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NOTES AND NEWS

Discussion of Fundamentals.

On 20th March the House of Commons resolved itself into a debating society, and discussed a motion by Mr. Philip Snowden condemning the capitalist system and calling for Socialist control of the instruments of production. The occasion was well worth while, and served to elucidate quite a number of matters on which popular confusion of mind exists. In the first place it made perfectly clear the fact that the Labour Party is definitely a Socialist party. In the second place it made equally clear that Socialism, as expounded by Mr. Snowden, who spoke presumably with the general approval of his party, differs widely from the programme initiated by the Russian Soviet leaders in November, 1917. In the third place it made lamentably clear how much confusion exists regarding the simple everyday terms of economic phraseology. We believe that the writers of economic text-books are largely to blame for this confusion, but, in spite of the distressing obscurity of these gentlemen, Sir Alfred Mond should have known better than to identify the word "capitalism" with any system of production which involves the use of capital. Surely it is generally admitted that a capitalist system of production is one which not merely involves the use of capital, but one in which the ownership of capital is vested in private individuals and carries with it the control and general direction of the business of production. It may be a good system or a bad system, but it is certainly a newcomer among the economic systems of the world, and the two hundred years or so of its changing history show that there is nothing static about it. We are grateful to our trusted friend, Mr. Snowden, for raising the question in its widest aspect, and we are grateful to our other trusted friend, Sir John Simon, for securing an adjournment of the debate. We cannot hope that further discussion will clear up the problem of whether an admittedly faulty system is preferable to an admittedly untried alternative, but we can and do hope that it may enlighten the public as to what the word "capitalism" really means.

Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Bill.

This Bill was introduced into the House of Lords on 22nd inst., and will be coming up for its second reading on 19th April. It is little changed from the Bill introduced last July by the late Government, which could not be proceeded with owing to the

General Election. It contains provisions relating to the establishment of Statutory Commissions for each University to "make statutes and general regulations for the University . . . in general accordance with the recommendations contained in the Report of the Royal Commission, but with such modifications as may . . . appear to them expedient." It is a disappointment that no provision is made in the Bill for the admission of women to membership of Cambridge University, and that no woman has been included among the Commissioners for either University. It is expected that amendments to rectify both these omissions will be raised during its Committee stage.

Guardianship, Custody, and Maintenance of Infants Bill.

After a somewhat stormy time in the House of Lords, Lord Askwith successfully piloted this Bill through its second reading on Monday last, and the motion he had put down to refer the Bill to a Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament was accepted. It is expected that Members appointed last year by the House of Lords, and those appointed last year by the House of Commons who are still Members of the House, will be asked to serve again. The debate on the second reading was another proof of the difficulties put in the way of this Bill by those who appear constitutionally unable to regard the organization of the family as anything but patriarchal. Some of the objections raised can no doubt be met by amendments of the Bill in Committee; others are fundamental, and cannot be met except by a sacrifice of some of the underlying principles of the Bill—a sacrifice its promoters are not likely to make. Recent reports as to the satisfactory working of Equal Guardianship laws in the United States, in British Columbia, and elsewhere, should serve as a fairly conclusive answer to those who regard joint responsibility and rights of mothers and fathers as an impracticable proposition.

A Domestic Service Enquiry.

The Minister of Labour has set up a Committee to inquire into the present conditions as to the supply of female domestic servants, and in particular into the effect of the unemployment insurance scheme in this connection, and to make recommendations. The Chairman will be Mrs. E. M. Wood, a director of Samson Clark & Co. She was Honorary Secretary of the London branch

of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association and Secretary to the London War Pensions Committee (1917-21). She will be assisted by Lady Askwith, Vice-President of the National Citizens Union; Mrs. Harrison Bell, Vice-President Standing Joint Committee, Industrial Women's Organizations, and member of the Women's Advisory Committee, Federation of General Workers; Mrs. Burgwin, Technical Adviser on Education, Ministry of Pensions, Organizer of Special Schools under the L.C.C.; Mrs. Cohen, District Organizer, General Workers' Union, Leeds district, Chairman, Women's Sub-Committee, Leeds Local Employment Committee; Lady Procter, President Y.W.C.A.; Miss Julia Varley, Chief Woman Organizer, Workers' Union, Birmingham district, member of Local Employment Committee, Birmingham; and Mrs. Wintringham, M.P. The Secretary is Miss E. S. Fraser, Ministry of Labour, Queen Anne's Chambers, S.W. 1. We shall publish a special article on this matter next week.

The Performing Animals Bill.

The second reading of this Bill was carried on Friday by 169 votes to 35. The measure was the outcome of the report of the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the conditions of performing animals and their exhibitions. It does not aim at prohibiting the performances but asks for complete control where cruelty does exist. Brig.-General Colvin, in moving the second reading, pointed out that the evidence submitted to the Select Committee went to prove that some animals performed their tricks with ease and pleasure, while others, notably the larger carnivora, were difficult to train. It was therefore inevitable that

the latter should be subjected to a certain amount of cruelty. Apes and chimpanzees were quite unsuitable for public performances, owing to their temperament, and were inevitably treated with great cruelty. Sir C. Burn seconded, saying that this country ought to give a lead to the world in such a matter. The Home Secretary said that the Home Office welcomed the measure, though he was very much disappointed with the case made out by the opponents of the Bill. We are confident in saying that every one of our readers will rejoice at the near prospect of legislation which will remedy conditions so long deplored.

Prize Paragraphs.

We have received some interesting paragraphs which might well have found a place in our columns if we had more space at our disposal for matters of general interest, and we wish to express our thanks to our contributors for their efforts. No paragraph has, however, been received of such outstanding distinction as to merit the prize or justify publication. We hope our readers will regard this as a means by which they can help the paper, and we suggest that they look at our Notes and News, or the columns devoted to the Law at Work, etc., for some idea of the sort of thing we want. We are anxious to get news of recent experiments, speeches, Press comments, achievements of women in different departments of activity, which might otherwise escape our notice, and we hope our readers will find some profit in looking out for material likely to be helpful to us, and will respond in large numbers to this attempt on our part to widen the interest of the paper.

