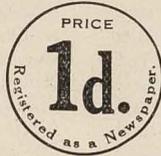


THE HOUSES THAT REMAIN.

THE
WOMAN'S LEADER

AND
THE COMMON CAUSE

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NOTES AND NEWS

The Shadow of War.

National politics continue to be overshadowed by the continuance of a virtual state of war in the Ruhr area; and the imminence of a German "offer" in response to Lord Curzon's speech seems to promise little relief. As far as one can judge from the protestations of the French Press, no "offer" which does not involve complete surrender and an indefinite continuance of the present "occupation" is likely to be accepted by M. Poincaré. We can only hope that the French Press is as perverse and as ill-informed as our own often is, and that a more pacific spirit will prevail on the Quai d'Orsay if the "offer", when it does come, appears to contain the elements of good faith and practical statesmanship. For the existing situation is intolerable. So long as it persists there can be no economic reconstruction in Germany; no sane finance in France; no stability of employment in Great Britain; no approach towards European co-operation in the U.S.A.; no increase of faith or hope or charity in international relations.

Women and Unemployment.—Deputation to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

A deputation of over one hundred unemployed women, organized by the Women's Section of the National Union of General Workers, with representatives from N.U.S.E.C., Y.W.C.A., and the London Settlements, which was received by the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth Palace on Wednesday, 25th inst., will have brought home to all the deplorable situation with regard to women and unemployment. Miss Bondfield, in introducing the deputation, stated that according to the official figures for the end of February, there were over 240,000 women and girls out of work in the insured trades registered at the employment exchanges. That did not by any means represent the total number of women and girls unemployed in the country. While they were receiving unemployment benefit these women, if they were over 18 years of age, had 12s. a week. Guardian's relief to a single woman not receiving unemployment benefit was limited to a maximum of 8s. a week. The only constructive measures now in existence for assisting women were the homecraft and home-makers schemes which the Central Committee on Women's Training and Employment were carrying out in conjunction with the Ministry of Labour. Since April, 1921, twelve thousand women had taken the home-crafts course, and 1,560 women the homemakers course. The two were alike, except that those attending the latter were not

asked to give an undertaking that they would enter domestic service. The course lasted for thirteen weeks and women over 18 received a maintenance allowance of £1 a week. No Government grant at all had been made to the homemaker's schemes, and owing to lack of funds these were closing down. In support of Miss Bondfield, about half a dozen of the unemployed women present gave an account of the length of time they had been unemployed, and of the difficulties involved in leaving home. In every case the refusal to enter domestic service had resulted in the forfeiture of unemployment benefit. Miss Lilian Barker gave an account of the work of the Central Committee for Women's Training and Employment. She stated that as the result of an inquiry among social workers to find out whether the widespread unemployment among girls had led to an increase of prostitution, the answer was that it had not. The Archbishop made a sympathetic reply, and promised to do all that was possible to assist by means of public opinion in any way open to him.

Women's Enfranchisement Bill.

The House of Commons gave Mr. Isaac Foot leave on the 25th inst. to introduce the above Bill to extend the franchise to women on the same terms as to men. Mr. Foot, in an admirable speech, summed up the case for the Bill, and pointed out the large amount of support in favour of this reform, both in the House of Commons and in the Country. Major Archer Shee opposed the Bill, chiefly on the ground of its being undesirable to add so large an increase of new voters and because in his view women did not want the vote. He did not, however, challenge a division, and so few "noes" were expressed when the opinion of the House was asked, that no division was taken. This was most unfortunate, as it would have constituted an admirable opportunity for obtaining an expression of opinion from those Members of the House whose views on this subject are not, as yet, known. One of our contemporaries, in a paragraph "Women Antiques," refers to this little debate as a pleasant antiquarian interlude. In view of the fact, however, that there are still five million adult unenfranchised women, this question is by no means a chose jugée. It is, indeed, strange that the present state of the law with regard to Women's Franchise is so little appreciated.

More Light on the Milk Trade.

The Departmental Committee on the Distribution and Prices of Agricultural Produce appointed last December has issued its

first interim report. It deals with the most vitally important agricultural product of this country, milk. And it tells us, among other things, that the present method of distribution is clumsy and expensive. We have always suspected this; now, alas! we know it. Apparently London is the chief culprit, and the report records that "London prices and London margins appear to exert too great an influence on the milk trade generally." But the curious thing is that in London the wholesale and retail distribution of milk is to a large extent controlled by that gigantic combine, the United Dairies, Ltd., which, we are told, "has introduced great improvements in the London milk trade." This last statement tallies with our own memory of the facts published by the Standing Committee on Trusts in 1920, according to which this particular company had effected by economy of organization a saving of no less than 792 horses, 736 rounds, and 63 depots and shops. If we ask, as we are inclined at first sight to do, why an area so highly organized should lead the van in exorbitant distributive costs, the answer provided by the report is that the high margin is necessary not for the above-mentioned combine, but for the small independent retailer who still exists in precarious competition with it. We appear, therefore, to be caught between the devil and the deep sea. If the small independent retailer is to remain we must submit to the present high margin of distribution costs. A reduction of that margin would, on the other hand, place us in complete dependence upon an all-powerful, though no doubt efficient, trustified private undertaking. Nor does the report appear to offer any way out of the impasse. It is a case of "here

INHERITANCE AND BEQUEST.

As our issue of last week went to press the House of Commons settled down to its consideration of the Government's new Housing Bill, whose main provisions were outlined in our pages by Capt. Reiss. Simultaneously, in the House of Lords the question of Housing was raised by Lord Astor's motion calling attention to the lack of proper houses and the need for slum clearance. The preoccupation of both Houses reflects the preoccupation of all thinking citizens, and we therefore make no apology for returning to a subject which has already occupied a large share of our available space. For during the next few weeks our representatives will be called upon to register a judgment by which we as a generation will be judged by generations to come.

