

THE  
WOMAN'S LEADER

IN POLITICS  
IN THE HOME  
IN INDUSTRY

IN LITERATURE AND ART  
IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT  
IN THE PROFESSIONS

AND

THE COMMON CAUSE

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# THE WOMAN'S LEADER

AND  
COMMON CAUSE.

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

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## NOTES AND NEWS.

### Baby Week.

Nothing is more fundamental for future civilisation than the health, welfare, and education of the next generation. The institution of Baby Week, which gives such wide publicity to the essential need for cleanliness and health and infant welfare, serves an important national purpose, and should be forwarded by all those women citizens who understand the business of citizenship aright. It ought, however, to accomplish a wider purpose still, for it ought to reach the fathers as well as the mothers of the babies we seek to cherish, and in so reaching them to alter not only the conditions of small babies but of whole families as well. Everyone assumes, at present, that the care of children is woman's work, as indeed it is. Everyone who is working in the field of infant welfare tries to spread the knowledge of hygiene and of health to mothers because only so can it be applied to their babies, and the work is of inestimable value. But we must not forget in all this emphasis on mothers that fathers have their responsibilities too, which should come home to them in Baby Week. If plenty of soap and water depends on the mother, plenty of fresh air often depends on the father, and it is to him as well as to the mother that appeals must be made. We can, after all, count upon a vast and unending goodwill on the part of mothers towards their babies. We can expect them to do right when they know it, because our experience is that they do. And our only task with them is the spread of knowledge. But with the rest of the population we cannot infallibly count on goodwill, and the National Baby Week Council does invaluable work in reminding the adult generation of the needs and rights of the very youngest of all.

### The British Institute of International Affairs.

A new Institute for the study of international affairs was opened last week at the Royal Society of Arts by Lord Robert Cecil. Lord Grey, in describing the intention of the Institute, explained that it did not exist to formulate foreign policies or to promote any particular school of thought, but that it was intended to spread information and to encourage the study of foreign affairs in a really impartial and scientific spirit. The sort of work it will do will be to prepare with ability and breadth of view an annual register of foreign affairs, showing not only what has happened, but the relation of what happens one year to what has happened the year before. It will, in fact, conduct for current international politics the analysis which up to the present has only been considered possible to subsequent historians. The inaugural meeting, which was supported by Mr. Balfour, Mr.

Clynes, and others, met with very widespread support in the Press and elsewhere, and it is clear that such an Institution will fulfil a very real need.

### Which is to be the Thirty-Sixth?

Suffrage news from the United States continues to be exciting. Mr. Clement, Governor of Vermont, after a Conference with Mr. Harding, the Republican Presidential candidate, has announced that he will immediately call a special session of the Vermont legislature to consider the Federal Amendment. This action indicates very clearly that the Republican Presidential candidate thinks that it is to his interest to show that he favours Woman Suffrage. It will be remembered that last week we reported that Tennessee was calling a special session; this was done in accordance with the general request of President Wilson. We have, therefore, a Republican and a Democratic State each pushing forward to be the thirty-sixth. It will be interesting to see which Party gets there first.

### Votes for Women in Belgium.

The Belgian Constitution was discussed in the Chamber on July 1st, and it was unanimously decided to give the Parliamentary vote to all men at the age of twenty-one instead of at twenty-five as hitherto. An amendment to extend the vote to women on the same terms was rejected by eighty-nine votes to seventy-four, but a proposal was then made by the President to adjourn the final decision until July 14th. This was carried, and we understand that considerable hope is felt that an agreement may be reached upon some form of Woman Suffrage in the interval. Belgium well knows the value and quality of its women, and we cannot believe that a country which suffered so heavily during the war will be blind to the lessons that other countries have learnt.

### Night Work.

A very interesting discussion arose in the Committee of the House of Commons on the question of night work for women. The Bill under discussion, namely, the Employment of Women and Children Bill, prohibits night work for women, and it defined night work as eleven consecutive hours including any of the hours between 10 p.m. and 5 a.m. According to the Factory Acts of 1901, night work is work that continues after 9 p.m. or begins before 6 a.m.; so that the present Bill, which is based

on the Washington Conference recommendations, is less strict with regard to night work by one hour at night and one hour in the morning than our existing Factory Acts. The object of the Bill clearly is to allow employers to use two shifts of men or women during the day and one shift of men during the night, so as to secure almost continuous production. The Committee was very unwilling to allow this to become possible if it involved relaxation of the definition of night work. The Home Secretary, pressed by Major Hills, abandoned the Washington Conference definition and admitted that he favoured a definition of a day as thirteen hours from 7 a.m. to 8 p.m., during which two shifts of six and a half hours each, or one shift of eight hours might be worked by women. No amendment, however, was framed in Committee, and when the vote was put as to whether the existing proposal should stand part of the Bill it was heavily defeated. Unless alterations are made at a later stage, therefore, the existing definition of night work will stand; and the probabilities are that the two shift system will not be widely adopted. We believe that under proper conditions two shift systems might prove both useful to the employer and convenient to the worker. There is no necessary opposition between these two advantages, in spite of all that is said and done. But whether proper conditions will be safeguarded remains to be seen, and we shall await the Report Stage with great interest.

### Unemployment Insurance.

The Unemployment Insurance Bill, which is passing through the House of Commons, is a Bill of real importance to industrial workers. Considerable differences of opinion have been shown as to whether the machinery of the Bill should be framed so that Unemployment benefits may be administered by Friendly Societies as well as by Trade Unions, or by Trade Unions alone. At present both forms of organisation are to administer the benefit. The opposition of the Labour Party to the inclusion of Friendly Societies is very strong. We understand that if they do not succeed in eliminating the Friendly Societies they will move a new amendment making it necessary that before any Society can be allowed to administer benefits it shall have a system for ascertaining the wages and conditions in all employments in which its members are engaged. This amendment would, of course, entirely alter the character of the Friendly Societies, and we imagine that it has less chance of success than the original proposal. The Labour Party also propose to try to abolish the waiting week before benefit is paid, to put the scheme on a non-contributory basis as far as workers are concerned, and to increase the benefit from 15s. a week for men and 12s. a week for women to £1 and 16s. respectively. The Bill is of such immense practical importance that it is worth careful study.

### The Civil Service.

Three interesting questions were addressed to the Prime Minister on July 5th by Major Hills. We publish them with their answers, and we believe that they will give as little enlightenment to our readers as was intended by the Treasury officials who framed them. *Question:* Whether women temporary civil servants are being admitted to sit for the examinations now open to men temporary civil servants; and, if not, for what reason, in view of Section 1 of the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act, 1919. *Answer:* Examinations for the new clerical class will be held at the end of this year. Women and men temporary civil servants will alike be eligible to compete. *Question:* Whether regulations are in existence or intended governing the admission of women to the Civil Service otherwise than by Orders in Council under Section 1 (a) of the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act, 1919; and, if so, under what authority are such regulations being made or intended. *Answer:* I will send the Hon. and Gallant Member a copy of the regulations now governing the admission of women to the Civil Service. Under these regulations effect is being given to the provisions of the Reports of the National Whitley Council for the Civil Service. An Order in Council pursuant to Section 1 (a) of the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act, 1919, will be made in due course. *Question:* Whether the Prime Minister will state what posts in the Civil Service women are being admitted to and by what process. *Answer:* Examinations have been held, or will be held, by the Civil Service Commissioners for admission to the new clerical class, to the writing assistant class, and for employment as typist and shorthand typist. For all these posts women are

eligible to compete. With regard to the higher executive and administrative posts, I am at present unable to add anything to the reply I gave on the 20th May last.

### The Hidden Hand in Pathology.

On July 2nd, the Minister of Health received a deputation from the Society for the Prevention of Venereal Disease. As our readers are aware, the Society has split off from the National Council for Combating Venereal Diseases, on the question of whether immediate self-disinfection should be made easy for those who have incurred risks. Its present demand is that all qualified chemists should be instructed by the Ministry of Health and by the Local Authorities to sell means for disinfection. We imagine that no one will differ from the statement made by Lord Willoughby de Broke in introducing the deputation, that "all the influence of research and administration ought to be applied to the prevention and cure of venereal disease." Sir James Crichton Browne afterwards described these diseases as "the hidden hand in pathology," and said that scientists were only now beginning to realise how many horrible evils were traceable to their effects on the central nervous system, and could as yet hardly estimate the enormous social and economic loss to the nation that resulted from them. At the first blush it would seem that those who wish to make self-disinfection easy and not to make the contaminated person wait till he can get to a disinfecting centre, must be right. The policy of the National Council for Combating Venereal Diseases is to set up these centres; but the task has proved full of difficulties, and at present there is much danger that the man who has risked his own health for pleasure will not go near any of them, and will simply proceed to risk the health of other people, too often that of his own wife and children. If he could disinfect himself privately, without trouble, he might very likely do so—and the innocent might be spared. It is this thought for the innocent, we believe, that moves such men and women as those who took part in the deputation to Dr. Addison (it included Dr. Saleeby, Winifred Countess of Arran, Dr. Marie Stopes, Miss Norah Marel, and others). They want to check venereal disease, and they want to do so mainly because of the suffering and loss it causes to perfectly guiltless and unwilling victims. But is it really to the advantage of the innocent that men should be made to feel that they can indulge in vicious pleasure and escape its consequences? We believe not. In the long run, nay, even in the short run of a single family, nothing that makes vice seem safe is profitable. The man who indulges his selfish pleasure without thought for those dependent on him, will sooner or later bring anguish and perhaps ruin to his family. To encourage him to think himself safe in self-indulgence is to encourage him to go on with it. There is no safety for helpless children and hardly less helpless wives, save in the general raising of the moral standard of the world.

### Legislation in Australia.

In view of the recent decision of the British Medical Association not to disclose their professional secrets in cases of venereal disease, it is interesting to compare methods—far in advance of our own—that are being adopted with success in many of our Dominions. Owing to the ravages made by the disease during the war, Western Australia passed a Public Health Amending Bill in 1915 which dealt almost entirely with measures for the control of venereal disease; similar legislation has since been adopted by the other States. The principle on which these Acts are based are as follows: That the treatment of venereal disease shall be carried out by medical practitioners only; that every person who is suffering from venereal disease shall be obliged to obtain immediate treatment and shall continue under treatment until he has received a certificate of cure; that each person suffering shall receive a warning notice setting out the dangers of the disease. In two States it is further provided that if the patient in spite of warning persists in his intention to marry, the Commissioner may inform any person whom he believes to be the other party to the marriage, and may also give similar information to any parent or guardian of such person. It is also a serious offence under the Act for any person knowingly to infect any other person with venereal disease. This legislation, as it now stands in the Australian States, is an advance on any attempt previously made, and represents a great social experiment in an attempt to solve a very difficult problem.

## News from Canada.

We congratulate Canadian women upon the enterprising progress they are making. In this country we pass Sex Disqualification (Removal) Acts. In Canada they appoint women without so much talk. We learn that Miss Laura Rant of Toronto was "sworn in" last month as Deputy Game Warden for the Province of Ontario, the first appointment of a woman for this office in Canada; that Miss Isobel Cumming has been appointed Secretary for Agriculture for the province of Saskatchewan; and that Miss Martha Dickinson is the first woman to be appointed City Clerk in Windsor, Ontario. We cannot but feel a little jealous over here when we think of the state of our own Civil and Municipal Services. In the professions too we have to congratulate Canada. We learn that Miss M. E. Hill of Edmonton, Alberta, received the degree of B.A.Sc. at the Convention of Toronto University, and becomes the first woman architect of Canada; that Miss Kathleen Murphy holds the position of Advertising Manager of the Trading Company's Department Store at Regina, Saskatchewan; and that three women were among the successful students in the barristers' examinations held by the Bar Association of Manitoba, one of them—Mrs. Walter Lindal—heading the list. They seem to move at a brisker pace in the Dominions, and we only wish that there were more signs that we were following their good example.

## Women on Juries.

We learn from Scotland that no women have as yet been empanelled for jury service in Scottish Courts. The Act has now been in force eight months, but special "Orders of the Court" have to be made before changes actually take place. Eight months seems a long time for the framing of these Orders. We trust that when women do at last find a place in the machinery of legal administration they will not be quite so somnolent.

## Juries in England.

In England the delay has been only one degree less remarkable. It was not until July 2nd that the London Gazette published the Order in Council made for the preparation of Jury Lists consequent on the passing of the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act eight months ago. The Order provides that the existing lists shall be revised by the striking out of jurors now unqualified, over the age of sixty-five, or dead, and the inclusion of properly qualified women, and further that these lists shall be exhibited before the first Sunday in September "at such place in the parish as they (the overseers) think most suitable for the purpose of enabling persons desirous of doing so to inspect the same," and that on the first three Sundays in September notices shall be put up in churches specifying where it is to be seen. At any time during the three weeks after the first Sunday in September these lists will be open for inspection. We trust that women citizens will not take eight months to realise that their jury service is imminent.

## Housing Bonds.

At an important public meeting held in the Albert Hall on Saturday, July 3rd, a great call was made to the people of London to raise the necessary money to carry out the building schemes needed in the Metropolis. The response was good, and we learn that nearly 400 other local authorities are conducting similar campaigns for Housing Bonds. Nottingham, Rochdale, Bradford, Ipswich, Plymouth have all made magnificent starts, and we are confident that our readers will support these efforts. We have heard that there are some who refuse to support the Housing Bonds Campaign because it is initiated by the Government, and because if the Government fails to get the houses built it will the more rapidly go out of power. We do not believe that motives like these could influence any of our readers. The need for houses is a human question of the first importance, and those who let it wait on party politics are as wicked as those who make out of it private gain or who obstruct from private interests.

