

THE WOMAN'S LEADER

AND THE COMMON CAUSE

Vol. XX. No. 12. One Penny.

REGISTERED AS
A NEWSPAPER.

Friday, April 27, 1928.

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

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

NOTES AND NEWS.

The Budget.

Mr. Churchill's "Producers' Budget" has had the best reception, and seems to us the most interesting Budget which has been produced since that which incorporated the Widows', Orphans', and Old Age Contributory Pensions scheme; in fact, in many ways its effect will be more far-reaching. The aspects of the speech which will be of most interest to readers of this paper are not so much the wiping out in the process of fifty years of the National Debt, not so much (except in their individual capacities) the tax on petrol or the rebate on sugar, or the safe-guarding duty on buttons, etc., they are rather the further measure of state family allowances contained in the proposals practically to double the rebates for children of income-tax payers, "another application," as Mr. Churchill stated, "of our general policy of helping the producer," and the great scheme for the relief of rates on producers, including factories, railways, mines, etc., and the complete abolition of rates on farms and agricultural lands other than farmers' residences. Not only should this scheme, if administered as intended, go a considerable way towards offering relief to those heavy industries in which unemployment is now most rife, but this relief of rates carries with it the reform of Local Government both as respects areas and administration, some aspects of which have received very wide support among social reformers generally. It will include the incorporation of Mr. Chamberlain's scheme of poor law reform, abolishing the Boards of Guardians in their present form, and placing on the county as a whole the burden of relief and upkeep of rates. We welcome this particular change as a step in the right direction, though we must admit that in certain areas at least, such as South Wales, the county is not the suitable unit on whom the burden of relief of able-bodied unemployed should be placed, this particular task should have been undertaken by the Treasury. The substitution of block grants for percentage grants for health services we deplore, as leading inevitably to lack of enterprise on the part of the less progressive among Local Authorities. The announcement with regard to the taking over of Treasury notes by the Bank of England was, of course, no surprise. As the Chancellor explained, the Bank is taking charge of the present note issue and the assets held against it. The extraordinarily important details as to the relation of the Bank's gold reserves to the note issue was not touched on. We shall be referring to this important question in our next issue.

The Kellogg Proposals.

We confess we are puzzled at the many cross currents relating to Mr. Kellogg's note both in France and elsewhere. The

French Note, while undertaking to renounce war as an instrument of national policy, without, however, affecting the exercise of their right to legitimate defence within the framework of the existing treaties and action in which they will be led by treaties such as the Covenant of the League of Nations, appears to qualify Mr. Kellogg's formula by the principle of collective war as a sanction against aggression. The view in America seems to be that these restrictions will render the French proposals unsatisfactory to the United States. The *Manchester Guardian*, while appealing for acceptance of the Kellogg proposals, advocates that the right course is for European countries not to demand too explicit an interpretation. "League opinion" is satisfied that the obligations under the Covenant are not inconsistent with the proposals; we ourselves feel that the mere repetition of the solemn desire to outlaw war will have a psychological effect on all the peoples of the world which should render its own consummation much more likely. We devoutly hope, therefore, that France can be induced not to attempt the impossible task of defining "aggressor," but will content itself with the affirmation of the principle.

Equal Franchise Bill in Committee.

Those who attended the committee stage of the Franchise Bill during the first part of the sitting, when the amendment under discussion was that of Sir Alexander Sprot to raise the minimum voting age for new voters to 25, were rewarded by more entertaining speeches than have been heard in the House of Commons for many a long day. The Home Secretary was in a specially gay and sparkling vein. Lord Hugh Cecil, in a characteristic, witty, and delightfully phrased speech, represented the die-hards, on the grounds not of sex, but of political philosophy. Lord Hugh regards the vote not as a right but as a function, and was of the opinion that the State should decide who are most fit to exercise this function. The Home Secretary, in comparing Lord Hugh Cecil to the Piltdown Skull itself, and pointing out that the Bill stands not for the disfranchising of privileged voters, but for the enfranchisement of humanity as a whole, showed that you could not put the clock back "merely because of this oligarchical idea that government should be by people most fitted for it." He added that if he had to consider which was the best age for anyone to take their share in political life, he would come to the conclusion that it was 62. The die-hards were indeed fighting a forlorn hope for the amendment was lost by 359 votes to 16. An amendment moved by Miss Bondfield on behalf of the Labour party, attacked the extension to women of a qualification in respect of their husband's business premises. The Labour party's protest against increasing the number of plural voters and perpetuating the principle of plural voting, was backed by Sir John Simon. The Under-Secretary to the Home Office would not give way, however, and argued that a business was quite as authoritative as a residential qualification, and that no measure which pretended to give electoral equality, could disfranchise 120,000 women, while retaining the enfranchisement of men similarly qualified. It was felt, moreover, that whatever one's views on the question of plural voting, in a Bill whose object was the assimilation of the franchises, it was not desirable to reopen the whole question of qualification. The amendment was defeated by 208 to 138.