A hundred years ago, when this country was passing through the later stages of that many-sided upheaval which historians have called the "Industrial Revolution," the problem of housing a rapidly increasing urban population was solved with no brain-cracking effort either inside Parliament or outside it. The business was simply left to private enterprise, which at that time enjoyed in all spheres of economic effort an unchallenged sovereignty which it has never known either before or since. And private enterprise gave the population of the eighteenth-century just those houses for which there was an *effective economic demand*. It gave them closed courts, back-to-back houses, tenements, a vast mileage of mean streets, and many thousands of cellar-dwellings at rentals which the ordinary wage-earner could pay. It did not, however, give them drains or clean water, because rents would not have justified such expenditure, nor did tenants insist upon their provision. To-day there is hardly an industrial town of any size which does not show traces of this "Industrial Revolution" boom in jerry-building, generally in the form of an inner ring of slums pressing upon the heart of the city, itself hemmed in by the more spacious suburbs of a later age. During the past century the social system of our Industrial Revolution forefathers has changed beyond recognition. Their economic theories have been handed over to historians. Their Poor Law has been remodelled, their taxes repealed; but their slums remain as a monument to the chaos of those changing times, and human beings are rotting in them to this day.

A fortnight ago a correspondent of this paper, walking through one of the more prosperous suburbs of Hamburg, had occasion to remark upon the large number of spacious and elegant middle-class houses which seemed to have sprung up mushroom-like on the east bank of the Elbe. Her companion explained, in reply, that such building had indeed been proceeding very rapidly during the past year or so, and that one cause of it was the precarious instability of the currency. In a land where the value of money is depreciating by a series of violent and intermittent jerks the wise man does not save, he spends; and the more quickly he can turn his fluctuating marks into something of permanent utility the less likely is he to be ruined by a turn of

are we and there is he, and nowhere help at all." Only Mr. A. W. Ashby, in a solitary reservation, confesses that the recommendations are unlikely to provide an adequate solution; and suggests that "the necessity of the municipalization or nationalization of the distribution of milk or the creation of a public utility service in this trade is an open question." This, too, we have always suspected; now, alas! we know it.

The End of a Journalistic Chapter.

Last Saturday saw the final issue of the *Nation* under its old management. For sixteen years Mr. Massingham, that giant among journalists, has edited it. For sixteen years it has reflected the best brains of Liberal journalism—J. L. Hammond, H. W. Nevinson, J. A. Hobson, H. N. Brailsford, are among the many distinguished names which we associate with the name of the *Nation*. And for sixteen years it has championed the causes of peace and freedom, our own particular cause among them, with good sense and high courage. Those who oppose its political outlook will join with those who support it in deeply regretting the end of a peculiarly brilliant chapter in the history of British journalism. Next week will see the new management in the saddle. Equally distinguished names are associated with it, among them that of Mr. J. M. Keynes; and this is as it should be, for the paper has a distinguished tradition to maintain. We therefore wish it all success. Incidentally it is about to undertake the great adventure of a reduction in price—on this, too, it may count upon our sympathetic benediction.

the exchanges. We do not pretend that this artificial stimulus to building operations is a healthy or desirable phenomenon, but at least it raises one comforting consideration: when Europe has recovered from its long attack of mental derangement, when the present generation of Hamburg business men has endured ruin or averted it, when Germany has stabilized the mark or reverted to a system of natural economy, those houses will remain, a permanent monument to an era of headlong gambling with a furiously circulating currency. And a future generation of Hamburgers may perhaps lead "Godly, righteous, and sober lives" in them.

Bearing these considerations in mind, we wish to criticize the Government's Housing Bill on at least one main point. We deeply regret the narrow limitation as to the size of the subsidized houses. We appreciate the argument that it is desirable to provide houses which the poorest and worst-housed sections of the community can afford to live in; but we would remind the Government that human material standards are changing rapidly and that, taking a long view, it is undesirable and uneconomical to adapt housing accommodation to the standards of a population whose purchasing power is at present abnormally depressed. It is better that the standard of housing offered should exceed the effective economic demand, that the present generation of public authorities should face a loss, or that the present generation of private inhabitants should take in lodgers than that we should bequeath to a later (and, we hope, more critical) generation the same kind of slum problem which the Industrial Revolution bequeathed to us. Private enterprise may or may not be capable of meeting adequately and efficiently the needs of the moment; on that point there is considerable difference of opinion among our readers. But we do not believe there will be any difference of opinion when we affirm that it is unwise to rely upon private enterprise for due regard to the needs of a hundred years hence. It is the business of public authorities, acting under something more than a purely economic incentive, to represent the continuous life of the nation as it stretches forward into an unknown future. In a hundred years' time our system of central and local finance may have changed as it has changed since 1823. Our whole machinery of Government may have become unrecognizable. Our wage system itself may have disappeared, and with it our present narrow conceptions of material decency. But the houses which we are building now, and which we shall build under the new Housing scheme, will in all probability remain, and with them our reputation, for good or evil, as a civilized generation.

When Mr. Chamberlain introduced his Bill on 25th April he foreshadowed the possibility of wide amendments; and the debate which followed indicated their probability. Therefore, we feel that we are registering a practical and moderate proposition when we ask that the Government shall not confine its financial benediction to houses of 850 superficial feet.

NEWS FROM WESTMINSTER.

By Our POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT.

Most of the time of the House of Commons in the past week has been devoted to Housing and Labour problems. The Housing Bill has had three days—the Ministry of Labour one, and in addition Friday was taken up by a Private Bill introduced by Mr. William Graham for dealing with Unemployment.

The Government's Housing proposals have been the object of considerable criticism, even from their own side of the House, the Scottish Members in particular uniting in condemnation of a Bill that deals with the problem together with that south of the Tweed. This is an objection more apparent than real, for it is based upon the allegation that the Scottish climate demands an altogether stouter and better-built dwelling than that of England. If the climate of the South of England and the Highlands be taken as typical of the two countries, this, of course, is true. But what ground is there for contending that the climate of Edinburgh is materially ruder than that of the Cumberland hills? Or that Glasgow needs special concessions which Newcastle ought not to receive? Something might perhaps be said for grading the country for housing purposes from south to north and giving a slight and proportioned increase of the subsidy; but in practice such a plan would fall to the ground and satisfy no one. The Scottish Members also attacked the Bill on the grounds of differences in building material and in rating.

