

THE WOMAN'S LEADER

AND THE COMMON CAUSE

Vol. XX. No. 20. One Penny.

REGISTERED AS
A NEWSPAPER.

Friday, June 22, 1928.

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Annual Subscription for Postal Subscribers: British Isles and Abroad, 6/6.

Common Cause Publishing Co., 4 Tufton Street, Westminster, S.W. 1.

NOTES AND NEWS.

ON THE DEATH OF A HERO.

Next month woman suffrage will be a final and complete reality. On 14th June Mrs. Pankhurst died. These two events so closely interposed in time cannot be contemplated without deep emotion. Some of us may have been tempted in the later stages of this campaign to see in Mrs. Pankhurst's post-war deflection to party politics a kind of lost leadership. "We shall march prospering, not through her presence. Songs may inspirit us, not from her lyre." Yet how many of us know in our hearts that some of the songs which inspirit us to-day come from Mrs. Pankhurst's lyre as it was played fifteen years ago, are in fact vibrations in the memory which bear strange traces of Mrs. Pankhurst's voice? During the pre-war decade which covers the rise of "militancy", the formation of the W.S.P.U., and the emergence of woman suffrage as an urgent and embittering problem of practical politics, Mrs. Pankhurst's personality was the storm centre of the fiercest loyalty, the bitterest criticism, the most passionate hero-worship, the silliest vilification that the movement evoked. And many a sober-minded suffragist carried to the offices and committee-rooms of the constitutional societies fire kindled at the feet of Mrs. Pankhurst. With the facts of her life, that remarkable sequence of social experiences and political faiths, we shall deal in a later issue. To-day we must be content to record the depth of feeling stirred by the news that it has come to an end. With that stirring, a crowd of random memories rise to the surface of present consciousness. Mrs. Pankhurst on the platform of the Albert Hall, the soul of militancy, swaying her people with a force of personal leadership which testified to some element of greatness in the leader. Mrs. Pankhurst, frail and fanatical, forging through the threatening and excited sea of a London mob to inevitable arrest on the threshold of the House of Commons. Mrs. Pankhurst hustled by the police—in prison—in Hyde Park—at the Queen's Hall on a Monday afternoon. Mrs. Pankhurst, perverse and obstinate with courage, growing visibly frailer week by week under the cruel tension of the "Cat and Mouse Act". Mrs. Pankhurst radiating always, in street or hall, prison or police-court, that impenetrable aura of personal dignity which made the mockery of her enemies seem so vulgar, their abuse so irrelevant. Last of all, Mrs. Pankhurst as we saw her last March on the platform of the Queen's Hall equal franchise demonstration, frail and dignified as of old, yet with something of the wounded lion in her frailty and dignity, sitting very quietly and contentedly in the background of public attention where dramatic justice seemed to demand that she should be in the middle of the thunder of applause. Well—that is where she will be surely enough when she enters the Elysian Fields, and the fighting heroes and turbulent saints of antiquity turn out in force to meet her, because of what she did in that decade before the war.

"The Lengthened Pendulum."

The Equal Franchise Bill passed its Third Reading in the House of Lords on 18th June, and now only awaits Royal Assent. On the occasion when the Royal Assent is given Dame Millicent Fawcett and the members of the Executive Committee of the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship will be present, wearing the familiar red, white, and green. It is interesting to remember that Dame Millicent was present in the House of Commons 61 years ago, when John Stuart Mill moved the Woman's Suffrage Amendment to the 1867 Representation of the People (Amendment) Bill. A White Paper issued last week gave particulars of the estimated effect of the new Franchise Bill on each Parliamentary constituency, excluding the Universities, the figures for which are not yet available. The number of additional voters for England and Wales, and Scotland is 5,221,902, of whom only approximately 16,000 are men qualified in respect of their wives' occupation of business premises. The average increase in each constituency is from 7,000 to 9,000 women. The distribution of the new voters is, as was expected, very unequal. Sea-side towns and mainly residential areas are, of course, increased to a much greater degree than industrial centres. The largest increase is in Lancashire, followed by London, where the principal rises are to be found in Hampstead, South Kensington, and St. Marylebone. In Scotland the most conspicuous rise is to be found in Dundee, a two-membered constituency.

The New Register.

The Register on which the next General Election will be fought will come into force on 1st May, the qualifying period of three months for this Register ending on 1st December. All men and women from 21 years of age, who have resided at the same address during that period or have removed to another address in the same or adjoining Parliamentary constituency, will be entitled to be registered. A conference will shortly be held at the Home Office to decide the dates of publication of the new lists, and the dates for the submission of claims, etc. The Municipal Elections in November next, and by-elections before May, will be fought on the usual annual Register, which will come into force in October.

Equal Franchise Thanksgiving Service.

With the passing of the Equal Franchise Bill the final victory of the suffrage will be won, and attention is called to a special Service of Thanksgiving and Dedication which is being arranged by the League of the Church Militant (formerly the Church League for Women's Suffrage). This service will be held in the Church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, by kind permission of the Vicar, on a date as early as possible after the Royal Assent is given to the Bill. The co-operation and support of all workers in the suffrage cause will be welcomed. Full particulars can be obtained from the Secretary of the League of the Church Militant, Church House, Westminster, S.W. (The above note was inadvertently omitted last week.)

Women and the Simon Commission.

A memorandum on the desirability of associating women with the Indian Statutory Commission, and on the needs of women in India, has been sent by the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship to the Indian Statutory Commission. The memorandum points out that: "Organized women in this country have become acutely anxious as to the well-being of Indian women, and as to the effect which changes in the method of government may have—for better or worse—upon the generally acknowledged evils which beset their lot, such as

illiteracy, early marriage, the high infantile and maternal death-rate, bad housing and sanitation, perpetual seclusion, etc." It shows that the interest of British women in these subjects has doubtless been quickened by Miss Mayo's celebrated book, *Mother India*, but that their anxiety rests not upon her personal statements but upon those of responsible authorities, which the Union has been led to consult for itself, and figures from which are quoted at the end of the memorandum. The memorandum suggests, assuming that it is too late to have women members of the Commission, that women may be appointed as investigators or technical advisors from those who have had experience of responsible work in India as doctors, heads of colleges or investigators.