## NEWS FROM WESTMINSTER.

BY OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT.

Financial business is always a test of party feeling, and in the last week the Coal Mines Bill, the Ministry of Transport discussion and, above all, the Excess Profits Tax have afforded proof of this fact. It is, of course, impossible to doubt the sincerity and conviction with which members attack financial problems. It was, however, a little startling to find that in the division lobbies in favour of the continuation of the tax on tea not a single member either in or out of the Cabinet could be discovered who could state what the tea tax is!

The opponents of the Excess Profits Tax say that it will cripple industry and prevent enterprise; its supporters maintain that it is the only practicable method of making the rich pay, and the Government, with the firmness of despair, reiterates that the Exchequer must have money. Certainly the defeat of the Government on this point would involve an immediate General Election, but no one seriously contemplates such a possibility.

The Labour Party's attack on the Coal Mines Bill began admirably in a speech of high debating power by Mr. Brace, probably the best he has ever made, but it was not backed up, and the assault lacked that cohesion and that cumulation of force which an effective Parliamentary battle requires. There is no great enthusiasm for the Bill in any quarter, but no one suggested any alternative except Nationalisation, to which the House is more hostile than ever.

The amusing sparring match between Sir Eric Geddes and Mr. Asquith which began last week was carried a stage further on Thursday, when Mr. Asquith defended, not unsuccessfully, Mr. Runciman's contract which Sir Eric Geddes had handled so severely. As a matter of dialectic Mr. Asquith got the better of the exchanges, but possibly the truth is contained in Sir Eric Geddes' plaintive remark, "What a speech you would have made if you had had my case!" Sir Eric Geddes has several useful Parliamentary gifts, of which good temper is not the least.

The House spent another summer night on the Rent Act, considering the Lords' amendments, all of which, with hardly an exception, were agreed to, and the measure is now launched on its perilous voyage.

With regard to specifically women's questions the situation is changed but slightly. The most interesting event was the discussion in Committee on the Women, Young Persons and Children (Employment) Bill, which we refer to in Notes and News. The deletion of Clause 2 from the Bill which took place in Committee leaves the Government with some thinking to do. It is unlikely that they will leave the Bill truncated, and in all probability an amended and improved form of this clause will reappear when the Bill comes back to the House in the Report stage. It was interesting to notice that in the division in Committee the clause was deleted by twenty-four votes to five, the five people who supported it including the Home Secretary and his Parliamentary Secretary. The Government is not always successful in carrying its official clauses through the Committee stage.

The Suffrage Bill is dead past redemption, and its fate proves the truth of the adage that you must be clever as well as good. The intentions of its supporters were admirable, but they allowed themselves to be manoeuvred into the position of murderers of their own offspring. Nothing more can happen until next year.

The question of the admission of women to the Civil Service stands where it did. Ministers are being heavily bombarded with questions upon this point, and some of the answers are becoming a little less ambiguous. On July 5th Mr. Stanley Baldwin told Major Hills that men and women temporary civil servants will alike be eligible to sit for the new clerical class examinations held at the end of the year, and representations made by Lady Astor have led to the announcement by the Treasury that they propose to take into consideration the position of those girls who have been training for the Civil Service and whom the alteration of age now disqualifies. The Government continues to declare its intention of acting upon the Report of the National Whitley Council for the Civil Service, but it will be compelled to introduce Orders in Council under the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act specifically defining the limitations and handicaps it proposes to impose on women. When these Orders appear the fight will take place either on them or on the motion for the adjournment of the House. Probably this will be before the House rises, but nothing is certain. Business is going through at such a pace that the House will certainly rise in the early days of August.

## THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE OF BISHOPS AND THE SPIRITUAL ENFRANCHISEMENT OF WOMEN.

"It was a jealous Glasgow man who said that Edinburgh had only a past." With this observation the Special Correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* enters upon a description of the antique ceremonial by which was celebrated the King's recent visit to Edinburgh. "Halberdiers in red breeches and white stockings," "the silver keys of a hypothetical city gate borne on a scarlet cushion," "the Unicorn Pursuivant" and "the March Pursuivant," the "Lyon King at Arms," and, best of all, the Scots Guards in big bearskin hats and scarlet coats. All were there to honour the King. And the King did not show that he thought it funny. But it was funny, or worse; not because it was gorgeous pageantry, but because it was a pageantry of things no longer real. It has been said that dirt is merely matter in the wrong place; so with pastness. A glorious past is a glorious past, but a past usurping the place of the present is a past shorn of all glory, serving only to show that the generation in which it intrudes is dead before it has lived. Organised religion has some glorious things in its past. The question to-day is what glories are reserved for its future?

This month the Lambeth Conference of several hundred bishops in communion with the Church of England is in session. It is the correct idea, as Daisy Ashford would say, to see the comic side of bishops. Often they are splendid men, but in the popular imagination the bishop on the bench is not wholly dissociated from the bishop on the chess board. The bishop on the chess board can only move in one way, a way strictly conditioned by ancient tradition, dating back far beyond the Crusades. Pawns, too, on the chess board can move only in the appointed way, and not very far, and they typify women as conceived by ecclesiastically minded people. Yet, in spite of the hope of the timid that in their day at least nothing particular will happen, things do happen. As a reviewer of Mr. Wells's "History" has it: "The rocks bubbled and the sea smoked. Presently there was an inter-tidal seum; it was life trying to move out of the warm water."

Last Saturday afternoon a procession was observed to walk along Oxford Street, down by Tattersall's and the Coliseum, past the Cavell Memorial, into Trafalgar Square. It was a vivid bit of pageantry—the pageantry of something alive. Some asked: "Is this a new religion?" But it was significant of something at once older and newer than any sect. Led by Miss Maude Royden, in cassock, cap, and surplice, walking with band and banners, the woman's choir of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, in surplices and white veils, the women stewards of the "Fellowship Service" in blue cassocks and caps, with a goodly group of laity, all vociferously singing, it marched to the Nelson Column, mounted up—as many as could—and told its story to the crowd! With the flags of Joan of Arc, Teresa of Spain, Catherine of Siena, St. Margaret, patron of the League of the Church Militant, whose occasion it was, "mixed up" with the stately official banner of the National Union for Equal Citizenship forming a background, Miss Royden proceeded to conduct her meeting as happily as if it was a Sunday School treat. And the audience declared by an overwhelming majority that it was their will, to be duly conveyed to the Bishops in Session, that "sex should be no disqualification for all the lay ministries of the Church." The fact is, everybody, almost, is interested in religion, and the only reason they think they are not is that the religion they see around does not conform with the high, mysterious ideal they cherish in their hearts. The new claim of women to shoulder an equal share of responsibility for the presentment of religion is revolutionary, and something in the women's idea appealed to the crowd. It makes of religion a thing of the home, of the work-a-day world, in a way which it has not been during the æons of time, B.C. and A.D., that religion has been controlled by an ecclesiastical hierarchy exclusively male.

The Dean of Westminster, Bishop Ryle, preached on this claim to the bishops assembled in Westminster Abbey last Sunday. He went far in recognition of its significance. He said: "Since 1908 a revolution has taken place—women have been raised to a level of more serious responsibility, and are called, therefore, to discharge a far greater duty in bringing to the Lord their offering of personal devotion. There is hardly a calling or a post—political, professional, social, or municipal—which is not now thrown wide open for women. Is the Church really unable to meet the offer of this wealth of spiritual energy?" The English Church is becoming aware of the bubblings outside. The National Assembly, the new institution of which much is hoped, has forty women upon it, and one is Miss Maude Royden. Whenever a woman spoke there—almost if she moved—a breeze of lively curiosity swept through the hall, for instinct said that the new presence portended things rare and strange in the future.

During this week, the subject of the lay ministry of women will be discussed in full at the business sessions of the Lambeth Conference itself. Those who believe that the full spiritual liberties and opportunities of women are essential to the building up of true religion, do not hope extravagantly from this Lambeth Conference, because it will implicitly deny at least as much as it will explicitly affirm. Nevertheless, the new consciousness, the new conscience, is there, and sooner or later the whole lump will be leavened. The ministry of women, however new and strange it may seem to the assembled bishops, is in fact no real innovation. We do not refer to prophets, nor to ancient days, but merely to our cousins across the Atlantic. There, for a generation past, women have preached and taught in the religious communities of the Methodists, the Congregationalists, and others. The great pioneer work of Dr. Anna Shaw should not be forgotten in this connection, since her eloquence and her sincerity did much to soften prejudice both in her own country and in Europe. The influence of the Society of Friends, too, must not be overlooked. As everyone knows, that body has always given the right to testify to its daughters, and the continued record of its members for good and disinterested public work has made their influence very far-reaching. All this goes to build up public opinion, which at last reaches the ecclesiastical hierarchies and influences them. In the older churches progress is, of course, more slow, but progress there is, and we need not look for any very long delay. The honour of offering the first Cathedral pulpit to a woman has gone to Geneva, but the Church of England has the opportunity of doing much to fulfil the Christian charter, "Neither Jew nor Gentile, neither bond nor free, neither male nor female." Certain of the first disciples found "neither Jew nor Gentile" a hard saying, certain earnest Christians of the eighteenth century found "neither bond nor free" a hard saying, but the hardest of all is still "neither male nor female." St. Augustine as a young man prayed, "Oh God, make me pure, but not now!" Many an honest man and woman prays to-day "Make woman free, but not just yet, nor wholly." Yet the word is spoken in this as in all good causes—go forward or perish. In Church as in State the fiat of the man of science holds, "If to the past you continually look, to the past you will soon belong." The positive side of this eternal truth may be found in a saying of St. Paul, too little remembered when his views about the woman controversy are under discussion. He said: "Brethren, I count not myself to have apprehended; but this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark. . . . The spirit of these words is the spirit of profound humility by which alone any man or woman, eager reformer though each may be, can hope to learn the truth, much less to teach it to others, and to practise it."

## NATIONS NOT YET IN THE LEAGUE

By LADY GLADSTONE.

The League of Nations was born on January 10th, 1920. From that day the thirty-two Powers which had been at war or had broken off relations with Germany by the act of ratifying the Peace Treaty became members of the League, for the Covenant of the League is included in and is a part of the Treaty. On the same date an invitation was sent to the neutral States inviting them to become original members. With the exception of America all these nations have now joined the League.

It is of the most vital importance that England should understand and appreciate the position of America. Any estrangement between these two great Anglo-Saxon nations would be a world tragedy fraught with consequences too terrible to contemplate. We have much in common besides language and ancestry, for we have the same ideals and the same aspirations for the progress of mankind. But we have very different problems to face, and quite different government machinery for dealing with them. For instance, under the British Constitution the power of making treaties is vested in the King acting through his responsible Ministers. Under the American Constitution the power of making treaties is held jointly by the Senate and the President. Their Constitution was carefully framed with the object of creating such checks and balances that no person or body in the State should exercise their powers without the concurrence of the others. The President has power with the advice and consent of the Senate to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur. This power of the Senate has frequently led to delay and even deadlock in the past. Mr. John Hay wrote in 1898 after the United States had been at war: "I have told you many times that I did not believe that this important Treaty would ever pass the Senate." The position in the present case is that the necessary two-thirds majority for the Covenant as it stands was not forthcoming, and that the President has announced that he will veto any reservations or amendments passed by the Senate. The party in political opposition to the President holds the view that by signing the Covenant in its present form America will be straining the Constitution of which every American is proud, and will be unfaithful to many of her most cherished traditions. The situation is bound to remain confused and difficult for us to understand until after the Presidential Election in November. The point for England to remember is that America has not refused to join the League of Nations, nor is it likely that she will do so after having done all she has to inspire the world with the ideals which the League has been founded to maintain.

There still remain outside the League the late enemy States, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria. They may become members if their admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the Assembly of the League, provided that they are fully self-governing, and give effective guarantees of their sincere intention to observe international obligations and accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to their armaments.

The first Assembly of the League takes place this autumn, when it is to be hoped that our late enemies will once more be admitted into the family of nations. The war and its consequences have taught us that the world stands or falls together. The victors suffer only in less degree than the vanquished. The League of Nations can never attain its greatest power for good till a true spirit of peace and goodwill has been established. Herein lies the one hope for the future.

Russia and Mexico are, at present, in a chaotic state and cannot be said to have decided what their form of government shall be. So for the moment they remain outside the League.

There are many signs that the imagination of the world has been fired by the ideals of the League, and that the belief in its future is growing and spreading.

It is an interesting fact that Monaco, Luxembourg, Esthonia, Finland, Ukraine, Iceland, Latvia, Georgia, and the oldest and smallest Republic in the world, St. Marino, have all applied to be admitted as members. The decision rests with the Assembly, but before they are allowed to join each of these States will have to accept such regulations as shall be prescribed by the League in regard to armaments. Before the year is out we may hope to see a real beginning being made towards the disarmament of the world.

For those who believe in the League and in its destiny there is high encouragement, but much still remains to be done. England holds the first place in the world.

Let the women of England see to it that there is no turning, or shadow of turning, from the ideals of the Covenant to which she has set her name and is in honour bound to maintain.

## SOME THINGS THAT MATTER.

By SIR LEO CHIOZZA MONEY.

[This column will be the scene of a weekly controversy between Sir Leo Chiozza Money and Mr. Harold Cox upon things that matter. Our readers will find in it new subjects for their consideration and new views of familiar subjects. The Editor accepts no responsibility for any of the views expressed by these two eminent economists.]