Election Expenses.

All sides of the House rallied to support Mr. Henderson's clause which sought to limit the maximum election expenses to the existing maximum, thus involving a reduction in the amount allowed per head in respect of each voter. The Home Secretary admitted that as the Bill stood permissible expenditure would be increased by about 25 per cent. The variety of opinion expressed as to the form and amount of limitation was so great that the Home Secretary promised to ask the Government to

reconsider the point over the week-end, and to deal with it at the next sitting of the committee. At the second sitting the discussion with regard to expenses was fast and furious. The Government remained neutral, and gave a free vote. Interesting figures were given showing that the actual amount spent at the last election per elector had been 4.23 pence in London, 3.9 in other English and 2.5 in Scottish boroughs, and 5.29 in English and 4.87 in Scottish counties. Finally the maximum expenses for county divisions were reduced by 1d., those in boroughs remaining the same, so that they now stand at 6d. for counties and 5d. for boroughs. The Bill passed through its Committee and Report Stages. We refer to the implications of these changes in our leading article.

Street Offences Committee.

Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Dr. Mary Gordon, and Bailie Snodgrass, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Glasgow Society for Equal Citizenship, gave evidence before the Street Offences Committee on Friday, 20th April. Lord Balfour had been invited to defend the Public Places (Order) Bill, of which he had been in charge in the House of Lords. Dr. Gordon, speaking in favour of the abolition of special legislation dealing with prostitutes, spoke from her experience as a past Inspector of Prisons; and Bailie Snodgrass gave the considered views of her Society on the subject, that part of her evidence relating to individual cases which had come before her in her capacity as a magistrate being, by her own request, given in private. A fuller account of the Committee will be published next week, but as each sitting of the Committee is held we feel more alarmed as to the kind of report it is likely to produce. All the cross questioning, especially that of the able Chairman, Mr. Hugh Macmillan, seems to be based on a desire to elicit from witnesses the point of view that solicitation should be dealt with under special regulations, and should not be included under those for keeping order generally.

Edinburgh Corporation Bill.

A great triumph was recorded in the House of Commons on 19th April, when the second reading of the Edinburgh Corporation Bill was lost by 156 votes to 93. The debate was an extremely interesting and illuminating one, and we recommend to all those interested in this subject the purchase of the parliamentary debate for that day. Both the case for and that against the Bill were extraordinarily ably put. The case against the Bill was opened by Mr. Pethick Lawrence, who made a well-reasoned, temperate, and comprehensive speech. In addition to showing that in his view and the view of those opposing the Bill, compulsion would only drive the disease underground, he added that whereas "public opinion will be too strong to allow this miscellaneous dragging into the net of all sorts of men and women in this way, it is very likely that in the end these provisions would really be confined to prostitutes." Dr. Graham Little supported him, mainly on medical grounds, showing the differences of opinion among doctors as to treatment and tests for cure, and the high amount of skill required in dealing with the disease. He pointed out, moreover, the difficulty of a local Bill, as individuals who wished to escape the purview of the Edinburgh Corporation, had only to move to Glasgow. Perhaps the most convincing speech on this side was made by Dr. Salter. He exposed the fallacy of the argument that venereal disease should be treated as are other infectious diseases, and showed the failure of compulsion in other countries. Lady Astor summed up admirably the case against the Bill, as did also Mr. Ernest Brown, the only Member for Edinburgh opposing it, and other speakers. The defence, in spite of their case being excellently put forward by Dr. Drummond Shiels and others, had to fall back on the somewhat ingenious plea that the Bill should be given a second reading in order that it might be dealt with by the committee upstairs. We need not point out, however, that had the second reading been passed, the principle of the Bill would have been accepted. Fortunately Sir John Gilmour, on behalf of the Scottish Office, advised the House, "quite plainly and quite emphatically," to reject the measure, on the grounds that work for the elimination of this great scourge "must always be in proportion to and not in advance of the volume of public opinion which can support it." He also expressed a doubt as to whether such cases quoted by proposers of the Bill could be more adequately dealt with by compulsion than now. Sir John Gilmour referred to the Glasgow Bill, described in our columns last week, as evidence of the difference of opinion as to methods of dealing with the disease, but refused to give his own opinions on the latter. As in our view the Glasgow Bill is very considerably worse than the Edinburgh Bill, we both expect and hope it will meet with the same fate as that of its sister city.