The gravamen of the charges brought against the Government by their critics, however, is the accusation that the houses built under this Bill must tend to perpetuate a system of dwellings unworthy of the British people. The Government themselves seem to feel that their proposals are insufficient; for the Attorney General, in winding up the debate on the Second Reading, gave a promise that the Government would reconsider the proposed floor space in the light of what had passed. Another important criticism is that the Bill makes no attempt to deal with the building combines, and therefore, in fact, when the local authorities get down to the problem of building, they will find themselves compelled to shoulder the burden of a deficit in order to let the houses at an economic rent.

The debate on the Ministry of Labour vote stands adjourned, owing to a contentious Private Bill which took up half the day.

The Prevention of Unemployment Bill was a measure designed, in the words of the mover, "to regularize the demand for labour in this country." The aim of the Bill was the organization of Government and Local Authority work so as to secure a more even distribution of contracts and of the resulting employment. This, as Sir Montague Barlow pointed out, "is an excellent proposition, but it is nothing new." Be it new or old, however, the problem has yet to be faced. As Mr. Clynes pointed out, there is a formidable overlap. Separate and sometimes rival departments of State exist, which for dealing with unemployment, should be correlated and unified; and there is a real necessity for central authority. The weakness of the case for the promoters of the Bill, however, was their utter inability to estimate what it would cost to carry it into effect. It is hardly sufficient, when introducing a measure to revolutionize the whole handling of a problem, to reply to the very pertinent inquiry: "If we do this what will it cost the country?" by saying: "I don't know; less than we are paying now, at all events"; for if you don't know what your proposals will cost your statement becomes a mere matter of opinion. It is perfectly fair to say, as Mr. Clynes said, that the criticism of one Member that the Bill was Socialism was no criticism at all. The test is, as he said, "whether this Bill is sense or not, and whether it contains a set of proposals offering some escape from this burdensome and costly weight of unemployment which is now being carried in almost every town and village in the country." True. But an equally important test is whether it is financially sound or not, and by neglecting to furnish themselves with arguments on this point, those who brought in the Bill paved the way for its defeat by a mere 24 votes.

[The views expressed in this column are those of our Parliamentary correspondent, and are not our editorial opinion. Like so many other things in this paper they are expressly controversial, and comment upon them will be welcomed.—Ed.]

NEXT WEEK'S ISSUE.

Dr. Alice Salomon's article will be concluded, and a report of the Conference of Women Councillors, Guardians, and Magistrates, at Manchester, will appear under "The Law at Work."

FAMILY ALLOWANCES IN GERMANY.

By Dr. ALICE SALOMON.

For generations the cry of German socialists has been for wages according to the full output of works. The tendency to differentiate according to needs, according to the number of a worker's dependents, has arisen with the revolution, in a way, under its influence. On the one hand it was the Russian spirit, the ideas of communism, which has affected the socialist doctrine to some extent. On the other hand, the cry for nationalization of industries, the inclination of State and municipalities to take over a great many branches of trade, production, and traffic, was bound to stimulate a system of wages and salaries, which has always been closely connected with public employment. Thus, a rapid change is affecting the German wage-system, and while it is not yet possible to judge how far this change may lead to permanency, the new system seems to gain ground from week to week.

It has not developed equally in all industries, and the attitude of both employers and employees is very divided. Therefore, only where an understanding could be attained between both parties, the family allowance as part of the wage system has been inserted in the tariff agreements. The industries, in which it is most widely spread, are mining, engineering, chemical industries, textile, paper, celluloid works; it has also become usual amongst the workers and employees of public bodies. In agriculture the family allowance has always been a recognized factor, though in former times it was given in kind, while now it is paid in money.

In some industries, family wages are paid in about the same number of firms as wages, according to the output, as for instance, transport workers, mineral and earthworks, sugar factories, bakeries, and butchers, etc., while in other industries they are very rare.

The methods by which the family allowance is paid are manifold. In some cases the married man gets a higher wage than the single man, as, for instance, in the printing trade. In other cases, the main component of the wages is the same for all men, but the bonus (addition) on account of the high prices of provision, is graded according to the size of family. Another system which is used in many cases, gives as family allowance a percentage of the individual wages, which are in conformity with the output, and this family allowance is given as household allowance, and frequently besides as children's allowance. The conditions under which a family allowance should be granted must be regulated and defined in the tariff. As a rule no allowance is given whenever a man's wife is also a wage-earner. But it is paid to married women, in cases where they are the main supporters of their families, for instance, when the husband is ill and not capable of work. Sometimes a tariff provides that the family allowance shall be given to single people, if they have to provide for near relatives. The children's allowance is usually provided equally for legitimate and illegitimate children, sometimes for step-children and orphan grandchildren. They are always given for children up to the age of 14 years, but in some tariffs it is the rule to grant them up to the ages of 17 or 19, in cases where the child is still at school or is being trained for a profession or a trade in a manner which causes expenses. In some cases the children's allowances are even extended to young people who study at the universities and up to the age of 24 years; for instance, the tariff of the public employees of the German Republic extends the children's allowance up to the age of 21 in cases of training at an institution or school; and several tariffs of the higher employees in the chemical industries grant it even up to the age of 24. Sometimes these regulations also include children who go through an apprenticeship, but usually part of their earnings is taken into consideration and the amount of the allowance is settled with regard to this. It is very characteristic of the experimental stage and of the varying opinions on the whole subject, that some trades increase the children's allowance and others lower it for each additional child.

The family allowance is not meant to be a sort of relief or benevolent subsidy, but is considered part of the wages, and is given in proportion to the time and output of work. When a firm curtails the working day in times of slack trade, the tariffs usually provide for the continuation of the full amount of the family allowance. The same holds true when the employee misses his work for reason of ill-health during a short period. On the other hand, the allowance is not paid in case of strikes or demonstrations, or if the worker keeps away without sufficient reason.

(To be continued.)

BURNING QUESTIONS.

FOR PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

By J. H. HUMPHREYS.

Proportional Representation promotes equal citizenship and good government. Our present system does not.

First, equal citizenship. In 1918 every 13,000 citizens who supported the Coalition secured one representative. It took some 51,000 supporters of the Opposition to secure a similar privilege. This is not equal citizenship. The inequality varies from election to election; there is no attempt to bring forces inside Parliament into definite relation with the forces outside. A general election is a gamble. There are at least three possibilities. Substantial bodies of citizens may be deprived of all share in representation; a minority of citizens may obtain a majority of the seats; there may be, by accident, a fair result. P.R. deliberately provides for fair results, for equal citizenship.