OUR WHITED SEPULCHRE.

Even the least intelligent observer knows that the ten years from 1911 to 1921 covered a period in the world's history almost without parallel. Unfortunately, just at a time when it was most urgently needed, during the period of reconstruction after the war, there was practically no available data to guide the architects of a new and better country. Research into economic and industrial conditions had come to a standstill, and even the annual reports and statistical returns of the different State departments were cut down to a minimum. Moreover, the census figures of 1911, so essential as a foundation for sociological investigation, were rendered comparatively useless by the sweeping changes wrought by the war. This state of affairs will gradually be remedied as volume after volume of the returns of the 1921 census is published, and social students in this country turn, with expectation, to the text of the report on the County of London¹ which was issued last week.

This report is a mine of unexplored wealth to those who take the trouble to dig out its treasures. It is divided into seven sections, dealing respectively with housing; sexes, ages, and marital conditions; education; occupations; birthplaces and nationality; dependency and orphanhood; and any one of these headings might serve as a text for useful articles in these columns. The section dealing with the housing of the Metropolis is of special interest in view of the attention which has recently been focussed on this subject and the anticipation of an early pronouncement of the Government's reformed policy. The sensational disclosures of this report cannot fail to prick the social conscience of the most callous. It is staggering to read in the cold unvarnished black and white of official statistics that only a little over a third of the total number of the families in London have a home of their own—that is to say, possess an independent dwelling-place which is defined in technical language as "any room, or set of rooms, having separate access either to the street or to a common landing or staircase accessible to visitors." Further, according to the above definition, nearly a third (30 per

cent.) of the families of London occupy dwellings containing three or more households. These figures, though they do not necessarily imply overcrowding, represent an abnormal state of affairs that must inevitably lead to discomfort, friction, and mental wear and tear.

The extent of overcrowding is indicated elsewhere in the report. Overcrowding only exists officially when the proportion of persons per room is two or more. On this basis, according to census figures, whole tracts of London come perilously near overcrowding, and close on 700,000 of the entire population are actually living under overcrowded conditions, which would certainly not be tolerated for animals in the Zoological Gardens. It is not much consolation to find that, owing to the reduction in the size of families from 4.15 in 1911 to 3.79 in 1921, this percentage is slightly smaller than in 1911. The size of the family and the size of the house are to be found in inverse ratio. Stepney, for instance, has the largest average number of persons per family and is among the boroughs which has the lowest average of rooms per dwelling. Students of housing must study this report for themselves. The actual facts are far worse than those disclosed by statistics. In a part of London, which ranks among the best-housed, little more than a stone's throw from the scene of academic Parliamentary debates on housing and national economy, the kitchen chimney of a small tumble-down house shared by four families fell down recently, breaking all the crockery and household treasures of the tenant, a young widow with four children. In this dwelling the doors refuse to lock, the plaster and woodwork are crumbling away, the floors are unsafe. This case could be multiplied by thousands. When one looks at London with its "ships, towers, domes, theatres, and temples"—"a sight so touching in its majesty"—it seems to the eye of imagination to be a hollow show. One remembers the cramped lives of the majority of its men, women, and children, huddled together in conditions which breed crime and disease, to some extent disclosed by statistics, and unhappiness and nerve strain which altogether elude statistics, and one sees in London a sight touching, not in its majesty, but in its degradation.

¹ "Census of England and Wales, 1921—County of London," 1s. 6d.

NEWS FROM WESTMINSTER.

By OUR POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT.

Liberal reunion, so much to be desired, and, as some thought, so near achievement, has received two serious setbacks. It is always invidious (and, in any case, extremely difficult) to apportion blame in matters of this kind; but it may be said that these checks are attributable to three main factors. It forms an ironical commentary on human nature, that the best-intentioned actions of all should have contributed most largely to the position; but the unpalatable truth remains that the very enthusiasm in reunion displayed by the young rank and file members of both wings of the parties has been a positive clog upon their own activities. The reason for this is twofold: firstly, because it has given the leaders the entirely false impression that their followers are trying to take control and "run" the party; secondly, because it has undoubtedly encouraged Mr. Lloyd George to think that he can get better terms than he would have been prepared to accept, and has correspondingly produced in Mr. Asquith a determination to yield nothing at all. There is little doubt but that from the point of view of speedy reunion, unless the rank and file of both sides are prepared to abjure their leaders and enrol under some new banner (which, it may be confidently asserted, they are not), the reunion meetings have, on the whole, been a mistake.

The cause, however, has not been helped by either of the leaders. Almost the very moment when the rank and file of both wings were agreeing upstairs upon a resolution recommending conferences on policy between Mr. Asquith, Sir John Simon, Mr. Lloyd George, and Sir Alfred Mond, Mr. Lloyd George chose as an occasion for a vigorous attack on Mr. Asquith, on whom, together with Sir Edward Grey, he endeavoured to fix the blame for the Coalition policy in Mesopotamia. Mr. Asquith made a trenchant and apparently overwhelming reply, and although the dispute was conducted with every appearance of

good temper, and even of good nature, things were said on both sides that pierced deeper than the skin.

Two days later it was Mr. Asquith's turn to deal a blow at reunion, and he did so effectively, and some think finally, at a party meeting of his followers. He poured almost savage ridicule upon the rank and file proposals for a committee of policy. He demanded unswerving adherence to the Independent Liberal policy as the price of joining the party. And he roundly declared that if this committee were forced on him he would put on his hat and march out of politics (accompanied, as he well knew, by his lieutenants and friends). In the face of this his followers, who regard him with almost doglike devotion, dropped the question of reunion like a red-hot poker.

It is a great pity that this movement should have received such a blow. The country ought not to be faced with no alternative between Conservatism and Labour at the next election; and yet a divided Liberal Party will not gain much support at the polls. Mr. Asquith deserves every sympathy. He has been wantonly attacked by Mr. George, not only recently, but on every possible occasion in the last four years. He is quite prepared even now to put the personal question aside if only Mr. George will subscribe to the Independent Liberal creed. That, however, is just what Mr. George cannot do. He cannot repudiate his own Safeguarding of Industries Act, or his Mesopotamia policy, or the Versailles Treaty—to name only three of the main points of difference. And the more the friends and followers of both try to heal the breach the more it seems to aggravate and inflame the difference. It must be left to time.