Rents and Family Allowances.

An interesting proposal was put forward last week by Mr. E. D. Simon at a conference of Lancashire and Cheshire Local Authorities on Housing and Town Planning. Mr. Simon showed that in spite of the large addition of new houses, slum conditions were rather worse than they were in 1918, and the policy of slum clearance and of building new houses at rents from 10s. upwards would hardly improve conditions. To enable the labourer to bring up a family of three children under healthy conditions, new houses must be provided at rents he could pay. This would involve the continuation of the policy of subsidizing houses, and he suggested that the most effective and cheapest way would be to vary the subsidy with the size of the family. He recommended, therefore, that the Housing and Town Planning Association, which was responsible for the conference, should investigate the whole question of housing the labourer's family, and of limiting rents for larger families. He himself would advocate in the case of a worker with a wife and the standard family of three children, the giving of rebate of 1s. a week per child, though he thought that the scale might have to be reconsidered if the children were so numerous that the rebate would exceed the rent! We very much hope that the Housing and Town Planning Association, or some other body, will respond to this most valuable suggestion.

Dame Ethel Smyth.

Ethel Smyth chose her patron saint well when, seventy years ago on 23rd April, she was born to make glad the hearts of men and women. We know little about St. George but the fact that he is called "St. George for Merrie England," but somehow we think he did not spend his whole time killing a dragon in a singularly gentlemanlike manner. If he stood for Merrie England he must have been merrie. So Ethel Smyth chose well. Of her music the *Manchester Guardian* correspondent tells us "The Wreckers" is easily the biggest opera by an English composer," and again "there is no work by Dame Ethel which condescends to be as feminine in pace and tenderness as the 'Dorabella' variation of Elgar." "Compared with Dame Ethel's music," he continues, "that of Delius is maidenly and that of Parry is grandmotherly." Those who understand music will know whether he is right, but we incline to think he is. There is, in its degree, something Shakespearian about Dame Ethel's humour, using that word in its largest sense, and using it not only of her writings but also of her whole outlook upon life. And can we ever forget Miss Smyth on the royal hearth rug? Frozen to the floor by horror, as she realized that the rug was for royalty alone, eternity seemed, so she tells us in "Impressions that Remained," to pass while Victoria's eye rested upon her, and until Princess Beatrice broke the evil spell with a gentle gesture and gave her again the health and strength necessary to get back on to common earth. Miss Smyth, as the friend of the Empress Eugenie, saw much of royalties, but her heart was with the then "outcast" suffragettes. About 1911 appeared her "March of the Women," which even to-day seems to express just the dare-devil courage, the direct childlike outlook, the irrepressible spirit of the typical suffragette. We are bound to keep reminding ourselves that we have never met Dame Ethel. We all feel as if we knew her, and we are all quite convinced that her 70 years are only "so-called." She is for ever young, and for that we offer to her our homage.

His Wife's Income.

The absurdities of our present income tax law in its dealings with husband and wife was illustrated last week in the London Bankruptcy Court, when Lord Robert Innes-Ker explained that of his total liabilities of £32,825, no less than £30,000 represented a claim by the Inland Revenue Department for income tax on the earnings of his wife, Miss Jose Collins. His own income, had, it appeared, amounted to some £700 a year in the form of allowances, he being without occupation. Without knowing any more about this Gilbertian financial tangle than is vouchsafed by a very meagre Press report, we cannot withhold a measure of sympathy from all three parties—from Lord Robert Innes-Ker, who appears to be bearing the brunt of joint pecuniary mismanagement; from Miss Jose Collins, who, though appearing to reap some measure of enviable irresponsibility, is not placed thereby in a position of dignity; and from the Inland Revenue Department, which is required to collect sums due to it by such indirect means. It appears to us regrettable that Miss Jose Collins is not liable for her own income tax on her own income, and that she is not herself brought to book by the Inland Revenue Department when it remains unpaid.