The Working Woman's Congress.

As is always the case, the attention given to one or two disorderly incidents at the Women's Co-operative Guild Annual Conference has been out of all proportion to the rest of the picture. This annual body is, as the *New Statesman* justly pointed out, too large to be anything but a mass meeting. But a gathering of nearly a thousand working women which claims to be the oldest organization of married working women in the country is an annual event of great significance. We ourselves, as representing a non-party concern, regret the definite alliance with the Labour party, for such a "parliament of housewives" should, we believe, not be shackled by any party allegiance. Any non-party subjects which were dealt with, the Abolition of War and the protection of maternity, aroused the greatest enthusiasm. A strong resolution against war films was passed, one speaker stating that she had seen children endeavouring to act *Dawn* in a back garden. Another resolution dealt with the age of marriage. It was a great gathering, and the city of Plymouth recognized this at a reception held at the Guild Hall when the Plymouth woman Member, Lady Astor, and the Mayor were present.

Housework and Fatigue.

An interesting letter from Dr. Charles Myers, Director of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology, which appeared in *The Times* on Saturday, 16th June, states that the Institute is hoping shortly to start an investigation into psychological problems connected with domestic work. He points out that housework employs a larger number of workers than any other occupation or industry, and that "industrial workers' lives are influenced by conditions in their homes as well as by conditions in their workplaces". The investigation will begin with a study of "The best layout and arrangement of a house, the form of the utensils used, and the method of working, all considered from the point of view of the prevention of fatigue". In view of the fact that the Institute has already had considerable experience in diminishing fatigue in factories, shops, offices, and laundries, it hopes to be equally successful in its campaign against fatigue, worry, and discomfort in the home. We are delighted that at long last the need of skilled advice as to the best methods of housework is to be considered. The proposal has the sympathy of the Association of Teachers of Domestic Subjects and many women's organizations. *The Times*, in a leading article, wisely considers "that in the home, as in the factory, exasperation and irritation are the enemies of efficiency and happiness. This labour saving house is likely to be followed by a temper saving house." Further, our contemporary points out that time saved in housework is time gained for home life in the true sense of the term. We welcome the new inquiry and wish it every possible success.

The Arts and Adult Education.

A striking testimony to the wide range of subjects now dealt with by adult students and the high standard which can be obtained by those who attend only one class a week, was shown in the performance of many of the items on the programme for the "Open Day" at Morley College for Working Men and Women held on Saturday, June 2nd, from 3 to 10.30 p.m. This "Open Day", to which every department contributed, was a new experiment on the part of the College. The Science Department gave a demonstration in simple television and other physical phenomena; the Language Classes produced plays, songs and recitations in Spanish, German, Italian and French. Demonstrations were held of men's and women's gymnastics, and of folk, Greek and national dancing. The choir performed compositions by students of the College and the Speech Training Class

gave an admirable performance of Sutton Vane's *Outward Bound*.

Women in American Politics.

Dame Millicent Fawcett writes: "In the article on page 18 of the *Observer*, on the Convention which resulted in the nomination of Mr. Hoover by the Republicans as their candidate for the Presidency, there was the following paragraph:—*The convention has been noteworthy for its orderliness. The presence of women delegates is said to have had an admirable effect on the men, the Press universally applauding the part they played and the influence they wielded.*" This is what I have been looking for and hoping for."

The Atlantic Flight.

The first woman, Miss Earhart, a Boston social worker, has crossed the Atlantic. Miss Earhart in a graphic account of the adventure in *The Times*, disclaims the credit of the achievement. She was only a passenger, she says, and honour is due to her pilot, Mr. Wilmer Stultz, who piloted the aeroplane throughout, and her mechanic. Nevertheless, the success is due to Miss Earhart's determination, and it is no small feat. In rejoicing in her success, we would pay tribute to the three brave women who lost their lives in similar attempts.

Women Candidates for Parliament.

We are not after all to have the spectacle of two women candidates standing against each other, as Lady Blades has withdrawn her candidature for the Epsom by-election.

Questions in Parliament.

EMPIRE SETTLEMENT (WOMEN).

Sir Robert Thomas asked the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs whether he is aware that many women who are potential emigrants to one or other Dominions are deterred by the fear of being unable to raise the passage money home should life overseas prove uncongenial to them; and whether he will consider inserting a clause guaranteeing to assisted female emigrants their return fare after a certain period with due safeguards against abuse of the privilege?

Mr. Amery: Single women are only assisted to proceed overseas for employment in household work. The rate of pay for such work in the Dominions is, generally speaking, sufficient to enable women who wish to revisit this country to save enough money for this purpose within two years of arrival. I do not, therefore, think it necessary to adopt the hon. Member's suggestion.

HYDE PARK (PROSECUTIONS).

Mr. Day asked the Home Secretary the number of charges for indecency brought by the Police under the Hyde Park Regulations for the month of April, 1928; are there any statistics which will show how many of these charges were supported by uncorroborated police evidence; and, if so, will he give the particulars?

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks: Sixty-four persons, concerned in thirty-three cases, were charged with indecency under the Hyde Park Regulations during the month of April, 1928. No statistics are kept of the number of cases in which the charges are supported by evidence of a particular type, but an examination of the charge sheet reveals that in only one case was the charge supported by evidence other than police evidence.

HEALTH VISITORS.

Sir J. Marriott asked the Minister of Health whether he had received representations in favour of the appointment of a committee to consider the conditions of service of health visitors; and whether, if so, he is prepared to accede to the request?

Sir K. Wood: The answer to the first part of the question is in the affirmative. As regards the second part, my right hon. friend is in communication with the Associations of Local Authorities on this subject.

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

MILITANCY.

It is not uncommon for old Suffragists in their reminiscent moods to revert to the question: "How much did militancy really help?" It is a question which will never be unequivocally answered, for political influences are imponderable things—and militancy had so many facets. But the passage of time smoothing out personal kinks and sorting events into some semblance of their due proportionment, seems to bring us nearer to a solution of the riddle. And the synchronization of two things, the coming of equal franchise and the death of Mrs. Pankhurst, tempts us to reopen it.