[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.]

POPULATION.

The problem of population has come, during the last few years, to occupy as prominent a place in the minds of the general public as it occupied in the palmy days of "Parson Malthus." Mr. J. M. Keynes did much to revive the terrors of a bygone age in his second chapter of *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*. It is certain that later happenings in Central and Western Europe have seemed to bear out his disquieting suggestion that the compound interest expansion of material prosperity which characterizes the nineteenth century, is an incident—a closed chapter in the long tale of world history. And if this is so, then we must revise our ideas regarding the desirability of maintaining a steady increase in the population inhabiting these territories. It may be that in 1914 human resources of labour and capital were combined with natural resources of land and cubic space in about the right proportion; that is, in the proportion which will give the unit of human labour its highest degree of productivity. It may be even that the general breakdown of that international exchange, on which that high degree of productivity depended, has so disturbed the proportion that to-day the people of Europe would be better off per head if there were fewer of them. In that case, we must revise our notions of the desirability of an increase in numbers so drastically as to be prepared to contemplate an actual decline. But Mr. Keynes is only one among many contemporary writers who have set us thinking. Since the publication of the *Economic Consequences of the Peace*, the problem has been attacked with infinite deliberation and expert knowledge by Mr. Carr Saunders, whose *Problem of Population* provides us with a survey comparable to Malthus' monumental publication of a century ago. Mr. Carr Saunders is, of course, less polemical, more academic, than Mr. Keynes, but he is disquietingly definite on one point at least: the problem of population is not going to be solved by emigration or immigration. Meanwhile, as far back as the eve of the war, when our whole national and international machinery for production and exchange seemed to be working so smoothly that few of us stopped to consider the possible results of a breakdown, Professor Graham Wallas disturbed our calm with his *Great Society*. In the opening chapter of it he suggests that perhaps the whole mechanism of world-wide readjustment and social relations, by which the smaller populations of the civilized world assure their material existence, has somehow outgrown the capacity of the human brain, and has become, or is on the verge of becoming, as unmanageable as the traffic problem of an overgrown city. Has nineteenth century Europe evolved, in

the shape of its nineteenth century economic organization, a Frankenstein monster capable of destroying the teeming population whose needs it is designed to serve? All these considerations crowd upon the modern student of the population problem in its modern phase. And, if he surveys it from the national angle of an inhabitant of our intensely industrialized and commercialized United Kingdom, the issues appear even more menacing. For what is to be the future of our own vast urban populations if the political and military interests of countries which are capable of economic self-sufficiency are allowed greater weight in the determination of international arrangements than the economic interests of countries which have become hopelessly and helplessly dependent on the preservation of a minute world-wide co-operation?

We do not venture to attempt even the beginning of a discussion on such problems; in a single article it is possible only to indicate their existence. But we do venture to perform this vague and unsatisfactory office, and for the following reason: that the national and international aspect is apt to be overshadowed by more immediate ethical and social and physiological considerations whenever the subject of population and its increase arises. And it has arisen in force to-day. Everywhere it is being discussed. In the Press, in the Law Courts, and in current publishers' lists its discussion is reflected. Women's organizations throughout the country are finding themselves forced into its controversies. At its recent Council meeting the N.U.S.E.C. carried a resolution urging its affiliated societies to study it; and the majority by which the resolution was carried by the assembled delegates reflected general relief at the official opening of a subject in which all were interested.

We suggested at the beginning of this article that our preoccupation with this problem of problems was connected with the present breakdown of European civilization. It is, of course, due in an equal measure to something else. The nineteenth century brought us new instruments for the diffusion of knowledge: universal elementary education and a cheap Press. Under such conditions, universal knowledge of the methods of birth control becomes not merely a possibility, not merely a probability, but an inevitable development. Never perhaps since the dawn of human reason has man been so equipped for dominating the forces of nature and securing the mastery of his fate. What use are we going to make of this new and dangerous power?

M. D. STOCKS.

BURNING QUESTIONS.

FOR WOMEN IN THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY.

By A. HELEN WARD.

"But women don't want to be clergymen. They have quite enough to do in their own homes." Thus talks hydra-headed custom, just as it talked about the vote or the woman doctor, or, a little earlier, the trained nurse, though never about the cook, or the housemaid, or the charwoman. We will grant that not all women wish to be clergymen, and that not all women have not enough to do in their homes to restrain them from inconvenient thoughts about the things of the spirit, and, having granted this much, we will leave the hydra-headed one talking.

The question is why, in the face of contempt and ridicule and of innumerable obvious difficulties, any women claim that a woman's vocation to a calling, be it even the highest, should be recognized, as a man's vocation is recognized? For it is well to remember that no church can give a vocation; its place is only to recognize and regularize vocations divinely given. These women make the claim on the strength of the revelation of divine purpose found in the life and teaching of the Founder of Christianity. (Space forbids reference here to other religions.)

Much is heard of the teaching of St. Paul about women, but nothing of the teaching of Jesus Christ. The reason for this is relevant to the women's claim. Christ alone, among founders of great religions, taught nothing in regard to women which He did not teach in regard to men. It is argued that Christ chose only men apostles, and that therefore He implicitly forbade the ministry of women. The argument proves too much. Christ did not break bread with women at the Last Supper, yet the most strict member of the English Church Union does not deny to women participation in the ceremonial breaking of bread, the Holy Communion.

It is possible, even probable, that women were not chosen to be pioneer preachers of the Gospel, because it was necessary to preach it, not in the calm and sacred atmosphere of a consecrated building, but in the highways where the profane congregated.