### WOMEN AND THE AFTER-WAR ECONOMY.

It needed the greatest war of history to teach one of the most eminent of our statesmen that the working power of women, if no other of their attributes, entitled them to the vote; that must be counted for progress. I wonder what other relations will be needed to teach our statesmen that the nation cannot afford to neglect the economic position of women. In my opinion it is high time that women defended themselves from the new economic indignities which are being offered them as a result of the war. Who recollects now the rhetoric that was lavished upon women workers down to November, 1918? Who takes note of the injury that has been suffered by hundreds of thousands of women, not merely during the war, but as a consequence of the war? Few things, to my mind, have been more shameful than the calling into work, often of an arduous and exacting character, of a great army of women for war purposes, and the national desertion of them now that the national need is ignorantly supposed to be at an end. What has the Government cared for the ultimate fate of those who were Land Army girls, munition workers, W.A.A.C.'s, and omnibus conductors, etc., etc.? The Government washed its hands of the whole business by offering an unemployment donation and referring the workers, new and old, to the tender mercies of private employers. It was thus even with the girls whom the Government itself employed in national factories. They were turned adrift, and many of them have been drifting ever since.

### EX-SOLDIERS DOING WOMEN'S WORK.

Let it be conceded that the Government has done no more for men than for women in this regard. When it decided to break up the national organisation after the war was over, and to restore the real government of the nation to vested interests (who at this moment are seeking to put a Chancellor of the Exchequer out of office because he does not suit them) they parted with the means of employing both men and women. They were under special obligation to employ ex-Service men, but they had left themselves little or no means to employ them. The ex-Service men, like the new women workers, were for the most part referred to the capitalists. The result is that, even at this moment, an army of nearly 200,000 ex-soldiers is out of work, and being paid by the taxpayer to be out of work, instead of being properly employed by the Government. The Government has, however, found employment for some ex-Service men in certain Government Departments where women are employed. This brilliant idea has led to the unjust discharge of women and to their substitution by men who ought to be not clerking but producing. Thus a triple injustice is done; a woman is turned adrift after faithfully serving the State; a man is inducted into work which he is quite unfit to do, when he ought to be doing something quite different; the nation is deprived of the productive work of a man. It is for women, in defending themselves, to defend both men and women.

### THE FORCES OF GREED AND MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

As one who has been a political opponent of Mr. Austen Chamberlain, and who was for a short time his colleague, it is a great pleasure to me to put on record my admiration of his stand against the profiteers who are endeavouring to turn him out of office. It is not that Mr. Chamberlain's Budget is all that I would have it be. Unfortunately, the Chancellor does not favour the Capital Levy, and he has abandoned the taxation of war fortunes. Nevertheless, he has not hesitated to stand up to those who, after the war, are still making war profits. It is not a question of whether the Excess Profits Duty is an ideal tax or not. As I was, I think, the first to suggest it, I may be allowed to say in its defence that it has succeeded in obtaining for the National Exchequer a very large share of the profits made in war, and after the war, over and above a sufficiently high peace-war standard. The proper charge against Mr. Austen Chamberlain is that he lowered the Excess Profits Duty last year and thereby presented a sum in nine figures to the profiteers. Not content with reaping the enormous consequent harvest, the happy profit-makers looked forward confidently this year to further relief. They were staggered when the Chancellor, instead of reducing the forty per cent. to twenty per cent., raised it to sixty per cent. It is astonishing to see it asserted that to

levy upon profit-makers for £60 out of each £100 by which their profits now exceed their profits before the war is an act of injustice. The public is entirely misled in this matter by a large section of the popular press. The conditions which obtain at this moment are war conditions, and the continuance of the war tax is thoroughly justified. Those who are howling for Mr. Chamberlain's head can easily escape the Excess Profits Duty.

They have only to charge such fair prices for their goods as will make it unnecessary for them to pay the duty. Every man and woman, and there are millions of them, who made no profit out of the war, will applaud Mr. Chamberlain for keeping his end up against the attacks of the associations, representing hundreds of millions of pounds' worth of capital, which are now seeking complete control of the Government machine.

## BURNING QUESTIONS.

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

### IRELAND.—III.

#### THE PARLIAMENTARY POSITION.

(By a Special Correspondent.)

Strange as it may seem to people outside, the House of Commons has finished with Ireland for the moment. The old Home Rule Act has been repealed, except for the financial clauses which have been postponed. The new Home Rule Bill passed through Committee on Monday last. There the matter rests until the autumn—so far as Parliament is concerned—and the present interval may be a good opportunity to summarise the Debate from the House of Commons point of view. After the long and chequered years of Irish discussions in the Commons, this latest series provides an interesting contrast. The absence of almost all the Irish members in itself has made the debates quite strange and unreal, and the ghosts of the past, no less than the echoes from across the Irish Sea, have done much to dim the habitual self-confidence of members. Nevertheless, the Bill has gone on its way much like other Bills, and the usual personal factors have been of their usual importance.

Three Ministers have been in charge of the Bill, Mr. Walter Long, Mr. Fisher, and Sir L. Worthington Evans, and it cannot be said that any of them has added to his reputation. Mr. Long's sincerity in proving the reality of the conversion of the Unionist Party to Home Rule, by showing its bitterest opponent as the prophet of the new dispensation, is fully recognised; and had the audience been the House of Commons only, or even England only, his action would have been laudable. Unfortunately, the effect of it in Ireland has not been for good. In the House itself, Mr. Long has shown a somewhat restricted outlook and has seldom handled the wider aspects. Mr. Fisher has done this, it is true, but he has been hampered by not being the first string, and by his lack of Mr. Long's great knowledge of the House of Commons. Neither, therefore, has been at his best, and either of them alone would have been better than the two combined. Sir L. Worthington Evans did some of the spade work of the debate, but his contributions lacked distinction.

Of private members, Sir Edward Carson played by far the biggest part, and his speeches were a distinct advance on his previous utterances and still more on those of the Party he leads. Of this Party Major Hugh O'Neill showed himself the best debater in a not very strong field. The Liberal and Labour opposition took little part after Mr. Asquith's speech, which was not effective, except for the fiery incursions of Captain Wedgwood Benn, which certainly were. Out of the whole debate, the level of which was seldom high, the independent Unionists came best, and Colonel Walter Guinness, Sir Samuel Hoare, and Sir Philip Lloyd-Graeme all did work of the greatest value in enlarging the scope of the Bill.

The end of this session's discussions came in a somewhat scrambling discussion during which the closure was moved more than once. The Prime Minister spoke late, on the Clause repealing the Act of 1914, and had little difficulty in proving that that measure was both unwanted and unworkable. He confined his speech to this somewhat narrow point, except for a few generalities, and except for a significant hint that he had withdrawn the financial clauses in order to make them more liberal, and that he would make them more liberal still if, thereby, he could obtain a settlement. It is useless to prophesy about Ireland. The House of Commons itself is an easier, because a more stable subject, but even in the House of Commons opinion seems decidedly uncertain. What will happen in the autumn remains to be seen.

M. G.

### IRELAND.—IV.

#### THE POSITION IN THE SOUTH AND WEST.

While the Parliament of the British Isles, without the aid of the Irish members of the Labour Party, has been rambling on with a Bill that no one wants affairs in Ireland have been developing.

Everyone knows how the Sinn Fein candidates are sweeping the country at municipal elections, even in the Northern counties. And everyone knows, too, of the disorders, the shooting, rioting and trouble which is going on. With the railwaymen refusing to handle munitions or to carry troops and with vanishing generals and kidnapped authorities the ordinary Press has plenty to say. But what is not so generally known, or if known not so generally believed, is that most of the South and West of Ireland is being better governed by a better administration to-day than it has ever been in the past three hundred years.

The administration of justice has, in fact, passed entirely into the hands of Sinn Fein. The regularly appointed judges travel on circuit in armoured cars guarded by troops of soldiers, and when they reach their courts they find no cases at all to try. The Sinn Fein Courts, on the other hand, are orderly and accepted. The magistrates who serve are men of all professions, and there is no lack of legal ability. All the ordinary and extraordinary cases are brought before them and their decisions are accepted by the whole community. Litigants swear to abide by the decisions of the Court; but the chief difference of procedure between the old courts and the new is that they are required to pay a fee of £1 for the expenses of administration. Now and then, even in England, glimpses of the achievements of these courts appear in the Press, but for the most part they are ignored. An example of their efficiency may be interesting. Last October the sum of £26,000 was stolen from a Cork bank. The robbery was, as usual, attributed to Sinn Fein, and had the theft been reported at the time it might have figured in the official list of outrages. It was, however, soon forgotten. Some seven months later Sinn Fein traced this robbery, arrested the offenders, tried them, deported them, and returned the money to the bank. No one knows or believes that Sinn Fein does this sort of justice, but it is high time that they did.

Not only has the administration of justice passed out of the hands of the official channels, but taxation has also been put upon a new footing. A land tax has been imposed by the Sinn Fein authority, which is actually being paid, and in addition a still more remarkable financial measure has been set on foot. A compulsory levy is being made upon the whole population for contribution to the State Bonds, and for the first time in the history of Ireland a compulsory measure is being successful. The administration of the greater part of the South and West of Ireland is undoubtedly better than it has ever been under English rule. If anyone doubts this statement let him go to Ireland and see for himself! The reason for this state of affairs is not far to seek. For now at last the South of Ireland is being governed with its own consent. The temper of the people and the preservation of order are pulling in the same direction, and it has become an act of "self-reliant" patriotism to help the communal affairs, whereas in the past it was looked upon as an unpatriotic act to give any help at all to the authorities, and bamboozling was, to say the least of it, a respectable pastime. Sinn Fein is often defended as a wild, revolutionary or poetical notion. To those who are on the spot it presents itself more in the light of a reasonable, orderly and contented administration.

S. F.

## WOMAN'S PLACE IS THE HOME.

The Housing Problem is one of the most serious of the domestic difficulties which face us to-day. We all know that it is difficult; we none of us know exactly what the difficulties are, or how they can be met. Money is said to be one, scarcity of labour another, scarcity of materials a third, contractors' rings a fourth, Government delays a fifth, and so on. It is high time that women looked into these difficulties to see if they are all real, and if so, to try and remedy them. "The Woman's Leader" proposes, therefore, to publish articles on various aspects of housing during the summer months, in order to suggest to its readers subjects for their own investigations. We shall have articles on policy and on plans, on facts and on failures, and we invite correspondence on any aspect of the question.

### HOUSING AT PLYMOUTH.

By DR. MABEL RAMSAY  
(Plymouth Town Councillor).

The recent friction between the Ministry of Health and the Plymouth Town Council, now happily settled, has brought out clearly the difficulties of bureaucratic control and the slow progress of business which has at every point to be referred to one or more authorities. The larger decisions at Plymouth went from Committee to Council, Council to Housing Commissioner, and on some occasions from Commissioner to Ministry of Health. All plans, first of roads and sewers, second of houses of different types, had to go backwards and forwards between Committee and Commissioner, and nearly every set went through drastic amendment of one sort or another, usually on account of expense. This see-saw is, of course, a great cause of delay, as alterations entail the re-drawing of plans and estimates, which, added to the rapid rise in prices all the time, is a fruitful source of trouble. This, of course, has had to be faced in other places as well.

Why Plymouth should have been singled out for censure just as the building stage was reached, is somewhat mysterious, but at the Gilbertian inquiry, held without the presence of official representatives of the town, sufficient information was given to show that the fault lay more with the cumbersome machinery provided by the Ministry than with the local authorities. It may be doubted if the pressing needs of the present day can be adequately met by the somewhat slow routine of municipal procedure. In this case, however, there is no question that the Housing Committee had done their best, and only those behind the scenes know the constant work and thought given to the matter by the Chairman, Committee, and officials connected with the housing plans.

Plymouth was one of the first towns to adopt the Town-Planning Scheme of the Government, and some delay is undoubtedly due to this, as the first town-planner engaged by the town in January, 1919, was given an appointment as Housing Commissioner, so the municipal wheels had to be set going all over again, and it was not until March 24th that the appointment of Professor Adshead was made. His first "lay-out" plan was submitted on July 15th. This was approved and forwarded to the Housing Commissioner, who returned it in September with suggested alterations, then ensued much correspondence, and provisional approval was at last given in January, 1920. Meanwhile, house plans had been going through the same procedure. The contract for the first houses was signed on April 22nd, 1920, other plans and contracts are in process of manufacture, and as most of the spade-work has now been done, the progress should be marked in the next few months; money has been found to build some 500 houses.

The houses will be in pairs and blocks of four, and there is to be a happy variety in their exteriors. A certain number of experimental houses and bungalows are to be erected shortly, to gain experience before the plans for the remaining 3,500 houses are finally settled.

The Committee sent a deputation to visit the houses at Braintree and Poole, which gave valuable information. One result was that concrete floors were strongly deprecated. In Devonshire there are many kitchens with stone floors, and it is known by experience how cold and unhealthy they are.

The question of gas or coal fires has also arisen, and there is some difference of opinion on this subject.

### THAT KITCHEN RANGE.

By MADGE MFARS.

The chivalrous crusade of Dr. Saleeby against the devouring despot the common kitchen range must awaken every woman's interest and sympathy. It is in no captious spirit, therefore, that I venture to suggest a few considerations which must not be overlooked when dealing with the question. They are all, no doubt, matters of trivial every-day domestic routine; but they play an important part in scores of women's lives; they really have quite an important bearing upon the problem in hand; and they may

help to explain why some women are less enthusiastic over the proposed reforms than they ought to be.

Granted that a coal fire is both dirty and wasteful for cooking at, and that a properly regulated gas cooker is far preferable, the fire is still required, in the majority of households, firstly to ensure a constant supply of hot water, either by means of a copper built into the range or an ordinary circulating system; secondly, for drying and airing clothes; and, thirdly, for the destruction of perishable refuse. No doubt everybody ought to have a gas geyser in the bathroom—but everybody hasn't; moreover, hot water is not only required once a day for warm baths, it is required continually for household purposes. And we frequently find the water supply so arranged that only a constant circulation of warm water through the pipes keeps them from freezing and bursting with every few degrees of frost.

