

THE WOMAN'S LEADER

AND THE COMMON CAUSE

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NOTES AND NEWS.

Borough Elections.

Polling took place on Monday in England and Wales for the election of borough councillors. In London, where all the councillors retired after three years' service, the total number of seats to be filled was 1,366 as against 1,362 in 1922, the Fulham Council having been increased by four members. The electorate has increased since the last election, there being now nearly two million electors on the registers of whom almost half are women. At the time of writing the total number of councillors returned is not to hand. The results declared on Monday night show many gains for the Labour Party. In the provinces polling took place in about 300 boroughs to fill the seats of one-third of the councils which become vacant every year. The results, so far as they are known at present, show considerable Labour successes. The main points in the election addresses issued by provincial candidates were housing, rating, and unemployment. Polling in Scotland took place on Tuesday. The subject of the elections will be fully dealt with next week in our Local Government News column.

Successes of Women Candidates.

On going to press we learn that 138 women have been returned in the London Boroughs.

Wages and Family Needs—in Theory.

On Wednesday of last week the Coal Commission took evidence from Sir Horace Wilson, Secretary of the Minister of Labour, who dealt with the question of wage rates and their rise and fall in relation to the cost of living index compiled by his department. In the course of his examination, Sir William Beveridge, one of the four members of the Commission, suggested that if wages were adjusted to the cost of living it was difficult to leave out of account in determining a cost of living index number the size of the family. In reply, the witness, asserted that his department had to assume that the family responsibility remained unchanged.

But, said Sir William Beveridge, actual family responsibilities have gone down?—adding that in order to know the reality of such figures as the relation between wage rates and cost of living index numbers, investigations are needed to cover such points as changes in family responsibility. "I agree," replied the witness. So do we. But we go further. Such figures will never attain reality or command respect until they are related not merely to the changes in *average* family responsibility from census period to census period, but to the changes in *actual* family responsibility from year to year of an individual wage-earner's working life. And we are inclined to think that Sir William Beveridge would agree with us.

Wages and Family Needs—in Practice.

The *Economist* of 31st October in an article on the present position of the British worsted industry, points out that depression of wage rates in the French industry cannot be help accountable for the intensified competition of which home manufacturers are at present complaining. "As a matter of fact," the writer adds, "the hourly wage rates in the French wool textile industry have increased more than the cost of living, without taking into account the family allowances which are added to wages. . . . According to the Ministry of Labour, money wages in the British wool industry are 86 per cent above pre-war, and if unemployment be taken into account real wages are 88 per cent of the pre-war wages. Consequently, it would seem that the French manufacturer has no undue advantage in the matter of wages." We quote this passage because the italicized sentence (the italics are ours) may serve to calm the "a priori" fears of those who regard the family allowance system as a potential instrument for screwing down an already meagre wage-bill. In this case not merely the total wage-bill, but also the rate of unsupplemented real wages, appears to have remained intact. But the whole passage offers even further ground for speculation. If not to cheap labour, then to what is the competitive superiority of the French manufacturers due? Can it be that contented labour, with a background of economic security for wage-earners and dependents alike, has played its part as a factor in the situation? We commend the matter to the attention of the Coal Commission.

Poor Law Reform.

Poor Law Reform is a misleading expression. Reform has been going on steadily since the publication of the Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law in 1909. But in the sense in which we use the words to-day they mean something much more than reform. They mean the sweeping away of the whole system of the Poor Laws. The present Government has promised to introduce legislation which will in all probability abolish Boards of Guardians and transfer their work to special committees of the County Councils and Borough Councils. The scheme, we understand, is based on the report of the Committee established by the Ministry of Reconstruction to report on the transfer of functions of Poor Law Authorities in England and Wales, commonly called the Maclean Committee, after Sir Donald Maclean, its Chairman. The first step in this direction is contained in the overhauling of the rating and valuation system, which is a necessary preliminary to any drastic change of administration, and which we hope will be effected if the Rating and Valuation Bill completes its stages this session. We propose to give a good deal of attention

'Keep fit on
cocoa'

BOURNVILLE
SEE THE "Cadbury" ON EVERY PIECE
OF CHOCOLATE

Write
Cadbury, Bournville
about Gift Scheme

to this important subject in the paper during the coming winter, and by way of introduction we shall devote our leading article to it next week; a review of Sir Arthur Newsholme's recently published book on the Ministry of Health will appear in an early issue. So far the proposed abolition of the historic Poor Law system has been too remote to cause much excitement outside the inner circle, but it will shortly become a burning question, and as such we hope to have it freely discussed in these columns.

Widows and Children.

The Ministry of Health is anxious to have claims for pensions for widows forwarded as rapidly as possible, in view of the amount of work which has to be done before the 1st January. Claims are not coming in as rapidly as was expected, and it is thought that some widows are under the misapprehension that those in receipt of poor law relief are not eligible for pensions. In *The Times* last week it was estimated that 200,000 widows with 400,000 children will be entitled to draw pensions from the State. A great deal of ignorance still prevails, and those who are in touch with gatherings of women should take every opportunity of spreading knowledge of the new Act. Leaflets setting out the conditions under which Widows' Pensions can be obtained can be got from any post office.

The Working of the New Guardianship and Separation Acts.

We continue to receive reports of the many cases which are being brought under the Guardianship of Infants Act, 1925, and the Summary Jurisdiction (Separation and Maintenance) Act, 1925. The classes of cases in which the former Act is being most useful are those in which the parents are living apart without a formal separation and the mother is applying either for the custody of or for maintenance for the child, or for both. In every case which has come to our notice, the mother has won her claim. In cases brought under the other Act full use is being made of the change in the law by which an application can be made by a wife for a separation order on the grounds of her husband's failure to maintain or of his cruelty, without leaving him first. We have not yet heard of a husband taking advantage of the new rights given to him under the Act.

Early Victorian Methods of "Charity".

