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NOTES AND NEWS.**The Kellogg Proposal.**

The latest note from the United States to France, published on 1st March, on the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy, in favour of the peaceful settlement of international disputes, is one of the most important events of the last few years. It is not necessary to go over the previous interchange of notes between M. Briand and Senator Kellogg, as these were fully described in an article by Miss Courtney in our issue of 24th February. The immense importance of it lies in the fact that the present American Government, supported by Senator Borah, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, leading protagonist of the "Outlawry of War," in this note specifically distinguished between "national" and "international war." It recognizes the right of any nation signing the suggested treaty for the outlawry of war to fulfil its military obligations under the Covenant and the Locarno Treaties. This is more important to Great Britain than to any other country, for until we can come to some agreement with America as to our right, for example, to blockade a nation that refuses to submit its disputes to peaceful settlement, and prefers war to its Covenant obligations, we are always in danger of trouble with America, similar to the difficulties Lord Grey had to face in the early years of the Great War, when we stopped American trade with certain of the belligerents. Mr. Kellogg definitely offers American co-operation with the League's effort to abolish war. It is natural that such an offer, made at present only to France, but which America has expressed a wish to make to other great powers, should now be informally under discussion at Geneva where the Council of the League is meeting. It is essential that the British Government should show their willingness to accept any such proposal, as soon as it is made and anything the women of this country can do to strengthen their hand in doing this is all to the good. The suggestion is largely the result of the

propaganda in America, mostly by the women's organizations, against the new naval programme, which has already led to its reduction. For it is the fear of interference with her commerce that is largely responsible for this programme, and if we can renounce war between us as an instrument of "national policy," and with it the right of private blockade at sea—we should soon see the dangers of naval rivalry disappear, and find ourselves able to make real headway with the problems of international disarmament at any rate at sea.

Equal Franchise.

It has been stated in the Press that the Cabinet will have considered the final form of the Franchise Bill on the 7th inst., and the Bill will be introduced into Parliament during the week beginning 19th March, and that the second reading will be on the 26th. The National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship has again approached the Government demanding enfranchisement for local government purposes of wives between 21 and 30 of local government electors, in order that the principle incorporated in the Representation of the People Act, 1918, that the wife of a local government elector, though not actually a ratepayer, is responsible with her husband for the upkeep of the home, may be applied to the younger women, and this last anomaly due to age be removed.

"Agin the Government."

In an interesting article on the history of the suffrage movement in this week's *Sunday Times*, Mr. J. H. Morgan, K.C., states:—

"It is a curious fact—and the present Government may, in face of the attacks on their new Bill, take comfort from it—that every one of their Bill's predecessors except the last, namely, the Acts of 1832, 1867, 1884, and 1918, was greeted by its opponents as catastrophic. The youthful Gladstone denounced the Reform Act of 1832—an Act which enfranchised only 500,000 men and still left five-sixths of the male adults of the country without a vote—as "a symptom as infallible as it is appalling that the day of our greatness and stability is no more, and that the chill and damp of death are already creeping over England's glory." The Act of 1867, which, for the first time, gave urban workmen the vote by introducing, in boroughs only, the 'household franchise,' was greeted by Carlyle, in a spate of spurious rhetoric, as the worst thing that had happened to England 'since the Saxon Heptarchy'."

He further goes on to show that the Act of 1918, reducing all the complicated county and borough qualifications to two, namely, residence or occupation, thereby enfranchising the lodger, had the effect of enfranchising the young man. It awaits in the case of young women its complement in the new Suffrage Bill of this year.

Women's Suffrage in South Africa.

It is indeed desolating for the supporters of women's suffrage in South Africa, that in spite of the high hopes raised in connection with this year's Women's Suffrage Bill, the Bill has been recommitted to a committee of the whole House. The motion providing for this was carried after a keen debate, by virtue of the absence of five Labour Members, who it had been hoped would be present to vote in favour of the Bill's proceeding in the ordinary way. The Women's Suffrage Bill had, for the first time in the history of the Union Parliament, reached the report stage. This frightened the opponents of the Bill, and they had been busy recently intriguing for its defeat. In order to conciliate the opposition the promoters of the Bill were prepared to initiate an amendment to the effect that it should not come into force until 1930. General Hertzog, Prime Minister, in supporting the

recommitment, admitted that the proposal to send the Bill to a committee of the whole House would probably kill it for this session, as in so doing the Bill would lose priority, and said he would be prepared to introduce a similar Bill the following session as a private Member. General Smuts, however, pointed out that the women of South Africa presumably would infinitely prefer the passing of the Bill this year, rather than wait for a hypothetical measure to be introduced as a private Members' Bill by a member who throughout his career has persistently opposed women's franchise!

Traffic in Women.

The text has been published of Lord Parmoor's Bill, the object of which is to supersede the provision of laws relating to procurement. The Bill imposes heavier penalties on the obtaining of women of whatever age by conspiracy, fraud, or intimidation, the habitual use of premises for immoral purposes, trading on immorality (which last offence can be committed by women as well as men). Penal servitude for five years is the punishment for a British subject who marries an alien woman in order that she should lead an immoral life, and such a marriage can be declared void. The age of consent is unaltered. The maximum punishment for abduction for immoral purposes is increased to penal servitude for seven years. The age is raised from 18 to 21. The extradition Act, 1870, is extended so as to include trading in prostitution, and offences in respect of the white slave traffic.

Government's Insurance Bill.

The Government Bill to amend the Insurance Act was introduced on Monday, 5th March. At the time of writing the text has not been published, but Sir Walter Kinnear, speaking the same evening at the annual dinner of the National Federation of Employees of Approved Societies, gave some particulars about the Bill. He stated that the Bill would embody generous concessions to insured persons, and would result in the simplification of administration. It would go a long way towards clearing up anomalies which have arisen from the different regulations governing Health and Unemployment Insurance. He stated that the Bill would follow closely the recommendations of the Majority Report of the Royal Commission on National Health Insurance, and that in particular the interests of the deposit contributors would be considered. It is tantalizing that we do not know more, but in certain sections of the Press it has been indicated that the only substantial new benefit to be made compulsory will be the dental benefit.¹ Desirable though this may be, we should yet regret if the Royal Commission's recommendation that improved medical benefit, dependents' allowances, and increased maternity benefit should precede the making of dental benefit statutory; we very much hope that if dental benefit is to be included, it will not be at the cost of these points.

Maternal Mortality.

The good Press which was accorded to the Conference on Maternal Mortality called by Miss Gertrude Tuckwell and a small committee in the Central Hall on 28th February, is, we hope, some evidence that the conscience of the nation is at last being awakened to this evil, dreadful not only in itself, but because it is acknowledged on all sides to be largely preventable. A message from the Queen, emphasizing the need for steps being taken to reduce this high rate, referred to in another column, serves as a fine call to all those whose job it is "to set the crooked straight." Although one of the ostensible functions of the conference was to draw attention to the need of educating the mother, it is noteworthy that the delegates to the conference themselves, and the line taken by the Press, especially the leading article in *The Times* of Monday, 5th March, fasten on the real necessity of the situation, viz., better training in midwifery both for doctors and midwives. We have frequently referred in these columns to the tragic fact which emerges in the report on the Protection of Motherhood, issued just before Christmas, by Dr. Janet Campbell, that the recommendations of the General Medical Council passed in 1922, with respect to the training of doctors in medical schools, has in many instances passed unregarded. With regard to the training of midwives, not only is a longer period asked for, but it is clear that some solution must be found to differentiate between those women who wish to practise midwifery as a vocation, and those who regard the "C. M. B." as a useful additional qualification for the purposes of ordinary nursing, in order that sufficient clinical material may be published for the former group.

¹ As we go to press we learn that dental benefit is not to be made compulsory.

Fall in Birth-rate in France.

We read in the Press that the Senate is gratified that the Government's efforts have arrested the decline in the French birth-rate, and that the National Alliance for the Increase of Population in France announces a new campaign for more babies. This organization has just issued a report which indicates that the birth-rate in every country in Europe is slowly sinking. The report implies, according to the report in the *Matin*, that the birth-rate is at its lowest in countries which have the largest proportion of athletic women. It is pointed out, moreover, that in the European countries where women have the vote, especially in Germany and Norway, the decline has been swiftest. We accept these facts, but would not doubt put a different interpretation on them from our French friends. The whole evidence points to the fact that the birth-rate falls where women have information on methods of birth control, and that the connection between birth control and women's suffrage lies in this only, that where the position of women is highest, there are all forms of knowledge most open to them.

A Juvenile Advisory Council.

In accordance with a recommendation of the Malcolm Committee on Education and Industry the Minister of Labour has appointed a National Advisory Council for Juvenile Employment in England and Wales. A similar body is to be set up for Scotland. Lord Shaftesbury is to be the chairman of the English Council, and there will be twenty-eight members, representing the Local Education Authorities 9, the London Juvenile Advisory Council 1, Juvenile Advisory Committees 3, the National Confederation of Employers' Organizations 5, the Trades Union Congress General Council 5, and the Ministry of Labour 1. This seems, on the face of it, a large and clumsy body, likely to move slowly and with indecision. One would say that the Ministry of Labour had taken the wrong model—that of a Trade Board or Joint Industrial Council, on which it is desired to represent every section of a trade or industry. On an advisory committee two representatives apiece—a man and a woman from any one interest should have sufficed. As it is there are only three women, Lady Rowland for the Juvenile Advisory Committees, Miss F. R. Conway for the teachers, and Miss Julian Varley for the Trade Unions. For reasons stated below, however, the wind should be fair for this Council, and we sincerely hope that it will find its feet, conquer its bulk, and prove to be both insistent, bold, and wise.