There were times—seen from the vantage point of our own constitutional campaign—when militancy did not appear to be very helpful. Our meetings would be broken up, our local offices raided, our reasoned pleas greeted with recrimination and derision, our enemies supplied with plausible reasons for doing nothing, by this or that militant "outrage" perpetrated at some crucial moment of political manoeuvring. And the "outrages" were on occasions so peculiarly irrelevant: the destruction of a suburban letter-box, the defacement of a putting green, the interruption of a horse race. Then again there were those sharp conflicts of policy so disturbing to the public understanding: the determination of the militant Women's Social and Political Union to oppose Government candidates at by-elections irrespective of whether the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies might be supporting them as pledged friends; the interruption of Cabinet Ministers on every public occasion irrespective of whether that occasion might be a suffrage meeting organized and stewarded by the N.U.S.E.C. No—from this particular vantage point there were certainly times when militancy did not, to say the least of it, appear to be very helpful.

There were other considerations, leading to the same conclusion, yet less visible perhaps to active participants in the turmoil of events. The suffrage movement had its roots in the philosophical Liberalism of J. S. Mill, and its branches stretched to the uttermost heights of democratic idealism. The bulk of us could not have cared so intensely about votes for women had we not believed that the future of good government lay in the hands of the people, and rested upon a broad basis of consent under a rule of law. With this view of society, and with the habits of life which it engendered, militancy seemed to be strangely at variance. It was after all a campaign of terrorism (mercifully conducted with respect to human life) directed to the coercion of the Government—an attempt to persuade unreasonable persons to do a reasonable thing for unreasonable reasons. But is it ultimately possible to draw the sword and not perish by the sword? Is it possible to foster the spirit of democracy by methods essentially undemocratic? The W.S.P.U. itself, avowedly undemocratic in all its controls, organized for quick forcible action under a semi-military hierarchy and boasting a *Duce* of magnetic personality, was wont to compare itself with an army forswearing individual freedom and responsibility in the interests of a better freedom for the future. Just as at a later date the whole nation co-operated to forge a vast military machine and suffer its yoke in order that the world might be made "safe for democracy." Well—the history of the Great Peace, as well as the subsequent careers of some of the militant

WHISPERS FROM WESTMINSTER.

MAN AND THE UNIVERSE.

The first two days of the week were spent on the discussion of the Health and Housing Conditions of Scotland, and of the trend of British trade. The remainder of the week was given to the problem of our relation to our Maker. I have been reminded of the saying of the old essayist that was found their roots in old days in strife about religion, patriotism, or money. All these issues have been raised in the debates of this week. The two days argument on the new Deposited Prayer Book have been so fully described in the daily Press that it is unnecessary for me to add much. I should like, however, to put two or three foot-notes to the full reports which my readers will have read elsewhere. It was a mistake for people outside the House of Commons to believe that the vote of 15th December last was a snatch vote, for I have never known so much quiet private argument about a measure as took place in the private rooms and lobbies of the House of Commons during the weeks preceding that vote.

leaders, may throw some light upon the soundness of this conception. Space forbids us to pursue the matter further.

But as we have said, militancy had many facets. Its campaign was not merely a campaign of terrorism—in effect it was primarily a campaign of advertisement. Somewhere in its vitals there burned a flame of genius for dramatic effect. The stage management of its vast meetings and processions, the exploitation of its situations—it might be the unexpected release of a leader from prison, the arrest of a "deputation" in Palace Yard—were carried through with unerring judgment. Occasionally, to the more fastidious of its sympathizers, some particular item in its programme might shiver on the brink of taste between heroism and vulgarity. But always, at the core of the movement, the taste was sound enough. And always at the core, the radiant dignity of its leader, Mrs. Pankhurst, made all things seemly.

Is it possible that some of our readers may resent this use of the word "advertisement" to indicate the most significant function of militancy? We hope not, for we believe that the respectability of the word stands or falls by that of the thing advertised. Martyrs have at times been required to advertise the vitality and the supreme importance of a religious faith. It was, of course, something of the kind that militancy advertised. The public, narrow of comprehension and ill-instructed by its Press, was incapable of realizing that some women were prepared to live for the cause of Women's Suffrage—had in fact been doing so for many years past. Militancy stepped into the breach with a demonstration that some women were prepared to die for it. Public attention was arrested at long last, and from the ranks of the public, potential feminists emerged to range themselves according to taste, tradition, and philosophy behind the constitutional or militant banners. In this sense the constitutional movement was in a very large degree parasitic on the militant movement. But in another sense the militant movement was parasitic on the constitutional. Very large sections of the public, however sharply their attention might have been arrested, however deeply their emotions might have been stirred, would have remained outside the circle of organized effort if their only field of endeavour had been the lawless, autocratic, and irrational W.S.P.U.

Of course militancy helped. Immeasurably and indispensably. Its real work may have been done, its disintegration actually begun before the opportune catastrophe of the Great War solved the problem of its continuance. Lawlessness must be cumulative if it is to be politically effective, and in 1914 the lawlessness of militancy had reached a point which many of its most valued adherents were not prepared to pass. As a terrorist programme, militancy had failed; as an advertisement it had definitely succeeded. The spiritual flame of Women's Suffrage was left burning brightly. Those of us who lived through those days know well enough what militancy did for our cause, in spite of its minor complications. And those of us who saw Mrs. Pankhurst at work in the turbulent days of her militant leadership know well enough what she did for militancy. Enough said. The middle-aged are all too prone to be garrulously reminiscent, and it is with the difficult future rather than with the unalterable past that the new women voters are concerned. But even as we write these words Mrs. Pankhurst is on her way from Westminster to Brompton, and memory is for the moment in irrepressible revolt against anticipation.

members on the green benches. It was a tactical mistake, also, to bring in the Chancellor of the Exchequer in addition to the Prime Minister in a division of conviction which had nothing to do with party lines or party feeling. I have been asked by my friends as to the comparative merits of the speeches. I can only state my own personal convictions. If the standard is metaphysical power and subtlety of argument, then Lord Hugh Cecil stood alone. If sheer intellectual and logical argument be the test, then the Attorney General has it. It is queer that the House of Commons does not regard Sir Thomas Inskip as a highbrow, and perhaps it is because he has a simple style of speech; but he has a power of convincing almost unequalled in this Parliament. On Thursday his arguments went home like chain shot into an old wooden ship. Both Mr. Goodman Roberts and Mr. Rosslyn Mitchell were over elaborate, although I thought the former put the best case for the Measure. Mr. Hopkin Morris, who sits in the Liberal interest for Cardigan, failed to complete a spacious and massive argument based on the disruption of 1662.