The laundry difficulty, again, appears to me, in the present stage of our civilisation, almost insuperable. For six months of the year, and on many days even in summer time, it is impossible to dry anything out of doors, yet, where there are small children, or where there are adults whose work or hobbies demand a frequent change of clothing, the weekly wash perforce becomes a daily one. Very few people can afford to send the whole of their washing out to a general laundry—both because of the immediate expense and because of the extra wear and tear (expressive words!) of the linen. Yet the expense of a gas-heated water supply, a roaring gas fire for drying purposes, and a gas cooker as well, all going at once, would be still more formidable.

The metropolitan system of dust-collection and dust-destruction is, upon the whole, a fairly efficient one. But I am going to describe, literally and truthfully, what takes place over a large part of the North of England. Hygienists and fastidiously-minded persons are advised to skip the following paragraph.

At the back of every house is a small wooden closet provided with a lavatory seat; below this, a medium-sized wooden or galvanised bucket; and behind the bucket, a trap-door opening out on to the back lane. This is not only used by the family—in tenement houses, by several families—for sanitary purposes, it also receives everything in the way of vegetable garbage, old tins, waste paper, stale crusts, rags, &c. Two or three times a week the dustmen come round in the dead of night, driving heavy, lumbering carts and making the maximum of noise and disturbance. They open the trap door, pull out the bucket, and empty the contents into an open dust-cart; it is eventually conveyed a mile or so out into the country, where huge refuse heaps are formed and left to decay away, smelling to heaven, breeding battalions of flies, and bestrewing the roads with filthy bits of torn paper with every wind that blows. Occasionally the duty of dust-collecting is neglected for a week at a time; and the conditions become frankly indescribable.

Only the more modern and highly-rented houses have the water-carriage system installed. Even here, the dust bucket must still be used for ashes and other household refuse; the most that any conscientious citizen can do to abate the nuisance is to burn everything that will burn upon—the kitchen range.

It must also be admitted that an open fire does provide a fairly valuable means of ventilation; and so backward are we in our ideas upon this subject, that it is often the only ventilation in a crowded kitchen or living room.

Finally, if we become entirely dependent upon gas for cooking and heating purposes, we must be prepared to find our gas supply dwindle away to half its normal pressure whenever unusually cold weather contracts the supply pipes. And a strike of gas workers would be a national disaster. I am not disputing the right of any body of workmen to strike upon occasion; I merely mention the fact.

It is perfectly true that all these difficulties might be easily overcome in a more ideal state of society. Only, as things are now, they must be faced. Many people have got to go on living under very uncomfortable and antiquated conditions; many people have very little money to spend upon desirable innovations. So there we are!

## MOTHERS' PENSIONS.

By KATHERINE TYNAN.

I can remember a time, before the war, when the possession of children by the poor was made a curse instead of a blessing. Children were "encumbrances"—one can imagine how the Devil smiled at that word—and the possessors of them were penalised everywhere they went. A compassionate woman told me this anecdote one day. A cousin of hers, a very rich woman, had expounded to her the deceitfulness and ingratitude of the lower classes.

"Just think," she said, "I have discovered that my new coachman, who had come to me as a single man, had actually a wife and five children living in the village. Of course I had him up, told him what I thought of him, and gave him a month's notice. The wretched man actually burst into tears. 'It's not the first place those children have cost me,' he said."

### ENTERTAINED THE BABY.

In another case, the employer of a man and wife permitted the existence of a baby so long as it remained in the village and was not brought into the house. It could hardly be believed that the ungrateful parents during an absence of the employers entertained the baby in the kitchen on Sunday afternoon, thereby proving themselves not only ungrateful, but hypocritical and untrustworthy.

That was a world which was getting rid of its babies or refusing them. The children of the poor especially were often a rank offence to the well-to-do, because they came in such numbers and there was so little provision for them. It was indeed a cheerless world they came into. If the mother had to go out to work for them, if they were "nameless" children, as the phrase goes, there were always baby-farmers to starve and neglect them till they died. There was also a monstrous system of insuring young children's lives, the tempter came to the door in the shape of a man with a little book, and it was made worth while to let the child die. The poor children! God must have been very angry in Heaven. Perhaps the world had to lose its children to purge its hard heart.

"Not a sparrow falleth." God took count of the children. Individual benevolence did little good. A recent terrible book, "The Child She Bare," by a girl who was brought up at the Foundling Hospital, to which it was the thing to go in London to hear the beautiful singing and gaze at the children who had inspired a great poet and a great painter, shows what may happen in the best conducted of institutions.

### THE AMERICAN SYSTEM.

The State, in America, had its own system of farming out children whose mothers were unable to support them, and herding them all together in barrack homes. By this system the State took all the rights of the mother. She was not allowed to see the children. After they had been taken away from her their tracks were carefully covered up. This system encouraged adoptions, and with a view to adoption the mother and the child were dead to each other. It was perhaps more inhuman than our Poor Law system. It may possibly have been more efficient. It was at all events enormously expensive. The system of de-naturalising a child and turning it into a miserable little machine with possibilities of evil unknown to the machine, cost a very big sum to the State and to the private individual who supplemented the State grants.

All over America those great heartless buildings sprang up, housing from two hundred to two thousand children a piece. Just imagine two thousand or even two hundred children without a mother to them.

But God did not forget the children. He put the spirit of fatherhood, which is so much rarer than the spirit of mother-

hood, into the heart of Judge Neil, a Chicagoan of a most unique personality. A great novelist might do justice to this great Yankee saint, the Apostle of the Children. He is extravagantly American in looks and speech. No other land could possibly have owned him. He is the most engaging mixture of shrewdness and simplicity. When he sits down to repeat to you the only poem he ever wrote, beginning,

"Who said 'Hitch your wagon to a star,  
Who needs inspiration from afar?'"

going on to say that his inspiration and his star are alike his mother, you love the man. He has told himself the beginning of his Mothers' Pension scheme. He must always have been a lover of children, and he tells us that visiting those barrack institutions he found that when he asked a child, "Where is your mother?" the child's eyes would fill with tears and the mouth begin to twitch. He began to feel that something was wrong, and his next visit was to one of those so-called "children's courts."

### WHY NOT SHOOT THE MOTHERS?

The first case that came up was that of a mother of five children. The father having died three years previously, the mother had kept the home going by working all day as a char-woman, and coming home at night to do what was to be done for the children. She had broken down under the strain, and the landlord had turned them into the street.

The Court decided that the children were to be sent to institutions, and the mother left to shift for herself.

Judge Neil, with that plain-spokenness which must be so annoying to the official mind, looked at the despairing face of the mother, and said:—

"Wouldn't it be more human to shoot her before she realises that her children are to be taken away from her forever?"

The question reminds one of Swift's "proposal" that the Irish children should be cooked and eaten by their hungry parents.

Judge Neil then went on to ask who paid for the children, and how much, and being told, he asked the Court:—

"Why not give the money to the mother and let her keep the children?"

The answer was that it would be against the law.

Then said the Great Heart, "Let's alter the law," and immediately set about doing it.

### THE FIRST MOTHERS' PENSION FUND.

Common sense, plus heart and devotion to the cause, triumphed. On July 1st, 1911, the Mothers' Pension Law came into effect in Illinois. By the end of 1917 thirty-five out of the forty-eight States had adopted it, and in 1918 more than a hundred thousand children had been given back from the soulless institution to their mothers' arms.

Judge Neil carries the fiery cross from America to Europe. Having destroyed the horrible thing known as "institutional life" for children with good mothers, in America, he came to England to do the like for Great Britain. His methods are not at all the Pussyfoot order, there is not peaceful penetration. The Judge asserts everyone he meets with his persuasive enthusiasm. When he talks to you about Mothers' Pensions, you've got to hear and to agree; the torrent of his passionate conviction sweeps over you.

### MAKING A PRIME MINISTER.

He is certainly a thorn in the official side. There is a story of his going to see a big Poor Law school in London, and when the superintendent was blandly explaining the methods and

aims of the school, the Judge interrupted with "Tell me what you teach those three hundred boys?" The worthy man, rather nettled at the interruption, answered:—

"We don't teach them to be Prime Ministers, but we teach them to earn an honest living."

"Oh, said the indomitable champion of the mother, "if those three hundred boys were left with their mothers, there might be one among them who might be taught to be a Prime Minister as well as to earn an honest living."

Judge Neil's crusade seems to have been a fairly easy one in England. He enlisted all sorts of people, including that sound and sweet-hearted cynic George Bernard Shaw. In the English House of Commons the cause was entrusted to a young member, Lieut. A. Baldwin Raper, whose picture in the uniform of the Air Force shows a strong young face which has a suggestion of St. George, mingled with a dash of Don Quixote. He apologises, in the Latin sense, for that he, young and unmarried, should be in charge of the Mothers' Pension Bill. He says, becomingly,

"Perhaps it is because I am, fortunately, still young enough to remember that I had a mother, and the value to me of that mother's care and devotion, that I am wishing to see every child in this country enjoying the same privileges, I may say the same rights, for I hold that every child has an inherent right to a mother's love."

It is good to read that when the Mothers' Pension motion was brought before the House of Commons on April 8th, 1919, there was not one voice raised against it.

It was Napoleon who said, "I do not want nuns, give me mothers." Well, the only institution for children I know which was at least a good substitute for the home and the mother, was run by nuns. I nearly embraced the nun, with the real heart of a mother, who told me the little girls wound up the day with a dance, that each had her party frock made by herself if she was old enough, with the assistance of a nun and the design chosen by herself from a paper pattern book. Also, the nun was eloquent on pretty hair ribbons for the children. There were orphan children, or deserted, or the children of criminals, and the spirit towards the children was the spirit of the Mother of our Lord.

Who was it who said "When God could not look after everything he made mothers"?

Judge Neil is up against the usual stupidities, urged, one grieves to say, rather by women than by men, and very often by the spinster woman.

One is grateful to Mrs. Lloyd George for her answer to the question:—

"What about drunken mothers?"

"... for every bad or drunken mother there are ninety-nine competent and loving ones."

Indeed, the mother would be very bad who would not be preferable to an Institution.

#### THE CHILD SHE BARE.

I hope that a hundred years hence people will be shocked at the tale of the institutional system for children, as we are shocked now at the working of children in mines and factories, the chimney sweeping boys, the violence and brutality to children that was admitted or permitted a hundred years ago, or later, and not only in the homes of the poor. The institutional system is, I believe, very well calculated to raise idiots and criminals. It is dead and damned. All honours to that Honest Knight Judge Neil, to his brave young lieutenant, A. Baldwin Raper, M.P., and to all who have given a hand. I would recommend all who are interested to read "The Child She Bare," published by the Swarthmore Press, London. But that raises another question, that of the illegitimate child, as though any child could be illegitimate or bear stain coming innocently into life. When that cruelty comes to be wiped out, may the attacking knight have the courage, the insistence, the passionate enthusiasm of Judge Henry Neil, Father of Mothers' Pensions as he likes quaintly to call himself.

## CHILDREN'S "CRIMES."

The Juvenile Courts, and, indeed, the whole question of the treatment of juvenile crime, is now much before the public, yet so little is known about either that the public is almost unable to judge the matter fairly. In England it is public opinion which, in the end, alters or decides all questions affecting the people, and therefore a few facts about this most vital matter may be welcome. Feeling my own ignorance concerning the Juvenile Courts, I obtained permission to attend at one Court; and the following personal impressions are the result.

The Juvenile Court that I attended was quite distinct from the adult; it was held in a separate room, approached separately, and had separate waiting rooms, so that it was almost impossible for juvenile and adult cases to come across each other. Idle spectators are not allowed at any Juvenile Court, only those directly concerned being present, and an occasional visitor who has good reason for coming. Each case is admitted and heard separately; of course, if several children are brought up on the same charge they come in together. The children are not put in the dock, but stand opposite the magistrate, a police officer near them, while the parents stand just behind. Nothing could exceed the kindness and patience of the magistrates in dealing with the children; every chance is given to them (and their parents) to state their side; each case is thoroughly explored, and neither time nor trouble is spared. While there is nothing to cow a child, or frighten him unnecessarily, the dignity of the Law is felt, and the child is properly impressed by the surroundings in which he finds himself. No child is sent away from home to an industrial school or a reformatory unless his home surroundings are such as to give him no chance of pulling up, or unless he proves to be a deliberate or hardened wrongdoer, whose influence on other children is bad. The magistrate requires careful reports, and these he receives from various sources, which bring to his knowledge all the circumstances of the child's life—home surroundings, school, or place of employment. The essence of Probation work is that the Probation Officer should become the friend of the child and his parents, and this is what the magistrate expects of her. She visits the homes regularly, and the child comes to see her as well; the happiest relations prevail between the Probation Officer and the child and his family, in many cases continuing after the period of probation has come to an end.

Many of the juvenile offences are not crimes at all, such as playing football and cricket in the streets; but, of course, games cannot be allowed in crowded thoroughfares, and the police are obliged to bring up the culprits. Such "crimes" deserve, and receive, lenient judgment. It is a crying shame that in districts simply teeming with young, active, growing life there should be no playgrounds, so that the natural instinct of a young thing for exercise and play should be distorted into a punishable offence. Why cannot women bend their energies and public spirit to compelling *this* reform? Rather than crowd themselves into Juvenile Courts, already wisely and efficiently conducted, let them compel the owners of the many private squares in London to open these jealously-guarded spaces to London's children. Even if these squares were open at certain hours only, it would be an immense gain to the children, their parents, and the harassed police who have to prevent them from exercising a perfectly legitimate instinct. It would keep the children out of the dangers of the streets, and it would put an end to much idle street pilfering and dishonesty. These are the children of the men who have saved England; these are the guardians of her future. It is an abominable thing that in great districts of London there should be so few playgrounds for the children of the poor.

