

EQUAL POLITICAL RIGHTS.

THE
WOMAN'S LEADER
AND THE COMMON CAUSE

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the premises, etc. Many who are not specially interested in the struggle for an equal franchise suddenly with a shock come up against one or other of these preposterous inequalities and ask us why they exist. Why, indeed? On Saturday we demonstrate against them and other political disabilities to which women are still liable.

The Coal Dispute and Family Allowances.

The Coal Dispute drags along its weary way, getting further each day into a morass out of which there appears no probable termination except increased unemployment, lowered standards of life, and intensification of class bitterness. The Eight Hours' Bill is being hurried through the House, while Standing Committee D discusses the Mining Industry Bill, which is to effect certain of the reorganization proposals of the Commission. Colonel Lane-Fox, in introducing the latter Bill, instanced children's allowances as one of the recommendations which was to receive further discussion in a committee shortly to be set up. Our readers will doubtless have read letters on the subject which have appeared in the *Times* from Dame Millicent Fawcett and Miss Helen Fraser, stating their well-known objections to the scheme, and Miss Eleanor Rathbone's reply to Dame Millicent. In view of the statements made by Miss Fraser as to the decline of the system in Germany, it is worth noting that a recent publication of the I.L.O. noted this tendency in Germany, but stated that it was only slight. Family Allowances in Germany have always been regarded rather as a temporary measure to meet post-war difficulties and equalization funds, which guard against the danger of discriminations against married men, are few in number, the vast majority of the allowance schemes providing for direct payment by the employer.

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NOTES AND NEWS.

The Women Left Out.

We refer in another column to the need for equal franchise between men and women. We think it would be convenient if we set out specifically once again the present franchise, in order that our readers may realise who are the women left out. A woman has a vote if she is a British subject and 30 years of age or over, and if she is: 1. (a) The occupier of a house or flat of any value (only two women may receive votes as joint occupiers of a dwelling-house); (b) a lodger in unfurnished rooms of any value; (c) an occupier of premises, by virtue of her employment, in which her employer does not reside; (d) an occupier of land or business premises (e.g. shop) of a yearly value of not less than £5 (two or more women can secure votes for business premises if they are bone fide business partners and the yearly value of the premises gives £5 or more for each partner); (e) graduate of any University in the United Kingdom. 2 The wife of a man possessing any of the first four qualifications. It will be clear from this in connection with which classes of women the anomalies arise. In addition to all women under 30, they include a large number over that age. They include the third or fourth "joint occupier" of a house; the lodger who does not possess the furniture of her room; the widow qualified by virtue of her husband who has not had time since his death to qualify on her own account; the nurse, the teacher, the female domestic servant, and other employee who, even if she owns her own furniture, is barred by having her employer living on

Disqualification of Peeresses.

As we anticipated last week, the recollection of the close shave last year had the effect of massing the legions in opposition to the second reading of the Parliament (Qualification of Peeresses' Bill). There was not, however, as we feared, official Government opposition. We discuss the debate and the result—a majority against the second reading of 125 to 85—in another column. *The Times* in a most useful leading article appearing on the day of the debate, gave its valuable support to the Bill and with no uncertain voice declared itself in favour of remedying a state of affairs which was "admittedly illogical and unjust."

Disarmament.

The Report of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference was published last week [Cmd 2681]. The Commission is of opinion that it is not possible at present to limit the ultimate war strength of a country. It believes, however, that it is possible to limit the land, sea, and air forces permanently maintained in peace time, or capable of immediate use. It refers to the Council of the League a French proposal for the quicker mobilization of League machinery in the event of a war threat, and proposes at the instance of Poland that certain compensations for extra security requirements shall be extended to "States unfavourably placed owing to geographical

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or other exceptional circumstances." The German delegation (which represents, one must remember, an already disarmed nation) makes certain reservations, maintaining that all discussions should involve the assumption that no single state should be powerful enough to pit its strength against the League.

Old Age Pensions.

On Friday, 2nd July, that part of the Widows, Orphans, and Old Age Contributory Pensions Act which relates to old people over 70 comes into force. Men or women can now claim a pension of 10s. a week who are over 70, and have been insured under the National Health Insurance Act since 29th April, 1925. Pensions will be paid in the future to those complying with this and certain other regulations as they become 70. The wife, over 70, of an old man entitled to a pension will also receive one at the same rate, provided that if the marriage took place after April of last year, such a pension will not be paid to the wife until she has been married five years. Old Age Pensions under the Old Age Pensions Act will continue to be payable as at present to those who do not satisfy the conditions of the Contributory Pensions Act, but these are, of course, subject to a scale which fixes them according to a standard of means, and are only given to persons of British nationality. It has been estimated that the proportion of men over 70 in receipt of pensions will be increased from 58 per cent. to 69 per cent., and of women from 74½ per cent. to 76 per cent. It must be remembered that that part of the Act providing Old Age Pensions at the age of 65 does not come into force until January, 1928.

The Dublin International Congress.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom is holding its Fifth Biennial Congress in Dublin from 8th to 15th July, when representatives from 25 countries will meet to discuss Peace problems in their various nations. The League was formed during the early days of the war, by some of the leading public women of several European nations, in the hope that by co-operative action they might save their fellow-men and women from the horrors of war and blockade. Jane Addams, of Chicago, is the International President. The League is fortunate in being able to have that great worker for internationalism as Chairman again. The subject of the Dublin Congress is "The Next Steps Toward Peace." Each national section is preparing a report stating the conditions in their respective countries which are likely to cause war, and giving their suggestions as to the immediate steps to take to make war impossible. Under the main heading, the three special subjects to be discussed are Imperialism, Relations of Majorities and Minorities, and Militarism.

Women Liberals and the Coal Commission.

One practical outcome of the Council's labours was the sending of a women's deputation last week to Mr. Lloyd George, to urge upon him and upon Liberal members support of the Coal Commission Report in its entirety. Mr. Lloyd George, who pointed out that this was the first deputation of its kind, replied that he and his party were sympathetic to its demand, and were prepared to press for legislation on the lines suggested. We believe that the opinions of the deputation, and those expressed by Mr. Lloyd George in reply to it, are in fact opinions which command the respect of the public generally, with very few exceptions. Seldom has any demand evoked such a unanimous response from members of all parties as the demand that the Government shall take steps to secure the application to the coal industry of "the Report, the whole Report, and nothing but the Report." Seldom has any Government, faced with an appalling domestic crisis, been offered so wise and moderate a programme for its settlement.

Family Incomes in West Ham.

The unfortunate anomaly which results in a large and destitute family receiving, in poor relief, a larger total sum than its bread winner is capable of earning in full work, appears to be a complicating factor in the dispute at present in progress between the West Ham Guardians and the Ministry of Health. The West Ham Guardians maintain that 55s. a week is not an excessive sum for the maintenance of a man and wife and six children. They are perfectly right. According to all standards, calculated on the most rigid "fodder basis," it is a grossly insufficient sum. The Ministry of Health maintains on the other hand that it is a sum which considerably exceeds that which large numbers of self-supporting wage-earners secure by their labours, and that to distribute outdoor relief on this scale is to penalize economic independence. They are perfectly right. If unemployment and destitution are made the condition for

the achievement of a barely adequate family income, it is doubtless a condition which many people will reluctantly be encouraged to fulfil. The *New Statesman* in commenting upon the situation sees "no way out of this deplorable mess, and others like it, until we get the long-promised abolition of the Poor Law." We cannot share our contemporary's optimism. We ourselves see no way out of this deplorable mess until the position of the independent man and wife with six children is made at least as "eligible" (to use a time-honoured Poor Law phrase) under the wage system as it is under the most parsimonious Poor Law administration. And unless this is to be achieved by a universal "eight-member family" minimum subsistence wage, we see for the achievement of this result no alternative but a system of family allowances.

Women and Honours.

The Women's Freedom League has written to Mr. Baldwin to ask that in future women should be given a share in the forthcoming Honours List, more adequately proportioned to their "distinguished public services" than has hitherto been the case. They have added for his guidance a short list of women "who are certainly as worthy of honours as the majority of men whose names usually appear on the lists issued." Finally, they urge that when honours are bestowed on women, they should be adequate and not, as at present, minor honours. With this last suggestion we are whole-heartedly in agreement. We have always been of the opinion, for instance, that Dame Millicent Fawcett should have been created a Duchess in her own right. But to demand equal consideration for women with men in future honours lists is to demand something which would hardly carry us very far along the road of social and political eminence. For under present circumstances it is not for the most part "distinguished public services" as we and the Women's Freedom League understand the phrase, which determine the allocation of honours, but rather great possessions in combination with an uncritical party allegiance. And in both these qualifications women are, speaking generally, relatively deficient. If the demand of the Women's Freedom League for "equal consideration" is to achieve the results which they desire, it must be combined with the demand for a drastically revised interpretation of the phrase "distinguished public services."