If, however, sheer spiritual beauty be the desideratum, I advise my readers to read a speech (which, curiously enough, had its parallel in the last debate; I mean that of Sir Martin Conway in the dinner-hour in December) by Mr. H. Snell, Labour M.P. for East Woolwich. Mr. Snell's speech, like Sir Martin Conway's, had some beautiful passages which were spoken poetry.

The discussion once more showed a stern Protestant strain in the British House of Commons. On Tuesday there was an interesting debate in the House of Lords on a proposal to amend the Franchise Bill, and in the intervals of listening to Lord Newton's sardonic argument that what is universal is never valued, and to Lord Hailsham's vigorous and detailed argument against the proposal to amend, I was delighted to see in the gallery one charming flapper in a pink frock wearing two long plaits tied with black bows. The Equal Franchise Bill is now in its last mile. We got back to the universe again on Friday on the Easter Bill, and enjoyed an amusing duel between Lord Hugh Cecil and the Home Secretary on certain periods of Tudor history, in which "Jix" disclaimed any desire to emulate some of the qualities of Henry VIII.

To-day we have heard with regret the statement of Mr. Speaker as to his retirement from the Chair on Tuesday night, and the leaders of the various parties have expressed a real regret. I have taken more space than I had expected, and I will leave the comments on the office of Mr. Speaker, which I had hoped to make, until my next article. The subject now under discussion is the Rating and Valuation Apportionment Bill, and members are engaged with preliminary discussions of the first of many scores of amendments to be moved during the Committee stage.

This week's smile was during a short discussion on a Bill dealing with house to house collections. Mr. Hugh Edwards, replying to our blind M.P., said: "The hon. member says that our proposal is the thin end of the wedge, does he say it ought to be the thick end?" Capt. Fraser: "No! it is the *wrong* wedge!" (Loud laughter.)

GREEN BENCH.

THE
**INTERNATIONAL WOMAN
SUFFRAGE NEWS**

(Jus Suffragii)

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EMMELINE PANKHURST.

Mrs. Pankhurst did not even live to complete the allotted span of three score years and ten. An unexpected illness struck her down at a time when many hoped and believed that successful and useful years still stretched before her in new spheres of activity. But she lived to see complete victory to the cause for which she had suffered, and to which indeed she had given the best of her life. The last time the present writer saw her was in the Speaker's Gallery at the House of Commons on the occasion of the second reading of the Equal Franchise Bill, which by a strange coincidence passed its final stage in the Upper House on the day when her friends crowded to St. John's, Westminster, to pay the last sad tribute to her memory.

Many who respected and admired Mrs. Pankhurst outside her own circle must have read with deep interest this week the dramatic facts of her very unusual life. She was born into a family of Manchester reformers. Her grandfather nearly lost his life in the Peterloo franchise riots. Her father, Robert Goulden, was one of the early advocates of woman's suffrage. As a little girl of 13, we are told, her mother took her to her first suffrage meeting. She married, at the age of 21, Dr. Pankhurst, a barrister with strong radical sympathies and a friend of John Stuart Mill. As a young married woman, she was active in the Manchester Women's Suffrage Society, and worked with her husband for the Married Women's Property Act. She stood as a candidate for the School Board, and was defeated, but was elected later at the top of the poll for the Board of Guardians. Her husband's death in 1898 left her with small means and four children to educate, and she found work as registrar of births and deaths at Chorlton on Medlock.

In the early years of the present century a new chapter in her life was opened. Most women in middle age after a strenuous married life rearing and maintaining her children, might have looked forward to a period of greater ease and rest. But the work for which she will be remembered was only beginning. The Women's Social and Political Union was formed at her house in Manchester in 1903, and a few years later the militant campaign was inaugurated. The next eight or nine years cover the story of that remarkable movement of which she and her daughter Christabel were the leading spirits. As a woman in the early fifties she was in and out of prison under the "Cat and Mouse Act," sometimes reduced to extreme weakness after a hunger strike. What a terrific strain such a life must have been for a fragile woman of her age, and what indomitable courage she showed.

The Great War intervened, and Mrs. Pankhurst abandoned her campaign for national service. For some years after the war, during her residence in Canada, she was little heard of in this country, but during a visit to Toronto the present writer came on her tracks quite unexpectedly, when a leading medical man in that city described the really remarkable success that Mrs. Pankhurst was having as a lecturer in the Canadian campaign against venereal disease. On her return to this country she received a very warm welcome from her old friends, and made many new friends. Lady Astor at a dinner in her honour shortly after her arrival in a burst of admiring enthusiasm, offered to resign her Plymouth seat in her favour.

Of her last years we know little except that she was prospective Conservative candidate for an East End constituency, and that she was beginning to take active part in the political work of the Party. Those who heard her just over a year ago move the vote of thanks to the Prime Minister after his equal franchise pronouncement to Conservative women must have speculated on the changes wrought by time as she, now an honoured Parliamentary candidate, stood there, her voice penetrating the huge building as in the old days when she was ex-convict and outlaw.

Tribute to her personality, her life work, and her great gifts is paid elsewhere in these pages. Those who knew her intimately will explain for us in the days to come the mystery of her power, the secret of her conflicting individuality, such gentle charm combined with an iron purpose. But for all true suffragists, whether they fought under her banner or not, the victory which is at hand is shadowed by her untimely loss and her name will be enshrined in the history of the movement.

THE MEMORIAL SERVICE.