E. M. E.

## DR. FELL.

By SUSAN MILES.

### III.

Terry Hankin thought the new Rectory baby about the ugliest thing she'd ever struck. She had never seen a new-born baby before. And Rickie had been enthusiastic and said it was an A1 baby, too. Poor Mrs Sanderson! It was almost pathetic to see anyone so ridiculously proud of such a little fright. Terry hated loud noises, and yet she found herself not minding a bit that the creature squealed the whole time and refused to suck Mrs. Sanderson's quite amazingly capacious breast. Its absurd little thin crimson fists had to be slapped and its nose had to be pinched—its nose which was also crimson, and which pinching seemed already, after three days, to have reduced to a parrot-shaped pulp.

"Truly the ungodly are froward even from their mother's womb; so soon as they are born they go astray," quoted Terry inwardly, with distinct satisfaction.

She described her impression of the thing to Richard when they met at tea, but found him less appreciative of the liveliness of her narration than was usual with him.

He stuck to it that Margaret Ann was an A1 baby, and he was much impressed by the way in which all Agatha's good qualities had been underlined by the arrival of her sister.

"Has Agatha any good qualities?" murmured Terry.

"Why are you so down on all the Sandersons?" asked Rickie, knitting his brows and trying hard to understand.

"I'm not," explained Terry, "I like the old boy quite a lot. But certainly Mrs. Sanderson and all the little Sandersons do bore me stiff. Rickie, couldn't you come and nail up that shelf for me in the studio when you've done your tea?"

"I'll do it after supper, darling. I must see how Job Marshall's broken leg's setting. And I think I'd better have a look at Margaret Ann if she was really off her feed this afternoon."

"Oh, bust Margaret Ann," cried Terry. She hammered in the shelf herself, all crooked, and she bruised her thumb and sat on the studio floor sucking it, while tears of exasperation dripped on to her neat little tailor-made skirt.

Terry had abandoned her hand-woven jerkin of late, and adopted a severe shirt blouse as a substitute. It was surprising, too, how seldom Terry's hair came down nowadays. It was nearly always beautifully brushed and sure of its moorings. Even Rickie, who never noticed clothes, was conscious of a difference, and knit his brows over it.

"Oh, I don't know," said Terry. "Djibbahs and jenkins and things are so slummocky, aren't they? I hate them."

Agatha's good qualities were underlined by Margaret Ann's presence in the Rectory. There was no doubt about it. Terry was annoyed with herself to find how reluctantly she had to admit it. What did it matter to her whether Agatha Sanderson was a nice little girl or a horrid little girl? Anyway, Diccon was still as unmitigatedly horrid a little boy as anyone could expect to find—and Walter John remained unspeakable. There was, somehow, solid satisfaction to be found in those facts. And they were all three hopelessly badly dressed. Agatha's skirts never hung level, and the boys' blouses were abominably laundered. And Walter John *did* squint. It was absurd of Rickie to try to make out that he didn't. Terry wasn't sure that Mrs. Sanderson didn't squint a bit herself.

"Passed it on to Walter John, like her brains to Agatha," she suggested. "By the way, I've never spotted those brains yet, Rickie darling."

By the time Margaret Ann's crimson had toned down to a pink which even Terry had to find attractive, and her nose had lost its pulpy substance and its parrotty contour, Terry found that she had endured the dullness of Little Galton for as many weeks in succession as anyone possessing a temperament could reasonably be expected to.

"Besides," she added, across the breakfast table, "I scarcely ever see you, Rickie, when I am here. I might just as well be

at Tintagel. It's a pity I have such robust health, darling, isn't it? I shall really have to break my leg or be—or something, and send for Dr. Hankin."

Terry hastily passed over the only alternative to a broken leg which had occurred to her. Terry was flippant, but there were subjects she didn't want to think about even long enough to be flippant over.

Richard was miserable. He hadn't anticipated the Tintagel project. And the same alternative to a broken leg had floated into his own subconsciousness and influenced him unawares. It was an alternative which Richard didn't feel a bit flippant about, but not because it bored him.

So he did what he very seldom did, and got cross. And then he got crosser with himself for getting cross than he was with Terry for crossing him. And Terry got cross too, and cried, and got crosser with herself for crying than she had with Richard for making her cry. And although they ended up in one another's arms and were both very penitent, and Terry swore she would never, never go within fifty miles of Tintagel, and Richard swore that he was aching for her to go to Tintagel, it wasn't a happy morning for either of them.

Richard thought he was being really tactful when he explained at lunch how much less lonely it was for him now when Terry was away, than it had been in the old days when the Brownes were at the Rectory. And Terry only just managed not to cry again by laughing very hard and thinking energetically about Mrs. Sanderson's purple djibbah.

It drizzled dismally all the afternoon. Richard drove off to Great Galton in the trap, and Terry pretended that she was busy in the studio. But by three o'clock she had given up the pretence, and was rubbing a damp ball of a handkerchief into her eyes and looking round for her thickest boots. She pulled them on in haste and dashed out into the yard, calling to the gardener to get out her bicycle.

"It's raining, M'm," he protested.

"I know, I know! Never mind! Get it out."

"But you'll get wet, M'm."

Terry seized the handle-bars, and, mounting, pedalled vigorously through the puddles up to the hill to Chelmington.

### IV.

Miss Moiliet looked up in surprise from "Heartbreak House," and stared at Terry's boots and glanced at Terry's eyes.

"My dear Teresa. . . ."

"I know. I'm a disgusting object, darling, but I had to come. I want to be like one of your Russian creatures and turn myself out to you. I want to be spiritually sick, darling. Will you be stewardess?"

"My dear Teresa! What a metaphor! I refuse to be anything of the sort, at any rate till you've had tea and found a pair of my slippers and some dry stockings."

Miss Moiliet's keen old eyes had already taken in the cut of Terry's new skirt and the pucker on her brows. She was looking forward to discovering the explanation of both—but she didn't want to be rushed.

They ate, slim, buttery toast, and drank very hot China tea, while Terry stretched out her shapely legs and admired the firelight on the buckles of Miss Moiliet's slippers.

"If you're going to turn yourself out to me, my dear, thank goodness it's to be in the Russian way. Now the people here"—she tapped the green book upon the table beside her—"are always turning themselves inside out, and the depressing thing is that their analysis is always accurate. So absurdly unrealistic. It knocks the bottom out of the whole thing, of course. Real people are always analysing themselves, but then they do it wrong. Now, why Dostoevsky's so satisfactory is he makes them do it wrong, just like real people, but they do it wrong in such a way that they make you see them right."

She paused, rather pleased by her acuteness, and polished her pince-nez.

"I'm afraid there's no chance of your finding my self-analysis all wrong, darling," began Terry, tucking her legs under her and deliberately keeping her voice on one note so that it shouldn't tremble.

Miss Moilliet restored the pince-nez to her nose and waited. "I'm jealous!" wailed Terry suddenly, and burst into tears. "Pity the poor jealous," quoted Miss Moilliet, who had been reading Blake's life that morning.

"It's so wicked, and so stupid," moaned Terry. "Rickie's just the soul of honour, and he loves me like anything. But I am jealous. I didn't realise it till to-day, but there's no doubt about it. Looking back on the last two months. . . ."

She paused.

"Of whom are you jealous?" asked Miss Moilliet.

"It's the Rector's new wife. The new Rector's wife, I mean," confessed Terry confusedly. "And it's all the horrid and the absurd because she's just been having a baby, and of course there's nothing whatever in it, I know, and I'm a little beast and all."

She sniffed.

"Oh," said Miss Moilliet, and waited.

"You see I must be jealous of her because I hate him going to the Rectory, and I loathe him saying she has brains and has passed them on to Agatha. And I was quite glad when Margaret Ann wouldn't take her milk—and wasn't that spiteful? Oh, darling, I am being sick with a vengeance. Can you stand it?"

"Do you know, I rather like people being sick when they manage to look as pretty over it as you? There, that's my confession, I suppose. Go on, my dear, when you're ready."

"Yesterday we were there for tea, and Agatha would run about the room eating cake and making crumbs, and wouldn't do anything she was told. And every time she whined, and every time her mother said 'Angel, do this,' or 'My precious, do that,' I giggled inside with pleasure, because I thought 'Now Rickie'll have to see she's ridiculous.' He didn't, you know, either. If he likes people, he likes them, and that settles it. And he says it's just a phase with Agatha, and Mrs. Sanderson oughtn't to worry as much as she does. Of course, I think she ought to worry heaps more."

Miss Moilliet gave a sagacious but non-committal nod and passed Terry the cigarettes.

"And another silly thing was that I was frightfully disappointed when a letter came this morning from little Aunt Janet saying she couldn't let Eppie come and stay because she'd got mumps. Well, I'd been thinking I was dreading the bother of Eppie's visit because it would interfere with my work so, and you know how I detest children. But, if you'll believe it, I cried! And when I came to analyse my disappointment I realised it was all because I'd been subconsciously looking forward to showing off Eppie's pretty little manners and lovely eyes and successful clothes to Mrs. Sanderson, so that she couldn't fail to see the contrast with Agatha."

"She would have failed, of course. Or would have contrasted them to Eppie's disadvantage, dear," smiled Miss Moilliet.

"Pig," said Terry, putting out her tongue. "Well, anyway, you see how it is. And now, please, what's the treatment for jealousy?"

"I don't believe you're really a bit jealous—of Mrs. Sanderson."

"I'm afraid you're very obtuse, darling. I expect it's just your silly old theory about Shaw making you obstinate. Of course, people often analyse themselves right. I'm quite sure I always do, in the end anyway."

"I admit you're jealous, but I don't believe it's of Mrs. Sanderson."

"What! a sort of inverted old days of chivalry stunt—Mrs. Sanderson only a blind? Problem: find the real rival? Silly old darling!"

Terry stroked Miss Moilliet's hand and stared into the fire. "If Agatha and Dicon and Walter John didn't exist, I believe you and Mrs. Sanderson would be quite good friends. And Richard would probably be bored."

"But they're ordinary enough sort of children really. That's the queer thing. Sometimes I almost like them quite a lot, except that of course I never like any children. But I find myself wanting not to like them, I don't know why. It's the same with her. But what do you mean about me being jealous of another woman? There isn't one."

"Little silly. You're jealous of the children. Richard wants babies."

"Now, darling, if you're going to start Mother's cry, 'Have a little son, have a little son,' I'm going straight home. I won't have a little son. I never thought you would go off on that tack, darling. I thought it was only the Mrs. Rennies and the Mrs. Lambleys who did that. I told you about Mrs. Renny, didn't I? How she took me with such pomp and ceremony to the night nursery to show me her sweet pets in bed, little innocents, asleep and all, you know. I was nearly sick at her expression; yearning, you know, tenderness welling up—all that. And her eyes were saying, 'Ah, my dear, some day.' And I wanted to take her by the scruff of her neck and say, 'Never, never, never, you little fool!' Then Mrs. Lambley sniffed round the place, saying she was very psychic and was sure she could feel the spirits of children about the place. I said, 'Really? The people who were here before us had eleven, and I believe eight died. Isn't the view charming through that window?' But wasn't it impertinence? Of course, darling, you couldn't be impertinent, and you can say anything to me. But whatever you say, I'm not going to have little sons."

"My dear Teresa, I should never urge you to have little sons. That's your business and Richard's. All I say is, Richard wants babies, and a big part of you does, too. It's not a bit of good trying to be blind to things that stare you in the face. Quite possibly your art matters so much to you and to the world that you're right in turning your back on them. But it seems to me old-fashioned in these days to pretend that the desire isn't there just because it would be rather more convenient if it weren't."

Terry blew her nose loudly.

"Desires for babies are big, coarse-fibred, aggressive things like—oh, well, like cocoanuts, say, and it's no good carrying them about, tucked out of sight in a bag of butter-muslin and hoping they won't wear through. That tiresome psychic woman's remark was just about as pertinent as it was impertinent I expect. Say 'no' to the babies if you must, but don't pretend it's going to be easy for either you or Richard. And don't go working out your suppressed libidos, or whatever they're called, on those unfortunate Sanderson infants. It isn't fair on anybody. Little silly."

Then Terry made a puddle of protesting tears on Miss Moilliet's lap and afterwards ploughed her way home down the muddy lanes back to supper with Richard.

## V.

For two more difficult years she tried hard to construct a stout enough bag for her cocoanuts, but they always wore their way through. And one day she bicycled over to Miss Moilliet again.

"Darling," she said, "painting means every bit as much to me as ever it did, but I've got to have that little beast of a son. I hope he won't have crimson hands."

"He will," murmured Miss Moilliet.

"He and the painting will have to fight it out," pursued Terry. "It will be awfully exhausting."

It was. Terry never quite knew which won oftenest.

But you can muddle along in worse things than battlefields, Terry decided. Or rather, if you've got to be mixed up with battles, it's simpler in the long run for some of them to be fought out in your studio and your nursery and not all in your own silly inside. Swords, after all, are good, honest old things—lots better than emetics.

"I can tolerate your metaphors when they're merely disagreeable, my dear Teresa," commented Miss Moilliet sipping her China tea, "but when they become confused too . . . ."

"Pig," said Terry cheerfully, helping herself to more toast.

[THE END.]