We are glad to know that a well-known hospital has decided to abolish the system of hospital letters as a form of introduction for patients unable to pay contributions towards the medical attention received. We do not know to what extent this obsolete system is still in vogue, but an advertisement recently caught our attention which suggests that "charitable" help still depends in some quarters at least on influence rather than on the extent of the need. The advertisement in question appealed for contributions for a well-known and, we understand, most useful organization, the Royal Surgical Aid Society. Potential donors were asked if they needed help "for some poor man or woman in sore need of a proper surgical appliance to enable him or her to get back to work." "Be your own Almoner," the advertisement ran; "letters" are promised to each subscriber in proportion to the amount subscribed. The selection of certain forms of help, such as homes, pensions, etc., is still, we understand, determined by the number of votes which the unfortunate applicant for help can extract from benevolent donors. Such methods are entirely out of keeping with twentieth century standards of social welfare. If help is not available for all, the selection of its recipients must be guided by the circumstances of each individual application, not by the caprice of the benefactor. We believe that few will withdraw their gifts in aid of those less fortunate than themselves if they fail to receive some *quid pro quo* in the shape of "votes" and "letters."

Your Money or your Vote.

It is reported from Australia that the Victorian State Legislative Assembly has passed a Compulsory Voting Bill which aims a blow at political apathy by the imposition of a fine of £2 for failure to vote at State elections. Such a measure will doubtless, in a few marginal cases, divert towards electoral problems a measure of conscious thought which would not otherwise have been evoked. It will, at the same time, in all probability, conduce to a very large volume of wholly unintelligent voting. We cannot, on balance, regard compulsory voting as a very desirable addition to the ordinary machinery of political democracy.

Prospective Parliamentary Candidate for Bournemouth.

We understand that Miss Minnie Pallister has been adopted as prospective Labour candidate for Bournemouth.

Mrs. Annot Robinson.

News has reached us of the death of our old friend, Mrs. Annot Robinson. Our own connection with Mrs. Robinson centres round her very brilliant period of activity as Organizer to the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. We remember her—all who were actively engaged in the Suffrage Movement will remember her—as a personality of peculiar force and fearlessness. We are fortunate in having been able to obtain this week from her personal friend and former colleague, Miss Ellen Wilkinson, M.P., a wider survey of her activities in very many spheres of life.

Continued Vigilance.

At its annual meeting in 1923 the Lancashire and Cheshire Association for the Abolition of the State Regulation of Vice discussed a suggestion that its activities should be terminated in view of the competing activities of other bodies having similar objects. It was ultimately resolved that the suggested dissolution of the society should be reconsidered at the end of two years, pending the accumulation of detailed information concerning the work of kindred bodies. Those two years being now ended, the matter was duly reopened at the Society's annual meeting held at the end of last week. It was, however, decided, under the presidency of Canon Rowntree, to continue the Society's existence in view of the persistence of an opinion in favour of State regulation. We agree that a time when such practices as those embodied in the abominable Singapore "draft ordinance" can be seriously recommended and discussed is no time for Societies such as the Lancashire and Cheshire Association to commit suicide.

An Interesting Consular Appointment.

We congratulate Miss Pattie Field, of Denver, on her appointment as American Vice-Consul at Amsterdam. She is, we believe, the first woman to enter the U.S.A. Foreign Service and, since the Consular and Diplomatic branches have recently been consolidated and two formerly water-tight compartments made accessible to one another, there is no technical barrier between Miss Pattie Field and the most responsible of diplomatic posts. The *Manchester Guardian* of 30th October, in commenting upon this interesting appointment, points out that the work of a consul, especially in a sea port, may involve the inspection of ships and the handling of stranded and perhaps obstreperous sea-faring compatriots. It adds that Miss Field's own reply to a suggestion that a woman might not be able to rise to such emergencies embodied the view that some male consuls were not very strong physically and had to rely on other means than force for managing refractory persons. An obvious truth, and a fortunate one for this country's consular prestige—for our Joe Beckett would shine as a pale star in the Consular firmament beside such colleagues as Jack Dempsey and Georges Carpentier!

The Englishwoman Exhibition.

We have received this week a notice of the *Englishwoman Exhibition of Arts and Handicrafts* which opens at the Central Hall, Westminster, on 12th November; and we very cordially endorse its invitation to our readers to visit it. The present exhibition is the fifteenth of its kind, and if it maintains the standard of its predecessors it may be fairly described as one of the artistic events of the year—most opportunely timed to anticipate the activities of Christmas, yet not so near to that distracting event that pockets and energies have suffered exhaustion.

Inquiries.

A. C. writes: I have a housekeeper who is a widow over the age of 30. She has some furniture of her own, including a bed, which she uses in her room. How can I arrange that she shall have a Parliamentary and Municipal vote? She is very anxious to have one.—She must pay rent of not less than £5 per annum for her room and prove to the Registration Officer that the bulk of the furniture is her own.

Our Next Issue.

Among our important articles next week will be a second article in our "Schools" series on King Alfred's School, by the Head Master, Mr. Joseph Wicksteed, and a review by Miss A. Helen Ward of *We Twa*, by the Marquis and Marchioness of Aberdeen.

MARRIED WOMEN TEACHERS: IMPORTANT TEST CASE.

Another important test case on the right of an education authority to dismiss married women teachers has been before Mr. Justice Lawrence in the Chancery Division for some days. It is not possible here to comment on the legal aspect of the married women's claim. The matter is still *sub judice*. We do, however, congratulate and thank the three women who have raised the action. It will decide a point vital to the position of women. Until we know exactly what the law is, it is not possible to frame proposals for its amendment. If after the decisions in the two cases now before the court it is necessary, we shall have to promote legislation such as will make it impossible for local authorities, as so many are now doing, to play fast and loose with the right of a married woman to earn her livelihood in the manner which she herself thinks best. There is no question more important. It is on a level with the original claim of the married woman to control her own earnings and property, this claim to be recognized as an independent personality where the right to work is concerned. Opponents assume that the work of a married woman is to be compulsorily at the disposal of her husband. It was literally so when before the first Married Women's Property Act even her earnings were his. Those who to-day would deny her the free right to earn seek to thrust her back into the position of an absolute dependent. And the same idea is at the root of the inequality of pay between the sexes. The man, forsooth, is to have enough to enable him to have free service at home, the woman only what will maintain herself so that she shall of necessity in her own person have to do her own domestic work.