St. John's, Westminster, was crowded on Monday morning long before the service began. Many organizations were represented, including all the women's suffrage organizations, the Conservative party, and many leading women's societies. Among

those who were present were: Mrs. Baldwin, Viscountess Astor, M.P., Viscount Curzon, M.P., Sybil, Viscountess Rhondda, Mr. George Lansbury, M.P., Mrs. Despard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Lady Isabel Margesson. The sombre effect of the old church, which this week celebrates its bicentenary, was lightened by the emblems and banners of the societies represented, and by the masses of beautiful flowers in the historic colours of the different organizations, with the green, purple, and white of Mrs. Pankhurst's own Union conspicuous among them. The service itself was without any kind of elaboration—quiet and beautiful, with familiar hymns, including Mrs. Pankhurst's favourite, "Sun of my Soul, Thou Saviour dear. An old friend, the Rev. Dr. Geikie Cobb, gave a brief address, in which he reminded his hearers that they were called upon to carry the cause for which Emmeline Pankhurst fought a stage further until women and men have complete equality and freedom. Those whose memories inevitably turned to the pre-war struggle were much moved at the sight of the little group of mourners, including her daughters Christabel and Sylvia Pankhurst and her sister, Mrs. Goulden Bach, who is almost startlingly like her in appearance, and her close friends Mrs. Flora Drummond and Miss A. Kenney, all of whom took an active part in the height of the campaign. Numbers of Suffragists lined the route, and crowds collected at the church and at the graveside. As we stood watching the procession we overheard a working man say reverently, as he raised his hat: "I didn't hold with her ways, but the women wouldn't have got it without her." That, we imagine, is the view of the multitude. London never fails to honour the heroes of its imagination, and this occasion was no exception.

MRS. PANKHURST, 1913.

A flame of wrath in tenderest woman's guise;
Maligned and flouted, honoured and adored;
Grief sits in her indomitable eyes
And power to sway, her tongue a flashing sword.
On fire to right the wrongs of all the race
She sees a world that hampers liberty
As craven; finds in tolerance, disgrace;
In patience under ill, an infamy.
Her way to win, in pity turned to hate
From bitter sense of outraged motherhood,
She gives her life; nor shrinks to immolate
Her foes, her friends, her very flesh and blood.
Defiant still, she scorns captivity,
Though done to death, in soul forever free!

S. M. S.

OBITUARY: MISS AETA LAMB.

We regret to announce the death of Aeta Lamb, at the early age of 41. Miss Lamb joined the W.S.P.U. as a young girl and became one of its first organizers. She was a keen feminist and was active in the height of the militant campaign, when she was arrested three times.

PROBLEMS OF GOVERNMENT IN RELATION TO WOMEN.

The British Commonwealth League is holding its Fourth Annual Conference on Friday, 6th July, in the Royal Society of Arts Hall, when "Some Problems of Government in Relation to Women" will be the subject of discussion. Miss Phipps, B.A., will speak on Existing Legal Inequalities between Men and Women in Great Britain, followed by overseas speakers; Mrs. Abbott will speak on Employment: Opportunities and Disabilities in regard to the Professions; and Miss Dorothy Elliott (N.U.T.W.) on the same topic in regard to Women in Industry, also followed by overseas speakers. The third section, Consideration of Women as Employers, will be exceedingly interesting, and Mrs. Willson, the Builder, Miss Partridge, Electrical Engineer, a Woman Decorator, Woman Farmer, and others will give their views. Among our Overseas delegates are: Mrs. J. Carlile M'Donnell, J.P., who has just been appointed as Alternate Delegate for Australia to the League of Nations; Miss Ruby Rich, Federal President, New South Wales; Mrs. John Jones, J.P., Federal President, Victoria; Dr. Grace Boelke, Vice-President of the Women's League of New South Wales and

member of the Executive of the National Council of Women, etc.; Mrs. de Gray Stewart (Montreal Women's Club) and Mrs. Cameron-Swan (South Africa), and many other excellent speakers in the Women's Movement. New Zealand, India, and the Bahamas are also sending delegates. Our social functions will be a reception on 5th July at Crosby Hall to the Women Members of Parliament, and others; a dinner at the Criterion Restaurant on 6th July in honour of Lord Sydney Olivier, P.C., K.C.M.G., General Sir Geo. Macmunn, K.C.B., K.C.S.L., and Lady Heath. Conference tickets 1s. each session. Reception 3s. 6d.; Dinner 8s. 6d.

EARLY CONGRATULATIONS.

Congratulations addressed to the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship are beginning to arrive. Dr. Aletta Jacobs, a beloved figure in all international circles, writes in English: "Many hearty congratulations for the final victory for Women's Suffrage in England. May it bring many women M.P.'s at the next general election."

The Dutch Society of Women Citizens has sent a telegram: "De Nederlandsche vereeniging van staatsburgeressen sends hearty congratulations with victory."

THE N.U.S.E.C. CONFERENCE.

LEEDS, 13th JUNE.

A "one-day conference" on the work of the N.U.S.E.C. was held in Leeds on 13th June. The meetings were held at the Women's Leeds and County Club, and were attended by representatives from Bradford, Ilkley, Bingley, Harrogate, Barnsley, Doncaster, Hull, Penistone, Rotherham, Sheffield, Wakefield, Leeds, Scarborough, Huddersfield, Malton, and Thirsk.

At the morning session, which was devoted to a private discussion on the future of the Union, Miss Macadam was the chief speaker. The importance of keeping up the work of the local branches and the affiliated societies was stressed, and there was an animated discussion on the possibilities of restoring old Societies which had lapsed and the best means of forming new ones.

Many tributes were paid to the highly efficient Parliamentary work of the N.U.S.E.C. and the recognition of its value by members of Parliament. It was also clearly recognized that the support of the local branches to the Central Body was absolutely essential in order that these activities should not be hampered. The morning session was followed by a public luncheon, which was crowded, not only with members, but with many prominent citizens of Leeds. Miss Silcox, of the University, was in the chair, and Miss Rathbone and Dr. Rhoda Adamson gave us very interesting speeches, the former on the work still to be done to secure "equal opportunities for men and women in industry and the professions," the latter on "Married Women's Right to Work."

At the afternoon session with Mrs. Stocks in the chair, Miss Rathbone expounded the Union's attitude towards protective legislation, and Mrs. White, of "The Open Door Council," spoke on the differences between the attitude of that body and the N.U.S.E.C. That this subject always rouses great interest was shown by the number of questions that were asked, and we had among our listeners several experts on the subject, including one of our factory inspectors.