Oxford Honours.

Two eminent women found a place this year in the long and peculiarly brilliant list of persons presented for honorary degrees at last week's Oxford Encenia. The first (and the first in time to be thus honoured) was the Duchess of Atholl, Under-Secretary for Education, who received a D.C.L. The second was Dame Ethel Smyth, composer of many operas, who received a D.Mus. Both these ladies have, as the Public Orator of Oxford pointed out, attained a very high eminence in their respective spheres of politics and music. We may, however, remind our readers too that each has, in addition, a very definite place in the sphere of the other. The Duchess of Atholl is a musician of no mean calibre. And who among the veterans of the Suffrage movement is capable of forgetting the fiery and inspiring militancy of Dame Ethel Smyth?

"Our Maggie."

We rejoice at the adoption of Margaret Bondfield as Labour Candidate for Wallsend (Northumberland) as successor to Sir Patrick Hastings, who has applied for the Chiltern Hundreds. In the last election Sir Patrick Hastings gained 17,274 votes, and Mr. Howard, the Conservative candidate, 15,672. This labour majority, together with the political factors that will weigh in such a constituency at such a time, make it extraordinarily likely that there will soon be occasion to welcome our sixth woman member of Parliament. At the last general election, Miss Bondfield's defeat came as a calamity to women all over the country. Her return at this juncture would be hailed with joy by women of all parties.

Paris and After.

Those who have followed the discussion relating to the recent Paris Congress will find in this week's issue a short article by Miss Helen Fraser and a letter by Miss K. D. Courtney which we hope will somewhat clear the air. In this connection we remind our readers of the reception given by the British Auxiliaries Societies on Friday, 2nd July, at which they will have an opportunity of meeting the President of the Alliance and members of the British Delegation, and of hearing what they have to say about the remarkable meetings in Paris and on the future of the Alliance.

EQUAL POLITICAL RIGHTS.

Certain recent occurrences will give just that fillip, which only a rankling sense of injustice can give, to the great equal political rights demonstration which will take place next Saturday in London. On Monday, 14th June, our constant friend Sir Robert Newman asked the Prime Minister if any decision had been reached as to when the conference to consider alterations in the franchise and electoral law would take place. The Prime Minister replied with a curt negative. A few days later the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship received an answer from the Prime Minister in which he refused to receive a deputation of organizations including all the most important women's societies and a number of organized bodies with men members. While it is impossible not to recognize the force of the excuse that the Prime Minister is exceptionally preoccupied with other questions of abnormal urgency, we submit that repeated negative answers to questions in the House, and inquiries from large and powerful organizations of voters, show, to say the least of it, a grave lack of appreciation of the seriousness of the subject. If the Prime Minister himself could not spare time to receive representatives of societies concerned it is always open to him to ask the Home Secretary to act on his behalf. Then last Thursday a debate which cannot fail to act as a stimulus to Saturday's demonstration took place in the House of Lords. A year ago a motion to enable Peeresses to sit and vote in the House of Lords in their own right was defeated by two votes. Last week Peers from the backwoods, reminiscent of the last narrow escape and in mortal dread of the invasion of women into their sanctuary descended in unusual hordes on the Government Benches and succeeded in defeating Lord Astor's motion by 125 to 85 votes. Speakers on platforms in defence of equal political rights for women will find an abundant store of ammunition in the Hansard report of this debate. Those who live in a fool's paradise and assume that equality of liberties, status, and opportunities between men and women has been secured, have only to read the speeches of Lord Banbury, Lord Merrivale, Lord Newton, and the Earl of Birkenhead to see "the Turk Complex" in its most revolting form. This increasing spirit of sex antagonism, almost incredible in a debate in these modern days, threw into very strong relief the unanswerable logic and courteous appeal of those who stood on the side of justice and fair play. We wish we had space to print in full the fine speeches of Lord Astor when he moved the second reading of the Bill, Lord Cecil, Lord Buckmaster, and others of our steady friends who supported him.

NEWS FROM WESTMINSTER.

BY OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT.

There were three incidents of first-class importance during the week, the debate on the Government's Mining Industry Bill, the discussion on Russia, and the rejection by the House of Lords of the motion enabling peeresses in their own right to sit and vote. The last-named incident may not appear important to some, but its reactions upon the position of the Upper Chamber will probably be greater than sceptics suppose. Before, however, dealing with the bigger questions, a few words must be said about the less important.

On Tuesday, 22nd June, a fleet of small bills was wafted on its way. The two most important were the Legitimacy Bill, which has passed the House of Lords, and got a second reading, and the Public Health (Smoke Abatement) Bill, which was read a second time after some division of opinion. It will certainly pass, but probably in an amended form. On Thursday, 24th June, the estimates for the Ministry of Agriculture were taken, and there was a general debate, remarkable for two things, first the opinion of the Minister, in which other speakers concurred, that agriculture had turned the corner, and second a diatribe by Mr. Lloyd George upon his land policy, obviously intended to appeal to the Labour Party.

Now to return to the larger issues. On Wednesday, 23rd June, the Government's Bill for the reorganization of the coal industry passed second reading. The case for it was put by Colonel Lane-Fox, who began, and Sir L. Worthington-Evans, who concluded the discussion. It is much to be regretted that the Prime Minister was unable to speak. Colonel Lane-Fox was subjected to noisy interruption, and Sir L. Worthington-Evans did not deal adequately with the deeper issues. Indeed, for the second time, Mr. Hartshorn made the best speech. He suggested a round-table conference, and made a strong case for it, but the objection to such a suggestion is that he does not speak for the

Such a speech as that of the Earl of Birkenhead must be treated with the contempt it deserves. A man is seen in his true colours in the House of Lords; we believe no member of the House of Commons would have dared make such a speech. His women constituents would too surely have called him to account. He and other speakers richly deserved Lord Buckmaster's grave rebuke for introducing personalities into a serious question of political justice. We believe that every reader of this paper who has read the debate in full or even a good report will wish to express her indignation in some sort of outward protest, and next Saturday's demonstration will provide her with an opportunity.

The case for women in the House of Lords is too familiar to require restating in these columns. Its supporters last Thursday dealt mainly on the simple issue of justice of the admission of women who possessed the requisite qualifications. The Earl of Birkenhead said he was disappointed to hear the new arguments. There are none. The case has been stated, over and over again. It is perfectly simple and straightforward, and only those with an anti-woman squint cannot see it. Even its opponents admitted it, and based their opposition on the inappropriateness of anticipating the long talked reform of the House of Lords. Meanwhile the injustice goes on, and meanwhile measures intimately affecting the lives of women are discussed in a chamber which, as Lord Cecil pointed out, has the power of advising the Government and the country on proposed legislation.

On Saturday we assemble to testify to our faith in the complete equality of political privileges and duties as between men and women. The absurd inequalities of the present Franchise laws, reiterated over and over again in these pages, must be swept away. The young women under thirty equally with the young man of her own age, must secure her vote; the older woman disqualified at present, by lack of a husband, furniture of her own, or other residential qualification, or by the fact that she resides under the same roof as her employer, must receive the franchise on exactly the same terms as a man. Surely Saturday will be one of the final scenes in the long protracted campaign for votes for women on the same terms as men. Lastly, on Saturday we assemble to testify to our belief that women who are eligible to sit in the House of Lords should no longer be excluded because of their sex. Equal citizenship in the wider sense of the term is still far from achievement. The first step is equality of political rights and responsibilities.

miners. Able though he is, with an unequalled capacity for making plain the obscurities of coal mines and their finance, he stands at the moment in a detached position, and there is not the slightest reason to believe that he could carry the miners with him into the suggested conference. Still, his speech, for breadth of view and grasp of the implications of a complex situation, was a piece of high industrial statesmanship.

The rest of the debate calls for little notice. The strange apathy which has fallen on the House since the general strike was still obvious, and member after member, plainly moved himself, had to address an indifferent and even bored assembly with which it was difficult to establish contact. Finally the government got a large majority.

So much for coal; now as to Russia. This was really an excellent debate, both for what was said and for what lay beneath. Commander Locker-Lampson and Sir A. Knox put the case for breaking off relations with Russia as well as it could be put. But when this is admitted, and it can be admitted fully, the qualification must be added that they failed to grasp the consequences of what they suggested. Granted that the Soviet Government have behaved badly, and no one was clearer than Sir Austen Chamberlain that they had, it does not follow that we should dismiss their Ambassador and trade delegation, regardless of the effect of such a step on our commerce, and, indeed, on the peace of Europe. However black may be the case which can be piled up against the Soviet, there are deep and weighty issues which a statesman has to consider, and Sir Austen Chamberlain was undoubtedly right in refusing to break off relations. The general sense of the House was with him. But one remarkable feature was that those who wanted relations broken off, notably Sir A. Knox, were the extreme right section

(Continued on next page.)

