Union valuable work not only in her own Society, Newport (Essex), but in adjoining constituencies, and this in itself added to the value of her work as a member of the Executive. We regret also that Mrs. Le Sueur, who has served for some months as a co-opted member, and has given so much voluntary work as a speaker, was not returned.

While regretting these losses, we extend a warm welcome to Mrs. James Taylor of Glasgow. It is fitting that Scotland should be represented on the Executive Committee, and Mrs. Taylor, who is Chairman of the Glasgow S.E.C. and W.C.A., the largest Society in the Union, and who is already in close touch with all aspects of its work, will be an added source of strength, all the more, in our opinion, because on the subject of protective legislation we understand that she holds the views of the 80 rather than those of the 81. With a Council so closely divided on this subject, it is desirable that the views of the minority should be voiced. Mrs. Blanco White is a more recent accession to our ranks, though she is a life-long suffragist. Her ability and administrative experience in connection with women in industry will be of good service to the new Executive.

LETTERS FROM SOCIETIES re COUNCIL MEETING.

We have received a very large number of letters from Societies and individuals in support of the policy as embodied in resolutions passed at the Annual Council meeting, and expressing confidence in the present officers and Executive Committee, to which we are endeavouring to reply as soon as possible. We append below one of the most delightful—a letter from Miss Maude Royden:—

"It must be a great grief to all of you to lose colleagues who have worked so long and so magnificently in the cause of political freedom for women. Yet I cannot help feeling—however reluctant one is to admit it—that their attitude had become a real obstacle to our further progress. Although I can do so little now in direct support of your work, I am heart and soul with the way in which it is being carried out. When I reflect that the

legalistic interpretation of equality must lead us to abandon our work for the League of Nations (for example) and concentrate on agitation in favour of women being admitted on equal terms to all ranks of the Army, Navy, and Air Force, it seems to me that it was time that the Union should clear its mind on what it meant by 'equality', even at the cost of such losses as it has sustained. I should like to raise my subscription to the Union to £5-per annum."

CONFERENCE OF WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS TO CONSIDER REPORT ON TRAINING OF WOMEN POLICE.

The conference of women's organizations summoned by the N.U.S.E.C. to consider the report of the committee on the Training of Women Police, appointed by an earlier conference of women's organizations, met at the Caxton Hall on Monday, 7th March, at 11.15 a.m. The report was presented by Commandant Allen, supported by Miss Nina Boyle. Criticisms were made by Miss Tancred on behalf of the National Council of Women, Miss Cowlin on behalf of the Liverpool Women Police Patrols, and Mrs. Ryland on behalf of the N.U.S.E.C. In view of the difficulty of arriving at an agreed report, the Committee's report was withdrawn.

N.U.S.E.C. IMMEDIATE PROGRAMME.

We are informed that considerable confusion exists as to the actual decisions arrived at by the Annual Council of the N.U.S.E.C. with respect both to the immediate programme, and to the more important resolutions dealing with restrictive legislation and other points. We append, therefore, the immediate programme of the Union. It should be noted that this is exactly the same as last year with the exception of new sub-headings, under the points, an Equal Moral Standard and Status of Wives and Mothers:—

IMMEDIATE PROGRAMME.

1. Equal Franchise for men and women.
2. An Equal Moral Standard between men and women:—
 - (a) Opposition to all legislation or regulations which under pretext of public health or public order are directed solely against women or any group of women.
 - (b) Opposition to the compulsory examination of women for venereal disease whether by medical or police authority.
3. More women in Parliament and on Local Authorities and other governing bodies.
4. Equal Pay and Opportunity in industry and the professions as between men and women, including:—
 - (a) The abolition of the present customary artificial division of labour into men's and women's work.
 - (b) The application of the principle that protective legislation shall be based upon the nature of the work, and not upon the sex of the worker.
 - (c) The right of married women to engage in paid work.
5. Status of Wives and Mothers:—
 - (a) Family Allowances, including provision for married women and children under the National Health Insurance Acts.
 - (b) Freedom of married women who desire it to obtain information on birth control at Welfare Centres in receipt of Government grants.
 - (c) Equal rights for married women with men to retain or change their nationality.
 - (d) Right of wife or husband to a certain proportion of the income of the other.
 - (e) Abolition of the imposition of a higher income tax by reason of marriage.
6. The League of Nations and Practical Application of the Principle of Equal Opportunity for men and women within it.