It is more than a hundred years since the last vestige of the bondage under which a worker was compulsorily attached to a particular employer was abolished in Great Britain. It is now inconceivable that a man should be compelled to work for one particular employer. That so many otherwise fairminded people should take upon themselves to deny this ordinary human right of choice to a woman because she is married is an indication how low is the status of the married woman in this country to-day.

To come back to the case now before the High Court. Mrs. Fennell and two other married women teachers employed by the Borough of East Ham had sent to them on November 1 of last year notices purporting to terminate their engagements as teachers. The plaintiffs are claiming that these notices do not duly and lawfully determine their engagements. They say

WOMEN AND SOCIAL INSURANCE.¹

By JOSEPH L. COHEN.

III.

SOCIAL INSURANCE AND FAMILY NEEDS.

Our system of social insurance suffers from many anomalies but from none worse than the recognition in certain cases and the lack of recognition of the presence of a wife and children in other cases.

In the case of unemployment insurance extra provision for dependents is now made. In the case of health insurance, nothing but the inadequate maternity insurance distinguishes the benefits of the single and the married man, whilst no provision at all is made for the illness of the wage-earner's dependent. When a workman is an invalid, disabled for life, he obtains 7s. 6d. a week, whether he is unmarried and alone or married and with a wife and children dependent upon him. Under the Workmen's Compensation Act some extra provision is made for the dependents of those who suffer fatal accidents, but none is made for those who suffer from non-fatal accidents.

Our legislators have not thought out the question whether or not additional benefits should be granted to wage earners with dependent families as distinct from unmarried wage earners without dependents. In consequence our present arrangements are anomalous and contradictory, one policy being adopted in one case and the opposite policy in another. Even where special provision is made for dependents it is ludicrously inadequate. There can be little doubt that women will not be satisfied with any system of social insurance which fails to grant extended benefits to workmen with families.

Perhaps it is well to note here a problem that is generally believed to be ripe for action, and which we are promised will be dealt with next year, the abolition of the existing Poor Law

that the grounds of their dismissal are not educational, but are alien to the function of the education authority. They allege that the grounds on which they were dismissed were three; first that unemployment among unmarried women teachers might be reduced by dismissing married women; second, that married women who had husbands earning a sufficient salary and in regular employment should not themselves be earning a substantial salary so that two incomes should go into the same home; thirdly, that the proper place for a married woman was in her own home attending to her home duties. They further asked for an injunction restraining the defendants from acting on these notices. It is not denied by the defendants that the three women had always exercised their duties efficiently. But the defendants do deny that in discharging the women they had acted on other than educational grounds.

Evidence was given on behalf of the plaintiffs by Mrs. Fennell and the Editor of a local paper, but their chief witness was Mr. Pope, a member of the Borough Council, himself a teacher and the husband of a married woman teacher. He stated that on none of the different committees and sub-committees on which the question had been discussed had educational efficiency been the ground on which the Committees had acted.

At the time of writing the witnesses for the defence had not been heard.

Mr. Justice Lawrence stated that after the hearing of the case he would reserve judgment till the decision of the Court of Appeal had been given in the Poole case, which is probably to be heard in the course of next week. It will be remembered that in that case judgment went in favour of the women who were declared to have been dismissed on other than educational grounds.

One serious revelation was made in the course of the evidence, namely that the Board of Education had sent a circular to the Council suggesting that one of the methods by which unemployment among single women teachers could be reduced was by dismissing married women teachers. This is another indication of the extremely low status of the married woman. Her unemployment is apparently in the eyes of Whitehall not unemployment. If it were not so serious there would be something of comedy in the particular form of blindness which supposes that, if the number of single women unemployed is decreased by putting out of employment the same number of married women, unemployment on the whole is diminished.

Guardians and the Poor Law as we know it to-day. The present functions are to be divided amongst various Departments. It should be a cardinal principle of any change that it shall not throw over the present practice of the Poor Law in recognizing family need. In this respect it represents the better view and not our schemes of Social Insurance. Indeed, this will offer an opportunity for a concerted demand that all branches of social insurance should make provision for family need during emergencies.

WIDOWS' PENSIONS.

The discussion of the Widows' Pensions Scheme is too fresh for us to do more than note that clearly the present rate of benefits is inadequate, that wives whose husbands are invalids or who have left them need some similar provision. Moreover, experience will soon reveal the worst blemishes in the scheme. Very great concern is felt about the scheme being in a way linked up with the Approved Societies. Even worse is the neglect of a form of insurance analogous to a widows' pensions scheme. The Chancellor of the Exchequer declared that the value of a pension to the average widow with three children is equal to an insurance policy of £600. And yet no special burial policy is made part of the scheme. A grant of £15 for burial would help us remove once and for all the hideous abuses and awful wastes of our present private burial insurance arrangements.

Here is a great field of activity for the future—the improvement and extension of our system of pensions for dependent women and their children.

WOMEN WORKERS AND INSURANCE.

The low benefits granted to women workers during emergencies are notorious, and their effects more grievous than is generally appreciated. Since the number of women engaging in gainful employments is large and growing, this is a very considerable

¹ Part III of an address given at the N.U.S.E.C. Summer School, Oxford, 1925. Parts I and II appeared in our issues of October 23rd and 30th.

problem. Besides, it is frequently forgotten that women workers often have dependents.

It would not be unfair to conclude that in the development of the various branches of social insurance there has been a clear tendency to under-appreciate the needs of women and children who suffer from emergencies, in comparison with those of men. This was perhaps inevitable, since most branches of social insurance have been related to the fact of industrial occupation rather than to citizenship. This explains but does not justify the existing situation. Even then it does not quite explain why the needs of the women at work have received less consideration than that of workmen.