At the evening meeting Mrs. Stocks spoke on "the New Voter." She urged the importance of the new voter learning how to use her new tool, and expressed the view that the extension of the franchise would not affect the relative strength of the parties, but would affect the scale of values within each party, as matters of supreme interest to women would come to the fore.

Altogether a most successful conference, and one on which the organizers are to be congratulated.

H. BURNHAM.

**CROSBY HALL (BRITISH FEDERATION OF
UNIVERSITY WOMEN)**

A CLUB AND HALL OF RESIDENCE FOR WOMEN
GRADUATES of all Nationalities engaged in post-graduate work.

For further particulars apply to—

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LOCAL GOVERNMENT NEWS.

By BERTHA MASON.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

Poor Law Relief.—Official Return.

The figures set out in the following tables showing the average number of persons in receipt of Poor Law relief in money and kind in their own homes in March, 1928, as compared with the corresponding number in March, 1914, will be, we think, of interest to most of our readers engaged in Poor Law work or in any phase of social reform.

The figures are taken from returns made to the Ministry of Health by Boards of Guardians in England and Wales.

In 1928 the relief given was chiefly on account of unemployment, or for sickness of one kind or another, and is thus classified.

Similar classification is not available for 1914, but the number of persons in receipt of relief on account of unemployment in 1914, it is stated, was practically nil.

In 1928 the average number of *outdoor poor* in receipt of relief was as follows:—

	Total.
Men under 16 years of age:—	
Unemployment	105,200
Other causes	119,100
	224,300
Women and Children:—	
Unemployment	280,200
Other causes	455,300
	735,500
Grand Total, all classes, 1928:—	
Men	224,300
Women	735,500
	959,800
Grand total, all classes, 1914	380,200
Increase, March, 1928, compared with 1914	579,600

The numbers given do not include persons totalling 13,500 who were in receipt of medical relief *only* in their own homes.

The average amount of outdoor relief given per person was 5s. 10d. in March, 1928, as compared with 2s. 6d. in March 1914. If allowance is made for the increase in living, taken at 164 in March, 1928, as against 100 in March, 1914, the first figures would become approximately 3s. 6d.

The number of persons (other than lunatics in asylums and casuals) in receipt of *institutional* relief on a day in March, 1928, as compared with the number on the corresponding day in March, 1914, is as follows:—

March, 1928	226,700
March, 1914	263,500
Decrease, 1928, compared with 1914	36,800

Women Chairmen of Boards of Guardians.

Recent returns show that the following Boards of Guardians elected or re-elected in April last women as their chairmen:—Amersham, Ashton-under-Lyne, Auckland, Banbury, Barrow-in-Furness, Berwick-on-Tweed, Bolton, Bury (Lancs.) Cardiff, Dewsbury, Erpingham, Fulham, Halifax, Hull, Haslingden, Hereford, Holsworthy, Keynsham (Out-Relief), Ipswich, Leigh, Monmouth, Northampton, Sculcoates, (Hull), Stourbridge, Wayland, Whitchurch (Hants), Wandsworth, Wallasey.

There may be others of which we have not heard. If so, we shall be grateful if any of our readers will send us names which are omitted from this list.

In connexion with this list it is interesting to note that Miss Henrietta Busk, the recently elected Chairman of the Amersham Board, is eighty-three years of age and still "going strong". During the whole of her life she has been engaged in voluntary public work of various kinds. She is one of the Governors of Bedford College for Women.

Other interesting features of the recent elections are that the Board of Guardians for the Hackney Union is composed of seventeen women and sixteen men.

Mrs. M. J. Minnett, a member of the Kingston Board of Guardians, has just completed thirty-four years of service as a Poor Law Guardian. During that period she has attended nearly all the meetings of the Board and most meetings of the various Committees on which she sits. It is an interesting fact that Mr. Minnett has been for thirty-six years a member of the Kingston Town Council. A fine record of public service rendered by husband and wife.

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

President: Miss ELIZABETH RATHBON, C.C., J.P. Hon. Treasurer: Miss MACADAM.
Parliamentary Secretary: Mrs. HORTON.
General Secretary: Miss HANCOCK.
Offices: 15 Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W. 1.
Telephone: Victoria 6188.

CELEBRATIONS OF EQUAL FRANCHISE.

1. GARDEN PARTY

The Garden Party to celebrate the passing of the Equal Franchise Bill and to meet Dame Millicent Fawcett will be held on Wednesday, 18th July, from 3.30 to 8.30 p.m., at Cliveden, Taplow, Bucks (by kind permission of the Viscountess Astor, M.P.). The beautiful grounds at Cliveden will make a delightful setting for this historic occasion, and we hope for a really large and representative gathering. Arrangements are being made for music and other entertainments, particulars of which will be announced shortly. Tickets, price 5s. each, including entrance and tea, can be obtained from the N.U.S.E.C., 15 Dean's Yard, Westminster.

All proceeds of the Garden Party will be given to the Equal Franchise Thank-offering Fund.

Travelling arrangements by All-weather Motor Coaches and by train are being made. The return fare by motor coach from a central part of London to Cliveden will be 3s. Cheap day railway tickets can be obtained from the N.U.S.E.C. beforehand, price 2s. 10d. return, and arrangements will be made by request for meeting trains by motor coach at Taplow, which is four miles from Cliveden.

2. PORTRAIT OF DAME MILLICENT FAWCETT, G.B.E.

The first meeting of the Joint Committee of representatives of the N.U.S.E.C. and the London and National S.W.S. was held last week, and it is hoped that further particulars with regard to the arrangements will be announced very shortly.

NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE BILL.

During the Committee Stage in the House of Lords of the above Bill, Lord Askwith, at the request of the National Union, proposed an amendment urging the retention among the Additional Benefits of allowances and medical benefits for dependants. Unfortunately, on account of Government opposition, Lord Askwith had to withdraw his amendment.

OXFORD SUMMER SCHOOL, 4th to 11th September, 1928.