Yet, to-day, ecclesiastical authority does not deny to the district visitor, to the clergyman's wife, to the rescue worker, to the woman missionary, the right to teach and preach and minister to the common herd in the dark places of the earth. Christian women throughout the ages have thus followed their Master and carried their message to the common people, and the common people have heard them gladly. A Catherine of Sienna, an Elizabeth Fry, a Mary Slessor, a Katherine Booth, a Maude Royden, a thousand nameless saints, have thus prophesied. In the Church of England missions of the last year or two the Women Messengers have gone chivalrously to the street corner to compel the people into the churches which they hated and suspected. The woman preacher has even entered the church door, from the street or the schoolroom she has advanced first to the seat of the pew for a platform, thence to the chancel step, and now, if the service is a non-statutory service and the sermon not a sermon but an address, the woman preacher may enter the pulpit. Gradually, in the light of modern scholarship and commonsense, it is being realized that St. Paul, when he declared that women should keep silent in the church, could not have meant a consecrated building, because in his day the Christians had no consecrated buildings.

The woman preacher is here, the deaconess is here—it is round the question of the woman priest that the spiritual battle rages to-day. Milton has said of man "he for God alone, she for God in him", and the English Church Union, with commendable frankness, has declared that women are "incapable of the grace of holy orders" (as St. Thomas Aquinas has it). Sentimental timidity and courtesy cause many to wrap up their passionate repulsion from the idea of a woman priest in expressions of solicitude for the fatigue she may suffer if called on to read a long service in the early morning. But it is well to put sentimentality aside and recognize that the significance of the opposition to the woman priest can only be understood by those who study the amazing history of the survival in the Christian church of many a tradition and many a custom and ceremony having its roots in the ages long past when humanity, groping up from savagery, had little more than the flickering candles of the medicine man or the temple oracle to guide them—thousands of years before Jesus Christ was born in Bethlehem. These ancient survivals make in themselves a fascinating study—our forefathers' awe in the presence of the natural world

and its ill-understood phenomena—but the many forms of sex taboo provide not merely a harmless study, they lie at the root of terrible evil, not only in the perversions as found in old systems of ascetism, but in the weakness of organized religion in this present time in face of such canker growths as the double moral standard. Until in this matter the church throws off the baleful influence of pre-Christian thought, it cannot fulfil the purpose of its Founder. Christ's most stern rebuke fell upon those who made an idol of tradition. How and when the wider truth shall find fruition we know not, but there is no going back. The fire once lit will burn on, and once again in due time the rich significance of that historic cry "freedom to worship God" will enter the brain and kindle the imagination of all who hold that religion is not a dead thing burying its dead, but a living force. A religion by which men and women are to live or die, not only in this world, but beyond the veil, must be a religion deriving directly from its divine source, not through the obliquities of one sex interpreting ill-apprehended truths to the docile listeners of the other sex.

AGAINST WOMEN IN THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY.

By HELEN STOCKS.

The actual position which women have held in the Catholic Church throughout its history is quite clear; and, if tradition counts for anything, the unbroken record of the Church in this respect is worthy of serious consideration. It cannot be assumed that because women's position in society has changed there must be a fundamental change in the constitution of the ministry. It is the belief of Catholics that the Church is a supernatural society and that its government is of divine institution.

The great purpose of the Christian life—for the Church and for each individual Christian—is to co-operate with God for the salvation of the world, and the Christian can co-operate by submission to the will of God and by the use of the agents and channels appointed for Him in the Church.

As the forces of Nature are utilized and controlled by men, who, in obedience to natural law, work along certain lines and use certain instruments; so it is in the spiritual world.

The Church believes that the ministry was established by the Apostles and Evangelists working under the special guidance of the Holy Spirit and in remembrance of the mind of our Lord, as revealed in the days of His earthly ministry; and certainly, with regard to women, the evidence of the Gospels bears out the practice of the Church.

Women played an important part in our Lord's ministry. They were members of the company which surrounded Him, and they were definitely chosen for the position they filled. Humanly speaking, it was the support of the women which made His ministry possible, but even the Blessed Virgin was not called to be an Apostle, and no woman was included among the Twelve or the Seventy. One of the clearest lessons of the New Testament is that the call to the ministry must come from God, and neither by our Lord nor by the Apostles were women chosen for the work.

But it is perhaps necessary to point out some reasons for this differentiation of function between men and women in the Church. The Ministers of the Church are made responsible for the guardianship of the faith once for all delivered to the saints, the administration of the Sacraments and the conversion of mankind. The guardianship of the faith—which means re-interpretation in terms of modern thought to each generation, and resistance to interpretation which cut at the root of belief—was necessarily imposed on those best endowed with natural powers for the work. The difference between men and women intellectually depends to some extent on education, but it is safe to assert that in originality of thought and creative power men, as a whole, are distinctly superior to women. Women may expect to take a larger share in religious teaching as their educational advantages and general position improve, but the responsibility for safeguarding revealed truth must remain with men.

Secondly, the administration of the Sacraments and the preaching of the Word bring with them duties of government and discipline.

Women feel the burden of responsibility more than men,

and the responsibility arising from the power to bind and loose is the heaviest laid on man.

The work of the Apostles in their care of the churches would have been beyond the capacity of the strongest woman, and any man ordained to the ministry may be called upon to do work of the same nature.

Finally, the ministers of the Church are in a position of authority over members of the body. There is a fundamental difference between men and women which makes it impossible for women to fill this position. It is part of the nature of woman to desire to submit herself to the man of her ideal, and on the side of the man there is the corresponding desire to possess and control. There is no contradiction in maintaining that women are fit to share political authority and responsibility with men, but are unfit to be placed in

THE LAW AT WORK.

FORTY YEARS AGO.

Sir William Harcourt was Home Secretary from 1880 to 1885, and in the recent life of him by Mr. A. G. Gardiner there is an interesting account of his five years of office. "The Home Office was never administered by anyone who had more sympathy with the prisoner and captive"—such was the opinion of Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise, who began his official life as private secretary to Harcourt at the Home Office. John Bright also described Harcourt as the most humane Home Secretary he had ever encountered. And, from reading the account of what Harcourt tried to do, it is easy to see that he was in many ways in advance of his time.