THE BLESSED YOUNG.

By MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT, G.B.E., J.P., LL.D.

I believe there is no country in the world except our own which deliberately disfranchises its younger citizens. In 1918 we were in a dilemma. Public opinion in the country had swung over unmistakably to support Women's Suffrage; witness Mr. Asquith's sudden conversion and Lord Curzon's refusal to cast his vote at all. But our best friends in both Houses believed that Parliament would never accept a new register on which women voters were in a majority. The old mistaken notion then prevailed that men and women would vote in solid blocks and that men would never consent to be out-voted by women. The same fear arising from the same mistaken notion prevailed temporarily in Norway when women were enfranchised in 1908: and the number of women was accordingly reduced by giving manhood suffrage to men, but a tax-paying suffrage to women. There were, of course, obvious objections to this, but it was accepted as a temporary expedient. After five years' experience the Norwegians learned that there was nothing whatever in the point that had at one time seemed so important, and suffrage in 1913 was given to the Norwegian women on the same terms as men.

Now we have had eight years' experience, and what Norway learned in five years surely we (even if we are slow) can learn in eight. We have discovered that neither sex votes as a block in a solid mass: every party consists of men and women voters, and the exact proportion of men to women makes little or no difference.

I feel that the young have a special claim upon us, for it was the young men and women who won the war, and we all know that the young women were as ready and eager in their self-sacrifice as the young men. They did not lay down their lives in such large numbers, but there can be no doubt of their readiness to do so.

Why eliminate this beautiful spirit of ready service from the electorate? The nation needs its young men and women even more than it needs its old stagers. The Blessed Young bring their youth, their freshness, their energy, their initiative and energy: why neglect it and shut it out from its share in determining the destinies of the country?

The wisdom and experience of age, which everyone values and appreciates, may be accompanied by drawbacks; the old are sometimes slow to learn, may even become sordid and callous; but we don't disfranchise them, but give them a chance of learning through their own mistakes. Let us give the young a similar chance. They will grow old quickly enough; but let us benefit from their youth as long as it lasts for helping on the right solution of the great problems that lie before us.

NEWS FROM WESTMINSTER. (Continued from page 199.)

of the Conservative Party, and in fact Sir A. Knox appealed to the Government to get rid of what he called the coalition taint. Since Mr. Baldwin, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Mr. Winston Churchill, Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, and Mr. Bridgeman were all members of the Coalition Government, their off-hand dismissal appears a somewhat light-hearted proposal.

The debate ended in disorder, for the Labour Party refused to hear the last speaker, and the House broke up in turmoil.

In rejecting the Bill admitting peeresses, the House of Lords was more foolish than is allowable to human institutions. If there be one thing which could justify its existence to its enemies, it is that it should take a chance such as this to show that, in so far as it had power, it accepted the modern world; instead of which, led by Lord Banbury and Lord Birkenhead, it rejected the peeresses' claim by a majority of three to two.

Such an action makes a defence of the House of Lords difficult.

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WHITE
& BLUE
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ON NOT KNOWING VERY MUCH.

By H. SYLVIA ANTHONY.

A sad case occurred recently (I read it in a daily paper, not in this journal) of a young man who was shortly to be married, when he suddenly discovered that he was expected by his bride to live with her and her mother. He did not want to do this; but the magistrate refused to intervene, so it seems that he married all the same. Presumably "life kept on happening" afterwards.

That was an instance of how things get done because we don't know too much. It is a profound thought, which will lead you far. Excellent things (such as births, marriages, deaths, engagements, revolutions, industrial and anti-tyrannical; the freedom of the Press; the institution of Parliament; the growth of Empire) happen simply because we know a little but not very much about what we are doing; and evil things (for example of which you may choose a selection from the above list) occur for exactly the same reason. In fact, complete knowledge is exceedingly static, and a little of it is a dangerous thing chiefly because it is so active.

I know very little indeed about chemistry, and so I can the better make use here of what I do remember. I seem to have heard of a curious, mystical virtue in gases; that at the moment of nascence, when a gas is set free from a compound, it acts more violently and effectively, has a greater force and ability than at any other time, although its analyzed quality is exactly the same.

Is there not something equivalent to this in the life of men and women? The legal attainment of majority at the age of 21 is only a necessary recognition of an obvious fact; at about that age there is a change in mind and character which is shown by an increased force and power, and an increased sense of, and desire for, individuality and independence. This is the age when poets stop writing works which will be grouped as juvenilia; this is the age when Keats, Byron, Shelley, Rupert Brooke, began to write poems almost unsurpassed for beauty, brilliance, a philosophical content (and the oldest of them only lived to 35). At 21, Jane Austen wrote *Pride and Prejudice*: none of us, if we lived to be 80, could produce a work more mature and judicious, or half so delightful. And in other fields than literature this time of life sets a match to the combination of genius and opportunity; Clive, Pitt, Joan of Arc, Galileo, Newton—all of them first shone out with some distinction at the age when the spirit of man is nascent, as it becomes free from the restrictions of boy or girlhood, conscious of limitless worlds to conquer, and not knowing very much—not too much to dare.

In the lives of all men and women there is some counterpart of this flare-up of the spirit which brings about the first fruits of genius. If Society is, as Burke says, "a partnership in all science; a partnership in all art; a partnership in every virtue, and in all perfection," then this is a virtue not to be lightly thrown aside as of no value to Society. Is it counterbalanced by the attendant vice of not knowing very much, and therefore negligible? Surely not, for that is one of the causes and conditions of it. That vivid interest and energy of early manhood and womanhood is caused not only by lack of years, but also by lack of knowledge and experience. Temper it with the experience of those more aged who, after all, are not disfranchised, but never cast it aside, and forbid it to contribute to the partnership.

We need this extra energy and power in our national life. Not only this. I am not suggesting that this alone could build a new heaven and a new earth in England. But if all the aged were disfranchised, we should, I hope, find and proclaim the virtues of age, and the civic necessity of using the wisdom that comes of accumulated experience; if the middle-aged were disqualified from voting, we might have a good deal to say, which we need not stop to consider now. That the differentiation is against women especially, is a very old story. The reasons why that differentiation is evil never lose their force, and even the extraordinary speeches in the House of Lords on the Peeresses Bill seem to show that the fact is sinking in a little, though it has not yet reached the seat of sincerity, the heart, of certain noble Lords. At any rate, it has arrived at the outer edges of the mind, whence it springs serviceably to the lips.

But it is the idea that youth itself is a disqualification that I want now to combat. It is to three million young women—wives, mothers, school teachers, flappers, that this nation says: "We do not want you to turn your energies and your thoughts towards the needs of the community; you are not required to give your attention to the work of the nation. Not yet. It is too early to be interested in other people's affairs. When you are older;

when you have lost some of this over-violent energy and interest; when you are not quite so curious why we govern as we do, or quite so surprised and appalled by misery and vice; when you have built a home that calls for all your energy and attention; then we will allow you to say what you feel and think. For the present consider only yourself. Dance, marry, earn your living (we will legislate paternally to make sure you don't earn too much—and don't expect us not to tax the remainder), but do not think of politics."

It is no use. Mr. Baldwin! Mr. Churchill! Oh, Sir William Joynson-Hicks! Even I would invoke members of the last Government as well. It is no use. They are thinking of politics—and houses and education and representation and taxes. They are thinking of the age disqualification, which takes from them the right to give, and learn how to give, as well as to receive. And they think that it is unjust to deprive the young woman of the whole armour of the modern State, the one universal political weapon of the rank and file of democracy, when she perhaps most of all needs that armour and defence. She needs to receive *because she is young*, just as she can give unique gifts *because she is young*.

But perhaps it is lucky that, also because she is young, she does not know too much of the ways of Governments—not too much at any rate to hope. Therefore in hopeful ignorance of the future she puts up this little prayer:—

"Oh, elderly statesmen, remember those who are left in the outer darkness, who have by you been afflicted by dumbness, so that they may not speak your language of the vote. Vouchsafe to listen as they knock on the door, and although as yet they know not enough about political affairs to understand always why you arrange things as you do, let them enter the partnership now, ere it may be said of them, as of so many others, in the words of the poet that,

'Custom lies upon them with a weight
Heavy as frost, and deep almost as life.'

EQUAL POLITICAL RIGHTS DEMONSTRATION, SATURDAY, 3rd JULY.