Old and Young.

Next year the children born in the first year of the war will be leaving their elementary schools. For four or five years there will therefore be an abnormally low number of juvenile entrants into industry, and the average age of the population will rise. This should give the new National Advisory Council on Juvenile Employment a special opportunity of tackling the problems connected with juvenile labour. For instance, at the present time, both boys and girls not infrequently work over sixty hours a week, a certain number of juveniles in shops and garages and van boys work over seventy hours, and there are cases where boys are at work for over eighty hours a week. This at a time when attempts are being made at Geneva, and resisted by the Government of this country, to standardize a forty-eight hour working week. What decency and humanity have failed to do perhaps a shortage of juvenile labour will effect, and the Council will find itself in the pleasant position of having not so much to initiate reforms as to guide a spontaneous movement. We must, indeed, take care of these young people, for they will be called upon to assume a heavy burden. Their efforts will have to support a steadily increasing number of the aged, most of them entitled to contributory pensions. Professor Bowley states that while for every 100 children in 1901 there were six men and eight women over 65, in 1921 the numbers had changed to nine men and twelve women, and if the birth-rate continues, by 1931 they will have increased again to seventeen men and twenty-two women. In so far as this means that our old people are living longer, it is a matter for congratulation. At the same time, it is also a call for effort. We must all work harder and save more, and industry in particular must attain to a higher standard of efficiency.

Edinburgh Corporation Bill.

The Edinburgh Corporation Bill again came up for its second reading on Friday last, and has been put down, with again no time allowed for its discussion, for Friday, 16th March.

TIME'S LAUGHING-STOCKS.¹

The President of the Immortals has finished his sport with women's suffrage. Is it possible thus far to predict his whimsical intention! Certainly it seems so, with our promised franchise measure in the King's Speech, and Mr. Baldwin in the Queen's Hall. But surely the President of the Immortals has had sport enough in this matter. His jokes grow tedious, though looking back at a few of them, they are good jokes enough of his peculiar kind.

First there was that bitterest joke of all. The refusal of the Liberal party to set its sails to the steady wind of its own principle. It may be said with some truth that the great contribution which nineteenth century Liberalism made to the life of Europe was the integration of an almost religious belief in the moral righteousness and practical efficacy of political democracy. The energy with which Liberalism identified itself with the strivings of oppressed races and with individualism in revolt against Press censorship was derived from this central faith of nineteenth century Liberalism. Yet when the opportunity came in this country for a Liberal Administration, borne on a tide of public opinion, to carry through the task of completing the machinery of representative government, something failed—leadership perhaps, for we all knew at the time that Mr. Asquith was the real stumbling block. At any rate the task was not accomplished. Public opinion, ripe and over-ripe for this particular element of progress, swept past that Administration, and left it most incongruously branded in the pages of history. Well—to use Disraeli's immortal simile, the clothes that Mr. Asquith left lying on the beach when he missed his tide (such essentially Asquithian clothes too, the very cut and colour of his party-political wardrobe) were picked up and worn to good advantage by our war-time Coalition, which achieved a substantial first instalment of women suffrage. There was, of course, one overwhelming reason which precipitated the bulk of our old enemies on to the side of this tardy act of justice:—the sudden discovery that women could perform quite adequately a number of routine and semi-skilled industrial jobs hitherto regarded as compatible only with the superior physique, mentality

SIXTY YEARS AGO: THE POSITION OF WOMEN WHEN THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT BEGAN.

JOHN STUART MILL'S SPEECH, MAY, 1867.

We think the following extract from John Stuart Mill's speech, the first on Woman's Suffrage, in the House of Commons, almost exactly sixty-one years ago, will be of special interest this week. "Sir, before it is affirmed that women do not suffer in their interests, as women, by the denial of a vote, it should be considered whether women have no grievances; whether the laws, and those practices which laws can reach, are in every way as favourable to women as to men. Now, how stands the fact? In the matter of education, for instance. We continually hear that the most important part of national education is that of mothers because they educate the future men. Is this importance really attached to it? Are there many fathers who care as much, or are willing to expend as much, for the education of their daughters as of their sons? Where are the Universities, where the High Schools, or the schools of any high description, for them? If it be said that girls are better educated at home, where are the training-schools for governesses? What has become of the endowments which the bounty of our ancestors destined for the education, not of one sex only, but of both indiscriminately? I am told by one of the highest authorities on the subject, that in the majority of the endowments the provision made is not for boys, but for education generally; in one great endowment, Christ's Hospital, it is expressly for both: that institution now maintains and educates 1,100 boys, and exactly 26 girls. And when they attain womanhood, how does it fare with that great and increasing portion of the sex, who, sprung from the educated classes, have not inherited a provision, and not having obtained one by marriage, or disdaining to marry merely for a provision, depend on their exertions for subsistence? Hardly any decent educated occupation, save one, is open to them. They are either governesses or nothing. A fact has recently occurred, well worthy of commemoration in connection with this subject. A young lady, Miss Garrett, from no pressure of necessity, but from an honourable desire to employ her activity in alleviating human suffering, studied the medical profession. Having duly

¹ Letters criticizing this article on the ground of (a) anti-Conservative, (b) anti-Liberal, or (c) anti-Labour bias, should reach the office not later than Tuesday, 13th March.

and patriotism of men. This provided our legislators with a good reason for enacting a franchise law whose scope was so adjusted as to exclude the bulk of those women whose occupational achievements had occasioned this astonishing discovery.

Thus matters stood, for five years or so, until in 1923 the Labour party assumed office. Now it is a fact which no veteran suffragist is likely to forget, that in the days when women's suffrage was an unpopular cause the Labour party was the one party which nailed the suffrage colours to its mast. Indeed, it went so far as to pledge itself to oppose any extension of the franchise (however popular such extension might be among its adherents), which did not include women. But in 1923, women's suffrage had ceased to be an unpopular cause. It was a cause which the Labour party in office, but not in power, might easily have brought to fruition with its "lib.-lab." majority, with considerable profit to itself at the subsequent election, seeing that newly enfranchised voters are apt to cherish a fleeting sense of gratitude to the party which has enfranchised them. But this it did not do. By a strange freak of what we may charitably call political mismanagement it missed its tide, and once more a tenantless garment was left lying on the beach.

That garment is now worn, cheerfully, as the saints of old wore their hair shirts, by the Conservative party. For many years that party, as the "crime sheets" of the suffrage societies show, has counted within its ranks the solidest phalanx of anti-suffrage prejudice. It has never greatly cared about political democracy. None the less, true to a promise given on its behalf at a time when promises grew luxuriantly, it wears that garment. And who shall dare to criticize either the fit or the fitness of a garment worn with so debonair and imperturbable a grace. There are some among our contemporaries who are wont to say that the Prime Minister is a weaker vessel between his towering anti-suffrage colleagues Birkenhead and Churchill. Yet the *Conservative party wears that garment.*

Laugh aloud, oh President of the Immortals, and for once we will laugh with you. And that done, give us a respite from your sportiveness.

qualified herself, she, with an energy and perseverance which cannot be too highly praised, knocked successively at all the doors through which, by law, access is obtained into the medical profession. Having found all other doors fast shut, she fortunately discovered one which had accidentally been left ajar. The Society of Apothecaries, it seems, had forgotten to shut out those who they never thought would attempt to come in, and through this narrow entrance this young lady found her way into this profession. But so objectionable did it appear to this learned body that women should be the medical attendants even of women, that the narrow wicket through which Miss Garrett entered has been closed after her, and no second Miss Garrett will be allowed to pass through it. And this is *instar omnium*. No sooner do women show themselves capable of competing with men in any career, than that career, if it be lucrative or honourable, is closed to them. A short time ago, women might be Associates of the Royal Academy; but they were so distinguishing themselves, they were assuming so honourable a place in their art, that this privilege also has been withdrawn. This is the sort of care taken of women's interests by the men who so faithfully represent them. This is the way we treat unmarried women. And how is it with the married? They, it may be said, are not interested in this motion; and they are not directly interested; but it interests, even directly, many who have been married, as well as others who will be. Now, by the Common Law of England, all that a wife has, belongs absolutely to the husband; he may tear it all from her, squander every penny of it in debauchery, leave her to support by her labour herself and her children, and if by heroic exertion and self-sacrifice she is able to put by something for their future wants, unless she is judicially separated from him he can pounce down upon her savings, and leave her penniless. And such cases are of quite common occurrence. Sir, if we were besotted enough to think these things right, there would be more excuse for it; but we know better. The richer classes take care to exempt their own daughters from the consequences of this abominable state of the law. By the contrivance of marriage settlements,

(Continued on page 37.)

"IT WAS AN OBSTINATE HILL TO CLIMB." PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

Delivered by Eleanor F. Rathbone at the Annual Council Meeting of the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, 7th March, 1928.

Just ten years and a month have passed since women achieved the first great instalment of the franchise. Within a few months we confidently expect to reach the goal which our predecessors set themselves sixty-one years ago—"The extension of the franchise to women on the same terms as it is or may be extended to men."