## "THE WOMAN'S LEADER" IN LITERATURE.

### THE LIFE OF LORD COURTNEY. By MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT.

The Life of Lord Courtney. By G. P. Gooch. (Macmillan & Co. 18s. net.)

This book is not merely a worthy record of an eminent man, but is in many of its aspects as entrancing as many a romance. Lord Courtney was born when William IV. was king, and his life covered the whole Victorian epoch, the reign of King Edward, and of his successor down to 1918. Almost all that time he was taking an active and, needless to say, a highly intelligent interest in the great events of his time, and from 1863 onwards gradually became an active participant in them.

We see him first of all a young lad in remotest Cornwall, son of the manager of Bolitho's bank in Penzance. He was put into the bank as a clerk at the age of thirteen, but his spirit was not subdued to what it worked in; we see him engaged in the bank all day but using his evenings, with the constant help and encouragement of Dr. Willan, a Cambridge graduate and resident in the neighbourhood, who had been attracted by the boy's unusual powers. There was nothing in Cornish politics at that time to attract him; they were corrupt and mainly personal in their appeal and outlook; his father was an old-fashioned conservative, but the association with Dr. Willan had far reaching consequences and really shaped the whole course of Leonard Courtney's future life, for it was the doctor's influence and advice which induced Courtney's father to enter him in 1851 at St. John's College, Cambridge, and from the seed then sown all the rest of his future proceeded. The Repeal of the Corn Laws of 1846, and his reading aloud to his parents the report of Sir Robert Peel's speech on this occasion, marked a step in his political development, and even more than this the events of the revolutionary year 1848, the break up of the French monarchy and the flight of Louis Philippe, awakened in the boy of sixteen an emotion and interest which he vividly described in 1917 (see note on page 13).

His undergraduate life at Cambridge ended in his becoming second Wrangler, first Smith's prizeman, and a year later a fellow of his college. While at Cambridge his mind was powerfully influenced by the political philosophy of John Stuart Mill, but with characteristic independence of judgment he attacked his leader's views on taxation and some other matters of practical politics. A warm and most constant and faithful friend, his political comrades in the 'sixties and 'seventies were more particularly Professor Cairnes, the eminent Irish economist, Henry Fawcett, and John Morley. He warmly espoused the cause of the enfranchisement of women, and was an early and most valuable friend to the movement for their University education. He was on the Council of Girton for many years and his will testified to his faith, for he made the College, together with his own St. John's, his residuary legatees. He took a leading place, perhaps the leading place, as a capable exponent of the principles of Proportional Representation. The rift between himself and Joseph Chamberlain, which gradually became a gulf oceans wide, originated in Courtney's advocacy of Proportional Representation and his reasoned and reasonable opposition to the division of the country into small electoral areas each returning one member necessarily, of course, by the simple majority vote. He was never tired of demonstrating the highly unrepresentative results of such a system, excluding, as it must, half, and sometimes more than half, the voters from any representation whatever, and the political dangers this involves.

All through his life his political independence, the sturdiness and honesty of which was universally acknowledged, was his outstanding political characteristic. Of course, this necessarily implied very great self-confidence; but those who acted on the assumption that it implied no more than this nearly always had cause to repent their rashness. His opinions were only formed after a careful and detailed study of the facts, and his very retentive memory enabled him to marshal these facts with great precision and effect. This, of course, made him a formidable antagonist and an invaluable ally. Of his self-confidence this book contains many examples. It grew with his growing years. Of course he was not (who is?) always right. He could denounce Lord Milner at a public meeting as a "lost mind," and in private rebuke the late Lord Salisbury for yielding to a "delirious dream." Lord Salisbury's big, good-natured rejoinder satisfies the ear as it is satisfied by the common chord after the discord of a seventh. "I am sorry to seem to you

delirious, but my conviction is the result of much reflection" (p. 377). This attitude of "austere censoriousness" darkened Courtney's already pessimistic view of the outlook on the results of the South African War. He continued to see everything black and imagined that there was no possible issue, to the struggle except to hold the country by sheer force, needing, according to his calculations, a permanent force of 50,000 men. He did not, any more than the less instructed of us, foresee Louis Botha quelling the rebellion of 1914-15 by the use of Cape Dutch troops only, or the important part which the two great Boer Generals, Botha and Smuts, were to play in the final overthrow of German militarism. It appears to those who are able now to look back upon that he might have had more insight, for even as 1902 Lady Courtney's journal notes a visit from a Boer deputation headed by Botha, and says, "They want to co-operate and to be good subjects." Botha ended, she adds, by saying that "they should never fight again with guns, and they asked for the help of English people to get justice and really equal rights in South Africa" (p. 481).

Lord Courtney's attitude on the recent war has probably been misunderstood in some quarters. "No one," says Mr. Gooch, "was more deeply convinced that a German victory would enthrone militarism for generations" (p. 582), and he was equally strongly convinced that after the wanton attack on Belgium it was impossible for England to stand aloof from the struggle (p. 579). But he unfortunately fell into a defeatist attitude, and really believed that no decisive victory was possible (p. 588). In the debate in the Lords on the German peace overtures of December, 1916, he said that the "struggle shows that each of the belligerents is unconquered and unconquerable" (p. 591). We know now from the books of the German generals that they knew that the Germans were beaten long before 1916. Courtney's friend General Smuts, who had the soldier's as well as the statesman's eye, had said about this time, "They—the Germans—are beaten and they know it." But he failed to persuade the sage of Chelsea to adopt this more hopeful view.

But I must not end on a critical note. I knew this man, and loved his upright courage, his tolerance, his scrupulous, accurate love of truth, his personal generosity, and the entire absence in his character of any trace of self seeking. And I have already said how he had helped us all through our fifty years' struggle for women's suffrage. When at last victory was in sight, when the Representation of the People Bill had passed all its stages in the Commons by huge majorities, we came up against our last, and as we thought, possibly fatal obstacle in the House of Lords. The House was in Committee, and Lord Curzon, the President of the League for Opposing Women's Suffrage, was the leader of the House, and about in that capacity to wind up the debate on the women's clauses. As we sat breathless in the little pew for women on the floor of the House, Lady Courtney came to me with a message from her husband: "Should he speak or not? He would do exactly what I wished." It was a difficult moment, not that I hesitated but that I greatly shrank from the appearance of disloyalty to such a valued friend. But I screwed my courage to the sticking point and sent him an affectionate message, but asked him not to speak. It was splendid of them both that neither showed any contempt for my timidity. For it was timidity. I dreaded the effect in the House of a speech from him which might probably adopt what Mr. Gooch calls "the gravestones of a father addressing wayward children" (p. 536). This was not a moment for rebuking the Peers nor for addressing them in tones of "austere censoriousness." If I was wrong or disloyal or forgetful of this splendid work for our movement, I ask pardon of him, but I do not even now feel I was wrong and I hope he does not either. We never had a more loyal and true-hearted friend.

There are one or two small criticisms to make on Mr. Gooch's work. It would be a great help to the ordinary reader if he would in future editions be more generous with *anno domini*. At present the day of the month is again and again given with no mention of the year, for which the reader has to look back often over several pages. Again, the author should have compassion on human forgetfulness and when he writes, for instance, of "the Chancellor" or "the leader of the House" at a given time, it would be very helpful to add the name of the

bearer of the office. There is also a little mistake upon a matter of fact on page 344, where Mr. Gooch says of the Woman Suffrage Bill of 1897, that it was the first time such a Bill had passed its second reading in the House of Commons. But he forgot that in 1870 Mr. Jacob Bright had carried the second reading of his Bill and that it had been defeated a few days later on going into Committee. The victory of May 4th, 1870, was due to the vote being left to the unfettered judgment of the House: the defeat of May 12th was due to vehement official opposition from Mr. Gladstone as head of the Liberal Party. Mr. Gladstone forbade his colleagues to vote with Mr. Bright, and every member within reach of the Government Whip had an urgent summons to attend and vote us down. The comment of the *Women's Suffrage Journal*, edited by Lydia Becker, was: "It is therefore lost for this session but will be heard of again."

**Psycho-Analysis.** By Barbara Low. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.)

A dear old gentleman I knew used sometimes to remark: "I quite agree with you, and, what's more, you are right." Miss Low takes up just this attitude towards Freud in her new book, "Psycho-Analysis." She is such a whole-hearted admirer of his theory that her enthusiasm sweeps all its difficulties away. Of course, the book is short, but nevertheless it has space enough to allow of a more discriminating account of Freud's great theory, and possibly more impartial criticism would have carried stronger conviction with her readers. Miss Low is certainly a great admirer of this man, whose genius she compares to that of Newton or of Darwin, but she is inclined to give him even more than his due, as when she claims for him the honour of destroying the old Faculty Theory in Psychology.

In discussing topics of psychological interest, psychoanalysts have an argument that it is impossible to confute. They make a statement, for example, that boy children have a tendency to love their mothers and be jealous of their fathers. If an individual agrees with them well and good, he is supporting their theory. But supposing he disagrees, that is no argument against the theory, it is merely because his true memories of having had these feelings have been repressed by his censor in so efficient a manner that he is quite unconscious of ever having had them. It is a neat argument!

The value of psycho-analysis in the treatment of abnormal people is so obvious that it is scarcely disputed to-day. Miss Low's suggestions of the application of the method to normal people, however, are certainly drastic, for they include the upsetting of many of those standards of civilisation of which we are most proud. The book would be worth reading if it did nothing more than stimulate thought in this interesting direction. Most of her readers will probably not be prepared to go to the lengths that Miss Low advocates, but in refraining from so doing they may have a sneaking feeling that it is their repressed complexes that are holding them back, and that it is not their real opinion.

It is true that now the Freudian theory is beginning, as Miss Low expresses it, "to force its way into the strongholds of orthodox psychology," but there are still many problems to be solved before it can be fully admitted. For example, the constitution of the censor itself has not been adequately explained, and it is difficult to form a conception of it as anything else but a very clever demon sitting on a box containing a lot of other little demons that are always struggling to escape. Now what is this strong demon with its complicated actions—the censor? At present there is no satisfactory explanation of its psychological constitution.

Miss Low's use of the actual term "psycho-analysis" is both too wide and too narrow. It is too wide in the sense that she uses it for "the Theory of the Unconscious with its method of work," and likewise for "the technique whereby that unconscious mind may be explored and interpreted." This double use of the term is not scientific. The term is too narrow in that she will not allow it to be used for any treatment of the Unconscious other than Freud's, even though it may be a direct analysis of the mind.

Every well-educated person of to-day should know something of the Freudian Theory, and this book makes an admirable introduction to the subject, for it is short and clear and requires no previous psychological knowledge on the part of the reader. It gives an excellent bibliography, and quotes frequently from the works to which it refers. The book will, no doubt, fulfil at least one of the purposes for which it is designed by the authoress; for it makes the subject so interesting that many of the readers will be drawn on to study the works of Freud himself.

## "THE WOMAN'S LEADER" IN DRAMA.

### "The Garden of Allah" at Drury Lane.

"The Garden of Allah" is a "lovely story" par excellence. It contains all that the most romantic adolescent heart can desire. All Europeans are in love with the desert. Since our infant fingers turned the pages of the natural history book of the Arabian Nights, looking at the pictures before we could read the print, most of us have been unable to resist the spell of its camels, its sandstorms, its dancing girls, its oases. Add a passionate love story to the most moving pages of the natural history book, and to the love story a monastery of Trappist monks, monks who wear white clothes and make delicious liqueurs, and you have "The Garden of Allah." "The Garden of Allah"—the very name seen on the top of a bus is exciting.

The play is not disappointing. The producers have wisely concentrated on local colour. Everything is sacrificed to the background—and what a background. The rise of the curtain in every act was greeted with even more enthusiastic applause than its fall. The first act showed the verandah of the Hotel du Desert at Bein Mora with public garden, a street at night, and last, the inside of a dancing house. Unfortunately, they do not dance very well in the garden of Allah. The second act showed the garden of Count Antoni—very beautiful, full of real palms. But the masterpiece was the third act. It was laid in the desert itself—there was real sand, real animals, real Arabs, real Eastern dresses, all "brought" from the Sahara by Mr. Collins for the purpose. The scene was laid in rather a busy part of the desert. Boris and his lady would have found it quieter in Richmond Park or on Hampstead Heath. But though they longed for solitude, they were so devoted to the desert that they put up with the traffic—an interminable stream of donkeys, mules, camels, and travellers, Eastern and European, swarmed past their tent. Finally, an officer and a clergyman whom they had met at Bein Mora arrived and they were obliged to put them up for the night. When night fell and the traffic ceased a sandstorm arose. It stopped as suddenly as it had begun, however, and was succeeded by a very beautiful sunrise. There is never a dull moment in "The Garden of Allah." The last scene was outside the Trappist monastery. It was very beautiful, with the sea in the background and a "monastic choir, by chanters from the best Catholic choirs," singing in the monastery. But still it was hard to see the young man enter its gates for ever. One could not but feel that he was making a mistake.

As for the acting, Macaulay's remark about Doré's illustration of Paradise Lost applies to Mr. Godfrey Tearle and Miss Madge Titheradge. One could hardly see the man and woman for the garden. Also, they were not very suitably dressed. Boris Androvsky, for some reason, went about Bein Mora in a heavy dark suit which would have done very well in Whitehall or Fleet Street, but must have been frightfully hot in Algeria. He had some more suitable clothes, however, for camping out in the desert. Domini Enfield, however, camped out in mole-coloured crêpe-de-Chine, with silk stockings and Suède shoes to match. She looked very nice, but one could hardly help feeling that her clothes would not wear very well, and would not work at all. The acting was carried on under difficulties. Drury Lane is an enormous theatre. A sigh has to be a very loud sigh to carry to the top of its gallery. A frown has to be a very heavy frown to be perceptible from the bottom of its pit. Mr. Godfrey Tearle's sighs and frowns carried to the farthest extremities of the building. Miss Madge Titheradge's acting was on the same generous scale. It was more skilful than Mr. Godfrey Tearle's, and the effort therefore was not so overpowering. The other actors, including a large number of animals, played their parts with great spirit.