A new edition of the Summer School leaflet has just been issued, giving the latest additions to the Programme, which is now practically complete. We hope that all who intend coming to the School will apply as soon as possible.

HALIFAX BY-ELECTION.

Advantage was taken of the conference of the Yorkshire Federation held at Leeds on 13th June, to arouse the interest of the members in the forthcoming by-election at Halifax; and it is hoped that it may be possible for arrangements to be made for deputations of constituents to be taken to the candidates in order that their views may be secured on the various points on the N.U.S.E.C. programme.

EPSOM BY-ELECTION.

Under the auspices of the Sutton and District Women's Local Government Citizens' Association a meeting has been arranged for the afternoon of Friday, 29th June, to which all three candidates have consented to come. The opinion of each candidate will be asked on questions of direct interest to women.

MRS. PANKHURST.

The National Union was represented at the funeral service of Mrs. Pankhurst, held at St. John's Church, Smith Square, S.W. 1, on Monday, 18th June, by Miss Rathbone, Miss Macadam, Mrs. Hubback, Miss Helen Ward, and several members of the staff. Mrs. Auerbach, once treasurer of the N.U., was also present. A wreath in the colours of the National Union was sent, as "a tribute of admiration and gratitude from those who have followed a different path to the same goal."

CORRESPONDENCE.

WOMEN LIBERAL CANDIDATES.

MADAM.—The curious undercurrent of hostility to the Liberal Party and its leader which from time to time shows its head in THE WOMAN'S LEADER is, in my judgment, a real disservice to the work of the N.U.S.E.C., and for that reason—if for no other—to be regretted.

The issue of the 15th June contains a statement to the effect that the chances of women Liberal candidates securing election to the House of Commons are "practically nil." This must be taken as expressing the view that the Liberal Party is dead, and has no future before it. All the political parties are alike in hesitating to put up women for safe seats, and no doubt women candidates of all parties will be included in the lists of the vanquished at the next General Election. But why Liberal women candidates should be singled out for THE WOMAN'S LEADER's douche of cold water I do not know. In Wales a seat which is regarded as a safe Liberal seat has just adopted a woman candidate. She is the daughter of a Liberal who, as a Minister of the Crown, cared enough about the cause of Woman's Suffrage to risk unpopularity by coming on to our platform at a time when the militants were making things very difficult for suffragists—and under whose Premiership women received the first instalment of the vote. Will some English Liberal tell us something about the prospects of women Liberal candidates in England?

Cadoxton Lodge,
Vale of Neath, Glam.
WINIFRED COOMBE TENNANT.

[We disclaim any hostility to the Liberal Party. On the contrary, the pessimism of our note, which we hope was overdone, was due to our desire often expressed in these columns, as Mrs. Coombe Tennant will admit, that such women as Mrs. Wintringham, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, and Mrs. Coombe Tennant herself should find their way to the House of Commons. We welcome Miss Lloyd George's candidature, and do not forget our debt to her father.—Ed.]

WOMEN AS BARMAIDS.

MADAM.—Lady Balfour, in her article in last week's LEADER on the "Barmaid Hardy Annual," may be consistent in her "Me too" support of the Open Door policy, but the article bears internal evidence that the modern light which has been thrown upon the alcohol problem has not been thoroughly understood.

The Prohibitionist Party, as she calls it, includes many scientists, physiologists and biologists, who have in recent years given the evidence to prove that it is the alcohol itself, not the conditions under which it is distributed, which is the real evil. It is a drug which like other drugs of a similar nature affects the human body in varying degree, according to the idiosyncrasy of the individual.

Protection is needed for the barman as well as the barmaid. Why do bartenders stand at the top of the mortality lists of the Registrar-General, in spite of the great decrease in the number of hours worked in the last twelve years and an increase in the number who are total abstainers?

It is because the alcoholic fumes are present and inhaled by them and affect their vitality, especially their natural resistance to disease. Professor Cushny, the distinguished pharmacologist, when addressing a meeting of his medical colleagues on the subject of alcohol, said if it were a new synthetic drug from Germany on trial, and its effects were to be observed for the first time, its danger would be so apparent that it would only be used with the same caution as cocaine.

If the Social Reformers, to which Lady Balfour refers as Temperance Reformers, in contradistinction to Prohibitionists, would study the actual working of our Licensing Laws, and what can be achieved under them, when those who administer them realise that they stand between the Trade and the Public to protect the Public (which protection would be removed if reorganization puts the distribution into the hands of a bureaucracy rather than the democracy) and urge that the people themselves should be given the power to directly instruct the licensing authority to protect them, we shall get further away from the mistaken idea that drunkenness and disorder arise from the "pushing" of the sale of alcohol, and nearer the time when the ordinary citizen will realise that the unrestricted sale of a drug which in small quantities decreases self-control, and in large quantities acts as a racial poison, should be further prohibited and not encouraged by putting a stamp of respectability upon it, under the name of public ownership.

Since we cannot secure the protection for all workers in bars at once, let us begin with the women.

As a racial poison, alcohol affects the germ plasm in both sexes alike, but the mother needs to be free from the drug even more than the father because of the nourishment of the child before and after birth, and protection, in this case, is protection for the welfare of the child.

Recent experiments have been made in which animals have had alcohol administered through the lungs not by the mouth, a vessel containing alcohol being placed below the floor of the cage or habitat, at one time of the mother only and another time of the father. The effect upon the progeny is interesting and should be studied by all students of the alcohol problem. The so-called temperance problem is not a question of the distribution of drink but the problem of the drug alcohol, which in the vast majority of cases is the reason for great consumption of drink in the country.

B. SHILSTON WATKINS.

MADAM.—To some old Suffragists who were fighting for reasoned freedom for women when some of the present advocates of what, to us, seems unreasoned freedom, were not yet in or out of the schoolroom, the present attitude of these claimants for unconditional liberty is deeply disappointing. Mme. Roland's cry "Oh! Liberty . . ." comes to one's mind.

Lady Balfour of Burleigh's scornful article on the "Barmaid Hardy Annual", amongst other fallacies, ignores the fact that useful reforms are not gained without earning that title from the thoughtless. Her arguments are vitiated at the root by the want of accuracy which allows her to say: "the dismissal of 26,000 Barmaids," when the whole of the proposed Bill is governed by the premise that not one barmaid employed on the first January following the date of the Bill shall be dismissed. The whole number then employed is thus amply protected from dismissal.