TIME AND ROUTE. (See advertisement, p. 207.)

SUPPORTING ORGANIZATIONS: Association of Women Clerks and Secretaries, Association of Higher Grade Women in the Post Office, Actresses' Franchise League, British Commonwealth League, British Federation of University Women, Civil Service Sorting Assistants, Co-operative Party, Electrical Society for Women, Federation of Women Civil Servants, Guild of Girl Citizens, Guild of the Citizens of To-morrow, International Woman Suffrage Alliance, League of the Church Militant, Liverpool Dressmakers' Association, London Teachers' Association, London Society for Women's Service, National Council of Women, National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, National Union of Teachers, National Union of Women Teachers, National Women's Citizens' Association, Post Office Women Clerks' Association, St. Joan's Social and Political Alliance, Six Point Group, Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organizations, Theosophical Order of Service, Trades Union Congress, Women's Co-operative Guild, Women's Election Committee, Women's Engineering Society, Women's Freedom League, Women's Group of the Ethical Union, Women's Guild of Empire, Women's International League, Women's National Liberal Federation, Women Sanitary Inspectors' and Health Visitors' Association, Workers' Union, Young Liberal Federation.

PLATFORMS IN HYDE PARK:—

1. *Women's Election Committee*: Miss Nina Boyle, Mrs. How Martyn, Dr. Ethel Bentham, Mrs. Ayrton Gould, Mrs. Corner.
2. *Youth*: Flora McPherson, Ruth Latham, Corinne de Candole, Elizabeth Edwards, Kathleen Baker, Gwynneth Davies, D. Alison Eley.
3. *National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship*: Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Lord and Lady Balfour of Burleigh, Miss Margaret Bondfield, Mr. H. M. Brailsford, Miss K. D. Courtney, Miss Helen Fraser, Mrs. Hubback, Mr. Pethick Lawrence, M.P., Miss Chrystal Macmillan, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Miss Picton-Turbervill, Miss Whately, Miss Ellen Wilkinson, M.P., Mrs. Wintringham.
4. *London Society for Women's Service*: Dame Millicent Fawcett, Miss Adela Coit, Mr. R. N. Cholmeley, Miss Helen Ward, Mrs. Ivan Sanderson, Mrs. Oliver Strachey.
5. *Women's Freedom League*: Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Anna Munro, Mrs. H. W. Nevinson, Mrs. Mustard, Mrs. Whettan, Mrs. Flowers, Mrs. Zangwill, Miss Goodwin.

6. *British Commonwealth League*: Miss A. Bronham, Miss Collisson, Mrs. Laksonipathi, Mrs. Gipson, Mrs. Fen.
7. *St. Joan's Social and Political Alliance*: The Rev. Arthur Day, Miss Monica Whately, Miss Nancy Stewart Parnell, Miss Barclay Carter, Miss E. Fitzgerald, Mr. Joseph Caton, Miss Monica O'Connor.
8. *National Women's Liberal Federation*: Mrs. Wintringham, Commandant Allen, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Councillor Mrs. Alderton.
9. *Six Point Group*: Lady Rhondda, Miss Ada Moore, Miss Amy Sayle, Mrs. Pollard, Miss Mary Grant, Mrs. Pankhurst.
10. *National Council of Women*: Mrs. George Morgan, Mrs. Rackham, Miss Alison Neilans, Mrs. Phillips, Mrs. Stevenson.
11. *Federation of Women Civil Servants and the Women's International League*: Miss Coit, Mrs. Barrs Davies, Mrs. McGregor Ross, Miss D. Smyth, Miss N. K. Argyle, Miss M. Orr.
12. *Actresses' Franchise League*: Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett, Miss Ada Branson, Miss Nina Boyle, Mrs. H. W. Nevinson, Miss Inez Bensusan, Miss Winefred Mayo, Miss Ada Moore, Captain Arthur Applin, Miss Adeline Bourne.
13. *National Union of Women Teachers*: Mrs. A. M. Jackson, Miss S. Savage, Miss A. Dawson, Miss E. F. Phipps, Miss M. Lightman, Miss A. A. Kenyon, Miss D. Griffin, Miss E. E. Froud, Mrs. S. Elliott-Lynn.
14. *Labour and Trades Unions*: Mr. H. N. Brailsford, Mr. Pethick Lawrence, M.P., Miss Carlin, Miss Wilkinson, M.P., Miss Quail, Mrs. Ayrton Gould, Mrs. Louie Simpson.
15. *League of the Church Militant*: Mrs. Campbell Gordon, Mrs. Pollard, Miss Bessie Poffley, Rev. G. Herbert Davis, Dr. Sybil Pratt, Miss Madge Clarke, Mrs. J. E. Francis, Miss Picton-Turbervill.

FEATURES OF INTEREST.

N.U.S.E.C. reception to the President of the I.W.S.A. and the British delegation and speakers and others attending the Equal Political Rights Demonstration.

Mrs. Elliott-Lynn to fly over procession.

Occupational Groups in uniform, e.g. nurses.

Pageant of Guild of Girl Citizens.

Women Candidates for Parliament with Big Ben Banner.

Magistrates and Members of Local Government Bodies.

Actresses' Contingent in green and pink with decorated lorries. Actresses' banners include those of Ellen Terry and Lillah McCarthy.

Women Teachers and students in academic dress. Entire Central Council of National Union of Women Teachers to march. Delegates from Cardiff, Manchester, Bradford, etc.

Veteran suffragettes, some wearing prison badges. "Old Gang" of National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

Numerous banners.

Processional Cross of the League of the Church Militant.

Contingent of American Women of National Women's Party with many banners.

THANKSGIVING AND INTERCESSION, 3RD JULY.

Corporate Communion at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields at 8.15 a.m. with special intention for God's Blessing on the Equal Franchise Demonstration linked with Thanksgiving for all that has been granted in answer to our prayers in the greater opportunities for service now open to women.

THIS WEEK AND NEXT WEEK.

This week revolves round the Equal Political Rights Demonstration on Saturday. We have an article from Dame Millicent Fawcett representing the suffragist of the past campaigns and Mrs. Anthony representing the younger generation. We also print as well an article by Miss O'Malley on "Holiday Reading," and an article on Baby Week by Miss Norah March, Editor of *National Health*. We regret that the article on Probation Work must be held over for a subsequent issue. Next week we propose to have a special Smoke Abatement issue, with certain special articles on Bills before the House, with a full account of the Conference of women's organizations held this week. Our readers will welcome the announcement that when the pressure of the events of the summer is over, we propose to provide somewhat lighter fare for holiday consumption. We are glad to announce that Margaret Clare has agreed to resume her articles and that our contributor who formerly gave us "A Choice of Books" will again give us pen and ink with sketches of newly published books.

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE DAY.

We warmly invite all those who are not marching in any other contingent to join the Headquarters Group if possible, at Church House, or on the Embankment. A "sandwich lunch" will be provided at Church House, Great Smith Street, Westminster, from 12 noon, for a shilling. Those who have not yet sent in their names for the lunch are asked to telephone headquarters immediately. Members are asked to assemble at the Embankment (Charing Cross Station) at 1.30 p.m. Programmes will be sold at one penny, badges and armlets of the N.U.S.E.C. colours at twopence and sixpence respectively.

Banner bearers are still urgently needed, and those willing to undertake to carry a banner for part of the way are asked to communicate with headquarters immediately. The N.U.S.E.C. has a large number of banners, and we appeal to every one of our members to assist as banner bearers if possible.

ST. JOAN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ALLIANCE.

The contingent which St. Joan's Social and Political Alliance will contribute to the procession will include the chairman and secretary of the Liverpool branch of this society, the secretary being Miss Nancy Stewart Parnell, a brilliant "under thirty" who will be among the speakers from St. Joan's platform in the Park. The other speakers from this platform—Number 7—will be the Rev. Arthur Day, S.J., Mr. Joseph Clayton, Miss Monica Whately, and two other "under thirties"—Misses Monica O'Connor and Barclay Carter. The chair will be taken by one of the old gang—Miss Eleanor Fitzgerald.

ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE.

Many well-known actresses were recruited for the Actresses' Franchise League contingent in the Equal Political Rights Demonstration that takes place on 3rd July, at the highly successful At Home held at the Criterion Restaurant on Friday, 18th June.

Amongst the beautiful banners to be carried by the contingent is one which was originally presented to the A.F.L. by Dame Ellen Terry, and it is hoped that Miss Lillah McCarthy will be walking in the procession under her own banner.