At present the votes of considerable numbers of citizens may be worthless all their lives. Such conditions make a mockery of the franchise; P.R. treats the franchise seriously, giving it an effective value.

Representation too often depends upon boundaries. Take one example. Prior to 1918, and again in 1922, Belfast returned four members to the House of Commons. The city was divided into four; but the divisions used in 1922 differed from those of 1918. In 1918 the West division contained a majority of Nationalists. Mr. Devlin was their spokesman. Some Unionist sections of the city were then added to the old West division, with the result that it is now represented by a Unionist. The non-Unionists of Belfast are about a quarter of the citizens. I challenge the opponents of P.R. to say, if the minority in Belfast amounts to a quarter, whether it ought to be represented. If so, ought its representation to depend upon how the boundaries of the divisions are drawn? Or should it, as under P.R., secure one seat for a certainty?

P.R. promotes equal citizenship all along the line. There are twenty women Labour members in the German Parliament. Why? Germany has P.R.; Great Britain not. There are two sexes, and under the single member system a party nominates only one candidate; there is room for one sex. Under P.R. the constituencies return several members; parties will include, in their nominations, representatives of both sexes; there is room for both. After a few elections there will be women as well as men candidates everywhere.

Now as to government. The present system begets coalitions based upon mutual sacrifice of political principles; it tends to elevate opportunism into being the guiding principle of legislative action and of government; it promotes the making (over the heads of citizens) of arrangements as to seats, such as those by which, in 1918, Sir George (now Lord) Younger, and Capt. Guest, assigned 150 constituencies to the National Liberals. These consequences spring direct from the single member system. To win, only one candidate must be nominated in a constituency by the coalescing parties. Arrangements as to seats are necessary. Then, at a general election we often get the minimum of real leadership in respect of public policies; the conditions of the local "pacts", varying from place to place, must be borne in mind. With P.R. constituencies all parties national in scope will nominate candidates everywhere. The resulting competition will lead to more definite leadership, to clearer statements of policies. P.R. will render futile all arrangements as to seats, just as in Ireland it destroyed the Collins-de Valera pact. Parties and electors will have greater freedom. P.R. thus provides in elections for a larger measure of truth (it does not distort or exaggerate political forces), of justice and of freedom; P.R. makes its appeal to those who believe that consistent principles run through the organization and evolution of the universe; who believe that the adoption of right principles in the method of voting therefore makes for good government.

The world seems temporarily to be losing belief in political principles. P.R., it is often said, is right in principle, but we must reject it because no party will have a majority; because it will give rise to groups. What are the facts? It was under the single member system that many groups arose in France, Germany, Italy, Holland, and elsewhere. We see four parties in Great Britain, and in each of the Dominions overseas. Both under our present system and under P.R. one party may have a majority over all others; under both systems no party may have any such majority. Elections have recently been held under the single member system in Great Britain, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. In three out of the four no party had a majority over all others. I ask those who oppose P.R. to state the principles on which they will form a Government

when this occurs. It may happen in this country at the next general election. Have they thought out the problem?

Whatever happens, the advocates of P.R. are not perplexed. For P.R. promotes the return to legislative and Government action based on considered political principles. If there are more than two parties their programmes will not differ from one another completely. There will be many proposals in common. Government and legislation will take the form of giving effect to those proposals which have received a majority of votes in the country. Even in these circumstances the Government may consist of one party. But should political conditions render co-operation desirable P.R. will make clear the basis and the limitations of the co-operation—the carrying through of measures which are common to the programmes of the co-operating parties. At the next election each party will be free to restate its programme.

I have dealt briefly with that which a little while ago was regarded as the fundamental objection to P.R. Sometimes smaller difficulties—expenses, bye-elections—are put into the foreground. They are fully discussed in a small book, *Practical Aspects of Electoral Reform*, which Messrs. P. S. King & Son are publishing this month.

AGAINST PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

By the Rev. A. J. CARLYLE, D.Lit.

It is most important that men and women who are seriously interested in politics should consider carefully how far the machinery of representative government is satisfactory, and in what respects it may be improved.

If, however, we are to aim at reasonable conclusions we must begin by asking what exactly it is that we want to get at by our machinery. We must distinguish rather sharply between the representation in Parliament of every isolated opinion which may exist in individuals and groups in the community, and the more general and fundamental principles of the social and political order.

It is sometimes said or, at least, thought that Parliament is most representative when it reflects all the vast complexity and even eccentricity of individual opinion. But this is hardly the truth. What Parliament should represent is the sober and considered judgment of the community not upon isolated questions, but upon the general principles which are to determine its action at a given moment and upon actual and practical questions. The citizen who is to use his political power to any effect must learn two things, first that he must be willing to subordinate the lesser to the greater, and secondly that he must distinguish between that which is at any given moment practicable and that which is not.

This is the justification, and it is a real one, of the party system in English Parliamentary Government. For the party, Liberal, Conservative, or Labour, represents the fact that three great groups have each certain principles, are guided by certain general tendencies, to which all particular measures are, and must properly be subordinated.

And the individual citizen must learn to recognize the proper proportions of that which he desires; this is, indeed, one of the most essential aspects of political education. The citizen who will not agree with others unless they agree on everything is only a political nuisance, and so far from desiring that he or she should be represented in Parliament, if he were represented there it would only be a misfortune.

For the purpose of the representative machinery is to create a legislature and administrative instrument which will act under the control of those principles which are at the time most generally accepted in the community, but will, subject to them, act freely and powerfully.

This is the reason why I am very doubtful whether many of the proposals made in the name of "proportional representation" are really wise. But this is also the reason why I think that such proposals as the second ballot and the alternative vote are reasonable, and that our representative machinery should be amended in some such manner.

For I think that it is highly necessary, especially under the present constitution in England, that the citizen who finds that the political party which he prefers cannot be supreme, should be compelled to decide with what other party he most agrees. For it is very true that the Parliamentary system can represent the prevailing tendencies of the community, and that the individual voter, even if the party to which he belongs is not directly represented in a particular place, can still retain a large amount of political influence.