MONEY AND POLITICS.

The prospect of an increase in the electorate under the present Franchise Bill has thrown into the political arena an important side-issue in the matter of election expenses. The Bill is calculated to increase the average constituency from round about 36,000 to round about 45,000 voters—roughly by about 25 per cent. The scale of election expenses fixed after much discussion in connection with the 1918 Representation of the People Act, was 7d. per head per elector in county constituencies, and 5d. per head in borough constituencies. The original draft of the new Franchise Bill omitted to provide for any alteration in this scale—thus in practise the maximum expense of fighting an election would, in the absence of any new provision regarding election expenses, be proportionately increased.

The case for a reduction of the pro rata scale to neutralize any such increase was ably anticipated on Saturday of last week in a letter to the Press by Sir John Simon. There is no reason, he points out, why an increase in the electorate, unaccompanied by an increase in the size of the constituency or the period of the electoral contest, should greatly add to the candidate's expenditure. The same number of meetings, the same number of committee rooms, the same public display of posters, will suffice for the new electorate as for the old. It may be added that anyone familiar with the job of delivering election literature will agree that the business of covering a particular street is hardly likely to be rendered more burdensome by the inclusion of a few extra house inmates or even of a few extra houses. It is only in the matter of printing extra election literature that an inevitable increase of expenditure is likely to result from the new Franchise Bill. But this, as Sir John Simon points out, "could not justify an increase by 25 per cent of a candidate's authorized expenditure." Thus an increase of potential expenditure unaccompanied by a corresponding increase of real expenditure must be regarded as a further premium on the political fortunes of the candidate who is prepared to spend freely and up to the legal hilt upon his electoral campaign.

Now for obvious reasons the whole question of electoral expenses bears heavily on the fortunes of one particular party: the Labour party. Its active politicians are recruited from among men and women to whom, on an average and in the absence of outside support, the authorized £700 to £1,000 required to fight an election is likely to constitute a more serious obstacle to a parliamentary career than is the case, for instance, with the Conservative party. As Professor Laski has pointed out in his interesting study of the personnel of the British Cabinet between 1801 and 1924, successive Franchise Acts have so far made surprising little difference (some difference, of course, but as yet surprisingly little) to the political dominance of the aristocracy and the *rentier* class. "In part, and perhaps mainly, it is derived from the possession of an income which renders them independent of the need to earn a living," and which incidentally allows them to devote themselves to the business of

JOSEPHINE BUTLER: ARTIST.

[We have been privileged to receive from Mrs. Butler's grandson, Mr. A. S. G. Butler, the following appreciation of "the Saint," as he characterizes her, "who enjoyed goodness and the beautiful things of the world." Somehow these few words give us new insight into the immensity of the sacrifice made by one to whom beauty meant everything and who yet, with utter simplicity and humility, spent her life in the company of ugliness by deliberate choice.]

"It is almost impossible, I think, for a grandson of a great woman to write an article on her from the expected point of view. The relationship postulates, of course, recollections of a child and a young man of an elderly lady. For my grandmother never seemed quite old: she was too vital always. That is still my impression of her, and the effect of her enchanting personality is now almost as strong as it was over twenty years ago when she died. For it was my privilege to be born in her house at Winchester, see and be with her at very constant intervals, and receive letters from her at school and university, sometimes as often as twice a week. She was a tremendous letter-writer, and most of them contained delightful thoughts conveyed in beautiful and often amusing language. Some of them are great treasures and revealed my grandmother's real quality. It was a quality difficult to describe, but I might convey it by saying she always seemed to be and to think on the highest level—not the depressing loftiness of natural

politics at an earlier age. The weight which money gives to political influence is still, in Great Britain, a very real thing. And though it is conferred as Professor Laski amply demonstrates, by something more than the mere power to put up a substantial capital sum for the election expenses of a local party organization, yet such power is a factor to be reckoned with. It is obvious, of course, why it has in fact the peculiar party significance which we have attributed to it. Rightly or wrongly, the Conservative party stands pre-eminently as the vigilant guardian of those existing institutions of property, inheritance, and industrial organization, in which the present distribution of wealth, leisure, and opportunity may be presumed to have its roots. One can thus readily understand, if not sympathize with, the desire of our political left wing to neutralize the political advantage of wealth by securing, in the present case, a reduction of potential election expenditure. Such a measure of neutrality may not go very far—it may be a mere drop from the bucket of economic inequality—but it is something.