The well-known speakers on the A.F.L. platform, which is No. 12, will include: Mrs. Arcliffe Sennett, Miss Ada Branson, that fine speaker once known to playgoers as the original Donna Lucia in Charlie's Aunt; Miss Nina Boyle, Miss Inez Bensusan, Miss Winifred Mayo, Miss Ada Moore, Mrs. H. W. Nevinson, and Captain Arthur Applin, the well-known author and dramatic critic; in the chair will be Miss Adeline Bourne.

The procession will form up on the Embankment, opposite Charing Cross Station, at 2 p.m., and should reach the Park by 4 p.m., when speeches will take place and the resolutions with regard to Equal Political Rights will then be put before the meeting.

Conference of Modern Churchmen

GIRTON COLLEGE
September 6th to 13th

Subject:

Sacraments: their Significance and History.

Further information from the Hon. Secretary, Miss NUSSEY,
Upper Ewe Croft, Ilkley.

THE WORLD MOVEMENT FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

The varied and conflicting impressions left on the minds of those who took part in the recent Congress of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance have been reflected in the articles and letters we have published about it from "our Paris Correspondent" and "Another Correspondent," from Miss Frances Sterling, the Treasurer of the Alliance, and again this week, from Miss Helen Fraser and Miss K. D. Courtney.

We will try to sum up the impressions left on the minds of those of us who did not attend the Congress by the reports of those who did. They tend, we think, considerably to exaggerate the extent of their own differences of opinion. After all, what did the criticisms of our Special Correspondent amount to, that they should be energetically repudiated or painstakingly explained away. First, that the public business meetings were tedious—not the public evening meetings, which drew crowds of Parisians night after night, nor the meetings of commissions and committees, nor the social functions and informal intercourse, all these received unstinted praise—but the public business meetings. Miss Sterling, while resenting the criticism, admits that most meetings are boring, at least have large patches of dullness. Imperfect acoustics, bad or lengthy speeches, the necessary tedium of thrashing out details of constitution or legislative proposals, are elements of dullness which cannot be altogether eliminated by the most perfect organization. Even in this country and still less at an international Assembly, where "feelings" are peculiarly sensitive and intense, it is impossible to refuse "the floor" to speakers who cannot make themselves audible or have nothing to say worth hearing. The average parliamentary debate, unless it is a front Bench occasion or provokes a row, is apt to be tedious. How often do we come away from committees, especially if the subject is one which we think we know something about, asking ourselves—"is it worth while" to spend hours in futile discussion that might have been spent on honest work? But democracy works that way and most reforms, small or great, national or international, are arrived at after a slow germination of public opinion followed by the labour pains of protracted discussion, tedious or acrimonious. The reformer's world is indubitably a world "ou l'on s'ennuie."

To say all this, however, is not to deny that democratic methods of discussion may be so adjusted as to reduce the conditions which produce tedium and acrimony to a minimum while developing those which foster thorough and constructive work, and critics who point out weak spots ought not to be resented as though they showed a lack of imagination and international understanding. Those who occupy the platform at such gatherings are not perhaps the best judges of their effect on the rank and file. Preachers are reputed to be bad listeners. It would be good for them if they could occasionally exchange the pulpit for the back pews. They would then realize the real difficulty of keeping the attention fixed for hours together when the mere physical effort to listen is a continuous and painful strain. Our Special Correspondent thinks that more of the work of the Alliance should be done in committees or sectional gatherings. On the other hand, another critic complains that in order that the decisions arrived at after much discussion and amendment in committee might be ratified by the whole Alliance, the discussing process had to be gone all over again. It is evidently not an easy matter to make a week's gathering of women of fifty nations, some unenfranchised and some enfranchised, secure the treble purpose of "boosting" the woman's movement in the hostess country, getting through solid and constructive work in the formulation of principles of reform which can be adapted to varying national conditions, and giving the members the opportunities for personal intercourse between those of different nations which everyone admits to be among its most valuable fruits. The difficulty is one which can only be overcome if it is frankly faced and discussed, and the experience of the laity as well as the hierarchy utilized in solving it. We may remark incidentally that the above-mentioned difficulties would be considerably intensified if some of the critics of the Alliance had their way in changing its constitution from that of a group of auxiliaries, all or nearly all representing a different country, to a sort of omnium gatherum of feminist societies. These critics resented the rejection by the Board of the Alliance of the application for affiliation of two excellent women's societies in

this country, which already has three affiliated auxiliaries, a larger number than any other nation. If the two societies in question had been accepted it would have been a momentous decision, since there would have been nothing in principle to prevent the affiliation in this country, and consequently in all others, of every society which works for any item in the feminist programme or is composed exclusively of the members of any one religious community or important profession or industry. We have a vision of the meetings of the I.W.S.A. as they will be in the future, if its constitution is remodelled on these lines. If the Congress is held in this country, we should no doubt have to take the Albert Hall for its meetings. The speakers would probably address the audience through a megaphone, as most voices do not fill the Albert Hall. Or better still, they would speak from a broadcasting station, while the delegates sit in their hotels with the earphones on.

Nothing, of course, can give a congress of voluntary organization the same weight or lead to the same political results as those of a body such as the League of Nations or the International Labour Organization with the weight of government behind it, leading up slowly but surely to legislation and judicial action. The function of the International Alliance must always be mainly consultative and educational leading to action only through their effect first on the National Auxiliaries and secondly through them and the press on the public opinion of this and the various nations. That which distinguishes the Alliance from such a body as the International Council of Women is not that it has greater power of action, but that, representing a more advanced and highly specialized group of opinion its influence is more concentrated on feminist ends. The I.W.S.A. in its post-war development is still a comparatively new body. Its task is far harder than in the early days when it had only one issue to discuss—that of the Suffrage. It has still some of the crudities and imperfections of youth, which may be mellowed or pruned at future gatherings, but with all its defects we have no hesitation in returning an emphatic "yes"—as indeed our critical Paris Correspondent emphatically does herself—to the question she poses, "Is it worth while?"

To quote our Paris Correspondent again: "Who can assess the immaterial dividend which the accumulating capital of personal experience pays by irregular instalments to its possessor?" But it is not the individual only who collects an immaterial dividend from such gatherings. Society does so also.

OTHER AFTERTHOUGHTS ON THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL.

By HELEN FRASER.

I find myself torn between a desire to suggest that "Your Paris Correspondent" be never allowed to attend another international congress or that she be subjected to an intensive course (say five) of international congresses in the hope that at the end she may have acquired something approaching an international spirit. Anything more alien to such a spirit or in some ways more perverse than your correspondent's last article would be hard to find, and here is one of the British delegation, and incidentally, the one who had much the stormiest time of them all, who never once found herself asking "Why am I here?" or thinking it a waste of time.

Some of us would have been relieved to find an odd half-hour that could have been said to have the faintest chance of being tedious to us—my experience, gained from several international congresses, is that the remedy for any risk of it is to get really interested in and busy on the work of the congress and the possibilities of one's delegation's efforts. It was, may one say, a very much more expeditious congress in business than any I have seen, largely because of Mrs. Corbett Ashby's admirable handling and linguistic gifts. The suggestions of your correspondent as to commission work and division of enfranchised and unenfranchised, are simply on the lines on which the alliance has been proceeding and will naturally develop.

It would be well, too, not to lose sight of the fact that the fundamental purpose of the alliance is to assist all women to achieve political enfranchisement, and that a good internationalist while establishing and proclaiming her ideals and ultimate ends serves that cause best by assenting to action likely to assist its coming.

Not to have withdrawn, for instance, after, in my view, one of the most interesting and illuminating little debates of the

Congress, the resolution on women in the Ministry when France took the attitude it did, and our primary object in holding the Congress in Paris was to help them to votes, would have shown an entire lack of international spirit.

Surely one brings to the international all the fruits of individual experience, presents it as ably, as persuasively, as convincingly as possible, as the wise course for all to follow, and allows to others as great a right to bring their side and conception as strongly as yours, and then works to achieve the largest common measure of agreement possible on the lines we follow.

The international demands from us qualities of imaginative understanding, of proportion, of tolerance, and of patience, and, if we who are in advance of many, are not prepared to continue to work to convince and move the others on, we are not suited to an alliance that seeks to do the work this does.

Your Paris correspondent must work out her own scepticism as to all effort, but I would suggest that even in a far from begun to be well-arranged world, results from just the groups that meet and have met in this alliance, are here and everywhere, and that undue pessimism is as uncalled for as its opposite.

International congresses, even when some groups project into them quarrels that should remain in the individual, even when they do not move as fast as we would like them, are always worth while, and this one did much and was well worth while.

[We think Miss Fraser has misunderstood both the spirit and content of the article by our Paris Correspondent. We refer our readers to the article in this week's issue "The World Movement for Equal Citizenship" and to Miss Courtney's letter on the subject.—Ed.]

SUMMER SCHOOL AT CHURCH STRETTON.