It is worth while looking back and asking ourselves two questions: first, whether the success so far achieved has been worth the immense effort the movement has cost—all the lives of all the women that have been devoted to it, all the "resolute and invincible determination, the deep consuming passion, the amazing endurance" that it has evoked? Secondly, what has been the special contribution to the movement of our National Union; have we been and are we still on the right lines?

As to the first question, even before 1918 I think we had all made up our minds as to the answer. In the course of the struggle for the vote, all the oppressions, restrictions, disabilities that weighed upon women had been revealed as by a kind of volcanic upheaval which breaks up the verdant surface of the earth and lays bare the barren tracts, the sharp rocks, the creeping ugliness that lie beneath. The first speech on women's suffrage ever made in Parliament, by John Stuart Mill in 1867, drew a damning picture of women's liberties, status, and opportunities as men had made them during the period of their unlimited trusteeship.¹ There were then for women neither high schools nor colleges, even the endowments made in the Middle Ages for both sexes being appropriated by men, no authorized entry into elected bodies, nor into any honourable and accredited profession except that of private governing; no means of training even for that; for married women no rights whatever over their own earnings, nor over their inherited incomes, unless these were secured to them by the device of settlements; almost no rights over their own children, practically no protection, personal or economic, against a husband, however neglectful or dissolute. The picture drawn was so black yet so convincing that it forced even John Bright, chief champion of the view that women's interests were completely represented through their husbands and fathers, for the first and only time into the lobby in favour of a woman's suffrage motion. One by one these worst evils were amended, almost entirely through the efforts of men and women who were simultaneously working for women's franchise, the enemy being either defeated or giving way step by step in the hope that they would thus blunt the edge of the demand for the vote. But with a very few exceptions, each success achieved cost years of endeavour. Thus, even such a reform as that requiring the training and registration of midwives, demanded almost wholly as a necessary protection for the lives of mothers and infants, cost twelve years' struggle against the professional jealousy of the baser sort of medical men.

Since 1918, how the pace has quickened! The prophecies of the opponents of women's suffrage were of two kinds: Either they were convinced with Lord Cromer, that if women had votes, the British Empire would within a few years have to put up its shutters, or they assured us and the world that the women's vote was going to make no kind of difference, and that we were deluding ourselves with pursuing a false light which had already misled men. How absurd even to the survivors among these prophets their prophecies must now look. The actual reforms incontestably won by the use of women's electoral influence are so well known to you that I will not waste your time by recapitulating them. They are summarized in the N.U.S.E.C. pamphlet by Dame Millicent Fawcett, "What the Vote has done." But those of us who are too young in years or in the movement to have been actors in this bit of feminist history or are so old that we are beginning to forget it, should refresh our memories by re-reading not only this pamphlet, but Dame Millicent's two little books, *Woman's Suffrage* and *The Women's Victory—and After*. The last chapter of the latter book sets out the six articles in the first "Immediate Programme" adopted by the Annual Council of the N.U.S.E.C. after our change of name and constitution in 1920. Summarized, they were as follows:—

1. Equal pay for equal work, and equal opportunities in industry and the professions.

(Continued on page 37.)

¹ See p. 35.

2. Reform of the divorce law and with the law dealing with solicitation and prostitution. An equal moral standard.

3. Pensions for civilian widows.

4. An extension of the women's franchise. The return to Parliament of women candidates holding our equality programme.

5. Equal rights of guardianship for both parents.

6. The opening of the legal professions to women, including their right to become solicitors, barristers, and magistrates.

The greater part of this programme has been achieved, or is on the verge of achievement, and we have in addition done pioneer work in the formation of public opinion with regard to certain reforms added later to our Immediate Programme, especially Family Allowances and the right of married women to obtain information with regard to Birth Control. The only article in respect to which we have made scarcely any progress is the first—equal pay and opportunities: partly because equality in these respects depends on economic and social customs and prejudices rather than on political action; but partly because the voters enfranchised in 1918 included only a small minority of women in industry and the professions.

Secondly, what has been the special contribution of our Union to the movement? Does contemplation of our past suggest any lessons for the future? In the early days of militancy there was some danger, happily avoided, that the strength of the movement would be diverted into controversy over method. "It is notorious," as Mrs. Fawcett then noted, "that differences of method separate people from one another even more acutely than difference of aim." Mr. Nevinson once prophesied that

"If victory is won, it will be the militants who win it, not because they do this or that, but because they have no reservations. I do not mean that it will be theirs to receive the enemy's surrender and enjoy the fruits of victory. Quite the contrary. When the moment comes, the other suffragists will smilingly enter the field over the wreckage of battle and assure us they always knew reasonable methods would prevail."

But "the other suffragists" have never done this. Looking back over the years, we shall probably agree (though I must only speak for myself) that both wings of the suffrage movement had an indispensable contribution to make. That of the Militants was made (as I see it) during the early stages of militancy when they succeeded in breaking down a Press boycott and in shocking an inattentive public first into attention, afterwards into recognition that here was a great issue for which women were willing to suffer and die. They supplied in short, one more example of Lord Acton's famous saying: "it seems to be a law of political existence, that no great advance in human freedom can be gained except after the display of some kind of violence." Later on, "when for 'displays of violence' one section of Militants substituted real violence (though of a minor kind) upon persons and property; when its methods were persisted in at a time when they provided numerous politicians with a much desired excuse for breaking pledges which they would otherwise have been compelled to fulfil—then militancy became I believe, not only no aid, but the chief obstacle of the suffrage movement."²

Before, during and after the episode of militancy, which lasted from 1905 till the outbreak of war, "The other suffragists" kept on steadily with their task; converting the reason and winning the sympathies of the nation; devising one means after another of convincing politicians that principle and interest alike demanded their active support of our cause. The special contribution of the National Union may, if I read history aright, be summed up in two words: pertinacity and constructiveness. Public opinion has ebbed and flowed. We have sometimes been swimming against the tide and sometimes with it. But the National Union has always obeyed the injunction which Mrs. Fawcett once laid on us to

"Keep on ploughing when you've missed crops,
Keep on dancing when the fiddle stops,
Keep on faithful till the curtain drops."

Further, our pertinacity has not been of the stupid kind, which drops into a routine and maintains it by the mere force of inertia, but rather that of the skilled engineer, who recognizes that there are moments when a charge of dynamite is the best way of removing obstructions, but when the explosion is over steps back to the hole it has made and resumes his task of measuring and levelling, plate-laying and riveting, until the

² I allude here to the events of 1912.

A MESSAGE FROM DAME MILLICENT.¹

It is a matter of very great regret to me that I cannot be with you at your great meeting on 8th March, when you will have the honour and pleasure of welcoming the Prime Minister to your platform. I wish I could be with you. But I do not complain; for I have had what I may call a very good innings, having been privileged to work for Suffrage for women on the same terms as for men for 61 years, i.e. ever since 1867.

We celebrated a great victory in 1918, but we did not then win more than a part of what we have always claimed, i.e. equal Suffrage for women with men. This now seems to be almost a certainty; but I am among those who never account a measure safe until it has received the Royal Assent, so we will restrain our full rejoicings until that happy day arrives.

It may encourage doubters to be reminded that Norway, the first European Sovereign State to enfranchise its women, in 1907, was at first subject to the delusion that there was danger in creating an electorate in which the women outnumbered the men. Norway therefore in 1907 gave manhood Suffrage to men, but only a tax-paying Suffrage to women. But a few years' experience sufficed to convince the Norwegian Storting that the fear which this restriction indicated was quite illusory. There has never been in any country which has adopted equal Suffrage the least danger of the creating of a women's party voting against a numerically weaker men's party; each party consisting of men and women and the exact proportion of men and women being of no importance. After the fact had been demonstrated by six years' experience in Norway, the Storting abandoned its groundless terrors and in 1913 gave the vote to women on the same terms as to men. What they learned in six years I think we may flatter ourselves that we can learn in ten. With heartiest greetings and good wishes.

SIXTY YEARS AGO.—(Continued from page 35.)

they are able in each case to make a private law for themselves, and they invariably do so. Why do we not provide that justice for the daughters of the poor, which we take care to provide for our own daughters? Why is not that which is done in every case that we personally care for, made the law of the land, so that a poor man's child, whose parents could not afford the expense of a settlement, may retain a right to any little property that may devolve on her, and may have a voice in the disposal of her own earnings, which, in the case of many husbands, are the best and only reliable part of the incomes of the family? I am sometimes asked what practical grievances I propose to remedy by giving women a vote. I propose, for one thing, to remedy this. I give these instances to prove that women are not the petted children of society which many people seem to think they are—that they have not the over-abundance, the superfluity of power that is ascribed to them, and are not sufficiently represented by the representation of the men who have not had the heart to do for them this simple and obvious piece of justice. Sir, grievances of less magnitude than the law of the property of married women, when suffered by parties less inured to passive submission, have provoked revolutions. We ought not to take advantage of the security we feel against any such consequence in the present case, to withhold from a limited number of women that moderate amount of participation in the enactment and improvement of our laws, which this motion solicits for them, and which would enable the general feelings of women to be heard in this House through a few male representatives."