But if the influence of money power bears hardly upon Labour party politicians, it is probable that it bears hardly too, though to a lesser degree, upon women. For women are, on the whole, the poorer sex. From the entire range of high business incomes they are almost wholly excluded. With a few outstanding exceptions the same may be said of the higher professional incomes. In the *rentier* class, though property comes their way, its general tendency is still in the direction of concentration upon the male. And in the matter of parental allowances we are still far from the goal of equal pay for equal idleness. It is when one turns from the political advantages of money-spending to the political advantages of leisure that the relative opportunities of men and women appear to take a sudden twist in an unfamiliar direction. In the working classes, of course, free time for public work is a benefit hard to come by for women as for men. Indeed, the home is, if anything, a more insistent taskmaster than the wage-earning occupation. And at the top end of the scale it is likely that equality of leisure is substituted for equality of work. Tradition allows the nobleman's son to devote himself at the close of his university career, to an untrammelled existence of public work. But in the wide range of the middle classes, from which at present our active politicians are predominantly drawn, it is for various reasons, traditional and practical, easier for a daughter than for a son to plunge at an early age into the business of politics or into some form of social service which may open an avenue to political opportunity. Mrs. Sidney Webb includes in her recent autobiography some shrewd remarks upon this rare female advantage.

But in the matter of election expenses we are dealing with inequalities of money-spending rather than with inequalities of leisure. Therefore, for the sake of women as well as for the sake of working men, there is everything to be said for confining them within the narrowest possible limits.

superiority but the high plane of the saints who *enjoyed* goodness and the beautiful things of the world. I think I may say she had every talent there is and found much pleasure in them, but she never showed off. I do not think it occurred to her to do so. But she did enjoy playing to us. She taught me to draw: I know she enjoyed that and she really loved beautiful forms, especially mountain outlines. She was an artist in words also, but more than these, she *lived* beautifully. She made use of, quite easily, all the instruments of artistic emotion—and not only of those but of her beautiful self, her lovely face and figure, her fine breeding, the tones of her voice, even the stylishness of her dress to kindle people to think and act and live a little better. Why should she not? God gave her all these gifts which she gladly accepted. For the pith of her quality was her faith—the lovely faith of a child backed by a superb intelligence—an intimacy, almost incredible to-day, with a personal God. Prayer was the basis of her life. She knew its use and I *know* her appeals were answered.

"Such is the quality of sanctity. I dare to call it that with some pride in this dear English woman. Others will tell you of her work: I can only recall clumsily a lovely character. She succeeded in life more than anyone in this generation. But if we had told her so, she might have asked what we meant. Is not that *real* greatness?"

A. S. G. BUTLER.

OBITUARY.

JANE ELLEN HARRISON.

Jane Ellen Harrison led a life devoted single-mindedly to scholarship from the time she went to Newnham in 1874 till a few months before her death. She disliked politics; detested committees and administration; resisted family life as narrowing, and refused marriage for fear of the unbearable strain it might entail in division of interests. To follow a star so continuously for fifty years with the full force of a rare vigour of intellect and personality is remarkable in either sex. And the star ever eluded pursuit; for it was no less than the interpretation through ritual and religion of the moral evolution of man.

Her youth in a somewhat dour evangelical Yorkshire background has been entrancingly described by herself in her *Memoirs of a Student's Life*. At 24 she won a scholarship at Newnham, plunged into the study of classics and obtained a higher place in the tripos than any woman student, handicapped by insufficient preliminary teaching, had yet been able to achieve. She had a passion for languages, while she looked forward to indulging in old age when real work was over, and a remarkable power of interpreting the psychology of a people through the peculiarities of the grammatical structures of their tongues. But linguistic scholarship in the days when that was the natural province of a classical scholar never satisfied her as a goal. In the 'eighties at Cambridge "the classics were turning in their sleep." Schliemann's excavation of the Homeric civilization, gave a realistic bent to the study of classical literature, and Jane Harrison turned to the more concrete problems of Greek art. But here again art did not long remain her primary interest, though she used it to butter her bread by lecturing during the London phase of her life from 1879 to 1900.