This is in fact made worse than the law already makes it by the consideration that large numbers of women deny themselves and their children when the family as a whole is placed on short rations. The man, the breadwinner, must be fed as well as possible. No chances can be taken with him. He is the embodiment of the family income, the sole investment. Ethical thinkers will praise this self-denial, and most people will be moved by this silent heroism. But it must not be forgotten that this tendency embodied in the law and encouraged by the women themselves is dangerous, because of its influence on the children who are inadequately nourished, and this tends to make its full effects cumulative.

THE N.U.S.E.C. AND SOCIAL INSURANCE.

It is clear then that in the field of Social Insurance you, as the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, can play a very useful and, indeed, a leading rôle. A permanent committee might usefully be formed to study the various technical and administrative problems in order to be able to advise the organization and to outline its propaganda.

The subjects it would have to cover would be:—

- (1) Family Income Insurance.
- (2) The modification of all existing branches of social insurance to take note of family needs.
- (3) The development of a proper system of maternity insurance.
- (4) The modification of the widows' pensions scheme to include, perhaps, pensions for wives of invalids.
- (5) Fuller recognition of the needs of women workers during emergencies.

It might also consider the general rate of benefits granted to men.

Never a Parliamentary session goes by without one branch of social insurance or another comes in for discussion. Both directly and indirectly women are concerned with the decisions arrived at. Not unless you have some such permanent machinery can you hope to achieve your maximum utility in this field. Slowly you are being impelled in that direction. You gave evidence before the Royal Commission on Health Insurance, you worked for a proper scheme of Widows' Pensions. You have brought forward four branches of the subject for discussion at this Summer School. It might, indeed, prove desirable for you to undertake inquiries into the subject before taking action. You might investigate the causes of social emergencies, with a view to their elimination, what other countries are doing, how many women wage earners have dependents and what are the social effects of the present low benefits. Research and propaganda are both necessary if social welfare is to be increased by the extension of the device of social insurance; they are equally necessary if women and the future generation are to gain fully from adequate schemes of social insurance.

DELICIOUS FRENCH COFFEE

**RED
WHITE
& BLUE**

For Breakfast & after Dinner

In making, use LESS QUANTITY it being much stronger than ORDINARY COFFEE

MRS. ANNOT ERSKINE ROBINSON.

By ELLEN WILKINSON, M.P.

Annot Erskine Wilkie was a young Scottish school teacher, who trained at Edinburgh Training College, securing the L.L.A. degree at St. Andrews University at a time when it was still rather unusual for a woman. Her early life was passed in Montrose, and she came of good Scottish stock.

She was a teacher for a time in Dundee, and afterwards at Lochgelly, in Fife. She was early drawn into the suffrage movement and became an organizer in the W.S.P.U., suffering imprisonment in 1908 and 1909. She was in the furniture van raids at the House of Commons. At the crisis in the affairs of the W.S.P.U., caused by Mrs. Pankhurst's imperious dictatorship, Mrs. Robinson seceded, and later became Election Organizer for the Election Fighting Fund Committee of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. She was a very clear, lucid speaker, and was in great demand at every by-election in which the N.U.W.S.S. helped. She was also very well beloved as a speaker in the I.L.P. and the Women's Labour League.

When the war sharply divided the members of the N.U.W.S.S., Mrs. Robinson uncompromisingly took her stand with those who felt that work for peace was the highest work which any woman can do in war time. She was among the founders of the Women's International League, though she was prevented by the Government from attending the Hague Conference. She initiated the Women's War Interests Committee, and was instrumental in securing better conditions for the young women munition workers, and laid the foundations of organization among them. She was appointed as organizer in 1918 by the Manchester branch of the W.I.L., and worked very hard to secure for the young organization a permanent place in the affections of the women in the district. She attended the International Conferences at Zürich and Salzburg, and it was under the inspiration of Mrs. Watts, the sainted Quaker secretary of the Manchester branch of the W.I.L. at that time, and Mrs. Robinson that the deputations were sent to Ireland during the thick of the Black and Tan régime. She and Miss Wilkinson went to give evidence before the American Commission on Ireland in 1921.

During all these strenuous times her activities in the wider labour movement increased. She was put on the Manchester Relief Committee at the beginning of the war, and was practically responsible for the organizing of the relief work for women in the first 18 months. She later served on the Profiteering Committee, and was responsible for the exposure of some of the worst scandals, especially connected with the milk. She was chairman of the Women's Advisory Housing Committee—in fact, it was largely due to her insistence that the men allowed the women any say in the designing of the houses at all. She became vice-chairman of the Manchester Labour Party and contested on two occasions very difficult seats for the Manchester City Council.

The dark days of the trade slump did not fail to affect the finances of the Women's International League. It was with the greatest regret and reluctance that the committee had to lose Mrs. Robinson's services as organizer. She went to America for a lecturing tour, and after that bravely took up her old life as the mistress of a Scottish school in Fifeshire, where in the short time she had to live she was able to give the value of a crowded life's experience to the Scottish boys and girls under her care.

Mrs. Robinson's sudden and unexpected death came as a great shock to all who knew her as a strong and sturdy Scotch woman.

She had not spared herself during those strenuous war years, and her resistance to the swift stroke of disease was thus weakened. She has left two little girls, Catherine and Helen, who are being educated in that tradition of freedom and passion for justice which was their mother's characteristic. Those who have had the privilege of working with her find it difficult even yet to realize that she is gone from them. Proud and reserved as she was in all that pertained to her not very happy personal life, no one ever heard a whine from her in the days of the darkest difficulty. She had an exquisite sense of the ridiculous and a sharp tongue that was not infrequently used at the expense of powerful people whom she might perhaps have been wiser to conciliate. She was a big woman and a powerful personality, and her loss will be felt throughout the women's movement.

SOME IMPRESSIONS: COURTS AND POLICEWOMEN IN U.S.A.

By EDITH TANCRED.

II.