At a time when all reasonable reformers are fighting against blind alley employments for young people she entirely ignores the fact that this is one. If it is the feminine restraining influence that the Trade self-denyingly

desires for the sale of the article they manufacture (which undeniably is the greatest known excitant of sexual passion) how is it that the *Licensed Victuallers' Gazette* has said: "In the barmaid's calling the old have no chance against the young"?

Every social worker knows that after thirty-five it is practically impossible for a barmaid to get a job, and that it is difficult for her to get other decent occupation. Her former occupation is not a recommendation commonly accepted, as Lady Balfour of Burleigh herself must admit.

These facts go to show that it is because of their attraction for men customers that only the young need apply. The girls are expected to sell not only the one drink, but to stimulate the buying of the other drinks the trade must sell if it is to pay the dividends the directors and shareholders expect.

To the credit of the retail trade be it said that all information goes to show that their attitude is not that of the "trade", in the capitalistic sense—the former see the results too clearly. Again—the example set by our Colonies, New Zealand and Australia, is surely worthy of some consideration of the reasons which have led to their clearly defined action. At a time when Geneva reports on the Traffic in Women and Children are showing all too clearly to all whom it may concern the intimate connection between drink and prostitution, it is lamentable that THE WOMAN'S LEADER should take up the position it has done on this question. It has practically barred the statement of the arguments in favour of the future closing of this employment to women, while editorially advocating the other side.

Let us hope that THE WOMAN'S LEADER will abandon sterile slogans of freedom for women to do all that men may do, and will study any proposals for limitations of employment with a broader outlook on the welfare of the community as a whole.

Since men and women, however the advanced may rail against Providence, still have difference of physical function this may be found the saner view point.

Above all, let us hear both sides.—Yours faithfully,
L. GILCHRIST THOMPSON.

[Mrs. Gilchrist Thompson will see from these columns that no attempt is made to "bar the statement of arguments" on the other side. Several letters for and against the employment of barmaids have already appeared. The editorial policy of this paper is based on the policy of the N.U.S.E.C. as determined at its annual Council—"That protective legislation should be based upon the nature of the work and not upon the sex of the worker."—Ed.]

JANE ELLEN HARRISON MEMORIAL.

The undersigned friends and colleagues of the late Jane Ellen Harrison wish to commemorate her name in Cambridge by offering to Newnham College, her home for 26 years, the endowment of an annual public Lectureship.

The variety of her contributions to learning and the remarkable range of her interests make it fitting that the lecture should be upon any one of the following subjects: Comparative Religion, Anthropology, Archaeology, and Classical, Oriental or Slavonic Languages, treated by a scholar of any nationality, in such a way as to stimulate research and awaken a living interest in the problems.

It is proposed that the first lecture should be delivered at Newnham College in the autumn of the present year. In future years it might occasionally be given at other English Universities. If enough money is collected a fund will also be formed to give occasional grants to Newnham Students for research abroad.

The Secretaries (Mrs. Hugh Stewart, Girton Gate, Cambridge, and Miss Agnes Conway, 47 Romney Street, Westminster, S.W. 1) will be glad to receive suggestions as to the best way of carrying out the scheme, and subscriptions should be sent to the Treasurer (Lady Brooke, 3 Arkwright Road, N.W. 3).

- R. C. BOSANQUET,
Director, British School at Athens, 1900-6.
THEODORA BOSANQUET,
Secretary, International Federation of University Women.
MARTIN CONWAY,
M.P. for Combined English Universities.
ARTHUR BERNARD COOK,
Reader in Classical Archaeology, Cambridge.
FRANCIS CORNFORD,
Breveton Laurence Reader in Classics, Cambridge.
FRANZ CUMONT,
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Disney Professor of Archaeology, Cambridge.
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Lecturer in Russian Literature, London University.
GILBERT MURRAY,
Regius Professor of Greek, Oxford.
JOHN PENOYRE,
Secretary for the promotion of Hellenic Studies Society.
J. P. STRACHEY,
Principal of Newnham College, Cambridge.

COMING EVENTS.

BRITISH COMMONWEALTH LEAGUE.

JULY 6. 10 a.m.—2 p.m. Royal Society of Arts, John Street, Adelphi. Conference on "Some Problems of Government in Relation to Women within the British Empire." Chair: Mrs. Corbett Ashby. Speakers from all parts of the Commonwealth.

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

Borough Council Elections, 1928. JUNE 25. 5 p.m. Caxton Hall. Conference to consider steps to secure the promotion of Women Candidates.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 18. 3.30—8.30. Garden Party to celebrate the passing of the Representation of the People (Equal Franchise) Bill, at Cliveden, Taplow, Bucks (by kind permission of the Viscountess Astor, M.P.). Tickets, including tea, 5s.

TYPEWRITING.

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YORKS.—Warnford, Thoraby, Aysgarth (560 feet up). BOARD-RESIDENCE; indoor sanitation, bath, garden, garage; near moors; daily motor-bus service up and down Wensleydale; from £2 10s.—Miss Smith.

HOLIDAY AT FOOT OF MONT BLANC.—Miss H. N. Richard, of "L'Ecole des Petits," Stanmore, Middlesex, has taken a Chalet at St. Gervais les Bains for her pupils, and has a few vacancies for children or adults; lovely surroundings, own orchard and farm; moderate terms for six weeks' holiday. French spoken.—Apply as above.

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MISCELLANEOUS.

MSS. NEGOTIATED. New writer's work a speciality.—Bernard F. Arch, 33 Panton Street, Cambridge.

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ANNOUNCEMENTS.

LONDON AND NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SERVICE, 35 Marsham Street, Westminster. Secretary, Miss P. Strachey. Expert advice on what to do with your girls. Addresses to schools and societies in London and Provinces by arrangement.

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FELLOWSHIP SERVICES, Guildhouse, Eccleston Square, S.W. 1. Sunday, 17th June. 6.30, Dr. Norwood, "Intercession."

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