THE LAW AT WORK.¹

THE HOWARD JOURNAL.

The second number of the *Howard Journal*, which has just been published by the Howard League for Penal Reform (43 Devonshire Chambers, Bishopsgate, E.C.), price 2s. 6d., is full of interest to readers of this paper. It reviews all the happenings of the past year that are concerned with the treatment of crime, besides commenting upon fresh aspects and views of penology in this and other countries.

The tone is on the whole hopeful, and makes encouraging reading. Any organization would indeed be cheered at seeing so many of its principles accepted by leading members of the public as the Howard League has done. Judges, coroners, and administrative officials have shown during the past year that the waste and folly of much of our present penal system is at last coming to be realized.

But the *Journal* tells of much that yet remains to be done. Articles on Certified Schools, Police Methods, and Solicitation, the No-Bail Scandal, the Cost of Appeals, Poor Prisoners' Defence, Shackled Convicts, Criminal Youths, all have their own tale to tell of wrongs and injustices (often pressing on the poorest of the population) and still to be righted.

But it is not only with defects in the present system that the *Howard Journal* is concerned. The reader who wants to know on what lines constructive reform is to proceed in the future will find much food for reflection here. Dr. M. Hamblin Smith contributes an article on "The Offender—his Study and Treatment," in which he discusses the psychological treatment of crime and gives some details of the plan adopted at Birmingham for the mental examination of prisoners. Here, where the services of an expert psychologist are available at the Court, it was found that out of more than 450 offenders who have been remanded for special inquiry during the last three years, less than 24 per cent. were ultimately sentenced to imprisonment. It is certain that a considerably larger proportion would have been so dealt with but for Dr. Hamblin Smith's reports.

Great interest also attaches to the lengthy article which Mr. Thomas Mott Osborne contributes on "The Mutual Welfare League," which he, as Governor, introduced into three large American prisons. This is of special value, as Mr. Mott Osborne's books are not so well known or so accessible to English readers as they should be. Here he tells in brief the story—equally astonishing and delightful to read—of the transformation wrought at Auburn and Sing Sing by granting a large share of responsibility for their own welfare to the prisoners themselves. The article is freely illustrated by stories of individual offenders with whom Mr. Mott Osborne had to deal, and it throws an entirely new light on the whole subject of prison reform.

On the question of Capital Punishment the *Journal* adopts the method of giving the arguments both for and against its abolition, or, as an alternative, its limitation to certain degrees of murder; a useful summary is added of the position in other countries regarding capital punishment which will help the reader to deal with some of the vague and sweeping statements often made on this subject. It is interesting to note that the Howard League has decided to take a referendum of its members as to the policy they wish to have adopted on this vexed question, and whether the League is to work for abolition or not.

The *Journal* makes some searching criticisms of the somewhat timid proposals of the Departmental Committee on Probation Officers which reported last year. It considers that its recommendations as to the appointment and payment of Probation Officers do not go far enough, and quite fail to ensure that national system of probation which is so urgently needed. The proposals of the Committee are summarized and placed side by side with those of the Howard League so that the reader can see at a glance wherein the two schemes differ. The conclusion of the matter is tersely put: "The Committee found the subject in a muddle, and they leave it in a muddle."

Reviews of some of the very important books which have been published during the past year and an index conclude a valuable number of the *Howard Journal*.

¹ Under the direction of Mrs. C. D. Rackham, J.P., Miss S. Margery Fry, J.P., with Mrs. Crafts as Hon. Solicitor.

REVIEWS.

USEFUL AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS.

Several books from the United States, which contain much that will interest British readers, have recently reached us. The last volume of the *History of Woman's Suffrage*, compiled by the National American Woman's Suffrage Association, contains a chapter by Mrs. Fawcett in which she continues the story of the movement in Great Britain begun by the late Helen Blackburn in an earlier volume. Mrs. Fawcett gives a vivid account of the events leading up to the great victory of 1918 as only Mrs. Fawcett can. The chapter dealing with the International Woman Suffrage Alliance from its inception in 1888 up to the time of the Congress at Geneva in 1920, and the chapter entitled "Woman Suffrage in Many Countries," are valuable summaries of the cause of the enfranchisement of women in different parts of the world, though, owing to the bulk of the volume, they are inaccessible to many who might have read them with peculiar interest in view of the coming congress in Rome. The publication of this gigantic piece of work is only another instance of the service which the United States has always rendered to "our common cause." It was due to the initiation of American women that the International Woman Suffrage Alliance was formed, and much of its success up to the present time has been due to their energy and liberality.

It is hardly fair to mention *Women of 1923* in the same breath as the above exhaustive work, but this slim volume has the advantage of being cheap and convenient to handle. It aims at enumerating the achievements of women in different parts of the world at the present time in every field of effort, and gives valuable particulars of the present position of women in the different States of America. It is not surprising that in such an ambitious venture the information is not always accurate, but speakers and students of the women's movement cannot fail to find this a handy and useful volume of reference. The selection of the British women in a list of "Two hundred women of to-day" is an instance of the truth of the saying that a prophet is without honour in his own country, as we fear that only two out of the chosen six whose names follow are known to their compatriots: "Lady Nancy Astor," Mrs. Alexander Gorse, Mary C. Geddes, Margaret Naylor, Maude Royden, and Annie Swynerton. For the solace of distinguished British women who are omitted, we hasten to add, however, that the list does not "aim at presenting the greatest women" but calls attention to a "few outstanding figures in the various fields of women's activity."

We turn with some envy to the prosperous-looking *Woman Citizen*, which, we understand, corresponds in the United States to our *WOMAN'S LEADER*. It is nearly five times larger, but it is a fortnightly instead of a weekly. On the page of "news pictures" it is pleasant to discover Mrs. Oliver Strachey, and Lord Robert Cecil. An interesting article, "Your Business in Washington," discusses the question whether women should join political parties or not, and the issues at the coming Presidential Election of 1924. We are not surprised to find that "wet or dry" heads the list. Next comes Peace and International Affairs, followed by Sugar Tariffs, Railroads, Industrial and Social Legislation. There are many other articles, covering a wide range of interests, and the paper is bursting with energy and personality. It is impossible to read such publications without asking what is the secret of American vitality. We in Great Britain have much to learn from women's organizations in America, and they, no doubt, can learn something from our older and staid ways. The more we know about each other the better!