Before the meetings of the International Council of Women in Washington in May of this year I had been in communication with the American Social Hygiene Association of New York on the subject of Women Police in Great Britain. The Social Hygiene Association are about to publish a book on the Woman Police Movement throughout the world, and some of the MSS. that passed through my hands for criticism struck me as promising to be a most valuable contribution to the literature on the subject.

Very soon after my arrival in Washington I met Mrs. Van Winkle, President of the International Association for Policewomen, and head of the Women's Bureau for Policewomen in Washington, with headquarters in the Detention House for juveniles—boys and girls. This Detention House is the outcome of a long struggle against prejudice and old-fashioned methods, and marks the turning-point in the history of the movement for women police.

The somewhat strenuous sessions of the I.C.W. prevented me from seeing as much of the work in the Courts and of the policewomen in Washington as I could have wished, but I managed a morning in the Courts and in the offices of the women probation officers, an evening with the policewomen, and a meeting with the Social Service Group of the Washington University. The Washington University has a special course for policewomen and the result is that well-educated women take up this work and bring trained minds to bear on the social problems involved. The Washington policewomen, thirty in number, are a valuable body of women working under a head, Mrs. Van Winkle, who is recognized as the authority on the work of women police in the U.S.A. One of the most amusing half-hours I spent in Washington was in the Court dealing with offences committed by motor drivers. This Court is in constant session day and night and no preliminary warning in the shape of a summons is served upon the victim, who is simply haled before the magistrate, charged, fined \$5, and dismissed, in the space of about ten minutes. The charges are mostly concerned with parking a car in a given spot for longer than the permitted time. A poor lady brought in while I was watching the proceedings, explained, almost in tears, that she was transacting important business with her banker, and knowing in the back of her mind that a policeman was waiting to pounce upon her if she left her car parked for more than an hour, she was so flustered she could not carry through her business properly. A wrangle between her and the policeman was cut short by the Magistrate remarking blandly: "I am sorry, madam, but must ask you to pay the usual fine—five dollars—next case . . ." The Probation department in Washington is in the hands of very capable women. Persons put on probation in many cases report themselves to the office once or twice a week as the magistrate may order. The records are very carefully kept and the case work seemed to be perfectly systematized.

Several heads of departments of the Social Hygiene Association were in Washington attending the sessions of the I.C.W., and Dr. Valeria Parker, Chairman of the Equal Moral Standard Committee of the N.C.W. of the United States, organized a special Conference with the U.S. Public Health Service and the Social Hygiene Association in the Hall of Nations, Hotel Washington, on 10th May. At this Conference Dr. Katharine Bennet Davis spoke on research work in moral problems and Mrs. Van Winkle on the work of policewomen.

On my arrival in New York I went to the offices of the Social Hygiene Association, and Miss Owings took charge of me and advised me what to see during my very brief sojourn in that vast and whirling city. With a heat wave in progress I found it possible to see about half the places and people she recommended to me. The Children's Court in New York is held in a building specially built for the purpose. Under the one roof are the offices of the probation officers appointed by the Courts, also the voluntary probation organizations, the Big Brothers and Big Sisters, and the doctor's room where children are examined for physical or mental defects. On the first floor I found a large, cheery waiting room for children and parents—about six or seven nationalities were there represented. Here, also, two Courts sit simultaneously—one to take evidence and decide whether or not the offence has been committed—the ordinary

trial as we should call it—the other Court sitting in an adjoining room is concerned only with the treatment to be meted out to the delinquent child. The actual offence may be identical but the causes for its commission may be infinitely varied, and the aim of this Court is to find out what led the child to commit the offence, whether it was due to bad home conditions, to sheer love of experiment and adventure, to bad companionship, or to some definite physical or mental abnormality. With all the facts before him, the reports of the probation officers, the doctor's report, the school attendance and conduct records, the Judge makes his diagnosis, and formulates the remedial activities to be set in motion for the return of the child to normal life.

(To be concluded.)

THE EXPORT OF HORSES AND THE DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

By G. G. FAIRHOLME, Chief Secretary of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

This traffic began 30 years ago and was in the first place regulated by Board of Agriculture Orders, which were administered by local authorities.

In 1910, through the instrumentality of the R.S.P.C.A. and Sir George Greenwood, the Diseases of Animals Act (1910) was passed. This Act made it necessary for horses destined for export to be certified by the Board's veterinary inspectors as "capable of being conveyed to such port and disembarked without cruelty."

Improvement resulted, though some unfit horses were still shipped. The R.S.P.C.A. again roused public opinion, in spite of the Board's "no cause for alarm" attitude, and the Exportation of Horses (1914) Act came into being. This Act required horses to be "capable of being worked without suffering" and "capable of being conveyed and disembarked without cruelty." It also empowered the Board's Inspectors to slaughter forthwith rejected horses found "to be permanently incapable of being worked without suffering."

The war began and consequently it was not possible to test this Act, which had been much watered down from the original Bill, until after the Armistice, when disquieting reports were received about exported horses. The Animal Protection Societies repeatedly approached the Ministry of Agriculture, but were assured that the accidents and suffering were exceptional incidents. However, as a result of agitation culminating in a protest meeting at the Albert Hall, the Minister, Sir Arthur Griffith-Boscawen, had investigations made. Details were published in a White Paper in March, 1921, with commendable courage on the part of this Minister, who said the evidence "filled him with horror." The agitation was thus justified. As a result the Ministry tightened up inspection and raised the standard of fitness. Nevertheless, the sufferings inevitable to this trade were not stopped, and cannot be ended until the export for butchery purposes ceases.

The R.S.P.C.A., through Lord Lambourne, then introduced a Bill fixing a higher veterinary fee for examination (with certain exceptions). The Bill was supported by the vote of three past Presidents of the Board of Agriculture but, unfortunately, failed to pass.