The Summer School organized by the Church Stretton S.E.C. 25th to 28th July, has been an unqualified success. Forty-five students entered for the whole of the course, and the attendance varied from 30 to 60. Nine different localities were represented, while both members and non-members attended from Church Stretton itself. The ground covered in the discussions ranged from Equal Franchise, Legislation affecting women, Family Allowances to International Disarmament.

The fine weather and the beautiful hills and valleys of Church Stretton did their share in making the week-end such a pleasure to all connected with it. We would like to commend to all our Societies the advantages of organizing short week-end schools such as this. Undoubtedly such a school stimulates the interest taken in the Society and its work by many living in the locality who had not previously been stirred by its more usual paths of activity. It attracts women from neighbouring districts, leading in some instances to the formation of new groups and societies. It means that the opinion of women—not only in London, where the great Headquarters Conferences are held, but all over the country wherever such gatherings take place—has an opportunity of gaining body and self-expression.

The speakers from N.U. Headquarters were Miss Macadam and Mrs. Hubback. An excellent discussion took place after each lecture. During the week-end a conference on Methods of Work took place, when questions of policy and organization were freely discussed.

The officers of the Church Stretton Society are to be congratulated on the perfection of all the arrangements for the School. Their delightful hospitality and the friendly welcome to those from a distance of members of the local Society will not soon be forgotten. The following places were represented:—Birmingham, Birkenhead, Church Stretton, Chester, Liverpool, Overton-on-Dee, Oswestry, Welshpool, London, Solihull.

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BABY WEEK'S THREE POINTS.

By NORAH MARCH, B.Sc.

The infant welfare movement during this century has made such strides that the infant mortality rate for England and Wales has been halved. Moreover, it is obvious to all that those measures which have resulted in the saving of infant life have re-acted favourably on the standard of health of the survivors. In no small measure is the satisfactory progress which has been made due to the fact that public opinion is now in full support of the maternity and child welfare movement.

The tenth National Baby Week is upon us—that Week during which an intensive effort is made to focus public opinion not only on the maternity and child welfare problem as a whole, but upon such specific aspects of that problem as stand in need of more important attention than has heretofore been given to them. Under this latter heading the National Baby Week Council this year has selected three subjects:—

The care of the mother during pregnancy, childbirth, and lactation.

The care of the Toddler, and the

Father's share in the Child Welfare Movement.

These three subjects have been selected for special attention because they each represent a direction in which the child welfare movement has not yet achieved its full.

The Care of the Mothers.

While we have halved the infant death-rate during the last 25 years we have produced but little effect upon the maternal mortality rate in childbirth. We still lose annually 3,000 mothers through this tragic cause, and we compute the number of mothers who, avoiding death, live disabled and unhappy lives as a consequence of childbirth. Even the medical practitioners cannot give us any real idea of the extent of disability proceeding from childbirth among mothers, for so many mothers endure the disabilities without ever seeking any recourse to medical aid. Obstetricians make it very clear that a great deal of this morbidity and mortality in childbirth is preventable, preventable by correct ante-natal hygiene. Consequently the National Baby Week Council in its endeavour this year, is trying by all means in its power to cultivate public opinion in favour of the practice of ante-natal care. It is not so easy to do this as it was to promote the public support of infant welfare measures. The whole question of pregnancy has been for long wrapped up in reticence, tradition, and false modesty. The propaganda campaign, therefore, must be very subtle, tactful, as well as wise. The freedom of women in education is, however, tending to emancipate this subject of pregnancy from the thralldom of false modesty.

Care of the Toddler.

Once infancy is passed and the little child has found its own feet, it is often unhappily the victim of household neglect, not because the mother does not wish to give it all the care and attention necessary, but because in the average working-class household the mother has so much to do, and the new baby claims so much of her attention, that the little toddler inevitably is put on one side. It is left to share the arrangements for the older members of the family, with the result that its well-being suffers. This is particularly true in two directions—its diet and its clothing. The diet of the toddler needs just as careful consideration as the diet of the infant and the weanling—particularly is the diet of the average toddler found to be conspicuously short in milk, fresh vegetables, and fruit. The clothing of the average toddler is giving cause for much concern in medical circles. Dr. Sophia Seekings Friel, writing in this month's *Creche News*, goes so far as to attribute a great deal of rheumatic disorder in childhood and later life to faulty clothing of the toddler.

Undoubtedly overcrowding and other bad housing conditions, which are unfortunately so prevalent nowadays, are very prejudicial to the toddler's growth and development. The mental welfare of this little child is equally a matter for very important consideration. The National Baby Week Council constantly draws attention to the three-fold aspect of the child welfare question—bodily, mental, and spiritual—and in each case the foundations of health are laid in infancy and very early childhood. Toddlers' Clinics are springing up in various parts of the country, where the mother may not only have advice on the general management of the little child but where treatment is available for many of the so-called minor ailments which are apt to arise during the early years of life, and many of which unless diagnosed early and adequately treated tend to lead to more or less serious disabilities in later life. The Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education intimates in his recent Annual

Report that in the neighbourhood of 40 per cent of the children entering school at 5 years of age are found to be suffering from defects in health and development, most of them preventable. *The Father's Share.*

It is extremely pleasing to know that Infant Welfare Centres are now finding that fathers are taking a very great interest in the questions affecting the welfare of their little children. From time to time instances come to hand of Infant Welfare Centres in which Fathers' Committees or Fathers' Councils have been formed. These fathers meet at intervals, often monthly, to hear some address on questions affecting their children, and to discuss the problems arising therefrom. This is all to the good, and is an excellent sign of the times, for the more closely father and mother are at one in their ideas on and methods of child management, the better will it be for the children. The more understanding fathers are of all that motherhood means to a woman, the better care will they take of the mother during pregnancy, childbirth, and lactation.

The National Baby Week Council (117 Piccadilly, London, W. 1), will be very pleased to supply leaflets and pamphlets to enquirers who wish to have information on the various questions affecting the welfare of mothers and little children.

HOLIDAY READING.

By I. B. O'MALLEY.

Holiday reading is of three kinds. First, there are the books we read because they suit the place we are in and the mood engendered by it. Second, there are the great books we read during holidays because then only have we freedom of spirit to take them in and enjoy them. Much might be said about these two classes of books, but to-day I want only to write about a third. In this are the books we read because they swiftly help us to forget the cares we have left behind us, because they give us quick returns of enjoyment without any preliminary effort, and because something in their irresponsibility and obvious unreality suits with our holiday mood.

I suppose everybody has his or her private tastes in light literature as in the other two classes of books I have named. For my part I like detective stories. I am not, of course, ashamed of confessing it, for nowadays everybody knows that the bluest blood is stirred, and the highest brows are knitted, over the adventures of gentlemen from Scotland Yard and the brilliant young ex-officers who collaborate with them. I do not know whether any new psychologist has inquired into the causes of our modern passion for detective stories. It might give rise to some interesting and rather terrifying reflections. Of course there is first of all the simple enjoyment of puzzles which occupy the mind without giving us any of the painful sense of responsibility connected with philosophic or social problems. But is there not also a kind of "dream-satisfaction" in identifying ourselves with the detectives who get into such appalling and dangerous situations and always come out safe and successful in the end? Sometimes the identification is not with the detective but with the criminal and in that case the criminal has to succeed. He or she must also be fairly sympathetic. The environment, too, must be like enough to our own for it to be easy for us to transfer ourselves into it. And there must be no emotion. We must not feel sorry for the murdered or the murderer. The victim must always be a completely detestable character. If the murderer is successful in escaping, his satisfaction must not be spoiled by any superfluous remorse on his own side, or even of vicarious remorse on the side of the reader. If the law triumphs the criminal must either escape, by suicide, or otherwise, or show himself so completely inhuman that we can rejoice in the prospect of his execution. Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment* is a great book, but the kind of satisfaction we find in it is remote from that which we seek for in our modern stories of crime. I hope no modern writer of detective stories will ever take it as a model!

None of the authors whose books I recommend for holiday reading have done so, and all have provided the peculiar kind of pleasure which we have a right to expect from them.

In *Not Sufficient Evidence*, by Mrs. Victor Rickard (Constable, 7s. 6d. net), our identification is with the criminal. Although students of criminology will recognize it as a reconstruction of a real murder case, and although the people in it are very much like those we meet every day, it does not excite any painfully real emotions. The successful wealthy Robert Esmond is such an unpleasant character that we cannot be very sorry he was poisoned, and if the poisoner is the one we suspect (we are never allowed to be quite sure!) we cannot help being glad that she got off scot free. The story is skilfully and ingeniously told.

LIBERAL WOMEN IN COUNCIL.

By ISABELLA HERBERT.