He fought one battle which is still far from being won. He was very angry at the long periods for which prisoners were kept waiting before trial, and even after he left the Home Office he continued his efforts to put a stop to this abuse. He drew attention to a case in which two boys were kept in prison for three months before trial for an offence for which they would probably not get more than one month, and in 1891 he obtained from the Home Office the promise of a return showing the periods for which prisoners were kept waiting for trial.

He made continuous efforts to save children from imprisonment, and here he was more successful. He pointed out that in one year no less than 6,000 boys and girls between 12 and 16, and 720 under 12, were sent to prison. He remitted some of these sentences so as to alarm Queen Victoria, who feared lest the administration of justice might be getting lax. He wrote the Queen a long letter describing in detail the offences for which children were being imprisoned—a boy of 9 for throwing stones, a girl of 13 for being drunk, three boys of 11 for breaking windows, while a small and delicate boy of 10, who could neither read nor write, was sentenced to 14 days hard labour for throwing down a fence. He pointed out that these children would leave prison tainted in character and would quickly lapse into the criminal class. "The Queen would like to whip them," said Her Majesty's Secretary in reply. Harcourt was also of the opinion that whipping was preferable, and in 1882 he brought in a Bill to substitute this punishment for imprisonment for certain offences, and to make parents pay fines and be responsible for their children's behaviour, and to remove the necessity of sending a child to prison before reformatory. His efforts met with considerable success, though in that same year a child of 7 was actually sent to prison; yet the total number of juvenile prisoners greatly diminished.

With regard to adults he deplored the long sentences inflicted by some judges, and agreed with Sir Edmund Du Cane that "the deterring and reformatory effects of imprisonment would be in general as well or even more effectually accomplished if the average length of sentence were materially reduced."

Harcourt desired the abolition of capital punishment. He saw that public opinion was not ripe for this, but he hoped to see different degrees of murder established and the extreme penalty reserved for those in which there was a real intent to kill. He remitted the death penalty in the case of a young woman who killed her two-year-old child because of the harrowing and extenuating circumstances, and also in that of a man who killed his wife in a drunken brawl when he obviously had no intention of committing murder. He suffered great anxieties from the fear (sometimes justified) that the verdict was a wrong one and an innocent man might be condemned to death. He also urged in weighty words the necessity that he, as Home Secretary, should be guided by a jury's recommendation to mercy. "The jury," he wrote of a particular case, "strongly recommended the prisoner to mercy. This is an indication of public sentiment which it is not wise to disregard. If juries found that their recommendations were neglected, they would take the matter into their own hands and refuse to convict, in which case the offender would go free."

AMERICAN LETTER FROM THE EDITOR.

DEAR READERS,—I have been spending a week in Washington watching Congress at work, lobbying Senators, and meeting many of the women prominent in public affairs here. I find, on the whole, much the same sort of problems and much the same way of attacking them. There was a Civil Service Reorganization Bill before Congress all the week—with equal pay and equal opportunity amendments and all complete. I find, however, that there is much less opposition to equal pay, which is largely in operation both for Civil Servants and Teachers, and the greatest difficulty is securing equal chances of promotion. The existence of a woman Civil Service Commissioner is, however, a great help in securing fair play; and

a position of authority over men as ordained priests in the Church.

The problem of authority is one of great difficulty at the present time, because Christian faith and practice have led to the strengthening and development of human personality, which has necessitated revolt against such exercise of authority as violates legitimate personal respect and independence. There is no spiritual inequality between men and women, and women are right to demand that they shall be treated as responsible persons, but great power resides in the ministry of the Church, and it must be exercised in accordance with the natural relation of the sexes and in a way which is most beneficial for the Church. Those who have a tendency to submit to authority have also a tendency to magnify it, and it is essential that those who are not submissive by nature should govern and control.

owing to her exertions the compulsory retirement on marriage has been withdrawn in almost all departments. They tell me they fought that fight three years ago—and won it. It is hopeful news.

There are women in many high legal positions here, including the Federal Assistant Attorney-General and a Judge of the Supreme Court of Ohio; and in the other departments, too, they seem to be ahead of us. But, of course, the fact that there is practically no unemployment and plenty of professional openings makes the struggle a good deal easier.

Politically, the organization of women seems to me to be very much more elaborate than with us. The whole thing is numerically and geographically bigger, and the problem of the foreign-born voters complicates it all very greatly, as does also the system of State and Federal elections. I hope to know more about this question before long: as yet I can only say that I am filled with admiration for the energy, and envy at the financial resources, of the women's societies over here. The headquarters of the League of Women Voters is a large house in a position corresponding to Whitehall. The upper floors are let off to other women's societies, and the whole place is a humming centre of long-distance telephone calls, telegrams, and big scale business. I will send more news next week.

RAY STRACHEY.

HOUSEHOLD ADMINISTRATION.

PROTECTION KNOWLEDGE.

No! I'm not going to talk on sexual matters, birth control, nor any burning questions "that take the eye and have their price." My rôle is that of the "ordinary" person who takes life as it comes, deals with it as best she can, and is often unremunerated. Their name is legion, and I don't think they need be miserable. Many are quite happy; I know I am. One day I'm going to sing the praises of Poverty. To-day my theme has two points, drawn from my Warden's letter of March 16th—

(1) That although there is much to be said about allowing children to develop naturally, according to individual tastes and character, there is still more to be put forward in favour of training a baby from infancy to be a good citizen! As a matter of fact, all such education has its beginning in pre-natal influences. Ruskin remarks that we can't expect to have saints without the sheer goodness of both father and mother. (But perhaps Ruskin's ideas are out of date—dead and buried with him? We are so wise to-day!)

One thing is certain, if we wish to be happy in any state of life we have to learn to live peaceably, work comfortably with others, and be law-abiding citizens; and the foundations of this valuable education must be learnt in the nursery, before the age of seven, or there is risk of endless misery in the future. One of the essentials of a first-class worker in any employment is the knowledge and ability to work with others: to give and take.

(2) The necessity of sound technical training in domestic arts and crafts, for the simple reason that people *have* to be fed, clothed, housed, nursed in infancy, cared for in childhood, and looked after in sickness and old age. Consequently, workers are always required in these fields of work. There is never any fear of unemployment, and if it is adventure and travel we're seeking, why! there are the Colonies crying out for help.