D. H.

## THE SHOCKING EXAMPLES.

When Jacky Wilson tore his clothes,  
Or eat too much of jam and bread,  
Such conduct gave his mother pain,  
And this is what she always said:

Your Cousin Joe is clean and neat,  
Nor does he care for cake or sweet;  
You never, never would do so  
If you were like your Cousin Joe.

When Joey Fletcher stamped with rage,  
And cried, and made a shocking fuss,  
His mother would be much concerned,  
And always she addressed him thus:

Your Cousin Jack is never heard  
To utter an improper word.  
You never would do so, alack!  
If you were like your Cousin Jack.

Now Jacky lived in London town,  
And Joey far away in Wales,  
And what they of each other knew  
Was only from their mothers' tales.

But Jacky longed till he was sick  
To give his Cousin Joe a kick;  
And Joey would have gladly bled  
If he might once punch Jacky's head.

One summer Jacky left the town  
Where all was dusty, hot, and dry,  
To spend a month among the fields,  
Where sheep are white and starlings fly.

The first day of this merry time  
He hurried out at morning prime,  
And looking round him full of joy,  
He soon espied a little boy.

A little boy whose face and clothes  
Were plentifully splashed with dirt,  
Whose boots had half their buttons off,  
And who had torn his sailor shirt.

With both hands grasping full of clay  
He beckoned Jack to come and play.  
"I've found a charming ditch," he cries,  
"Where we can sit and make mud pies."

They did. But Jack had not the time  
To grow as dirty as his friend,  
For as they puddled, mixed, and stirred,  
His mother came and made an end.

She seized him and began to scold;  
"Come, come away, sir, when you're told;  
I will not have you play, that's flat,  
With such a dirty little brat."

Then Jacky lost his temper quite,  
His cheeks became of scarlet hue,  
And as he struggled, screamed, and kicked,  
Another lady came in view.

Who darted to his comrade's side;  
"I am ashamed of you," she cried,  
"That you should have yourself demeaned  
By playing with that little fiend."

At this the other turned her head,  
Both ladies gaze—and, standing back,  
"You here!" they cry, and then aghast  
They look at Joe, they look at Jack.

And neither can believe her eyes.  
They gaze again in sad surprise:  
"Is that dear, tidy little Joe,  
Bedaubed with mud from head to toe?"

"Is that dear, patient little Jack,  
Who screams with rage and kicks like mad?"  
And both the ladies wept to think  
Their model boy should be so bad.

But Jacky laughed until he cried,  
Joe shouted till he nearly died,  
And now the world cannot show  
Two dearer friends than Jack and Joe.

J. M. S.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### THE STATE AND ITS FUNCTIONS.

MADAM.—Mr. Gladstone once remarked that we are all Socialists, more or less. Many years ago I read Mr. Emile Laveley's work on Socialism, which showed that there were then eight chief kinds of Socialism, there may be eighty to-day for ought I know. Lady Selborne says that men "will lose many of their liberties under a Socialist régime." The whole course of progress seems to me bound up with certain people having their liberty curtailed. What are the Factory, Workshop, and Mines Acts but curtailments of liberty, often preventing employers, sometimes the employed, doing certain things that are not conducive to the general well-being? Parents cannot now treat their children exactly as they think, but at least to some extent as the State thinks. Men have often in the past, and some continue in the present, to treat women as slaves, without even the mediocrity of wages. With the acknowledgment of woman's citizenship, an improvement has set in. What does Ford's success as an organiser prove? There are often admirable proprietors, organisers and managers in one person; often not. Sir John Mann, who in some way controlled munition factories during the war, informs us that some firms charged six times as much as others for certain shells or operations and had to be instructed how to do the work. The meaning of this is that capital and management must not be dissociated, but regarded separately and estimated as if they were two separate and distinct things, even when united in one person.

The gist of my article, that a new and more satisfactory arrangement between labour and capital is an urgent necessity, is untouched by Lady Selborne's remarks. The State is *always* and everywhere taking on fresh business, and in the main we are improving. The State of 1820 had an easy job on hand, it ran Parliament and Britain for the advantage of employers, manufacturers, and landlords, all males; it was busy administering the Six Acts, every one of them against Labour. The State of 1920 has at last realised that it must work for the *common* advantage; the great difficulty is to discover it. Every country is seeking their pearl of great price.

C. S. BREMNER.

### THE PLUMAGE BILL.

MADAM.—A few years ago I had the privilege of visiting London Docks. It happened to be on the day before one of the plumage sales which take place there periodically. I was shown a large warehouse where everything was prepared for this, and where there were many large crates filled with the skins of white egrets, with the ospreys in place upon them. I examined these, and I know that each skin represented the life of a bird. The egret was only one of the very many species which were displayed in vast numbers, and at the cost of their lives.

I see no way to reconcile such facts as these with the statement that "No English lady who wears an egret in her hat need fear that thereby she is countenancing cruelty or helping in the destruction of a vanishing form of bird life," which appeared in a letter on this subject in *The Woman's Leader* for June 25th.

SECRETARY OF THE WOMEN'S INTERESTS COMMITTEE.

### CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY.

MADAM.—In your article, "Shall Capital Reap All the Profits?" your contributor understates the resources of the Co-operative Wholesale Society Ltd. It may be of interest, therefore, to state that the C.W.S. has 1,200 branches, or distributive society members to whom it supplies goods, the value in 1919 being £89,469,000. Of these supplies, commodities valued at £26,000,000 were made in C.W.S. factories and workshops. The C.W.S. employs 40,000 workers. The total sales of all distributive societies combined reach about £160,000,000.

JAMES HASLAM.

### IRELAND.

MADAM.—I am too busy, and my eyesight fails, so that I cannot discuss the subject fully, but I should like to ask your readers to study ethnography before they accept all that Mr. J. K. White says in the name of the Sinn Feiners, in your present issue. Can they refer back to any *past historic period* at which there was a "United Ireland"? The general States were four, sometimes one king was chief and sometimes another. To follow historic precedent, it would be quite a *novelty* to have "The United States of Ireland." In its most glorious time, its chief literary and religious fervour spread from the Scots of Ulster, who sent over St. Columba in the sixth century to Christianise the Scots of Scotland, both being then of one race. Perhaps some other who has studied this subject more fully would give you a sketch of the early Irish races.

C. C. STOPES.



## NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

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### NEWS FROM HEADQUARTERS AND FROM OUR SOCIETIES.

#### THE GENEVA CONGRESS.

Our Societies will be glad to have the official report in full of the Resolutions and decisions of the Geneva Congress. They supplement and in some cases correct the preliminary report published on June 18th.

#### I. WOMAN SUFFRAGE, SELF-GOVERNMENT AND PEACE.

1. That this VIIIth Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance desires to place on record its profound gratification that since it last met in 1913 women in twenty-one countries of the world have been enfranchised: that women sit on many legislative bodies of the world: and that the Council, Assembly, Commissions and Secretariat of the League of Nations are open equally to women as to men.

2. It further desires to place on record its deep satisfaction that the peoples of many countries have secured their liberty, and that a wide extension of the principle of government by the people has come in many other countries during and since the war: and it holds further that the free and full self-expression in government of men and women is essential to the highest development of humanity.

3. The Congress calls upon all the women of the world to use their power to prevent future wars, and to educate the children to a greater and truer understanding of all the peoples of the world.

#### II. OBJECT OF THE ALLIANCE AS AMENDED.

The object of this Alliance shall be to secure the enfranchisement of the women of all nations by the promotion of woman suffrage and such other reforms as are necessary to establish a real equality of liberties, status and opportunities between men and women.

#### III. PROGRAMME OF WOMAN'S RIGHTS.

##### Political Rights.

1. That the suffrage be granted to women and their equal status with men upon legislative and administrative bodies, both national and international, be recognised.

##### Personal Rights.

2. That women, equally with men, should have the protection of the law against slavery, such as still exists in some parts of Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa.

3. That a married woman should have the same right to retain or change her nationality as a man.

##### Domestic Rights.

4. That on her marriage a woman should have full personal and civil rights, including the right to the use and the disposal of her own earnings and property, and that she should not be under the tutelage of her husband.

5. That the married mother should have the same rights over her children as the father.

6. That the children of widows, if left without provision, should have the right to maintenance by the State, such maintenance to be paid to the mother as guardian.

7. That research for the father of a child born out of wedlock should be authorised; that such a child should have the same right to maintenance and education from the father during the period of dependency as a legitimate child, and that an unmarried mother during the period when she is incapacitated should also have the right of being maintained by the father of her child.

##### Educational and Economic Rights.

8. That all opportunities of education, general, professional and technical, should be open to both sexes.

9. That women should have the same opportunity as men for training and for entering industries, professions, civil service and all administrative and judicial functions.

10. That women should receive the same pay as men for the same work.

11. That the right to work of both married and unmarried women be recognised: that no special regulations for women's work, different from regulations for men, should be imposed contrary to the wishes of the women themselves: that laws relative to women as mothers should be so framed as not to handicap them in their economic position and that all

future labour regulations should tend towards equality of men and women.

##### Moral Rights.

12. That a higher moral standard, equal for men and women should be recognised, that the traffic in women should be suppressed, the regulation of vice and all laws and practices differentiating against women or any class of women in this matter be abolished.

#### IV. LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

1. *League of Nations.* The women of thirty-one nations assembled in Congress at Geneva, convinced that in a strong Society of Nations, based on the principles of right and justice, lies the only hope of assuring the future peace of the world, call upon the women of the whole world to direct their will, their intelligence and their influence towards the development and the consolidation of the Society of Nations on such a basis, and to assist it in every possible way in its work of securing peace and good-will throughout the world.

2. *Women's Conference.* That a recommendation be sent to the League of Nations on behalf of this Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance to the following effect:—

(1) That a Conference of women be summoned annually by the League of Nations for the purpose of considering questions relating to the welfare and status of women. The Conference to be held at the seat of the League if possible and the expenses paid by the League.

(2) That the Conference shall be constituted so as to include:

(a) One or more representatives of the Government of each nation.

(b) One or more representatives of the great internationally organised Women's Societies, such as the following:—

- International Council of Women.
- International Woman Suffrage Alliance.
- International League for Peace and Freedom.
- World's Young Women's Christian Association.
- World's Women's Christian Temperance Union.
- International Federation for the Abolition of the State Regulation of Vice.
- International Congress of Working Women.

(c) Two or more representatives of the women of each nation: half of these to represent organisations of women wage-earners and half other organisations of women. These representatives to be chosen by the Government from a list of names submitted to them by the women's organisations.

(d) Advisers or technical experts chosen for their special knowledge of the subjects that are on the Agenda of the Conference for the year in question.

(e) That power be given to the Officers to vary the whole scheme according to circumstances.

#### V. PROSTITUTION AND VENEREAL DISEASE.

1. This International Congress of Women, being deeply concerned with the protection of the race, urges that a vigorous campaign be undertaken against venereal disease by all means compatible with freedom and justice. This Congress affirms its belief that:—

(a) A high moral standard equal for men and women should be recognised.

(b) That laws which strike at women without touching men are ineffective and unjust.

(c) That the regulation of prostitution in any form should be abolished.

(d) That education in sexual matters should be extended.

(e) That numerous centres for the free treatment of venereal disease should be established.

2. This Congress notes the resolution of the League of Nations on the question of the traffic in women and children.

Since the regulation of prostitution is an important contributing cause of the continuance of this traffic in women, this Congress declares for its abolition, both nationally and internationally: it therefore urges the League of Nations to adopt the following policy:—

### ARE WOMEN GOOD SPEAKERS?

By C. C. K.

As a rule women are good speakers, but—nearly always there is a "but." Many women are fluent enough, but there is often more the fluency of a swollen stream of words than the calm flow of a trained orator. Not only in speaking but in writing, too, this verbal profligacy is evident. The pen glides merrily along, the words come tumbling on to the paper, but somehow they are not the right words; or, if the right words are there, they are badly arranged or hidden by a host of "poor relations."

The vast majority of women need to cultivate the Art of Self-Expression. It is emphatically an art to be able to converse gracefully, wittily, and easily, to write concise and convincing letters and reports, and to deliver, without notes or preparation, a pithy, pointed and grammatically flawless speech. A knowledge of the Art of Self-Expression will enable every woman, whatever her walk or sphere in life, to attain and enjoy a far greater measure of success—socially, commercially, publicly and financially—than would otherwise be the case.

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- (a) To recommend to its constituent States the abolition of the State regulation of prostitution.
- (b) To grant mandates for the administration of undeveloped countries subject to the condition that within the mandatory territory there shall be no regulation, segregation or official toleration of prostitution.

**VI. ECONOMIC CRISIS.**

In view of the economic crisis which menaces the lives and healths of present and future generations and threatens to undermine the basis of civilisation itself, this Congress declares that women, being the natural custodians of child life, the welfare of children in any country is a matter for which the women of all countries have a special responsibility.

This Congress, therefore, calls upon the women's organisations here represented to use their influence in their respective countries:

- (a) To promote measures of relief in the famine areas.
- (b) To set the example of frugal living and economy in private expenditure, so long as there is a world shortage of necessities.
- (c) To urge their governments to co-operate in the reconstruction of the common economic life of Europe and thus to restore normal conditions of trade and finance and with them the possibility of progress and reform.