The council meetings of the Women's National Liberal Federation, which were held last week, may be said to have been unexpectedly successful. The strike conditions seem to have had very little effect in diminishing the number of delegates, while the tension of the political situation gave additional point to the discussions of a body of political women. Although it is a commonplace to say that there are no "Women's Questions" as such, since all political questions must of necessity affect women, yet the subjects discussed on this year's agenda were very largely concerned with those problems in which the readers of the *WOMAN'S LEADER* are particularly interested.

The first resolution dealt with foreign policy, and urged (a) the admission of Germany to the League of Nations and (b) the pursuit by the Government of a consistent policy of peace including a general limitation and reduction of armaments. This was moved in a most useful and eloquent speech by Laby Violet Bonham Carter, and it was followed by a rider condemning the Government's attitude to Russia, as shown by Mr. Winston Churchill's speech of 19th June.

Mrs. Runciman moved a resolution which condemned the General Strike as an undemocratic action, while at the same time censuring the Government's mishandling of the coal negotiations, and urging the vital importance of changes in industrial organization. This was seconded by Lady Currie, who gave a most illuminating account of French and Italian feeling towards England during the Strike and the hopes which it raised both among Fascists and Bolsheviks.

An urgency resolution on the coal situation asked the Government to give immediate legislative effect to the recommendations of the Coal Commission, and the discussion, in which several miners' wives took part, resulted in a deputation being sent to meet the Liberal members of Parliament on this question.

A resolution on Trade Unions was the occasion of a most excellent speech by a woman trade unionist from Yorkshire, who made a very strong plea for Liberals to use their political influence inside the Unions, and not to "contract out," and so to work for "a wider industrial and political freedom within the Trade Union movement."

A very interesting debate took place on the question of Family Endowment. The resolution recommended the general principle of Children's Allowances, welcomed the recommendations of the Coal Commission on this subject, and hoped that other bodies such as railway companies, municipal bodies, etc., would experiment in the same direction. The discussion showed an unexpected opposition to the general principle from several working women, but the resolution was carried, and a Committee of Inquiry will consider the whole subject with a view to making practical recommendations to next year's Council.

Mrs. Alderton most admirably moved a strongly worded resolution on education, and the fact that there were more amendments and riders to this than to any other resolution testifies to the great interest Liberal women take in this national question.

Another subject which will be of interest to readers of the *WOMAN'S LEADER* was the acceptance of a rider moved by Mrs. Corbett Ashby to the resolution on Factory Legislation, which condemned the principle of sex discrimination in the regulation of work.

I have not space to do more than mention the passing of resolutions on Equal Franchise, the right of Peeresses to sit in the House of Lords, Temperance, Land and Free Trade. All the discussions were animated and well informed, and the fact that in a crowded agenda nothing was omitted, was due to the delightful chairmanship of Mrs. Wintringham, who from her Presidential Address at the opening of the Conference, to her reply to a vote of thanks, at its close, dominated everything by her cheerful competence.

In *Colonel Gore's Second Case*, by Lynn Brock (Collins, 7s. 6d. net), our sympathies are with the detective, the gentlemanly, capable, pleasant retired officer whom we have already met in a previous book. In this one all his energies are called out in the detection of a series of murders, which take place in or about a beautiful and pleasantly described Wiltshire village, which at first had seemed only adapted for the headquarters of a golfing holiday. The puzzle in this book is very engrossing, though the solution, as so often happens, is a little disappointing.

Mr. Cuthbert Baines' *Blue Poppy* (Edward Arnold, 7s. 6d. net) also begins on a golf course. The criminal in it is a wicked, Eastern European Bolshevik State, which might have ruined, but of course did not ruin, England. The book is full, and perhaps rather overfull of marvellous hairbreadth escapes, all very lightly and agreeably told.

The author of *Death at Swaythling Court*, by J. J. Conington (Ernest Benn, 7s. 6d. net), assures his readers that he has given them every fact essential for the guessing of the crime before they reach the last chapter. It is an ingenious puzzle, though the experienced detective reader will probably make up his mind very quickly about the connection of the mysterious "lethal ray," with the sudden death of the unpleasant Mr. Hubbard.

Inspector French and the Cheyne Mystery, by Freeman Wills Crofts (Collins, 7s. 6d. net), suffers a little from the division of interest between the original hero, a leisured young gentleman living in Devonshire who becomes accidentally involved in a mystery of crime and rashly tries to solve it himself, and the great Inspector French who of course has to be called in. This is one of the books which makes one reflect on the imprudent incompleteness of criminal murder methods, and the strong constitution of amateur detectives which enables them to run the most unnecessary risks and put themselves into the hands of their enemies with a justifiable conviction that however often they are drugged, or knocked on the head, they will always come up smiling.

The Murder of Roger Ackroyd, by Agatha Christie (Collins, 7s. 6d. net), upsets all the canons of detective story writing. I shall not say how, because it is impossible to do so without giving a clue to the mystery contained in it, and as I have just spent some enchanting holiday hours trying to guess who was the murderer, I do not want to spoil the pleasure for others. I will only say that for my part I was not at all indignant when I came to the end. Perhaps this was because some of my guessing had been right! Whether this was so or not, I enthusiastically recommend the book to holiday readers, and am convinced that Agatha Christie, even if uncanonical in some of her writing, is one of the two or three best detective-story writers we have.



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MISS BONDFIELD'S CANDIDATURE FOR THE WALLSEND DIVISION OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

Our members will have seen in another column that Miss Bondfield has consented to stand as Labour Candidate for the Walsend Division of Northumberland. We have offered, and she has willingly accepted, help from the N.U.S.E.C. We appeal to those of our members who can go to Northumberland to do all they can to help. Miss Bondfield can use both members of the Labour Party and women who are prepared to work on non-party lines for the return of another woman (these last would be asked to get in touch with voters who are not already known to have labour sympathies). Those ready to help should communicate at once with headquarters when further particulars will be sent. Cars are urgently needed.

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NEWS FROM SOCIETIES.

DURHAM.

On the 1st June a large meeting organized by the Durham S.E.C. was held at St. Hild's College, at which Miss Ridgeway, from the Ministry of Labour, spoke on the advantages and openings for women in the colonies, and pointed out the different schemes by which it was possible to get out under special conditions, and said that women who had gone out to the colonies under these conditions were extremely happy, and that those who returned were always keen to get back again. Miss Christopher, M.A., presided over the meeting.

Children's Courts

By W. CLARKE HALL. 7s. 6d.

This new book by Mr. Clarke Hall, Metropolitan Magistrate and President of the Shoreditch Juvenile Court, is an attempt to deal, not only with the Juvenile Courts themselves, but with all the problems relating to delinquent children, and the best methods of dealing with delinquency. It is hoped that it will prove of use to all Justices sitting in Children's Courts, to Probation Officers, Superintendents of Certified Schools, and all Social Workers concerned in the welfare of children. Certain portions of the author's earlier work, "The State and the Child," have been retained, but for the most part the book is new and based on the wider experience and deeper understanding of the causes that culminate in juvenile delinquency.

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THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH LEAGUE. CONFERENCE ON MIGRATION.

The British Commonwealth League took a fresh step when at its meetings in the beautiful rooms of the Royal Society of Arts last Tuesday and Wednesday it called together a representative gathering of Overseas women to consider the position of women in regard to migration. In particular emphasis was laid on the need for securing a proper share of control for women in all the large schemes. A very important discussion was that on opportunities for the educated English women. No official encouragement is given to the educated women in the Dominions, but a closer examination of the case does show that there are opportunities to be had for the woman with the right temperament, and certainly for the woman with a little capital.

Although the discussion could not be called conclusive, one good result was that the conference decided to ask the League to set up a committee further to examine the funds, assistance and training available for women other than domestic servants. It does seem that if certain misunderstandings could be cleared up that Overseas' Dominions would gain much from the wealth of competence available amongst educated women in England, but they must essentially be adaptable and able to understand the deep pride of the closer countries.

Another most important section was that on Moral Responsibilities. The committee of the British Commonwealth League felt strongly that where opportunity is so eagerly sought, responsibility must also be accepted.

Miss Royden's illness prevented her attendance to open the discussion, but Miss Collisson made a brief appeal and pointed out that since in many cases immigration from England meant stepping into the position of a governing class with close relationship with women with less advanced culture, it was exceedingly necessary to consider the moral and social results of such movements. The growth of a half-caste race in every country inhabited by white men as rulers is a problem of the gravest consequence, and earnest pleas were put forward by an excellent Indian speaker, Mrs. Laksonipathi, and by Mrs. Macgregor Ross for consideration of the responsibilities entailed.