Reports from Miss Cole, who has for many years devoted her time and energy to this matter, and from eye-witnesses on the Manchester *Guardian* and *Daily News*, set forth the cruel treatment of horses at the Paris Horse Abattoir at Vaugirard and elsewhere. Again as a result of the public outcry the Ministry were compelled to take action resulting in the appointment of the Departmental Committee, which has just issued its Report at 1s. and the Evidence given before it at 30s. A hurried perusal of the Evidence—it occupies 400 pages—is sufficient to show that the conclusions arrived at by the Committee are, in many cases, directly contrary to evidence.

The Report itself contains contradictions, which have already been pointed out by such well-known public men as Canon Peter Green of Manchester and Mr. H. de Vere Stacpoole. For instance, with regard to the killing of rejected horses, which the R.S.P.C.A. held was not adequately carried out, the Committee stated they did not agree, but in their recommendations urge that the attention of Port Inspectors should be called to those powers. If, one may ask, the Inspectors have not failed to exercise their powers, why should their attention be drawn to them?

Again, the Committee find that the conditions of slaughtering horses in Holland compare very favourably with those of this

country. Yet they recommend that efforts should again be made to get the Dutch Government to amend their regulations with respect to the importation of horse carcasses. Why, if everything is so satisfactory?

The Committee made grave insinuations as to the reliability of the R.S.P.C.A. film, showing among other things the killing of horses in Belgium in 1914 by means of a knife. The aspersions are based on copies of affidavits alleged to have been made by the slaughterers depicted in the film to the effect that they were paid to kill the animals on the public highway for the film. The Committee saw the film and could have seen in it visible proof that the killing was done in the backyards of village butcheries which are generally estaminets as well. It is a common custom to give a *pourboire* when photos are taken. This is verified by Miss Cole, who suggested the film and was helped by M. Ruhl, founder of a Belgian S.P.C.A. A letter from her, dated 8th March, 1914, refers to the doubts of Mr. Runciman, then Minister of Agriculture, as to the authenticity of the film. It states, "for a tip of about £1 he will see more than he will care to remember." This letter was written 11 years before the Committee cast doubts on the film because these slaughterers—directly interested in maintaining the trade—were alleged to have received a *pourboire*. Striking confirmation of the killing with a knife was given before the Committee by the Belgian Government Veterinary Inspector from a veterinary colleague's letter. The latter states, "It may be that in some small places—and I think it has been done—they kill by stabbing." The Inspector also added, "In Boom the horses were formerly killed by sticking directly with the knife . . . it is very rare that they kill with a knife directly now." Moreover, Lady Emmott, a member of the Committee, said, "There never has been any dispute that horses were killed with a knife in 1914. We never doubted that."

Space forbids comment on other inconsistencies. Anyone who can spare the time and the 31s. will be able to read for himself that the Committee, which included at least one well-known opponent of the Society's desired reformation, set out to whitewash the Ministry and support it in its eternal *non possumus* attitude. They have admirably succeeded.

GREECE AND BULGARIA.¹

The quarrel between these countries is acclaimed by some as an excellent practising ground for the League, but women will surely think that the terrible fate of the inhabitants of the villages which have been bombarded and burned forces us to think carefully how such frontier "incidents" may be prevented.

1. We may note that Greece has not technically declared war, and therefore may be held not to have violated the Covenant. This suggests the necessity for a wider term than "resort to war" in Article 12.

2. The influence on the Greeks of the Corfu incident and of the British action after the murder of the Sirdar is very clear, and shows how urgent it is to develop public opinion in favour of prompt reference to arbitration or judicial decision on any question of the complicity of a Government in the murder of a person of another nationality.

3. The refusal of the Greek Government to ratify the Protocol for the protection of Bulgarian minorities in Macedonia, signed by the Greek delegate at the Fifth Assembly, met with no adequate rebuke from the Council, and the Greek delegate this year declared that the Council had "fully justified" this refusal. Since the reason given by the Greeks was that the Minorities Treaty signed at Lausanne (and ratified) gave adequate protection, but could not be put into force until all the Bulgarians who wished to leave Greek Macedonia had gone, it is not surprising that, in the process of their going, ill-feeling has greatly increased.

4. If both Greece and Bulgaria had signed the optional Clause (36) in the Statute of the Court of International Justice, Bulgaria could have appealed at once to the Court when Greece sent her ultimatum, as this ultimatum was based on matters which fall within the jurisdiction of the Court.

Perhaps it may be said that Greece would have taken the law into her own hands just the same, but the moral effect of a country committing herself to arbitral methods is very great and if it became general the tendency to abide by them would increase.

Here Great Britain has a big responsibility, for it was clear at the Sixth Assembly that her objection to obligatory arbitration is deterring other countries from accepting it and so hinders the development of International Law.

HILDA CLARK.

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

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

President: Miss ELEANOR RATHBONE, C.C., J.P. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. SODDY.
Parliamentary Secretary: Mrs. HUBBACK.

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

CONFERENCE ON WOMEN AND HEALTH INSURANCE.

The following Organizations were represented at the Conference on Women and Health Insurance held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Thursday, 29th October, at 4 p.m.:—Association of Civil Service Sorting Assistants, British Commonwealth League, Essex Insurance Committee, Federation of University Women, League of the Church Militant, London Society for Women's Service, National Association of Insurance Committees, National Council of Women, National Federation of Women Workers, National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, The Y.W.C.A. Industrial Law Bureau, Women's Enfranchisement Association of South Africa, Women's Engineering Society, Women's Freedom League. Societies affiliated to the N.U.S.E.C.: Birkenhead W.C.A., Birmingham Equal Citizenship Sub-Section, Camberley S.E.C., Chingford W.C.A., City of London S.E.C., Glasgow S.E.C., and W.C.A., Hornsey Group for E.C., Islington S.E.C., Kensington and Paddington S.E.C., and Rotherhithe Guild of Women Citizens.

Miss Rathbone was in the chair, and Mr. J. L. Cohen moved the following resolutions on behalf of the N.U.S.E.C.:

1. "That this Conference of women's organizations realizing that no scheme of Health Insurance can be deemed national if it ignores the needs of the wives and children of the industrial community, expresses the earnest hope that the Royal Commission on National Health Insurance will include among its recommendations (a) the need for making provision for allowances for the wives, children, and other dependents of sick insured persons; (b) medical benefits for the wives and children of insured persons."