SELECTED RESOLUTIONS.

RESOLUTION ON EQUAL FRANCHISE.

"That in view of the risks of delay and the importance of securing during the present Parliament that equality of political rights which the Government has promised, this Council calls upon the Government to introduce during the present Session a measure giving the vote to women at the age of 21, and on the same terms as it is now given to men."

SOLICITATION LAWS.

"That the N.U.S.E.C. in Annual Council assembled, having regard to the expected appointment this Session of a Government Committee of Enquiry into the Solicitation Laws and their administration, reaffirms

its conviction that all the existing laws directed solely against prostitutes should be forthwith abolished and should be replaced by laws equally applied to all persons, and that the requirements of the Courts in regard to evidence necessary for conviction shall be the same in the case of both men and women."

ELECTION OF WOMEN TO LOCAL GOVERNING BODIES.

"That this Council believes that it is urgently necessary to secure the election of much larger numbers of women to Local Governing bodies in order that the special experience of women may be placed at the service of the community (and that the interests of women where they appear to conflict with those of men may be safeguarded). It urges the affiliated Societies of the Union, wherever possible, to take active steps to secure the nomination of suitable women and to work for their successful return."

Factories Bill.

"That this Council urges the Government to establish for both men and women workers in factories and workshops equality of conditions as regards hours, including nightwork, overtime and holidays, by incorporating in its Factories Bill the provisions of the Washington Hours' Convention, and in particular to provide that equality as to nightwork shall become effective on the expiry of the ten years' period subsequent to the coming into force of the Nightwork Convention.

"This Council further urges that in any Factories Bill all provisions concerning general safety, including protection from machinery and the institution of fire drill, lead processes carried on in places other than factories, weight lifting and special provisions and regulations for health, safety and welfare, shall apply to all workers irrespective of sex.

"This Council, therefore, expresses satisfaction that the Government has expressed its intention of ratifying the Washington Hours' Convention which applies to men and women equally."

Note.—This resolution embodies the policy which had the support of the whole Executive Committee with regard to last year's Factories Bill.

LEAD PAINT (PROTECTION AGAINST POISONING) ACT, 1926.

"That this Council calls attention to the fact that recent investigation into the incidence of lead poisoning has shown that there is no sexual proclivity, and that racial poisoning is occasioned by the lead poisoned father as well as by the lead poisoned mother.

"That this Council is of opinion that the Lead Paint (Protection against Poisoning) Act, 1926, is unjust in basing regulations for the safeguarding of workers employed in the painting of buildings upon the sex of the workers instead of upon the nature of the occupation, thus preventing the future entry of women.

"That this Council, therefore, calls upon the Government immediately to introduce or to adopt a Bill so to amend the Lead Paint (Protection against Poisoning) Act, 1926, that the provisions of that Act for the safeguarding of workers shall apply equally to men and women."

EQUAL PAY FOR MEN AND WOMEN IN CIVIL SERVICE.

"That this Council urges upon the Government to appoint a Select Committee of the House of Commons to consider and report upon the best means and the cost of giving effect to the principle of equal pay for men and women in the Civil Service as recommended by the House of Commons on 19th May, 1920, and 5th August, 1921."

LOCAL GOVERNMENT SERVICE.

"That this Council deprecates the chaotic and unsatisfactory conditions under which employees of both sexes, but especially women, are recruited and employed in the Local Government Service, as likely to lead to the evils of patronage, inefficiency and sex discrimination.

"It urges the Government to appoint a Royal Commission to draw up a scheme of recruitment through open competitive examination, pay and pensions, analogous to that existing for the Civil Service, but such as to secure equality of opportunity and pay for men and women, coupled with provision for family responsibilities through family allowances."