Therefore, these two points—how to live with others, and ability to be really useful in domestic life—may be called "protective knowledge": a girl or woman well-educated up to this degree need fear no out-of-work spectre. Must I say once more that they are not incompatible with a very high degree of mental culture?

CRIMINAL NEGLECT.

It happens they have been brought forcibly before me recently: a middle-aged woman has made good in an exclusive and learned profession wholly and solely through early education in these vital matters, and a young girl of 21, penniless and homeless, stands a very good chance of becoming a mere adventuress, or worse, because of early neglect in this respect. During the last three years she has lost an opportunity of earning an honest living, in the last instance of training in work that would within three or four years have given her a position where she could delegate the actual domestic work to someone else, if she had acquired sufficient knowledge to organize, supervise, or, at the worst (!), train her staff.

"It is almost criminal," exclaimed the busy woman who had offered her a splendid chance, "to bring up a girl to be so helpless."

Alas! it is not merely manual disability in this case, the poor girl is so ignorant and ill-bred that she considers it beneath her to learn "ordinary" domestic work. "I am of gentle birth," she says, "of course, I can't do domestic work." It seems unbelievable to-day, but it is a sad fact.

DOMESTIC TRAINING CENTRES.

Mr. Harold Cox has been attacking the Labour Ministry's Domestic Training Centres on the ground of wasteful expenditure and the plea that housewives can train girls for domestic servants in their own homes. But can they? Have they the necessary knowledge or the time? and are they willing to put up with the undisciplined young person of the present day? Mr. Harold Cox should take on the job himself for a time.

I quite agree that the ideal conditions are for girls to be trained in domestic work in a well-organized household under competent direction, but we don't live in ideal days, and until we do it is a pity to do away with an organization that has done much to help girls to appreciate domestic work and enter domestic service. We must also remember that these centres give employment to many as well as training to others, therefore they afford unemployment relief in the very best way. To give money without insisting on work, or training for work, being undertaken in return by either man or woman is a fatal error. I hold no brief for one sex or the other. Neither am I a party politician.

A DELICATE FISH DISH.

A thick slice of Canadian salmon, or any other fish, such as rolled fillets of plaice, fresh haddock, whiting, etc., can be easily and beautifully cooked between two plates over a saucpan of boiling water. Butter the plates. The lower one should be a soup plate, and if the fish be thick the upper one must be also, in which case a strip of dough made of flour and water may be put round the rims of the lower plate. This will prevent the top one from slipping and keep the steam in. Cook potatoes in the skins in the saucpan. Put the plates containing the fish over the water when it is just beginning to be hot; don't wait until it boils. When the potatoes are cooked, strain the water off into a bowl and the potatoes into a colander, then tip the water back, replace the fish plate to go on steaming while you peel the potatoes. The fish should then be cooked, but, of course, much depends on its thickness. Serve with a suitable sauce and salad.

ANN POPE.

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

Offices: Evelyn House, 62 Oxford Street, London, W. 1.
Telephone: Museum 6910.

EQUAL FRANCHISE.

It is of the utmost importance that no time should be lost in obtaining the signatures of Members of Parliament to a Memorial asking the Prime Minister to introduce legislation giving the Franchise to women on the same terms as to men. The collection of the signatures of a large majority of the House of Commons would serve as conclusive proof that the Prime Minister need not regard such a measure as contentious. Copies of the Memorial can be obtained, on application, from Headquarters, and the help of all those interested in this reform is solicited.

NEWS FROM SOCIETIES.

CARDIFF W.C.A.

On 14th March an evening Reception was held at the City Hall by the kind invitation of the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress (Dr. J. J. E. and Mrs. Biggs). The guests were received in the beautiful marble hall, and music and speeches followed in the Assembly Room. The chief speaker of the evening was Miss Helen Fraser (of London), who took "The Future of the Woman's Movement" as her subject, and appealed to women to give of their best to the service of the State, keeping a high ideal before them. "The true real is the ideal" was one of her concluding thoughts.

An interval for refreshments in the Luncheon Room provided an opportunity for the social side of the evening.

Miss Collin, Mrs. Lewis, of Greenmeadow, and Mrs. J. T. Richards, in proposing or seconding votes of thanks, referred to the progress of the Woman's Cause in Cardiff.

HAMPSTEAD SOCIETY FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

A meeting in connection with the Hampstead Society for Equal Citizenship was held, by kind permission of Miss Foreman, at 2 Lambold Road, Hampstead, on 2nd March. Mrs. Nevinson, J.P., was in the chair, and Miss Alison Nielans, secretary of the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, gave a most interesting and instructive address on the Solicitation Laws and the urgent need for their reform. An interesting discussion followed, and a hearty vote of thanks was passed to the speakers and hosts.

SCARBOROUGH W.C.A.

Mrs. Concellor Catt presided at the Annual Meeting of the Scarborough Women Citizens' Association, which was held at the Y.M.C.A. on 27th February. In her opening address, the Chairman commented upon the election of two members to the Board of Guardians during the year, and also upon the work done at the General Election, when the N.U. questionnaire was sent to the two candidates and their answers published in the local press. Miss Rotherford, Hon. Sec., read the annual report, which was listened to with close attention, and Miss Hyde, Hon. Treas., the financial statement. Mrs. Catt was unanimously re-elected chairman for the ensuing year. Miss Rotherford and Miss Stephens were re-elected joint honorary secretaries, and Miss Hyde, honorary treasurer. A strong

Committee was also re-elected, with power to add to their numbers. After the meeting, Nurse Swallow (the Health Visitor) gave an interesting address on her work.

KENSINGTON SOCIETY FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

Under the auspices of the above Society a very enjoyable drawing-room meeting was held on 21st March, at 9 Moreton Gardens, by kind invitation of Mrs. West, one-time organizer of the N.U.S.E.C. Miss Macadam gave an extremely interesting account of "The New Parliament and Women's Questions," and also a description of the recent Council meeting. The audience, a very large one, was obviously impressed with the importance of both subjects, and followed everything that was said with close attention. There was some discussion at the end of the speech, and new members were made.