2. "That in order to reduce the high rate of maternal mortality in this country provision for maternity under the National Health Insurance Scheme should be considerably improved."

3. "That in order that married women should be able to benefit adequately from the contributions made before marriage they should be allowed to become voluntary contributors as are single women and men."

Mr. Cohen, in advocating the need for a unified system of Social Insurance, pointed out that one of the biggest gaps in our present system is the exclusion of the wives and children and other dependents of insured persons from any benefits (except maternity benefit) under the Health Insurance Act. He advocated the need for a higher scale of money benefits and the formation of a committee of women's organizations to deal with Social Insurance generally. He further emphasised the need for increased provision for maternity in view of the fact that maternal mortality has not decreased during the last 25 years; and pointed out that the very considerable cost of the new demands could be met if burial insurance was taken over by the Government.

Mr. Kershaw, president of the National Association of Trade Union Approved Societies, supported the first two resolutions. He pointed out what a very high incidence of ill-health there was among married women, which was only just beginning to be recognized. He was of the opinion that the third resolution was not practicable owing to difficulties of administration. A letter was read from Mr. Alban Gordon, Secretary of the United Women's Insurance Society, supporting this view.

After considerable discussion on all the resolutions, Mr. Kershaw moved the previous question on the third resolution, which was seconded and carried *nem. con.* The first and second resolutions were then seconded and carried *nem. con.*

Miss Rathbone impressed on the Conference the urgent need of giving publicity to these demands. She pointed out that a sick person was helpless and inarticulate. She added: "The Royal Commission on National Health Insurance is shortly going to draw up its report. If legislation is passed allocating for other purposes the money available for extending the scheme it may be years before we can get what we are now asking for."

INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE CONGRESS, 23rd-30th May, 1926.

The International Women's Suffrage Alliance are holding their tenth Congress in Paris from 23rd-30th May, 1926. Societies are asked to send in nominations for delegates and substitute delegates as soon as possible. Nominations will be balloted on at the Annual Council Meeting.

Response to Mrs. Corbett Ashby's appeal for funds is as follows:—Exeter S.E.C. £2, Bristol S.E.C. £1 3s. 6d., Guildhouse W.C.A. 9s. 6d.

RECEPTION TO THE DUCHESS OF ATHOLL, M.P., 17th November, at 4.15 p.m.

As the room at the Lyceum Club only holds 150 people, and we should not like intending guests to be disappointed of obtaining tickets at the last moment, we should be very glad if they would send in applications for tickets as soon as possible to the Secretary, 15 Dean's Yard, S.W. 1. Price 2s. 6d.

SALE OF WORK, CHURCH HOUSE, 3rd December.

Contributions for the Sale of Work may be sent at any time to Mrs. Stein, 10 Weymouth Court, Weymouth Street, W. 1, or on the day of the sale to the Secretary, 15 Dean's Yard, S.W. 1. In this case, Mrs. Stein would be glad to know the nature of the contributions to be sent, before November 26th.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS.

We should like to congratulate members of our Societies who have been elected, including Miss Dutch, Miss Fraser, and Mrs. Mercer. We hope to publish next week a full list of those of our members who were successful.

NEWS FROM SOCIETIES.

BRISTOL S.E.C.

Mrs. Corbett Ashby was the speaker at a meeting held on 26th October at the Folk House, College Green, Bristol, and her subject was "The International Aspect of the Women's Movement." Professor Helen Woodhouse in the chair. Mrs. Ashby said that the international side of the woman's movement was rather apt to slip from their minds in their own work within their own country, yet it would be an enormous help to national work if countries doing the same work could be linked up. Mrs. Corbett Ashby then described the work being done by the I.W.S.A. towards the enfranchisement of women in all countries.

CORRESPONDENCE. EQUAL FRANCHISE.

MADAM,—In your article on Equal Franchise in the issue of 23rd October you say Conservative women are demanding that men under 25 who have votes should lose them. No Conservative woman that I have ever heard speak on the subject makes such a demand. What those Conservatives who desire equality ask for is that in the future no man or woman should be put on the register till they are 25, and that then the franchise should be equal. It is most unfair to call this demand an attempt to block equal franchise. Men of 25 are more prudent than men of 21. The same may be said of women. Therefore it is natural that Conservatives should prefer the higher age. It seems to me that these women who are Labour in politics, and who are rather Labour than Feminist, will cling to the younger age, and by thus refusing the help of the Conservatives wreck the present chance of equal franchise.

Those who regard equality between the sexes as more important will join with the Conservatives, who also desire equality.

The men between 21 and 25 who are at present on the register, of course would not be interfered with.

MAUD SELBORNE.

[The exact words used in our note on Equal Franchise to which Lady Selborne refers are that "No Government would dare to take the franchise away from large classes of the people already possessed of it." We did not mean to imply that any members of the Conservative Party proposed or would propose that men between 21 or 25 who now have votes should lose them. What we intended to refer to was the proposal that Lady Selborne herself had put forward, i.e. that young people should in future not be enfranchised until they are 25. Inasmuch as this would involve disenfranchisement of classes of voters at present entitled to vote, we felt justified in making this comment, but we admit our wording is open to the construction Lady Selborne puts on it. We remain of the opinion, however, that the putting forward of this proposal would block Equal Franchise; not only would a limitation of the franchise be unwelcome to many Conservatives (Sir Henry Craik, writing in *The Times*, considered it was not practical politics, but the Labour Party stands committed to Adult Suffrage at 21. To raise the franchise age to 25, therefore, for men could not possibly have the support of the other parties, and the Prime Minister has only promised legislation if an "agreed measure" can be arrived at.—ED.]

THE TEMPERANCE PROBLEM.

MADAM,—May I ask leave to comment on Mr. George B. Wilson's article in your issue of the 16th October.