IT WAS AN OBSTINATE HILL TO CLIMB.—(Continued from page 36.)

whole road is completed. Thus, in the matter of equal franchise, we did not let even a year elapse after the 1918 Act before beginning to work by all the usual methods of Private Members' Bills, deputations, memorials, meetings, etc. Our 1920 Report, as we have seen, mentions the subject somewhat shyly and in a subordinate position. But a year later it had resumed its place of priority on our programme.

As for the other reforms won through the vote, you all know where we have led the way in initiating legislation or forming opinion and where we have merely seconded the efforts of others. We have no cause to be ashamed of the test. By the time the Council next meets we shall have completed another great stage in our movement. What lies beyond it? And by what if any readjustments of aim, constitution, and methods can we best face the tasks of the future? That is the question which during the coming year demands our thought, study, and pooled experience.

¹ A message from Dame Millicent Fawcett which will be read at the Queen's Hall meeting on 8th March.

REMEMBER 1917.

By MARY LOWNDES.

When the Reform Bill of 1917, admirably drafted, and familiar in its main outlines, went through two Parliamentary stages in the Commons without encountering more than the most perfunctory opposition, and passed its second reading by a majority of 289, a Women's Suffrage Bill was for the first time a part, if not an integral part, of a government measure.

In 1917 it was twenty-one years since Mr. John Stuart Mill's fine speech for Women's Suffrage, an oratorical effort of which a newspaper of the day said, "The echoes of that speech will endure." We hear them yet. The long grey years of anxious struggle, labour, and manifold disappointment have passed, and we stand to-day at the climax of our adventure; awaiting equal franchise for men and women, as promised by the Prime Minister.

In the Commons on Wednesday night, 20th June, 1917, before 10 o'clock, members began pouring into a thin House, and at 10 precisely the momentous question was put "that Clause 4" (which had been in debate) "as amended stand part of the Bill."

Notwithstanding Tuesday's favourable division, the moments of waiting were not unaccompanied by a feeling of tense anxiety in the ladies' gallery. We had been taken in so often. What if —? But there are the four tellers, bowing before the Chairman. The moment has come

AYES 214; NOES 17.

Silence in the House, not a murmur of applause. To members, no doubt, the issue was a foregone conclusion; but women in the crowded women's gallery would gladly have cheered to the echo the wonderful unanimity with which the House of Commons marked the acceptance of their charter.

We rushed to the entrance of the Gallery, hastening to gain the outer air, and help to spread the great news. Half-way down stairs we came upon our dear Mrs. Fawcett, who had been given a seat in the Speaker's Gallery, and that gave us a chance to give some voice to our enthusiasm. We came out upon the pavements of Westminster presently, dazed, amazed. The crowd of people, largely men, was making for Westminster Bridge Station, and when I at last reached a train, it was crowded with excited passengers, all discussing the great event of the moment. I kept my wits sufficiently to get out at Kensington station; but in my excitement I hardly knew when I had reached my own door in Chelsea, where I seemed to see my colleague waiting to welcome me! I burst out with my great news: "The vote is won!—a most wonderful majority!—Only 17 noes!—Tremendously exciting!—Mrs. Fawcett was there!—We cheered her on the staircase!—" Suddenly I moved forward, "We must go in; I must telephone to Palliser." No movement on the part of the door—no notice taken. I found in my excitement I had been addressing the door-knocker shining bright in the lamplight. My friend, tired of waiting, was sound asleep on the floor in our front room.

Well! I was very soon telephoning to Palliser. She was not asleep, but waiting eagerly at her end of the telephone—and we rejoiced together.

The Prime Minister of the day, Mr. Lloyd George, wrote a little later for the *Englishwoman*:—

"I need hardly say how much I welcome the passage of the Reform Act. I believe that responsible women voters can bring into public life a point of view and a spirit which will be of incalculable value to the progress of democracy in these islands."

WOMEN AND THE COUNCILS OF THE NATION.

By SIR OLIVER LODGE.

When a property-qualification for the franchise existed, so that not manhood or womanhood but owner or occupier had the vote, that owner or occupier was disfranchised if either a criminal, a lunatic, or a woman. It is strange now to remember this glaring anomaly, but the fact that it was so, and that nevertheless no immunity from taxation was granted, roused the fierce indignation of the thoughtful woman of a bygone generation.

When the change over to manhood suffrage was made, womanhood suffrage on the same terms lagged behind, and is not even yet complete, but the completion is inevitable. Arguments against it, as to how women are likely to vote, and whether they are intelligent enough to understand politics, are absurdly futile. If such questions were generally asked, how many of the present male voters would pass the test? If 25 had been the age decided upon for full citizenship it might have been wise, but it is too late now to hark back to that. Youth

(Continued at foot of next page.)

BRITAIN'S INDUSTRIAL FUTURE.¹

By Mrs. WALTER LAYTON.

The report of the Liberal Industrial Inquiry under the above title has been compiled by a committee appointed on the initiative of the organizers of the Liberal Summer Schools. Its conclusions are in no sense official, though it may be presumed that their recommendations will carry considerable weight among Liberals, as the committee included Mr. Lloyd George, Sir H. Samuel, Sir J. Simon, as well as a number of employers, trade unionists, and industrial and financial experts. The spirit in which the report is drawn up is admirably shown in the preface, where it is maintained that the industrial system of a country is judged by its success in providing for its people an opportunity to live a full and free life—to work under conditions which ensure fair treatment and reasonable leisure and furnish opportunities for achieving individual ambitions. It must satisfy the tests of justice and efficiency. Undoubtedly this is not so to-day, in spite of the great advances made under private enterprise.

Book 1 analyses the present condition of British industry, and urges (1) special efforts should be made to secure the removal of trade barriers of all kinds by international means, as the only way of helping our now sorely depressed export trades, and (2) a programme of national development which should increase our productive power and at the same time, by providing employment, enlarge the demand of the working population.

Book 2, which deals with the organization of industry, dismisses the choice between individualism and socialism, as largely an obsolete issue. For it is pointed out that private enterprise is superseded over a wide field of activity, amounting to some £2,500 millions worth of capital. It is necessary rather to devise means for increasing the efficiency of existing public concerns than to enlarge the field. It proposes to do this by the transfer of public undertakings to specialized bodies, in regard to which public authorities concerned should act in the capacity of shareholders. A reform of the Company Acts is proposed, which would impose greater publicity and ensure greater efficiency in the directorates of Joint Stock Companies, where the control of shareholders has been largely nominal. In regard to trusts, safeguards against unfair raising of prices or treatment of employees should be legally enforced.

But Book 3 comes to the heart of the industrial problem—the relations of employers and employed and the wages and status of the worker. Starting in the workshop it is proposed that in every concern employing more than fifty persons a works council must be set up by law which will discuss all questions of hours, conditions of employment, etc. The management will be required to make a clear statement to this body, at regular intervals of the firm's financial position and prospects.

Proposals are also put forward to secure the worker against arbitrary dismissal. For industry as a whole the existing system of negotiating bodies is to be extended and their powers enlarged and defined, and in certain cases their decisions are to be made enforceable by law. A Ministry of Industry (absorbing the present Ministry of Labour) and associated with a representative Council of Industry, with clearly defined functions, will give guidance and encouragement to these bodies.

As regards wages it is "not considered practicable" to establish a universal minimum wage, but the elements of a sound wage system are laid down as "(1) a recognition of the human need of the worker, by providing that no worker shall be paid less than will suffice to maintain himself and his dependants in decency and comfort; (2) a recognition of the worker's effort and capacity, by providing that the wage, above the minimum, shall be graded according to the effort and skill required and shall so far as possible, enable extra effort to earn extra reward. (3) A recognition of the worker's interest in the concern for which he works, by providing that he shall receive a share of its prosperity, to which he can, in his degree, materially contribute." The weakest part of the report lies in that though it is forced to the conclusion that in order to obtain (1) "human needs of the worker's dependants", some form of family allowances is really essential, it has not sufficient courage to recommend it in stronger words than that "it might be tried in selected industries as one way of raising wages when prosperity is increasing" and "negotiating bodies in various industries are asked to study the proposal in the light of their own conditions." If, as the report says, "it is the most feasible way of providing for family needs,

(Continued on page 41.)

¹ *Britain's Industrial Future*. (Published by E. Benn. Price 2s. 6d. paper, cloth 5s.)

A GLIMPSE AT A MINING VILLAGE.¹

By ELIZABETH FREETH.

Alighting from a bus in a large mining village in Durham County, the writer counted ten shops closed at one glance. There would not be more than for y shops in the whole village. Groups of men and boys stood about the mean-looking square, hungry-looking, pale-lipped, and most of them in bitter mood. All day long ambulances seemed to be running about. An epidemic of small-pox has broken out, thirty-nine cases in one week, due, some say, to low vitality consequent on a long period of semi-starvation.

Round about this place are a dozen or more collieries. Only one pit is working full time, most of them are "put down." Clearly there is scope here for the re-organization suggested in the Coal Commission's report. Some of the pits should be closed altogether and means provided for getting the men and boys to work at something. Useful labour could be employed in cleaning away the terrible streets of open ashpits and lavatories, which are a disgrace to twentieth century standards.