M. E.

WOMEN OF 1923.

INTERNATIONAL.

The "Who's Who" and "What's What" about Women. Edited by Ida Clyde Clarke. Issued by Women's News Service Inc., 106 East 19th Street, New York.

WOMEN OF 1923 stands alone. It is the only publication which contains in one volume a directory of facts, figures, names and addresses about women and women's organizations all over the world. It reviews for the past year and forecasts for the coming year all activities of women.

WOMEN OF 1923 is the only book published to-day that records the achievements of modern women and represents the record in convenient and attractive form.

WOMEN OF 1923 comes as an answer to a definite demand for a widespread knowledge of women's affairs. Few persons know to what extent women have entered every field which men have opened, and in what measure they have made their mark.

WOMEN OF 1923 is authentic, condensed and invaluable. It is indispensable to men as well as to women. Librarians, teachers, club leaders, newspaper women and magazine editors, social workers, in fact, everyone interested in human progress of world affairs will have constant need of it. You should possess and read **WOMEN OF 1923**. It will be a revelation.

LABOUR-SAVING COOKING.

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Skill is the keynote to labour-saving in every department. Some people are awkward in using their hands, others in using their brains; that is because hand and brain alike need training before skill can be attained and labour saved.

It is, of course, easy to cook after a fashion, but skilful cooking is a fine art, and training is required before good results can be achieved.

The first requisite is a good textbook, and I have no hesitation in urging every would-be expert to buy Miss Mallock's *Economics of Modern Cookery*. It is recommended by the Household Science Department of the University of London, and does not cost more than 4s. (Macmillan). It deals with principles and processes in so clear and simple a manner that a self-taught cook I know, by its help, qualified as a professional. We shall use it as our textbook for this course of Labour-Saving Cooking.

Brains and Cookery.

Miss M. M. Mallock, sister of the late W. H. Mallock, of "New Republic" fame, was one of the first brainy girls to recognize training in domestic science as a distinct asset in citizenship. Skill in cookery did not prevent her doing splendid work in connection with emigration, and it certainly enabled her to create the best cookery book on the market.

It is the greatest mistake in the world to consider needlework, cookery, etc., as reactionary accomplishments. To be skilful in these subjects, and to use one's skill in such a manner that spacious leisure is left for other interests, is the essence of good citizenship. There is such a thing as a thinking hand, and those who possess it have widened their mental outlook. Scientists tell us that unless the hand as well as the eye be trained the brain is never perfectly developed.

Equipment and Arrangement.

The second requirement in Labour-Saving Cooking is equipment, and we shall mention in these columns certain useful tools that we have tested personally and found really helpful and labour-saving.

Equipment is really important, and it need not be made up of very expensive articles; also the few shillings expended will be speedily saved. Take, for example, a fair-sized nut-mill costing 4s. 6d.; it can be used for grating bread, cheese, and vegetables, as well as nuts, and the saving in food is appreciable. If the bread be allowed to dry it will grate the last crumb, and very quickly, too; it will make beautiful white bread-crumbs also in a few seconds, and will grate up cheese to the last piece. Nuts ground freshly are very nourishing, and can be used in many ways.

Lemon Sago and Lemon Tart.

If these are made the same day the lemon squeezer will only need washing once. This is, of course, a trifle, but it is by trifles, made by skill and custom mechanical, that time, labour, and strength are economized. The ingredients for lemon sago are 1 teacup of small sago, 5 teacups of water, 6 tablespoons of golden syrup, rind and juice of 2 lemons. Boil from 15 to 20 minutes till thick. Put into a wet mould, turn out when cold, and serve with custard.

For lemon tart you will want to line a deep, open tart-tin with pastry. Miss Mallock will tell you how to do this. It must be baked before the filling is put in. You can use puff paste or fruit-tart pastry. We shall consider this next time; now it is enough to remind you that pastry need only be made once a week, thus saving fuel, washing-up, and many other trifles.

The lemon-filling for the tart is made of 1 gill of water, 1 oz. of cornflour, 3 oz. of castor-sugar, 2 lemons, and 2 eggs.

Mix the cornflour to a cream with a little water, put the gill of water in a saucepan with the lemon juice and rind, let it cook for 10 minutes, strain, return to saucepan, and stir in 2 oz. of the sugar and the cornflour. Let it cook until it thickens and comes away from the sides of the pan. Stand it on the table to cool slightly; then stir in the yolks of the eggs. Spread the mixture on the pastry. Whip the whites with the rest of the sugar to a stiff paste and spread over the lemon mixture, dredge with sugar and return the tart to the oven till the meringue is lightly browned. It is eaten cold.

MARY EVELYN.

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I.W.S.A. ROME CONGRESS DELEGATION.

The following are going to Rome as delegates from the N.U.S.E.C.: Miss Macadam (Leader of the Delegation), Miss Buchanan (Glasgow S.E.C.), Miss Clegg (Kensington S.E.C.), Miss Fletcher (Liverpool W.C.A.), Miss Helen Fraser (Kensington S.E.C.), Miss Pressley Smith (Edinburgh W.C.A.), Miss Sterling (Kensington S.E.C.), Dr. Helen Wilson (A.S.M.H.), Mrs. Philip Snowden (?).

The following are going as Alternate Delegates: Miss Alison Garland, Mrs. Harrison (Edinburgh S.E.C.), Mrs. Hughes, Mrs. G. Lloyd, Miss Milton (Farnham S.E.C.), Miss Snodgrass (Glasgow S.E.C.), Miss Thompson, Mrs. Thornton (Leeds S.E.C.), Mrs. Wilson (Kensington S.E.C.).

We much regret that owing to the illness of Miss Garrett (who, however, is making good progress) neither Mrs. Fawcett nor Miss Garrett, who were to have gone as Delegate and Alternate Delegate respectively, will be able to go.

Miss Rathbone, Miss Macmillan, and Mrs. Corbett Ashby are members of the Board of the I.W.S.A.

WOMEN AND UNEMPLOYMENT.