BIRMINGHAM N.C.W.

A special meeting of all members of the Birmingham branch of the National Council of Women was held at Queen's College on 14th March, at which Miss Beaumont gave a very interesting lecture on the Guardianship of Infants Bill. After sketching past legislation on the subject, Miss Beaumont explained the present legal position, and the terms of the Bill which the N.U.S.E.C. has drafted and is vigorously pressing. After her address Miss Beaumont was asked a number of questions, which showed the deep interest of the audience, and a very good report of the meeting appeared next day in both the morning and the evening press. A great deal of interest in the Equal Guardianship Bill has been aroused in Birmingham through the activities of the Citizenship Sub-section of the N.C.W., which is affiliated to the N.U.S.E.C. and which was, until some two years ago, the Birmingham S.E.C. Last winter this section gave a number of lectures on Equal Guardianship to various women's groups, such as Mothers' Meetings, Co-operative Guilds, Women's Institutes, etc., and in many cases resolutions were passed and sent to the Prime Minister and the Chief Whip.

CORRESPONDENCE AND REPORTS.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

MADAM.—Your article of 23rd March called "Pump more oxygen into the League" is in the main a condemnation of the League for lethargy: for not attacking and overcoming the formidable difficulties presented by the French occupation of the Ruhr.

I feel that the article would have been differently worded if the writer had acquired a knowledge of the Constitution of the League as laid down in the Covenant adopted in Paris in 1919. May I describe, as briefly as I can, what this Constitution is?

The League has two chief organs for carrying out its task: First, the Assembly, on which every nation joining the League is represented; these nations now number 52. It must meet annually and may meet more frequently. It deals by simple majority vote with any matters, within the sphere of its action, affecting or likely to affect the Peace of the World. Secondly, the Council. This body meets much more frequently than the Assembly. It consists of four permanent members, representing the principal Allied Powers; at present these are France, Britain, Italy, and Japan. To these have been added non-permanent members, now numbering six, viz. Belgium, Spain, China, Brazil, Sweden, and Uruguay. "The scope of action allotted to the Council was practically infinite, but its action is in effect limited by a provision of tremendous importance: Its decisions must be unanimous." (See *Round Table*, March, 1923, p. 307.)

To criticize the Council for want of vigour, while taking no account of this limitation of its powers, appears to me to invalidate the whole argument of your article. The Council is meeting now; it met last month in Paris. To have publicly raised the question of the action of France in the Ruhr would have been to court certain disaster, or, at any rate, certain rebuff.

At this meeting in Paris in February, Mr. Branting was there as the representative of Sweden. It was confidently asserted beforehand that he was eager to raise the question of the Ruhr. But all that is known is that he had a long conversation with M. Poincaré, and that nothing was done. No action could be taken unless the Council had been unanimous, which, of course, it was not.

Every lover of peace and every supporter of the League of Nations must long for its effective action in settling the tremendously difficult group of questions which has arisen. Lord Robert Cecil, who is the chief authority on the subject in this country, believes that the two subjects of reparation and security must be dealt with together, and must be handled by the Assembly of the League. To promote this should be the aim of every believer in the League. I could not see that your article of 23rd March was helpful in this direction, and that is why I have written as I have. There is plenty of vigour in a Bull in a China Shop, but it is wanting in constructive usefulness.

MILlicENT GARRETT FAWCETT.

DOMESTIC SERVICE.

MADAM.—I have been much interested in your Household Administration column in the *WOMAN'S LEADER*, dealing with the Domestic Servant problem, and I would like, if you would permit me, to state my view, with which, I think, most working mothers will agree who have daughters, although *mistresses* may not.

In my girlhood I was a domestic servant, and I am not ashamed of the fact. As I had to help the home (my mother being a widow) it was compulsory for me to go to service, although my inclinations and ability lay in a different direction. I had no opportunity of doing other work, so I was not prejudiced, and I was "caught quite young," at 12 years of age. Had I any choice in the matter I would not have remained ten months in service, much less the ten years I was compelled to earn my living; so that, when I had daughters, I decided to make any sacrifice rather than they should undergo the same conditions. I daresay the mothers of to-day who were domestics 30 years ago have said the same

thing in regard to their daughters. Now, I can hear some ladies saying "but conditions are so different to-day from 30 years ago." Not so very much different if they could get girls for the asking. It is the scarcity that has improved the conditions. I know of a case similar to my own, within the past six months, where a daughter was educated for business but, owing to unemployment, said she would go to service until old enough to take up nursing, but with what result? The lady could not allow her to have her evening out when the Ambulance Class was held, because that was the evening she had her company or had herself to go out to dine. Margarine for the maid, butter for her own daughters, because, she said, "they were growing girls." Was not the maid, 18 years of age, a growing girl, too, who had to work hard from 6 a.m. to 10 p.m., and not allowed to sit down to clean the silver because "she could put more force on, standing." Her own girls were sitting in a bank all day. When the maid was ill for three days and returned before she was better, to oblige the lady (?), wages were stopped for the three days. Another mistress asked what did a girl expect when she went to service but margarine? Poor quality at that, and in a doctor's house, and expected the baby's washing done on a Sunday. These are the sort of things that keep girls from entering domestic service, not the work, nor the so-called indignity of being a servant, particularly when those girls go from good homes. Besides, there are such things as round pegs in square holes.

To my mind, there is one solution to the problem, and that is, for the ladies to keep their own daughters at home, instead of going to business, and pay them to do their work, instead of employing others to work for them. If it is not degrading work, as the ladies say, why should they object to their daughters working for people in their own sphere of life? They would be sure to get much better conditions and more consideration than a poor man's daughter, and it would provide pocket money just the same as in a bank or office, only not quite so much, and then it would leave the commercial work for sons and daughters of those who needed it and who desired to live at home. Another solution would be to allow girls off for so many hours every day when their work was finished, even if it did entail the family waiting upon themselves occasionally. No one on this earth is too good to wait upon themselves.

HADSOOME.

BY WHAT NAME?