In regard to the establishment of the system of licensing persons to sell liquors, in the sixteenth century the majority of the trades in this country were under a system of control exercised by the powerful trade guilds, who permitted none but their own members to exercise the respective trades. In the case of the victualling houses and alehouses, the licensing monopoly

was retained by the State, because, for one reason, the State wanted to supervise the quality of the liquor supplied and, for another, to oversee the houses themselves as places of public resort. There is no evidence of what would now be called "Pussyfootism" in the inception of the licensing system.

As to convictions of licensees for permitting drunkenness, if a man shows no sign of intoxication until he gets into the open air, obviously no licensee can be convicted for "permitting drunkenness", and, further, a man may become intoxicated through drinking in a club or in a private house. The fact that only five persons were deprived of their licenses in 1924 for unfitness or misconduct is a matter for congratulation, as showing that the trade is well conducted—for no business is conducted in the limelight of meticulous official supervision to the same extent as the licensed trade.

Of the assumed amount spent on liquor more than one-half represents taxation paid direct to the State, and as to the remainder, if people do not drink one beverage they must get and pay for others.

In regard to Local Option, a full personal option actually exists at present, and could not be enlarged. Every person who so wishes can and does abstain from liquor, and nobody is compelled by the will of others either to consume or abstain. The supply of liquor is a national, and not a local matter, and no locality has the right to deprive travellers within its area of proper facilities for refreshment on their journeys, as, for instance, in the City of London, where the number of daily workers greatly exceeds the number of residents.

By his comments on the 1904 Act (now embodied in the Licensing (Consolidation) Act, 1910), Mr. Wilson seems to assume that the cancelling of licenses should be allowed to proceed indefinitely without any compensation. As a matter of fact, under that Act, 12,000 licenses have been withdrawn, with compensation to the holders and owners paid out of moneys provided entirely by the licensed trade, and the withdrawals are still proceeding yearly, despite the fact that the population has grown considerably within that period. It is hardly likely that, but for this Act and its compensation arrangements, Justices would have closed so many houses, when the result would have been to take away the holders' livings and leave them, in many cases, penniless. If Mr. Wilson deems the closing of a proportion of the public-houses necessary to temperance, it would seem that he should praise, rather than blame, the Act of 1904.

C. R. VENNOR.

Miss Rose Macaulay will lecture on "AUDIENCES" at THE SIX POINT GROUP, 92 Victoria Street, on THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 12TH, at 5 p.m.

Chair: Mr. STEPHEN GWYNN. TICKETS, 2/6.

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COMING EVENTS.

BRISTOL TEACHERS' LABOUR LEAGUE.

NOV. 10. 5.30 p.m. Miss Eleanor Rathbone on "Family Allowances."

ENGLISHWOMAN EXHIBITION.

NOV. 12-21. Exhibition of Arts and Handicrafts at Central Hall, Westminster.

GUILDHOUSE WOMEN CITIZENS' SOCIETY.

NOV. 16. 3 p.m. The Guildhouse, Eccleston Square, S.W. 1. Lecture on Music, with Musical Illustrations, arranged by Mrs. B. C. Boulter.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION (BARNSELY BRANCH).

NOV. 10. 8 p.m. Arcadian Restaurant. Miss Picton-Turbervill on "Is World Peace Possible?"

LONDON SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SERVICE.

NOV. 6. 5 p.m. 35 Marsham Street, S.W. 1. Mrs. Hodson, F.I.S., on "Hereditary Scientific Evidences."

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

NOV. 17. 4.15 p.m. At Lyceum Club, 138 Piccadilly, W. Reception to meet Her Grace the Duchess of Atholl and Miss K. D. Courtney, who will both speak on the Work of the Sixth Assembly of the League of Nations.

Barnsley S.E.C. NOV. 10. 5.30 p.m. St. Mary's Parish Room. Miss Picton-Turbervill on "The Ministry of Women." Chair: Mrs. G. F. Wood, J.P.

Edinburgh W.C.A. NOV. 12. 8 p.m. Gartshore Hall, 116 George Street, Edinburgh. Mr. A. Horsburgh Campbell, M.Inst.C.E., on "Smoke Abatement as it would Affect the City of Edinburgh." Chair: Professor T. Hudson Beare, M.Inst.C.E. Questions and Discussion.

Purley W.C.A. NOV. 11. Women Citizens' Day. 3 p.m. Service in Parish Church, Croydon. 4 p.m. Reception in Croydon Adult School. Dame Edith Lyttelton, D.B.E., on "Women as Citizens."

Repton W.C.A. NOV. 13. 7.30 p.m. Whist Drive at the Schools.

Rotherhithe S.E.C. NOV. 10. 8 p.m. Mrs. F. W. Hubback on "Women in Parliament."

ST. JOAN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ALLIANCE.

NOV. 12, 13 and 14. 12 to 8 p.m. Stall at Christmas Sale, Cathedral Hall, Westminster.

SIX POINT GROUP.

NOV. 10. 5 p.m. 92 Victoria Street, S.W. 1. Miss M. Geikie-Cobb on "The Law Relating to Children and Young Persons." Chair: Mrs. Crofts, M.A., LL.B.

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LONDON SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SERVICE, 35 Marsham Street, Westminster. Secretary, Miss P. Strachey. Information Bureau. Interviews, 10 to 1, except Saturdays. Members' Centre open daily. Restaurant open to 7.30. (Not Saturdays.)

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES, Guildhouse, Eccleston Square, S.W. 1. Sunday, 8th November: 3.30, Music; Lecture: Mr. Robert Hyde on "The Industrial Welfare Movement." 6.30, Maude Royden, "Armistice Day: Now Abideth Hope."

C.B.C. Society for Constructive Birth Control and Racial Progress, and the Free Clinic originally founded by Dr. Marie Stopes and Mr. H. V. Roe in Holloway. New central address, 108 Whitfield Street, Tottenham Court Road, London, W. 1. Social workers anxious for local instruction, but without funds for independent Clinics, can obtain the services of a C.B.C. certificated Nurse for one day weekly or monthly from above.

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