An account is given in Notes and News of the present situation with regard to unemployed women and girls. It is made clear that the great need at the present moment is for a Government grant in order to finance, through the means of the Central Committee on the Unemployment of Women, a far larger number of what are known as "Home-makers" Classes, that is to say, a three months' training in Domestic Arts for unemployed women and girls who, either because they are skilled workers waiting for their own industries to revive or because they are unable owing to home ties to enter resident domestic service, cannot qualify for the Homecraft schemes. The need for such classes to prevent the demoralization which arises from having nothing to do, and from receiving a weekly sum less than is sufficient to maintain health and efficiency, is clear. A resolution was passed at our last Council meeting calling upon the Government to provide further grants for the employment and maintenance of unemployed women and girls. In order to bring pressure to bear on the Government it would be most useful, therefore, if your society would send in resolutions to the Prime Minister and to the Minister of Labour calling upon the Government to provide £100,000 for financing these "Home-makers" Classes.

OBITUARY.

We hear with very deep regret of the sudden death, in Glasgow, from heart failure of Miss Mabel Brinson, for some time Head Clerk at the Headquarters Office.

Miss Brinson was an enthusiastic worker for the Women's Movement, and for the last year and a half has been working with great success as organizer for the Women's Freedom League in the North of England and in Scotland. The National Union has had many devoted workers on its staff during its long history, but though many have done more conspicuous work, few have had the causes for which we stand more at heart.

NEWS FROM SOCIETIES.
EDINBURGH S.E.C.

Under the auspices of the Edinburgh Society for Equal Citizenship a demonstration in support of equal franchise was held in the Y.M.C.A. Hall, Edinburgh, last night, Ex-Bailie Rose presiding. In the course of an address on "The Age Limit," Miss Adam said most girls of 21 were supposed to have sufficient intelligence to earn their own living in shops, factories, or domestic service. Many at that age were wives and mothers. Nothing in the world was quite so keen as a girl in the "early twenties." Mr. Ballantyne, speaking on "The Constitutional Basis of Demand," said when women were asked to pay rates and taxes there was no differentiation whatever in regard to how old they were or how much furniture they possessed. Other speakers who represented various political parties and societies were as follows: Miss F. H. Simson on "Domestic Servants," Miss A. Jack on "Professional Women," Mrs. H. More-Nisbett on "Women in Parliament," Miss Pressley Smith on "Liberal Women," and Miss Jacob, of the Women's Freedom League, on "Industrial Women." On the motion of Mr. John Gilray (Fabian Society), a resolution was unanimously adopted demanding that the Government introduce, and pass through all its stages this session, legislation to extend the franchise to women at the same age and on the same terms as it is granted to men. The resolution also urged the Members of Parliament for Edinburgh and Leith to sign the equal franchise memorial to the Prime Minister.

OBITUARY.

In the death of Mr. Samuel Garrett the Women's Movement loses one of its staunchest and kindest supporters. He was a lifelong advocate of Woman Suffrage, and, unlike many, carried out his convictions with regard to his own profession. A solicitor held in high esteem in the City, and a President of the Law Society, his consistent support—both on the Committee to Obtain the Opening of the Legal Profession to Women and personally among those with whom he came into contact—was unflinching and invaluable. He was always ready, however busy, to help with carefully considered advice, and his opinion and warm advocacy carried great weight both with members of his own profession and with Members of Parliament. That women are now practising both at the Bar and as solicitors is in a great measure due to him.

We much regret the recent death of Mr. Ralph Thicknesse, Barrister, who has always taken a special interest in the law affecting women and children, whose champion he has always been. In 1884 he wrote a digest of the law of Husband and Wife, and is regarded as one of the best authorities on the subject. It was largely owing to the representations of Mr. Thicknesse that the need for equal guardianship of children was realized. He has given a great deal of help to the N.U.S.E.C. on this subject, and only last year he prepared a memorandum for the Joint Select Committee on the Guardianship of Infants Bill.

CORRESPONDENCE AND REPORTS.

THE MINISTRY OF WOMEN.

MADAM,—In connection with the correspondence on the Ministry of Women, may I remind your readers that the Society of Friends has from its rise recognized the spiritual equality of women, welcoming their Ministry in its Meetings for Worship, and their co-operation in those for the business of the church.

This procedure is based upon the conviction that "God does indeed communicate with each one of the spirits He has made, in a direct and living in-breathing of some measure of the breath of His own life," in other words, that the Divine Light is revealed in the hearts of all beings.

Such a belief carried to its logical conclusion abolishes distinctions of sex, race and class, and astonishes the priesthood of all believers.

It is interesting to find George Fox, in 1667, answering objectors to his call to women to take their share in this work by quoting instances from the Old Testament of Women's assemblies and adding: "Now, Moses and Aaron and the seventy elders did not say to those assemblies of the women, 'We can do our work ourselves, and you are more fitted to be at home to wash the dishes,—or such-like expressions; but they did encourage them in the work and service of God,' and he adds: "It is even more fitting in this day of Christ's gospel that women should serve about His Heavenly tabernacle, therefore, keep yourselves in the power, that ye may stand up for your liberty in Christ Jesus. Males and females, heirs of Him, of His Gospel, and His Order." Granted that the work of a woman minister in the Society of Friends has points of difference from that of a woman minister in other religious bodies, the principle of equality of the sexes will not be established till women share with men this work and service.

ANNA P. WALKER.

BIRTH CONTROL.

MADAM,—In your issue of the 6th April, under the heading "Birth Control," I see a letter signed A. J. Musson, in which the writer expresses surprise that the WOMAN'S LEADER should open its columns to the discussion of what he (or she) calls "this evil thing."

Everyone is entitled to his own opinion, but not to abuse; and the writer must be blind to the fact that thousands of the best brains and

hearts in the country are interested in this great subject. That the N.U.S.E.C. and WOMAN'S LEADER should also be interested in Birth Control is surely not surprising! *It is the very foundation of all liberty and equality for women.*

What does it avail a woman that she has the franchise if she cannot call her body her own and is at the mercy of her husband's wishes and desires? What good is it to her to be legally entitled to hold any public post if in fact she can be forced to bear her husband a child every year through all the best years of her life? The words liberty and equality then become mere absurdities!

Everywhere, in all civilized life of humanity, science and common-sense are continually controlling and turning Nature to its best purpose. Why, then, should it be wrong only in this one most vital and important instance?