MADAM.—Mrs. Taylor has asked me to write to suggest that the change of name of the weekly paper has been more or less injurious to the sale and circulation of it and detrimental to advertisements which the men folk might insert. The old name—The Common Cause—was, she feels sure, more readily bought from book-stalls and other places well frequented by the general public than a paper which is apparently dealing with one sex of the community only. This matter, she thinks, should be put before the committee, and trusts that, if there is no serious cause against alteration, that its old name might be resumed. As a shareholder I feel this to be a feasible argument for I should certainly not feel tempted to buy a paper with such an uninteresting title as "The Men's Leader!"

(FOR) HELEN B. TAYLOR.

A BIRTHDAY FUND.

MADAM.—It has occurred to me that there might be many members of the N.U.S.E.C. who, like myself, cannot give large sums to its support, who would like to see a Birthday Fund started, i.e. as each anniversary comes round to send a gift to Headquarters according to their means. It might mean a certain amount of self-denial, but what will it matter, for instance, if every delegate next year appeared in the same clothes as this year, but it will matter to thousands if the reforms for which the N.U.S.E.C. is fighting are held up another year through lack of funds. It will be a terrible disaster if the *WOMAN'S LEADER* has to cease its circulation and if the Committee have to cripple their work by further drastic economies.

One so often gets asked on birthday anniversaries, "What do you want?" so that those who felt they could not give anything themselves might ask their friends for a contribution towards their Birthday gift to the N.U.S.E.C. I have much pleasure in enclosing cheque for one guinea.

L. R. SATCHELL.

THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE AND A NEW PEACE.

Two interesting articles on the W.I.L. programme of "A New Peace and Withdrawal of the Armies of Occupation" have appeared in *L'ère Nouvelle* (Paris). One by the prominent pacifist, Lucien le Foyer, criticizes the demand on the grounds that England has obtained all she wants by the peace and would be unaffected by a New Peace, which could not alter "faits accomplis," while France, in her devastated areas, is suffering for all the as yet unfulfilled clauses of the Treaty. In the second article, in reply, Madame Jouve points out that the demand made at the Hague for a New Peace by representatives of almost all European nations and of America, is not simply an English point of view, but is that taken by English members of the League because they believe that in this way France may gain reparation for, and reconstruction of, her devastated areas; reparation which seems increasingly impossible under present conditions.

The articles, from sympathetic French pens, are of special interest, for it is essential that all who, at this dangerous juncture, touch international politics, should have knowledge both of French criticism of our point of view and of the French standpoint.

ERRATA.

On page 61 of our issue of March 23, in the third line of the article "Gold and Beer", read 11 o'clock for 10 o'clock.—[Ed.]



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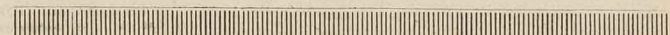
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M/6



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INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE (11 Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C. 2).

APRIL 10. Bedford College, Regent's Park, N.W. 1. 8-12.30. Reception and Dance in aid of the funds of the Alliance. Hostesses: Mrs. Fawcett, Miss Fitzgerald, Miss Letitia Fairfield, Miss Gertrude Kingston, Miss Beatrice Harraden, Dame May Whitty, Miss Lena Ashwell, Mrs. Herabai Tata, Lady Bonham Carter. Tickets may be had from the Secretary, I.W.S.A., price 5s. inclusive.

APRIL 16. Bosworth Hall, Bosworth Road, Kensal Road, W. 10. A Rummage Sale to raise funds for the Rome Congress. Please send parcels, if possible, to the Caretaker at the above address, between April 9th and 14th, marked clearly "For the I.W.S.A. Sale," or before that date to Miss Hoc, 75 Hereford Road, W. 2. (Hon. Organiser). Further information from I.W.S.A., 11 Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C. 2.

WOMEN'S ENGINEERING SOCIETY.

APRIL 11-14. Conference at Birmingham University. Gen. Sec., Miss C. Haslett, 26 George Street, Hanover Square, W. 1.

TYPEWRITING AND PRINTING.

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

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LADIES' RESIDENTIAL CLUB, 15 Kensington Park Gardens, W. 11. Bedroom and sitting-room to sublet, with partial board.—Misses FitzSimon and Scott.

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FOR REST AND HOLIDAYS.

LOVELY HEREFORDSHIRE.—Guests received in country house. Vacancies for Easter.—Taylor Smith, Marsh Court, Leominster.

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

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ANNOUNCEMENTS.

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.

CATHOLIC WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY, 55 Berners Street, London, W. 1. Telephone, Museum 4181. Minimum subscription, 1s.; Organ: "Catholic Citizen," 2d. monthly.

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 £5 5s.; Country and Professional Members £4 4s. Entrance fee in abeyance (*pro tem.*).

THE FELLOWSHIP SERVICES, Eccleston Guild House, Eccleston Square, S.W. 1: Sunday, 1st April, 3.15, Music, Poetry, Lecture, Dr. Percy Dearmer. 6.30, Maude Royden. Music, Martin Shaw.

FORM HAPPY FRIENDSHIPS.—Particulars, write Secretary, U.C.C., 16L Cambridge Street, London, S.W. 1.

ANN POPE will be pleased to give advice on household matters, cookery, etc., by post. Letters (two questions answered), 1s.; copies of recipes from 2d. each according to length. Lectures or interviews by arrangement. Please enclose stamped addressed envelope in every case.—Ann Pope, 6 Edith Terrace, Edith Grove, Chelsea, S.W. 10.

JOIN INTERNATIONAL HOUSE CLUB, 55 Gower Street, W.C. 1. Subscription, 7s. 6d. per annum. Dainty Luncheons and Teas in the Cafeteria. Club discussions will in future be held on *Thursdays* at 8.15, beginning 13th April.

TRAINING FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL SERVICE.—The Training Centre of the Young Women's Christian Association opens at Selly Oak, Birmingham, September, 1923. Applications from intending students can now be received. Preliminary experience in Association work offered free of cost in a limited number of centres between Easter and July. For all information, apply to the Secretary, Y.W.C.A. Training Committee, 22 George Street, Hanover Square, W. 1.

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