There can be no doubt that this conference, which provided the first opportunity for tackling a whole range of extraordinarily important and interesting questions, may be regarded as a new departure and one the effects of which will be watched with sympathetic interest by many thousands of women.

The conference was preceded by a luncheon at the Criterion in honour of the women Members of Parliament. It was packed, and the Duchess of Atholl, Lady Astor, and Miss Wilkinson received a great ovation. Representatives of the Women's Indian Association, the Women's Enfranchisement Association of South Africa, the Australian Federation of Women's Societies for Equal Citizenship, the New Zealand Group, and the Tasmanian Non-Party Association acknowledged in person the greetings of the assembly, and messages were given from Bermudan and Canadian delegates.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE PARIS CONGRESS.

MADAM.—I am delighted to see that the interesting article in your issue of the 18th June from your Paris correspondent, upon the subject of International Congresses, has led to a discussion upon them. The Paris Congress was such a brilliant success that it can be made the occasion for asking ourselves whether International Congresses are generally organized on the right lines, and whether we get the full value for the opportunity they offer, without any suggestion of depreciation or criticism (in the negative sense of the word) of the wonderful I.W.S.A. achievement. Certainly if anyone should have read your correspondent's article in that sense, they must have been satisfied by Miss Sterling's letter in your issue of 25th June.

For my part I have attended a considerable number of International Congresses both as a delegate and as a member of the responsible executive, and I am firmly convinced of their importance. But I have never come away from an international congress without the feeling that in spite of its success, in spite of all that it had achieved, an opportunity had been missed and time had been wasted which could have been spent to good purpose if congresses were differently planned. Conversation with others who frequent international congresses shows me that they have the same experience and so there arises the extremely interesting question as to how such congresses might be organized. I do not agree with Miss Sterling that tedium is unavoidable, though no doubt when it arises it should be endured with the fine courage in a good cause which she advocates. The question is how to avoid the tedium, and how to extract value from every minute of the rare opportunity of meeting people from all over the world interested in the same subject. I have no ready-made answer to the question, only a few ideas of a somewhat embryonic nature, and I put these forward with diffidence in the hope that others more experienced in these matters may also express their views.

SATURDAY, 3rd JULY,

PROCESSION

AND

DEMONSTRATION

Supported by over 40 Women's Organisations to demand - -

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for Men and Women.

2 p.m.

Procession from the Embankment

4 p.m.

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Speakers from Twelve Platforms:

DR. ANNIE BESANT,
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MRS. ELIOTT-LYNN,
DAME MILLICENT FAWCETT,
MRS. PANKHURST,
MISS ELEANOR RATHBONE,
LADY RHONDDA,
MISS ELLEN WILKINSON, M.P.,
MRS. WINTRINGHAM,

and many others.

Assemble at Charing Cross Bridge at 2 p.m.

March commences at 2.45 p.m.

Route: Northumberland Avenue, Mall, Hyde Park Corner.

Further particulars from Miss Margaret Digby, Organising Secretary,
92 Victoria Street, S.W. 1. Telephone: Victoria 7174.

In the first instance, are not International Congresses usually planned too much on the lines of national congresses? A national congress can usually take executive action if a majority is agreed upon any subject, and the meeting often has a definite practical end in view. An International Congress, on the other hand, is more in the nature of a demonstration, and consequently I question whether the practice of bringing forward somewhat controversial resolutions is not a very great mistake. It is not for nothing that the League of Nations has found it advisable to require unanimity before anything is agreed to involving a matter of principle. I feel that discussions at International Congresses are often spoiled by the fact that delegates fear that a decision will be come to (possibly by a small majority) which does not represent their views, and which, in any case, they themselves will not carry into effect. This robs the discussion of reality, and at the same time introduces an atmosphere of anxiety both on the part of those who wish to press the resolution and of those who are opposed to it.

It appears to me that international congresses are unrivalled opportunities for social intercourse and for demonstration. The public meetings are nearly always a magnificent success, so are the smaller business meetings which meet to thrash out a subject without necessarily passing a resolution supposed to be binding upon the Congress. The sessions, in my experience, which are the least successful are plenary sessions of Congress open to the public, at which an attempt is made to carry out the kind of business which requires, if it is to be brought forward at all, much detailed consideration. Those who may have most to contribute to the discussion may not necessarily be those who are able to make a speech which can be heard all over a large hall. In general, the whole thing is apt to fall between two stools. It has neither the formal character of a public meeting with set speeches, nor the informal character of a conference. If the interest flags, delegates anxious to meet and converse with others, absent themselves. This makes the interest flag still further, and so a vicious circle is formed.

Cannot women who have made so many contributions to public life make yet a further contribution by departing altogether from the old methods established by men for international congresses, and running an international congress on their own lines, making it an even greater success than the brilliant congresses which they have organized so far? The point is that the brilliant part of the congress nearly always consists in the demonstrations and the social functions. What we ought to find is a somewhat better way of doing business. To this end I believe that we should avoid any attempt to pass resolutions on controversial subjects, but discuss these in the hope of getting to understand each other's point of view. If reporters were afterwards appointed to put before plenary sessions the various points of view which had been expressed in such sessions or commissions one of the difficulties would be overcome.

I hope very much that some other points of view will be expressed, and in particular I hope that we shall not be afraid to discuss the organization of congresses for fear of seeming to criticize any particular one. Everyone knows the difficulties—the question is how we can make the best use of the method of International Congress which is now becoming a more and more popular feature amongst various organizations.—Yours truly,

K. D. COURTNEY.

ECONOMY IN FUEL.

MADAM.—In these days when every household must concentrate thought on economy of fuel, may I draw attention to a most effective invention called "The Hotlock," devised by a woman—Mrs. Lockyer.

By using an easily obtained artificial fuel, and by a simple self-acting system of ventilation, cooked food placed in the Hotlock will keep hot and in perfectly good condition for at least four hours, and if the fuel is then renewed, for four hours longer. It can be had in various sizes, for prices from about £3 to £8, for household use, or for travelling. People who have evening engagements, and who do not wish to keep their servants up, or in households where daily servants are employed, will find this invention invaluable. And all households at the present time could dispense with the kitchen fire, except for a few hours, by this means. On a larger scale, it is proving a boon to hospitals and sanatoriums—and it is in use and much appreciated at the Middlesex Hospital, and elsewhere. At a sanatorium with which I am connected, it has made a great difference in enabling bed patients in pavilions far from the kitchen to get their meals hot and in good condition. It has also been approved for use by the Royal Air Force, and is being considered for use in mines. But at the present moment, its value for use in ordinary households is what I should like to emphasize, from the point of view of economy in the use of coal. Lord Aberdeen and I keep it in constant use and find it invaluable. The different varieties can be seen at any time at the Hotlock Office, 11 Buchanan Buildings, Holborn, E.C. 1.

ISHBEL ABERDEEN AND TEMAIR.

"A MOTHER IN ISRAEL."

MADAM.—In my reference to Mrs. Fawcett's telling retort of the origin of the well-known phrase: "I, Deborah, arose, a Mother in Israel," printed in your issue last week, old Suffragists will realize that the date given, 1920, was a misprint for 1913 (or thereabouts).

LILIAN GILCHRIST THOMPSON.

Hayes Rectory, Kent.

PONIES IN COAL MINES.

MADAM.—In your issue of 18th June, Miss Ellen Wilkinson makes the statement about pit ponies that "the R.S.P.C.A. can always take action." This is not the case. The Royal Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals have not the right of entry into coal mines, and can only go down by arrangement with the management.

J. UNIACKE.

Caversham.

COMING EVENTS.

EQUAL FRANCHISE CAMPAIGN.

JULY 3. Demonstration in Hyde Park, 4 p.m. Procession, 2 p.m., Embankment.

INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN.

JULY 13 and 21. 1 p.m. Informal lunches at Lyceum Club, 138 Piccadilly, W. 1. President: The Marchioness of Aberdeen and Temair. Particulars from General Secretary, I.C.W., 25 Victoria Street, S.W. 1.

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

JULY 2. 4 p.m. Caxton Hall, Westminster. At Home to I.W.S.A. Delegates to Paris Conference and Speakers and Marchers in Equal Political Rights Demonstration.

Kensington and Paddington S.E.C. JULY 10. 4 p.m. Garden Party at Pembroke Lodge, Edward's Square, W. 8 (by kind invitation of Mr. and Mrs. Adrian Corbett), Mrs. Corbett Ashby, M.A., on "Transactions of the recent International Conference." Chair: The Lord Balfour of Burleigh.

NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR THE PREVENTION OF INFANT MORTALITY.

JULY 5-8. Fourth English Speaking Conference on Maternity and Child Welfare at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM.

JULY 8-15. Fifth Biennial Congress in Dublin.

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