MARRIED WOMEN (EMPLOYMENT) BILL.

"That the N.U.S.E.C. in Annual Council assembled noted with pleasure that Sir Robert Newman has won a place in the Private Members' Ballot for the Married Women (Employment) Bill, to prevent the refusal to employ women in the public service by reason only of their being married, and calls upon the Government to support or to adopt this Bill."

WOMEN IN AGRICULTURE.

"That this Council urges the Government to appoint an adequate number of women on Agricultural Wages Boards."

TRAINING OF WOMEN POLICE.

"That this Council holds that the present Authorities for the training of police should themselves undertake the training of women police; that their training should include all the subjects necessary for the qualification of men police; that they should attend the same lectures as men, and should not be required to attend separate classes; that the age of entry should be the same for women as for men police, with the power, as in the case of men police, to be taken on at a later age.

"Further the N.U.S.E.C. holds that women inspectors should be appointed and that women should be included among the Instructors."

NATIONALITY OF MARRIED WOMEN.

"That this Council notes with satisfaction that within the last ten years Russia, the United States, Belgium, Roumania, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Iceland have adopted legislation in the direction of giving married women a right to their own nationality, and that the House of Commons in 1925 and the Australian Parliament in 1926 each unanimously adopted the following resolution:—

"That in the opinion of this House a woman should not lose or be deemed to lose her nationality by the mere act of marriage with an alien, but that it shall be open to her to make a declaration of alienage."

"It welcomes the facts that a proposal on these lines was made at the Imperial Conference Committee on Nationality (1926) and that many members of that Committee were in favour of a law which would provide a British woman with an opportunity of retaining her nationality on marriage.

"It hopes that the women of the other Dominions will have the same resolution adopted by their respective Parliaments and urges the Committee of Experts of the Imperial Conference to which this matter has been referred to recommend action on these lines."

COMMISSION ON DISARMAMENT AND WOMEN.

"That the N.U.S.E.C. in Annual Council assembled, considering that the race in armaments is not only a chief cause of war, which involves whole populations without regard to sex, and also depresses by at least 10 per cent. the standard of living of all civilians, urges the British Government to press for the appointment of women on the Commission on Disarmament of the League of Nations and itself to set an example by nominating women."

CORRESPONDENCE.

WHAT IS EQUALITY?

MADAM,—The story quoted by Mrs. Stocks in her article on Equality in your issue of 25th February seems to me to provide a very apt illustration of the case—with a distinction. Men have not invited us to share with them the feast of Equal Citizenship. Grudgingly, owing to the greatness of our impotency, they have allowed some of us to partake of our meal at the same time! But as we are self-invited guests to this feast, why should we attempt to take our food from a dish of their choice, when a differently shaped vessel would suit us better?

Are we not demanding equal citizenship, not so much for our own pleasure or profit nor even because we want to be able to cry "quits" but because we earnestly believe that our knowledge, our influence, our work, are as necessary to the welfare of the world as that of men? And because we know that the community cannot reap the richest harvest of benefit until we are each free to live our lives according to our own conscience and calling?

We ask for equal pay (cash or credit) because we demand the justice of being judged according to the merits of our work, regardless of sex.

We ask for the right of entry into any profession or trade (whether married or single) because we demand the right to decide for ourselves whether or no we are called and fitted to undertake such work; and when the job of maternity, which is ours alone, comes our way, surely we have the most primal and imperative right to know and to decide for ourselves when, and under what conditions, we should undertake such vitally important work.

May I also endorse the view taken by your correspondent (K. Bompas) in the same issue: that the right of entry into true Citizenship should depend as little on sex as that of entry into the Kingdom of Heaven?

E. A.

MADAM,—Thank you for the very clear, calm, and fair account you published of the circumstances of the somewhat melodramatic resignation of the eleven members of the N.U.S.E.C. Committee.

Fortunately there is ample room in the feminist movement for workers with very varying ideas of what constitutes equal citizenship. For my part I congratulate Miss Rathbone and the members of the Committee associated with her on their wise statesmanship. More than any other organization, even including the Labour party, has the National Union endeavoured to help the married mother working in her home to gain a real equality of liberties, status, and opportunities with her husband.