**VII. DEPORTED CHILDREN.**

That such children as have been deported shall be found and returned to their families, or placed under the guardianship of a Committee of the nationality to which they belong.

**VIII. DEPORTED AND SLAVE WOMEN.**

That such women as have been deported or sold into slavery shall be traced, and liberated, and given an opportunity of returning to their own country if they shall so desire.

**IX. ESPERANTO.**

1. Le Congrès décide de recommander l'étude de cette langue à tous les délégués au prochain congrès.
2. D'encourager les associations affiliées à faire introduire l'enseignement de l'espéranto dans les écoles publiques comme un puissant moyen d'entente directe entre les peuples.

**REPORTS.**

**EIGHTEENTH CENTURY MUSIC IN LONDON.**

On Friday, July 2nd, Miss Florence Pertz gave a very interesting matinee of Late Eighteenth Century Music in London; she was assisted by Miss Mary Carmichael, the Misses Crompton, Mr. E. Van der Straeten, and Mr. John Goss. Miss Pertz read a delightful paper on the subject, "Musical London between 1764 and 1782." We only wish we had space to report it all, but we cannot refrain from quoting it in part.

What a gay spectacle London presented in the latter part of the eighteenth century. What a galaxy of famous men and women we meet with in the contemporary memoirs, and how entertaining are the scraps of gossip.

"Fiddling, flowers, feasting, flattery and folly," is one summing up of that period. But other sides there were too, for it was in truth a time of glaring contrasts—entertainments plentiful and varied to suit every conceivable taste; from cockfighting to public executions at Tyburn—from the sprightly and sentimental fare provided by the Vauxhall Singers to the oratorios of Mr. Handel.

Of musical meetings and societies in London there was no end: some dozen musical meetings were held every week at various taverns within the sound of Bow Bells. At the Old Queen's Arms Tavern, North of Newgate Street, music lovers met on Thursday evenings to play Corelli's Quartets. Public concerts date, as is well known, from the time of Charles the Second. The "London Gazette," December 26th-30th, 1672, gives one of the first advertisements of these concerts. "These are to give notice that at Mr. John Banister's House, now called the Musick School, over against the George Tavern in White Fryers, this present Monday, will be Musick performed by excellent masters beginning precisely at 4 of the clock in the afternoon and every afternoon for the future, precisely at the same hour!" From that time onward, concerts became a regular institution in London.

**AN INDIAN SONGSTRESS.**

Quite a delightful surprise awaited the large company who attended the annual Conversation of the Royal Colonial Institute last week, which was held, as usual, in the Hall and Galleries of the Natural History Museum, South Kensington. That excellent concert-director, Mr. Mavon Ibb, who is responsible for the arrangement of the musical part of the evening's programme, brought forward an Indian lady, Mme. Aziza Mani, whose contralto voice proved a wonder and delight, not alone for its richness of tone, but for the extraordinarily clear enunciation of the English words of her songs—the Love-Lyrics of Woodforde-Finden. That is something to note when our difficult language is an acquired tongue. She had, moreover, a very fascinating personality, and the lovely *sari*, worn as only an Indian can wear it, made a telling contrast to the light and sometimes scanty draperies of a fashionable audience. Mme. Mani, who has married and settled in London, should be heard again and again; her voice has been most carefully trained and is of an unusual quality. It is one for the concert platform and for the drawing-room, and the personal attractiveness of its possessor should make it welcome anywhere.

**NEWPORT (MON.) WOMEN CITIZENS' ASSOCIATION.**

A most delightful and successful Garden Fête was held by the above Association in the beautiful grounds of Bron-y-gaer, kindly lent by Sir Garrod and Lady Thomas, with the special object of obtaining funds for a vigorous campaign next winter. At the opening ceremony tribute was paid to the excellent work of the Association by Mrs. Hugh Watts and the Chairman, Mrs. Muller. The variety stall was presided over by the Mayoress, to whose untiring efforts was due a large sum (£70) being handed over to swell the total amount of the £235 realised. Other attractive stalls were the art stall, the pottery stall, the sweet stall, and the literature stall, where new members could be enrolled and orders taken for the WOMAN'S LEADER and books and pamphlets relating to citizenship. The American bar and the refreshment stall did a brisk trade during the afternoon, and the side shows were well patronised, *viz.*, the conjuring entertainment, two concerts, some delightful Morris and country dancing, and maypole dances. The children took great delight in the Shetland pony rides, sports, clock golf, and the bran tub. There was a large attendance as the weather was propitious; fifteen new members were enrolled and many people learnt something of the objects and work of the Association. The great success of the function was due to the splendid organisation of the Fête Committee. The Association will now be able to pay the salary of a much-needed assistant to the honorary secretary, and to proceed with next season's work without monetary anxiety.

**ELIZABETH GARRETT ANDERSON HOSPITAL.**

An appeal for £50,000 has been successfully made to endow fifty beds at the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital in memory of the Founder. Lady Hall has been the Chairman of the Appeal Committee, and she has raised this magnificent sum under the difficult conditions of war time. The costs of collection have been only four per cent., and the greater part of the money has been subscribed by women's schools and colleges and by women workers. One bed has been endowed by money collected by the efforts of the domestic servants in the Hospital, and the appeal has met with a very wide response. On July 5th a pleasant little ceremony took place in one of the surgical wards, which has been named "The Sophy Hall Ward," to celebrate the completion of the sum. Among those present were Lady Hall, Mr. Archibald Gordon Pollock, Sir William and Lady Plender, the Hon. Mrs. Fletcher Moulton, Miss Spencer Wigram, Dr. Dickenson, Dr. Aldrich Blake, Dr. Flora Murray, Dr. Garrett Anderson, Dr. Winifred Cullis, Miss Adelaide C. Freeman, and Mrs. Belloc Lowndes.

**COMING EVENTS.**

**LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.**

The following meetings on League of Nations subjects will be held:—

- JULY 10.**  
Garden Party at Horsforth.  
Speakers: Major J. D. Birchell, M.P., A. R. Barrand, M.P., Capt. O'Grady, M.P. 3 p.m.
- JULY 11.**  
In the District Free Church Council, Maldon, Essex  
Speaker: Canon Bickersteth Otley. 7 p.m.
- JULY 12.**  
In the Munster Mission Hall, Cassidy Road, Fulham.  
Speaker: Miss Helen Ward. 7 p.m.
- JULY 13.**  
At the Girls' Friendly Society, Oxford.  
Speaker: Miss Curry. 5.15 p.m.
- JULY 15.**  
In the Congregational Church, Caledonian Road, Holloway.  
Speaker: Canon Bickersteth Otley. 7 p.m.
- JULY 16.**  
In the Kirby School, Middlesbrough.  
Speaker: Miss Curry. 6.30 p.m.

**NATIONAL UNION OF TRAINED NURSES.**

- JULY 10.**  
In the N.U.T.N. Club, 46, Marsham Street, Westminster.  
Speaker: Mrs. How-Martin (Middlesex C.C.).  
Subject: "The League of Nations."  
All nurses and their friends are welcome. Tea will be served in the Club room from 4 p.m.

- JULY 19.**  
Speaker: Miss Florence (Secretary, Women Clerks and Secretaries' Friendly Society).  
Subject: "Unemployment Insurance." 7 p.m.

**THE WOMEN'S LOCAL GOVERNMENT SOCIETY.**

- JULY 10.**  
Garden Fête in the grounds of South Villa, Bedford College (by kind permission of the Council). Entertainments include: musical and dramatic performances; Morris and Child dancers; Alfred Capper, conjuror; Mrs. Thompson Price, Psychic Delineations. Variety stalls. Teas.  
Further information and tickets may be obtained from the offices, 19, Tothill Street, Westminster.

**THE SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF INEBRIETY.**

- JULY 13.**  
In the rooms of the Medical Society of London, 11, Chandos Street, Cavendish Square, W. 1.  
Speaker: Arthur Evans, M.S., F.R.C.S.  
Subject: "Alcohol and Alcoholism in Relation to Venereal Disease."

(Continued at end of page 531.)

**MEDICAL, Etc.**

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**ANNOUNCEMENTS.**

**KENSINGTON TOWN HALL.** Fellowship Services. Every Sunday. 3.15, Dr. Percy Dearmer, "The Divine Nature." 6.30, Miss Maude Royden, "Suffering and Development." Music, Martin Shaw.

**WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.**

**PUBLIC MEETING ON AMRITSAR MASSACRE.**  
British Women demand a Royal Commission to enquire into the treatment of Indian Women and Children under Martial Law, and the immediate enfranchisement of the Women of India.

CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER, Tuesday, July 13th, at 8 p.m.

Chair—Mrs. DESPARD.  
Speakers—Miss Helena Normanton (Editor "India"), Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Miss Agnes Dawson, Miss Robinson, L.L.A., Councillor Miss Margaret Hodge, Mrs. Swanwick, Roy Horniman, Esq., Holford Knight, Esq.

Admission Free. Reserved Seats, 1s., from Sec., W.F.L., 144, High Holborn, W.C. 1.

**EDUCATIONAL.**

- INDUM HOUSE, BEXHILL-ON-SEA.**—Home School on Progressive Thought lines. Large garden, cricket field, sea bathing; all exams. Special care given to backward and delicate girls.—Principal: Miss Richardson, B.A.
- NURSERY SCHOOL.**—For motherless or delicate children, 3-7 years. Montessorian system of education. Good milk, butter, and eggs. Limited numbers. Terms 100 guineas p.a.—Etingham Lodge, Cophorne, Crawley, Sussex.
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- DISHOP'S DAUGHTER** requires private secretarial work; typewriting; long experience confidential work and Eastern affairs.—Box 4,274, WOMAN'S LEADER Advertisement Office, 170, Fleet-street, E.C. 4.
- VACANCY IN OCTOBER** for experienced Liberal Woman Organiser throughout country. Apply W.N.L.F., 122, Victoria-street, London S.W. 1.
- REQUIRED,** within forty miles Leeds, post as Companion Help. Young, bright, willing, well domesticated, very musical. Salary 15s. weekly.—Craig, c/o Blenheim Lodge, Leeds.

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Tea and coffee 3.45 p.m.  
Further particulars of membership (5s.), &c., can be obtained from the Hon. Sec., 19, Park Crescent, Portland Place, W. 1.

**WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.**

**JULY 13.**  
In the Central Hall, Westminster.  
Public meeting to demand (1) A Royal Commission to enquire into the treatment of women under Martial Law in India; (2) Votes for Indian Women.  
Speakers: Miss Helena Normanton, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Miss Agnes Dawson, Miss Robinson, L.L.A., Councillor Miss Margaret Hodge, Mrs. Swanwick, Roy Horniman, Esq., Holford Knight, Esq.  
Chair: Mrs. Despard. 8 p.m.  
Admission Free. Reserved seats 1s., to be obtained from the W.F.L. 144, High Holborn, W.C. 1.

**JULY 14.**  
In Hyde Park.  
Speaker: Councillor Margaret Hodge.  
Subject: "The Necessity for Peace."  
Chair: Miss O'Kelly. 7 p.m.

**LONDON SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SERVICE.**

**JULY 14.**  
In the Central Hall, Westminster.  
Speakers: Miss M. F. Billington (Society of Women Journalists), Mrs. Charles Peel.  
Subject: "Women and Journalism."  
Chair: Miss Helen Ward. 4 p.m.

**JULY 24.**  
A Swimming Carnival, in aid of the Funds of the above Society, will be held in the Baths of the Royal Automobile Club, Pall Mall, W. 1.  
Competitions, Races, and Swimming and Diving Exhibitions by Professionals and Distinguished Amateurs.  
Tickets: Competitors (ladies or gentlemen) 7s. 6d. each. Spectators, 12s. 6d. each, or £1 is. to admit two. Valuable Prizes.  
Tickets and all information to be obtained from the Swimming Carnival Secretary, Women's Service, 58, Victoria Street, S.W. 1.

**YORKSHIRE COUNCIL FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.**

**JULY 16.**  
In the Town Hall, Leeds.  
Mass Meeting.  
Subject: "Women in Parliament."  
Speakers: Viscountess Astor, M.P., Major Hills, M.P., Mrs. Oliver Strachey, Lady Lawson-Tancred, Alderman Ben Turner, J.P.  
Chair: Mrs. H. A. L. Fisher. 7.30 p.m.

**CIVIC EDUCATION LEAGUE.**

**JULY 31 to AUGUST 14.**  
The Summer School of Civics will be held at High Wycombe. The programme of courses and lectures is a full and interesting one, and is designed to give the students of the school an all-round knowledge of social life, present-day social problems, and the solutions of these. Particular attention is given to the needs of teachers of Civics, and of social workers in Health and Education Movements.  
Lecturers will include: Dr. Eric Pritchard, Miss Margaret Macmillan, Mr. Wilfred Buckley, Miss Norah March, Dr. F. H. Haywood, &c.  
Further particulars can be had from the Secretary, Summer School of Civics, Leplay House, 65, Belgrave Road, S.W. 1.

FOR SALE AND WANTED.

IRISH HUCKABACK TOWELS, with hemstitched ends, 22 by 40 ins., good reliable quality, for 15s. 6d.; postage 6d. Send for Bargain List, free.—HUTTON'S, 159, Larne, Ireland.

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SECOND-HAND CLOTHING wanted to buy for cash; costumes, skirts, boots, underclothes, curtains, lounge suits, trousers, and children's clothing of every description; parcels sent will be valued, and cash sent by return.—Mrs. Russell, 100, Baby-street, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

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TO LET AND WANTED.

HARLEY STREET (Near), Private house; large double bedroom; also single; part board (ladies only); reference; stamp.—Box 4,268, WOMAN'S LEADER, 170, Fleet-street, E.C. 4.

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