The people in this village say they do not live, they merely exist. They say the miners' wives are miracle workers, and indeed they are. Take this one, for instance. Husband out of work twelve months, pit closed. Income 29s. per week. Since the pit is closed rent must be paid and coal purchased. Rent is 7s. 6d. per week. There are five to be kept, three of them bright, carefully tended boys of 11, 9, and 6. The husband, who has read widely and expresses himself well, says his wife is the cleverest financier he knows; she gives them a bit of something to eat three times a day, but his bloodless lips show that the fare is scanty. The wife would work if there were any to be found, erstwhile employers of domestic labour are like the shops—nothing doing.

The vicar of the parish says there is nothing for it but compulsory emigration. But one felt that if the family spoken of here emigrated, our country would be the loser, and what chance would they have in a new country without some capital, all their savings are spent. There is something wrong with a country which cannot find work for such.

A girl of 14 died suddenly. The poor mother is suffering tortures, because the day before, apparently in her usual health, the child had asked for another piece of bread and margarine, which was the fare provided for dinner, and there was none to give.

The recent reductions in an already starvation rate in Durham and Northumberland have been received with feelings of horror and consternation. A leading member of the Northumberland Miners' Association says he does not know how the miners can live, he says the moral effect of the reduction will be disastrous, and that faith in arbitration and the settlement of disputes by peaceful means has received a terrible blow.

Do our consciences prick us that we did not do all we could to bring reason to bear on Government, coal owners and the Miners' Federation about the Report? There are thousands of miners of the type described above who were in favour of the report. Is it too late now to try to stir up public opinion?

WOMEN AND THE COUNCILS OF THE NATION.

(Continued from page 37.)

has triumphed, and is triumphing in many ways. The more it feels responsibility as well as power, the better for all.

A mistrust of women arose when some years ago they took part in violence and destruction as a means of gaining their ends; but the war wiped out the memory of that misguided time; women have proved themselves splendid, not only in heroism, which no one doubted, but in patient and self-sacrificing labour for the good of the community, not only in endurance but in competent skill. They earned their freedom, and they have attained it. The responsibility of full citizenship is now upon them, and but little faith is necessary to feel assured that they will rise to the occasion, and will contribute an element of goodness and intuitive sympathy, which when half humanity was unrepresented was too liable to be absent from the councils of the Nation.

¹ In next week's issue we shall return to this matter and hope to give some suggestions for practical help.—ED.]

CREDO.

Miss Royden's declaration of faith,¹ in Ernest Benn's "What I Believe" series, is a remarkably pleasing book, and in so far as it seeks to achieve the promise of the series, it does so with notable success. We really are told what Miss Royden believes, about God, about the Fall, the Incarnation, and the Atonement, about Hell, the inspiration of the Bible, the functions of a Church, and the meaning of sacramentalism. All these matters Miss Royden tackles with unconventional courage, sincere understanding, and a humour which is ever ready to condemn absurd things as absurd. The only serious deficiency which we can detect in the nicely proportioned comprehensiveness of her statement is in the matter of prayer. Essentially her book is a dissertation on the technique of the Christian life as well as of the theory of the Christian faith. Essentially it is a picture drawn for the benefit of the "man in the street" of the kind of faith which it is intellectually possible (or as some would say, necessary) for him to achieve as the condition of abundant life and harmony with his surroundings in space and time. And in such a picture prayer should play a more decisive part than Miss Royden has assigned to it in her text. What are its possibilities, the conditions of its successful practice? It is all the more a relevant aspect of her self-imposed task of popular exposition, because though a minority of her readers may have never seriously set themselves to the task of integrating a comprehensive religious faith, the bulk of them—on second thoughts we are tempted to say, all of them—have at some time or another conducted experiments on the baffling adventure of prayer. But having carpied at Miss Royden for what is not in her book, we are left with the easier obligation of thanking her for what is there. She has given us a very fine, very simple exposition of intelligent Christian faith. She has constructed for our occupation a temple comprising "many mansions," its windows wide open to the turbulent, astringent, cleansing winds of knowledge, and yet not founded upon sand but upon rock. And the nature of that rock we may compare with granite; for it is a close-knit composite formation. Experience of dynamic tendencies in human life and personal conduct are here brought into significant relation with a particular interpretation of the infinite. So much for what Miss Royden believes. It is when she attempts to tell us why she believes it, that our uneasiness is generated. Miss Royden handles the dangerous instrument of analogy with a higher hand than Plato, and the reader is from time to time conscious that the author is indulging in prodigious leaps ahead of her evidence.

When two books appear in the same series and cover the same range of subject, inevitably they challenge comparison. Miss Royden's "credo" is, whatever, her intentions, an *analysis* of views to which her inclinations have committed her. Professor Huxley's *Religion without Revelation*² is, in contrast, an attempted *synthesis*. And true to the stern dictates of the scientific method, he is determined not to budge one inch ahead of his evidence. Where Miss Royden bounds exuberantly from the attested fact of religious consciousness—or, shall we call it sacramental experience—to the conception of a personal God, an incarnate and revealed God, a God of love, Professor Huxley hovers diffidently over the genesis of the attested fact. But it is a fact which, under his reverent and delicate handling, emerges with singular vitality and dignity from the debris of torn and tattered religious hypothesis with which his destructive reasoning has surrounded it. There is no doubt that a good many of his readers will see in his thesis rather a denial of revelation than an affirmation of religion. But if they do, they will have failed at the outset to gauge the destructive potentialities of our present age of psycho-pathological research. Thus the affirmation of "an ultimate category of religious experience," a sense of sanctity, mystery, and awe, is the central theme of his book. And in far richer measure than Miss Royden (having less far to go he can go more carefully) he gives us from his considerable store of religious learning, some analysis of the practice and possibilities of prayer. What he does not give us, however, is an adequate integration between the attested fact of religious experience and what Miss Royden might perhaps call the science of human conduct. Christian philosophy presents Christ as the key to the situation. Well—here is a hypothesis for Professor Huxley, a possible line of advance

¹ *I Believe in God*, by A. Maude Royden. (Ernest Benn, Ltd., 7s. 6d.)

² *Religion without Revelation*, by Julian Huxley. (Ernest Benn, Ltd., 8s. 6d.)

from his indeterminate and unstrategic frontier of thought to a more workable, a more satisfying religious synthesis. We are left with the feeling that he has not given the matter the attention which it deserves. We do not ask that he should advance beyond the evidence which he has tapped; we suggest rather that there is a whole range of evidence in the annals of human conduct which he has not yet attempted to mobilize.

It is tempting to write endlessly, as it is indeed tempting to think endlessly, upon the subject matter of these two provocative and vivid books. But there comes a point (and the Editor remarks that it occurred some way back at the seven hundred and fiftieth word) when the reviewer must be content to close his random meditations with the expression of a debt of gratitude to these two outspoken writers and to their enterprising publisher.

M. D. S.

THE GOLDEN AGE?

UNDER THREE REIGNS. By the Hon. Mrs. Gell. Kegan Paul. 12s. 6d. net.

Mrs. Lyttelton Gell, writing in 1927 her memoirs of the time between 1860 and 1920, evidently looks back with some longing to the central twenty years of that period. Her general description in the Introduction of English life in the eighteen-eighties and eighteen-nineties comes from her like a sigh of regret for a departed golden age. But it might easily be read by a young Georgian as a picture of the horrors from which this generation has escaped:—

It is to be doubted whether a higher level of political nobility or domestic life ever prevailed . . . such matters were not then regarded as open questions . . . back sliders were apt to find themselves ostracized . . . a horror of what was unsavoury and degraded prevailed. . . The poets ennobled all they touched, and sought to reveal to the common herd something of the high ideals to which the least educated may aspire. . . Risqué plays were banned. . . It was an accepted convention in well brought up families that 'a lady does not read the police news'! . . . So strong was the sense that contact with what is squalid and mean must be avoided at all costs, that it was alleged when Mrs. Humphry Ward required local colour for the setting of one of her novels, she sent her husband to . . . the *Quartier Latin* to secure it, being unwilling to face it herself, even in the cause of Art."

Was it really as bad as that? one is tempted to exclaim. And, looking at it more seriously, one suspects that it was this very whitening of sepulchres by the Victorian that has provoked a fierce reaction in their successors.

For those who are not roused to antagonism by this aspect of Victorianism, Mrs. Gell gives a pleasant enough picture of the society in which she moved in her youth. It was an England in which, for the upper classes at least, the highest ideals were not incompatible with the greatest comfort. (Or so it seems, looking back.) The comfort was not of body only, but of mind, and in the country houses and Oxford colleges in which Mrs. Gell spent most of her early years, it found its most delightful, its most intellectual, and, at times, its most humorous expression. Mrs. Gell is full of good stories of the great men she has known. Bishop Stubbs, Dr. Jowett, the present Archbishop of York, Lord Milner, and his dear friend, her own husband. Queen Victoria appears in the background, and the description of her urging Dr. Cosmo Gordon Lang to dismiss one of his eleven curates and take a wife instead, is charming. Princess Christian also comes in, surpassing everybody else at an ambulance class, but saying at the end of it, "I am sorry, but Mama does not like me to go in for an examination." Many of the anecdotes are new, and very characteristic of those about whom they are told. Mrs. Gell has a felicitous memory, and, if one cannot quite agree with her as to the things which are most to be regretted in the age we have left behind, one can at least understand her regret for it.

I. B. O'M.

STOP PRESS.

STREET OFFENCES COMMITTEE.