I suppose I must be stupid, for though I listened to the debate at the Conference I am as far off as ever from seeing any change of "fundamental principles" which can be remotely regarded as a "betrayal of the women's movement."

Evidently there is a real difference of opinion which demands respect when such good feminists as the eleven feel they must resign.

Golders Green. (Mrs.) EDITH HOW MARTYN.

SICK LEAVE IN THE POST OFFICE.

MADAM,—Your remarks on this subject in the LEADER of 4th March are somewhat misleading.

(1) A difference of over 20 per cent. in the sick leave of men and women would not be judged as "very small", but as "very considerable" by most business people.

(2) You say that "the Post Office sickness rate seems to you one immensely greater than that of ordinary well-run offices", but you offer no evidence in support of this statement.

(3) Persons employed in sub-post offices are not under the direct control of the Postmaster-General, therefore the conditions under which they work do not enter into the case.

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COMING EVENTS.

ELECTRICAL ASSOCIATION FOR WOMEN.

MAR. 27. 7 p.m. E.L.M.A. Lighting Service Bureau, Strand, W.C.2. Mrs. Christine Frederick on "Electric Power Appliance in the Home."

FABIAN SOCIETY (WOMEN'S GROUP).

MAR. 22. 7.30 for 8 p.m. Annual Dinner, Florence Restaurant, 56 Rupert Street, W.1. Speakers include Miss Margery Fry, Miss Haldane, Miss Maude Royden and others. Tickets from the Hon. Sec., 25 Tot Hill Street, S.W.1.

FELLOWSHIP SOCIETY OF CONGREGATIONAL CHAPEL, NEWPORT.

MAR. 27. 7.30 p.m. Mrs. F. W. Hubback on "Current and Recent Legislation specially affecting Women and Children."

GUILDHOUSE WOMEN CITIZENS' SOCIETY.

MAR. 27. 3 p.m. The Guildhouse, Eccleston Square, S.W.1. Miss Margaret McMillan on "Poverty in the Modern State."

INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN.

MAR. 22. 1 p.m. Informal Luncheon at Lyceum Club, 138 Piccadilly, W., to meet Princess Radziwill of the Information Section of the League of Nations Secretariat.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN (BIRMINGHAM BRANCH).

MAR. 27. 4.30 p.m. Queen's College. Miss Rose Squire on "The Factories Bill."

ST. JOAN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ALLIANCE.

MAR. 19. 5 p.m. St. Patrick's Club Room, Soho Square. Public Meeting on "Restrictive Legislation for Women." Speaker: Mrs. Abloft.

SIX POINT GROUP.

MAR. 27. 3 p.m. 92 Victoria Street, S.W.1. Miss Smee on "One of our Members as Mayor."

TYPEWRITING.

M. McLACHLAN and N. WHITWHAM—TYPISTS.—4 Chapel Walk, Manchester. Tel.: 3402 City.

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COTTAGE close sea and golf-links, lovely country, Morfa, Portmadoc, Wales; vacant May; 3 guineas weekly, and 15th June to 9th July, 4 guineas weekly; 4 bed, 2 sitting, bathroom, kitchen.—Write, 61 Deodar Road, Putney.

COTTAGE on Little Hampden Common, Missenden; vacant May; 2 bed, 1 sittingroom, kitchen; charming garden; 30s. weekly.—Write, Townshend, 61 Deodar Road, Putney.

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ANNOUNCEMENTS.

LONDON AND NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SERVICE, 35 Marsham Street, Westminster. Secretary, Miss P. Strachey. Members' Library. Books on Suffrage, Sociology and Economics, Hansard, latest Government Publications, Periodicals, Newscuttings. 10-8 (except Saturdays).

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES, Guildhouse, Eccleston Square, S.W.1. Sunday, 20th March, 3.30 Music. Dr. Ernest Gardner on "The Religion of Ancient Greece." 6.30 p.m., Maude Royden on: "Sir Isaac Newton—the Glory of British Science."

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