I don't think your correspondent need fear that such knowledge and power will be misplaced in women's hands. I believe they will still be—only more effectually than in the past—the restraining and purifying element in human society.

Lastly, I think most historians would agree with me that your correspondent's reference to the past is unfortunate for his case; but time forbids me to enter into that now. M. C. B. CROOK (Mrs.).

KENSINGTON S.E.C.

A debate on the employment of married women, organized by the above Society and the Kensington Women Citizens' Association, was held at South Villa, Campden Hill Road, by kind permission of Mr. and Mrs. Gooch. Mrs. Elizabeth Abbott exposed the hypocrisy of the so-called objections to married women working, and showed that it was really paid employment they were begrudged. They were welcome even to that, provided only it was very badly paid and sufficiently unattractive. Two-thirds of that great army of charwomen were married, but there was no attempt to oust them from that particular job! Mrs. Abbott cited a case which she knew of personally. In a tobacco factory in East London a married woman was dismissed as the result of a hostile Press campaign. But she was taken back the same day, as a charwoman, at less than two-thirds her former salary! Miss Margaret Frere said she was opposed to married women working chiefly from the point of view of the home and race. An investigation conducted by the L.C.C. showed that the women teachers were the healthiest people in the country with the exception of agricultural labourers and clergymen. But the married women teachers of London had hardly any children—many of them only one! In her reply, Mrs. Abbott pointed out that the modern preference for small families was not confined to teachers, and to deprive the married woman of her profession would be no guarantee that she would produce more children. A resolution in favour of the employment of married women was passed with only five dissentients.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE.

The reopening of the Conference at Lausanne reminds us of the responsibility which British women who are concerned to help the cause of peace and freedom must feel for our foreign policy. It is clear that our Government is determined to have peace with Turkey, and for this we must be thankful. Are we sure that it is necessary in order to secure peace that we should give up the attempt to protect the Christian populations who have suffered so terribly under Turkish rule? Many people feel that the new Turkish Government should be given a chance to show that it is worthy of the same status as European Powers. Local groups of the W.I.L. might well study the question of whether it is justifiable that the lives of Christians remaining under Turkish rule should be risked in this experiment, or whether a way cannot even now be found for protecting them while in matters affecting our own interests we treat the Turk as deserving of respect and confidence. Women who had the vote in 1918 must take their share of the responsibility for the failure to make peace on reasonable terms at that time.

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MAY 9. 3.15 p.m. The Hospital, South Side, Clapham Common. Annual general meeting. Chair: The Viscountess Cowdray.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION SOCIETY.

MAY 9. and Successive Wednesdays. School of Economics. 5 p.m. Course of Lectures on "Methods of Election." Ticket for the course 10s. Lecturer: Mr. J. H. Humphreys (Sec. P.R. Society). Forms of application from P. R. Society, 82 Victoria Street, or School of Economics.

SOUTHALL WOMEN'S LIBERAL ASSOCIATION.

MAY 8. 3 p.m. Mrs. Western on "Legislation affecting Women and Children".

GUILDHOUSE WOMEN CITIZENS SOCIETY.

MAY 14. (Entrance Berwick St., Victoria). 3 p.m. "How to end Unemployment." Speaker: F. W. Pethick Lawrence (author of "The Capital Levy").

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL FRANCHISE CLUB.

MAY 9. 8.15 p.m. "Experiences in Russia." Speaker: Mrs. Stan Harding. Chairman: Miss Nina Boyle.

WOMEN'S NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION.

MAY 8 and 9. Holborn Hall. Annual Council Meetings.

MISS MAUDE ROYDEN.

Fately returned from U.S.A., lectures on England and America. Kingsway Hall, Thursday, MAY 17, at 8 p.m. Supported by Rev. H. R. L. Sheppard. Chair: The Viscountess Astor; M.P. All numbered and reserved seats, 10s. 6d., 5s., 2s. 6d., 1s. Apply (kindly enclosing stamped addressed envelope) Miss Braithwaite, Guildhouse, 12 Berwick St., Victoria, S.W. 1.

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ANNOUNCEMENTS.

CANNING TOWN WOMEN'S SETTLEMENT (Incorporated).—A Public Meeting will be held at the Lecture Hall, City Temple, Holborn Viaduct, on Friday, 11th May, 1923, at 3 p.m. His Worship the Mayor of West Ham will preside. Speakers: Mrs. Barnett, Miss Towers, Miss Ouston, Rev. W. Reason, M.A., and Hugh Kemsley, Esq. Tea at 4.30 o'clock. A Collection will be taken in aid of the Funds.

ANN POPE will be at the office of THE WOMAN'S LEADER on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Fridays from 2 to 5, and will be pleased to give advice or information on household matters free to subscribers, beginning 16th April. An Employment Agency for "House Assistants" is also being organized, and all letters should in future be addressed: Miss Ann Pope, "House Assistants' Centre," THE WOMAN'S LEADER, 62 Oxford Street, W. 1. The fees for letters by post are still 1s. (2 questions); recipes from 2d. each. The Employment fees will be 1s. registration in every case; 2s. to be paid by assistants on engagement, and 5s. by employers. All letters must be accompanied by a stamped addressed envelope and the proper fees.

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HELP OTHERS TO HELP THEMSELVES HONESTLY.—Central Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society: D.P.A.S.'s at all H.M. Prisons, assisting over 20,000 annually, irrespective sex, creed, age, nationality. Wives and children aided.—W. W. Jemmett, F.I.S.A., Secretary, Victory House, Leicester Square, W.C. 2.

LONDON SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SERVICE, 58 Victoria Street, S.W. 1.—Secretary, Miss P. Strachey, Information Department for advice about Women's Work and Training, by letter or interview.

THE PIONEER CLUB has reopened at 12 Cavendish Place. Town Members 45s.; Country and Professional Members 44s. Entrance fee in abeyance (pro tem.).

THE FELLOWSHIP SERVICES, Eccleston Guild House, Eccleston Square, S.W. 1: Sunday, 6th May, Guildhouse, Eccleston Square, S.W. 1. 3.15, Music, Poetry, Lecture, Dr. Dearmier. 6.30, Maude Royden: "A Special Providence."

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