On Friday, 9th March, Mrs. More Nesbitt and Mrs. Bramwell Booth will give evidence and on Saturday, 10th March, Miss Chrystal Macmillan. Committee meets at 6 Burlington Gardens (behind Piccadilly) at 10.30 a.m. At the last meeting of the Committee evidence was given by Sir Walter Greaves-Lord, K.C., M.P., of the British Social Hygiene Council, and by Lady Emmott. Owing to shortage of space we have to leave over our full account until next week.

CONFERENCE ON MATERNAL MORTALITY.

28th FEBRUARY, 1928.

On Tuesday, 28th February, the second of the Conferences on Maternal Mortality organized by Miss Gertrude Tuckwell and a small committee, was held in the Central Hall, Westminster, and was attended by a very large number of those interested in the care of mothers and children. The following message was sent by the Queen:—

"The Queen views with grave concern the continued high rate of maternal mortality. Her Majesty feels that a very real endeavour should be made to remove this reproach from our national life. The Queen trusts this may be achieved through the education of mothers themselves, in the need for ante-natal care through inquiry into the immediate causes of mortality in childbirth, and through a wider provision of first-rate medical and midwifery services. The Queen considers that the time has come for concerted action to be taken in dealing with so pressing an evil, and will await with interest the conclusions of this conference."

The speakers included Dr. Fairbairn, Chairman of the Committee of the Central Midwives Board, who showed how maternal mortality was lowest in those countries, such as Holland and Italy, where there was a good service of midwives. Both he and the next speaker, Miss Steen, of the Three Counties Nursing Association, showed the difficulty of attracting a sufficient number of educated women in view of the present conditions under which midwives worked. Miss Steen also emphasized the need of a longer training. Mrs. Harrison Bell spoke on behalf of the Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organizations, and made a plea for better and more adequate provision for maternity as part of the National Health Insurance Act. As one of the signatories to the Minority Report of the Royal Commission on National Health Insurance she was anxious to see established a State maternity service for all. Several of the speakers in the subsequent discussion drew attention to the need for better training of doctors, a point which had originally been excluded from the resolution. It was clear, however, that the existence of a certain proportion of under-trained doctors was regarded by the delegates as one of the most important explanations for the high maternal death-rate, and the otherwise curious anomaly that in poor districts such as West Ham the infant death-rate is about one-quarter of what it is in a residential town, such as Eastbourne, the number of cases being attended by doctors being very much higher in the latter case. The resolution finally passed was as follows:—

"That this meeting, consisting of individuals and representatives of Societies in touch with work among mothers and infants, pledges itself to work in all ways for the reduction of the continued high death-rate of mothers in childbirth.

"It is clear that more information is needed as to the causes of the 3,000 deaths occurring annually; that the professional care available for mothers both from midwives and doctors should be as perfect as possible, and, when necessary, free to mothers both at the time of childbirth and for ante-natal care; and that in every locality adequate maternity services should be available.

"This meeting, therefore, recommends:—

"That steps should be taken to obtain a medical inquiry into every maternal death due to childbirth.

"That the attention of the authorities responsible for the education of medical students should be drawn to the need for further training and experience in Midwifery as a preliminary to general practice in medicine.

"That an official committee should be set up to advise upon the whole question of the training and employment of midwives.

"That action should be taken in every area to induce all local authorities to make their maternity services adequate.

"That the provisions of the National Health Insurance Acts should be readjusted and extended so that medical and midwifery services should be available for mothers both for ante-natal care and during and after confinement."

OLIVER GOLDSMITH SCHOOL, PECKHAM ROAD.

SUNDAY, at 7 p.m.,

DR. WILLIAM BROWN
(Animals Welfare Society).

"THE RIGHTS OF ANIMALS."
QUESTIONS INVITED.

THE EDINBURGH CORPORATION BILL:
PROTEST MEETING.

A meeting to protest against the Edinburgh Corporation Bill, which deals with the compulsory treatment of venereal disease, was held in the Usher Hall on the evening of Friday, 2nd March. Lord Balfour of Burleigh presided over a large audience, and the speakers included Lady Astor, M.P., Mrs. Bramwell Booth, Councillor Dorothy Jewson, and Dr. Graham Little, M.P.

Mrs. Bramwell Booth pointed out that the history of all civil governments in the past which had endeavoured to legislate on this matter, showed them that the result of passing such a Bill would be to increase the evil they designed to prevent. To combat immorality and raise the standards of the people were the only means of combating the disease.

Miss Jewson said the question was not only of local importance, but affected the whole country. One of the objections to the Bill was that it would legislate for only one section of the community.

Lady Astor said she did not believe that the House of Commons would ever pass such a Bill, because the days of this kind of Bill were over. We could not look at this disease purely from the material point of view. While the doctors looked at the body, the real thing was to get hold of the mind and heart of the people. She did not believe that the powers asked for would decrease the evil.

Dr. Graham Little showed from statistics that under the voluntary system Edinburgh had reduced defaulters to 29 per cent, compared with 75 per cent for Australia, where compulsory powers had been in operations since 1915.

The resolution, moved by Lady Astor, and seconded by Dr. Graham Little, was in the following terms: "That this meeting of citizens and ratepayers of the city of Edinburgh desires to record its strong protest against the Bill introduced into Parliament by the Corporation for the application of methods of compulsion in the treatment of venereal disease, as being ill-advised, unwanted, and unnecessary, and likely to prejudice the great progress made in the treatment of these diseases under existing voluntary methods, and pledges itself to do all in its power to secure that this Bill shall not pass into law."

It was carried by a large majority.

W.I.L. ANNUAL MEETINGS.

The conference organized by the Women's International League last week, at the Gate Theatre on "The Influence of War Films," gave a vivid illustration of the fact that war passion and interest may be transferred to the ideals of Peace in a surprisingly short time. The general feeling of this crowded and intensely alert meeting in which there were numbers of men as well as women, was hostile to war films, as tending towards the perpetuation of national antagonism, and because the stupidity of war, its causes, and its lack of the ethics of peace cannot be adequately presented. It was interesting to learn that in the U.S.A. the censorship does not allow the production of films likely to be offensive to other countries. Business men connected with film production in this country declared their belief that in the provinces war films were dying and already dead in some of the colliery districts. London audiences—more superficial, it was suggested—might still make them a paying concern, but for how long?

It was the mental conflicts created by war rather than the physical that were described by Captain Berkeley, the author of "Dawn." "I wrote it," he said, "to show the horrors of the choice between loyalty to the system and loyalty to humanity—a choice which war forces upon the individual and which cannot be solved in decency or humanity."

The War Films Conference was a fitting prelude to the Annual Council Meetings of the W.I.L. which met the next day. The Council this year concentrated on a few resolutions on which it intended to take action. The most important points in the discussions centred round those dealing with the recent Kellogg proposals for a multilateral treaty and the renunciation of war as an instrument of international policy; the promotion of arbitration for all disputes between this country and any other, and the signing by the British Government of the Optional clause.

Particularly interesting and much too short were the discussions on Thursday afternoon on Naval Law and the Blockade question opened by Mr. Arnold Forster, and on the Development of Article 19 of the Covenant of the League of Nations addressed by Mrs. Swanwick.

QUESTIONS IN PARLIAMENT.

JUVENILE OFFENDERS AND SEXUAL OFFENCES.

Mr. Rhys Davids asked the Home Secretary whether it is proposed to introduce a Bill during this Session to embody the recommendations of the committees on juvenile offenders and sexual offences against young persons.

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks: I much regret that owing to the pressure of public business I am not at present able to introduce legislation on this subject.

Mr. Davies: Will the right hon. Gentleman bear in mind that several of these committees recommended administrative action, and will he look into that subject in order to see what can be done?

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks: Certainly.

COUNTY COUNCIL ELECTIONS, 1928.

By the time this paper is published the results of the elections for County Councils will be known, and we hope to give the complete results next week. In London 65 women were nominated, of whom two, the Hon. Lady Lawrence for the St. George's Division of Westminster, and Lady Trustram Eve in South Kensington, have been returned unopposed. As far as our information goes, about 120 women were candidates for provincial county councils, and the following have been returned without a contest:—

Denbighshire	Mrs. Breeze.*
Carnarvonshire	Mrs. E. Griffith.*
Essex	Mrs. Alderton, J.P.
Kent	Miss Wigan.*
Lancashire	Lady Worsley-Taylor.*
Merionethshire	Mrs. Morgan, J.P.*
	Mrs. H. M. Richards.
Middlesex	Mrs. Baker, J.P.*
Northants	Miss B. Cartwright, J.P.*
*Northumberland	Miss C. H. Greet.
	Mrs. Fisher.
	Mrs. Millar, J.P.*
Norfolk	Miss E. M. Godfrey.
Surrey	Mrs. Payne.*
	Mrs. Skeats, J.P.*
Sussex	Miss Scovell.*
	Mrs. Mead.
Warwickshire	Mrs. Andrew Dykes.*
	Mrs. Melville.*

* Standing for re-election.

Lady Worsley-Taylor, who has again been returned unopposed for the Whalley division of the Lancashire County Council, has served on the Midwives Committee during the past three years. She also takes an active interest in the Women's Institute movement, being the Treasurer of the Lancashire County Federation. Mrs. Alderton was the first woman to be elected to the Colchester Borough Council and was Mayor of that Borough from 1923 to 1924.

1866. 1928.

LONDON AND NATIONAL SOCIETY
FOR WOMEN'S SERVICE.

(Formerly London Society for Women's Suffrage).

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LEAGUE COUNCIL MEETING.

By HEBE SPAULL.

There is a heavy agenda before the Council of the League of Nations which opened on 5th March. On the preliminary agenda there were twenty-five items but several additional items have since been added. These include the filling of two vacancies on the Permanent Mandates Commission, one of which has been occasioned by the death of Madame Bugge Wicksell, the only woman member of the Commission. It is very much to be hoped that a woman will be appointed to one of the vacancies. The most outstanding matter before the Council is the traffic in arms. This is an issue which has been raised by the Little Entente as a result of the incident at the St. Gotthard Railway Station on the Austro-Hungarian frontier on New Year's Day, when five railway wagons containing cases marked "parts of machinery" were found to contain machine guns. The railway wagons were coming from Italy, and their destination is believed to have been Hungary. As Hungary is not allowed under the Peace Treaty to import arms, the Little Entente—Czechoslovakia, Roumania, and Jugo-Slavia—who fear that their neighbour may be secretly arming, have appealed to the League.

The dispute between Hungary and Roumania again comes before the Council, though there seems some prospect of the disputants settling the matter by direct negotiation. Appeals from Portugal and Bulgaria for Stabilization Loans are other matters upon which the League Council will have to give decisions. These appeals were considered by the League's Financial Committee last week, and the Council will base its decisions on their findings.

The new League buildings are other matters upon which the Council will have to make important decisions whilst the new International Cinematographic Institute at Rome also figures on the agenda.

The question of the number of Council meetings to be held in a year is the subject of a report which has been prepared by the Secretary-General. So far the Council has been meeting four times a year, but at the request of the British Foreign Minister, consideration has been given to the possibility of reducing this number. Some concern has been felt lest a reduction in the number of Council meetings should hamper the League's work. No alteration in the number of meetings will in any case take place until after the next Assembly.

BRITAIN'S INDUSTRIAL FUTURE.—(Continued from page 38.) while still leaving a margin for the reward of special ability and effort"—and if a national minimum at any figure sufficient to cover all needs is "utterly impracticable"—surely it is logical to recommend that a system of family allowances should at least be introduced into the payment of all government and municipal employees.

It is suggested that the Trade Board system should be extended whenever necessary to attain No. (1)—surely here again it would be practicable to enforce a minimum which would cover all needs, if family allowances were introduced.

It is interesting to note that the conclusion that "it can probably only be by a system of pools including whole industries" that Family Allowances can best be introduced in this country was also arrived at by the Family Endowment Inquiry Committee of the Women's National Liberal Federation. Women will welcome the recommendation to extend the use of Trades Boards, as it is so often in trades employing a majority of women workers that they are most needed, because payment of wages is so low.

Though no general recommendation is made as regards compulsory arbitration or limitation of the right to strike, the public is to be protected against arbitrary stoppages in the essential public services. The Council of Industry should schedule these industries and request the negotiating bodies in each industry to submit a scheme providing for a satisfactory system of negotiation and adequate guarantees for its full use.

Among the many proposals made for meeting the unemployment problem those for the development of garden cities, slum clearance on a large scale, the raising of the school age to 15, and the general training for all unemployed boys and girls up to the age of 18 will be particularly welcomed by women.

The report should certainly be studied by all those who desire a greater peace in industry and better conditions of life for the men, women, and children of England. People may differ as to its conclusions, some may wish to do more, others less, but the actual diagnosis of the situation to-day is of immense value, and this report is bound to play an important part in the future development of industrial relations here. Its excellent summaries are a great aid to the reader. The chapters on industrial operation and the rising generation—its education and employment will be of real value and interest.

LEGAL AID FOR THE POOR.

Readers of this column will remember that the subject of legal aid for poor persons in the police courts has been frequently referred to. Protest has been made against the injustice which is caused by the absence of such aid, and also by its inadequacy in the Higher Courts. In 1926, a Report appeared from the Committee which had been appointed by the Lord Chancellor and Home Secretary to investigate the subject. It was reviewed in this column, and disappointment was expressed that its recommendations went such a little way to remedy existing evils. The same Committee has now issued its second and final report, which deals with legal advice and assistance to the poor in civil cases. The first Report was unanimous; the second consists of a majority report, and one from the minority, and of the former it may be said that it is even more disappointing than was its predecessor.

The recommendations of the majority really amount to almost nothing at all. They express a hope that the number of Poor Man's Lawyers in the country will increase, and they advise that, when a Poor Person has been admitted to sue or defend in the High Court and his case has then been remitted to the County Court for trial (this being in the words of the Report "a small class of action"), the County Court fees should be remitted in favour of the poor litigant. This is all that the majority have to recommend after holding fifteen meetings and examining eighteen witnesses!

Nor is this failure, as one might say, "from want of telling." No less a body than the Council of County Court Judges presented a memorandum asking that the judges might have power to remit fees in the County Court. This memorandum must have been actuated by the knowledge that the fees were often a severe hardship to poor persons, and should in such cases be remitted. But this proposal the Committee turn down on the ground that it would "encourage litigation."

The Report describes the very undesirable practice which at present exists, and of which poor persons are the victims, whereby a solicitor, on hearing of an accident and while the sufferer is still in hospital, will offer to fight the case for compensation in return for a percentage of the sum which is recovered. But though this evil is exposed no remedy is suggested beyond, as stated above, a pious aspiration that the number of Poor Man's Lawyers will increase. All social workers realize the enormous value of the work that these latter do. But the report itself reveals very clearly how utterly inadequate they are to meet the needs of the poor for legal advice. It is true there are 54 in London, but of these 27 are run by political parties, and are not therefore generally available, and there are only ten in the whole of the country outside London. And this failure of voluntary organizations to meet the need grows more marked every year as fresh legislation is passed, and the great body of law which affects poor persons and about which they need knowledge and advice if they are to get their rights grows greater and greater.

The majority fail to recommend any legal assistance in the County Court because they do not consider there are many cases in which a want of legal assistance results in a denial of justice. This may be true enough if it means that entirely wrong judgments are not often given because a poor person is not legally represented (though even this would be very difficult to prove). But it ignores the cases in which a poor person refrains from taking a case into Court at all because of lack of means to pay for legal aid, and those in which the expense incurred in obtaining such assistance is far greater than a poor person ought to incur.

Happily there is a Minority Report signed by two members, Mr. R. J. Davies, M.P., and Miss Dorothy Jewson, who was the only woman on the committee. They ask that the judge in a County Court should have power to remit fees and to provide legal assistance through an extension of the Poor Persons Rules, if he is satisfied that the circumstances of the poor litigant necessitate such action. And also that when a civil case is being heard in a Court of Summary Jurisdiction the magistrates should have similar powers as regards the provision of legal aid. The minority also express the view that the voluntary system of Poor Man's Lawyers has failed to meet the need, and they ask that legal advice should be provided by the Local Authorities. This is a large proposal which must be dealt with in a later issue.

CLARA D. RACKHAM.

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

President: Miss ELKANOR RATHBONE, 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.

EDINBURGH CORPORATION BILL.

At a recent meeting, held at N.U.S.E.C. Headquarters, of representatives of those Societies which are working in co-operation with the Edinburgh S.E.C. to oppose the Edinburgh Corporation Bill, it was decided to issue immediately a pamphlet setting out some of the main arguments against the Bill. This pamphlet has been drawn up by the Association of Social and Moral Hygiene on behalf of the following Associations: Alliance of Honour, National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, St. Joan's Social and Political Alliance, Women's Auxiliary Service, Women's Co-operative Guild, Women's Freedom League, Women's National Liberal Federation. It gives a brief statement of the provisions embodied in the Bill in its amended form, with criticisms, and notes in answer to the various arguments put forward by the Edinburgh Corporation in support of the Bill and published in a pamphlet circulated recently by the Corporation to all Members of Parliament. Copies of the pamphlet, which is entitled "Reasons Against the Edinburgh Corporation Bill, 1928 (Venereal Diseases), are being sent to each Member of Parliament. It is an extremely clear statement of the case against a Bill which empowers a Medical Officer of Health to enforce treatment of persons suspected of suffering from Venereal Disease. Copies, price 2d. each, may be obtained on application to N.U.S.E.C. Headquarters.

ST. IVES BY-ELECTION.

The Conservative candidate at the above by-election, Sir Andrew Caird, has wired to say that he supports the Prime Minister's proposals with regard to Equal Franchise. Mrs. Runciman has not replied at all.

OXFORD SUMMER SCHOOL, 4th-11th SEPTEMBER, 1928.

A preliminary notice of this year's Summer School, giving brief particulars, is now being distributed. The lectures will include courses on the History of the Woman's Movement, the Meaning of Democracy, the Ideals of the Three Political Parties, International Problems; and it is also hoped to make arrangements for students interested in particular subjects to form groups for studying together. We shall be very glad to send copies of the leaflet and further details to any interested in the School, if they will kindly apply to the Secretary N.U.S.E.C.

NEWS FROM SOCIETIES.

THE HUDDERSFIELD SUFFRAGE BANNER.

We hear that Mrs. Josiah Lockwood, the originator of the Huddersfield Suffrage Banner, has responded to a suggestion that the authorities would be pleased to place it in the Museum there, and that after the demonstration on 8th March, and the passing of the Act giving votes to women on the same terms as men, she will make the presentation. The National Union Suffrage Banner hung in a Museum as a relic of a past struggle makes us realize the long stride we have taken!

BIRKENHEAD AND DISTRICT W.C.A.: ANNUAL MEETING.

A very successful Annual Meeting of this Association was held last month. In moving the adoption of the Report, which showed a very active year's work, Mr. R. P. Fletcher, T.C., stressed the great value of the non-party character of the Association and of its active educational work carried on by means of its Monthly News Sheet and by its members addressing meetings of other organizations. Work for Equal Franchise had formed an important part of the year's activity and both the Birkenhead Members of Parliament had stated that they were in favour of this reform. Mrs. Van Gruisen, President of the Association, suggested that during the coming year the Association should concentrate on interesting the new women voters in the work of women in public affairs.

BOLTON W.C.A.

A meeting of the Women Citizens' Association was held last month on the subject of Social Insurance. The speaker, Miss Martelli, the author of *Social Insurance*, gave an interesting and lucid account of the various provisions for social insurance in this country and pointed out various gaps. The meeting was presided over by Mr. W. Farnworth and was followed by a good discussion.

CARDIFF W.C.A.

At the end of last month Alderman Turnbull, J.P., Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Cardiff City Council, gave a very able address on Municipal Finance. The address was followed by many questions and a very good discussion. The meeting was presided over by Mrs. W. G. Howell (Deputy Lady Mayoress) in the absence, through illness, of the Lady Mayoress, who is president of the Association.

CORRESPONDENCE.

TWO COMING EVENTS.

MADAM,—We hope to celebrate two events in the near future, the Josephine Butler Centenary and, should this Government remain in office, the passing into law of an Equal Franchise Bill. This seems to me significant and I like to associate the two. What use are women going to make of this weapon which is likely soon to be placed in their hands? Will the memory of this great and noble woman spur them on to greater effort, so that this work of hers may be brought to completion? Josephine Butler was a pioneer of the Woman's Movement keenly interested in its every phase, but after some hesitation she decided to concentrate on the moral question, for in it she saw the crux of the whole matter. In the sombre figure of the prostitute coming down to us through the ages she was able to discern the secret of woman's subjection.

Between the years 1864 and 1869 three contagious diseases Acts came into operation in this country, and her attention being called to it, her intense love for humanity and hatred of injustice compelled her to come out into the open and fight the abomination.

Of late years greater knowledge of disease and its causes has rent the veil of secrecy, and these matters are openly discussed by women and men, but in those days, outside the medical profession, they were practically ignored, and the sheltered woman was expected to feign complete ignorance on the subject. It is therefore impossible for us to estimate the courage required of the woman who dared to become the champion of her outcast sisters. Had it been a man he would have been regarded as a crank, but this cultured, high-principled woman had abuse hurled at her and was, in fact, told that she was worse than the prostitute whose cause she had taken up. It was due entirely to her splendid leadership that in 1886 these Acts were expunged from the Statute Book, and as a proof of her wisdom and far-sightedness, although the system does still exist in some countries, it is becoming more and more discredited.

Although there is no longer State regulations in this country, there are still special laws directed against what is termed the "common prostitute," she being convicted on the testimony of one policeman, who, as stated in evidence before the Street Offences Committee, has to guess by a man's gesture whether he is annoyed and who regards it as a personal grievance of the case is dismissed. This is a form of slavery which cannot be suffered to continue. Equality at the ballot box and in certain walks of life is not enough. There must be equality in the eyes of the law. The outer walls of the masculine stronghold have been breached and the vote will be a powerful weapon with which to attack the minor defences. If the memory of Josephine Butler is an inspiration to feminists to-day, if she "being dead yet speaketh," those inner walls, those inequalities in law should soon crumble away. May it not be that this year in which we celebrate her centenary, will see the triumph of those two great principles for which she stood, namely equal justice for all, and the recognition of the sanctity of each individual soul.

21 St. Leonard's Road,
Ealing.

A. M. VATCHER.

A WOMAN "SPEAKER."

MADAM,—In your issue of 2nd March, in the paragraph "News from Canada," which mentions the temporary occupation of the Speaker's Chair in the British Columbia Legislature by Mrs. Ellen Smith, you add the sentence, "This is claimed as a precedent for all British legislatures." But Mrs. Smith might have occupied that particular position *permanently*, is she had been so minded, for in 1921 she was offered the Speakership of the House at the united request of the Government and the Opposition, but declined the honour because she preferred to remain on the floor of the House, where she could speak for herself. Later she resigned her position in the Cabinet for the same reason, *viz.*, in order to secure freedom for public criticism of courses of which she could not approve. Mrs. Smith—"Our Mary Ellen"—has been a Member of the British Columbia Legislature almost continuously since 1918, and has had the satisfaction of seeing every one of the measures she has advocated become law.

Oak Way,
Englefield Green,
Surrey.

DOROTHEA M. NORTHROFT.

"DAWN."

MADAM,—In your issue of 2nd March, there are reflections on the execution of Nurse Cavell which appear to me gravely to misrepresent the circumstances.

It is a travesty of facts to compare her activities with those of an ordinary spy. Nurse Cavell was head of an important hospital in Brussels at the time when the German army treacherously invaded Belgium, which country suffered indescribable atrocities under its conquerors. While most of the English inhabitants left Brussels, Miss Cavell remained there at her post to nurse the wounded. She nursed numbers of wounded German soldiers in her hospital.

She was arrested by the order of the German governor, Baron von Bissing, on the charge of having harboured British and French soldiers in her house, as well as Belgians of military age, and of having helped them to escape from Belgium.

At her trial she did not deny the charge, but said that: "She believed these men would have been shot by the German authorities, so she had felt it right to try to save them." Her crime was resisting the tyranny of the invader. For this she was shot before dawn on the day after the sentence of death had been passed upon her.

The German Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs made the statement in Berlin that the sentence had been carried out "to frighten the women." Your paragraph closes with the comment, "Had Nurse Cavell been spared, we should have been able to applaud an example of wisdom and magnanimity."

Wisdom and magnanimity shown in abstaining from committing what one of our leading statesmen declared, at the time, to have been "the greatest crime committed in the name of Law since the Middle Ages!"

Winston,
Sutton Scotney, Hants.

LAURA E. RIDDING.

WOMEN DENTISTS.

MADAM,—My dentist (Mr. H. P. Joscelyne, 54 Newhall Street, Birmingham) has asked me if our Association or kindred society could do anything to remove prejudice against women dentists. He, a man of considerable reputation, considers the work of school clinics eminently suitable for the special qualities of women, but applications for such work, to city or town Councils, are almost invariably turned down for women applicants. Smethwick, Birmingham, being a single exception.

At a discussion in our Y.W.C.A. Branch here, there was a very evident prejudice. Miss Irene Cox, our National General Secretary, has advised me to write to you about this question. There is, I understand, a shortage in the number of dental students.

Y.W.C.A.,
27 Sansome Street, Worcester.WINIFRED BANISTER,
Branch Secretary.

OBITUARY.

We greatly regret the sudden death of Mr. James Kidd, Unionist Member for Linlithgowshire. Though Mr. Kidd did not take a conspicuous part on our behalf in the House of Commons, he believed in the removal of all sex inequalities. In 1919 he promised to ballot for the Woman Solicitors Bill, a private Member's Bill forestalling part of the Sex Disqualification Removal Act. He lived to see his daughter Margaret the first advocate to appear before a Parliamentary Committee when the Greenwich Corporation Bill was under consideration in 1927. The Parliamentary Correspondent of *The Times* writes that nothing in his Parliamentary career gave him greater pleasure than this event.

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COMING EVENTS.

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

East Lewisham W.C.A. MARCH 16. 3 p.m. Courthill Road Hall. J. R. Gillett, Esq., "Life and Work of Josephine Butler."

Edinburgh W.C.A. MARCH 14. 8 p.m. Garshore Hall, 116 George Street. Public Meeting. E. Savage, Esq. (Public Libraries Committee), "The Organization of Information for Public Use."

Maidenhead W.C.A. MARCH 16. 3 p.m. "Abbotsleigh" (by kind permission of Miss Duncan). Mrs. Gray, "Mother India."

St. Pancras S.E.C. MARCH 21. 8 p.m. 27 Grove Terrace, Highgate Road. Mrs. Lowe, L.C.C. "Possible Developments in Education."

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MARCH 17. 2.45. St. Patrick's Club Room, Soho Square. Miss Alison Neilans, "The Solicitation Laws." Members only.

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MARCH 13. 5 p.m. 92 Victoria Street. Miss Storm Jameson, "Women in Publishing." Chair: Miss Vera Britain.

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EDUCATED HOME HELPS BUREAU, 190 Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W.1 (new address), requires and supplies educated women for all domestic work. Registration: Employers, 2s. 6d.; workers, 1s. Suiting fee: Employers, 7s. 6d.; workers, 2s. (Victoria 5940.)

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES, Guildhouse, Eccleston Square, S.W.1. Sunday, 12th March. 3.30, A. Dimsdale, Esq. 6.30, Rev. Bernard Spaull.

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