Introductory Studies in Greek Art, published in 1885, and a magnificent volume of reproductions of Greek vases issued in collaboration with D. S. MacColl in 1894, now out of print and valuable, are the witness to this side of her life. In 1890 she published *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, an illustrated commentary on the Attica portion of Pausanias, with a translation by Mrs. Verrall of the Greek text. This is still the best guide-book to Ancient Athens; more useful than her *Primitive Athens*, published in 1906, but is out of print and out of date and badly needs a new edition.

Her first book, *The Myths of the Odyssey in Art and Literature*, published in 1882, had already shown the real bent of her mind. She had made herself an expert on the subject content of Greek vase-painting, and was a pioneer in using the vases to throw light on the beliefs of the people who made them. For the next twenty years she collected the material that in 1903 was published as the *Prolegomena to Greek Religion*. What might have been considered a specialist subject became under her treatment a book of wide appeal. Her humour, charm, delicacy of perception and vitality of mind transmuted an abstruse and technical subject into a work of literary art, revealing her own individual outlook on life on every page. This was followed in 1912 by *Themis* (of which a new edition has recently appeared), a further study in the origins of Greek religion, and in 1921 by the *Epilogomena to the Study of Greek Religion*. *Ancient Art and Ritual* in the Home University Library and a 6d. book on Greek religion in Benn's Series, recently published, are brilliant summaries of the larger books.

Her own continually expanding mind was never satisfied with her past interpretations of Greek religion. Always testing her theories by every advance in knowledge made by English and foreign scholars of religion and psychology, and finding in each new philosophical movement further illumination, there could be nothing static in her outlook. She was 70 when the theories of Freud seemed to her to involve a new orientation in the treatment of the origins of ritual. This study she felt her life too short to follow up and therefore no longer worked at the subject.

In 1900 she had returned to Newnham with a fellowship to complete her *Prolegomena*, and was on the Staff of the College till 1922. She directed students in archaeology and gave occasional public lectures in Cambridge to crowded audiences. During these years she developed her lecturing technique till each lecture was a highly finished artistic performance. Her manner, style, production of her slides, gestures, and clothes were elaborated with much practise into a work of art, in as high a degree the creation of expression of a personality as a recitation by Ruth Draper. Men in Cambridge flocked to her lectures and her residence at Newnham gave the College a

wide intellectual prestige. Her sympathies were always with the young and she gave of her best to each generation of students. At dinner she presided with a courtesy, charm, and radiance of manner that produced keen competition to get a seat at her table. Few students read archaeology and were actually taught by her, but her influence in the College was profound. The Suffrage movement claimed her enthusiastic support, and she backed up the band of students led by Mrs. Oliver Strachey, Miss Elinor Rendel, and Mrs. Hubback who first evangelized the College. Her sympathy took the form of a strikingly individual pamphlet "Homo Sum," reprinted in a collection of her essays *Alpha and Omega* in 1910; but she was never moved to speak at meetings or serve on a hated committee for any cause whatsoever. In her 'seventies she was appointed to the Bench at Cambridge, attended regularly and was proud of the honour.

There was no school of Russian studies at Cambridge, and as her war-work, Jane Harrison took up the study of Russian with enthusiasm, learnt it as thoroughly as Greek, and was able to teach it for some years in the University. In 1922, when over 70, she went to live in Paris with Miss Hope Mirrlees, an ex-Newnham student, 40 years younger than herself, to whom she had taught Greek, and who had become her best friend. At the American University Women's Club there she was still a focus of inspiration for younger women, and was warmly welcomed by French philosophic scholars. In collaboration with Hope Mirrlees, she published Russian translations as late as 1924, including the *Book of the Bear* and *Life of the Archpriest of Awakum*. Till the very end there was no dimming of Jane Harrison's intellectual life. When, unable to talk for more than ten minutes, it was still of a group of young anthropologists whom she thought were getting less consideration from the older gang than they deserved, and her voice rang with the old eagerness. Perhaps even a greater monument than the books she has left behind is her spirit living in the lives and output of innumerable younger women, and men too, who owed the orientation of their lives to her inspiration.

AGNES E. CONWAY.

MISS WINIFRED MOBERLY.

Winifred Moberly's death on 6th April removed from us a valuable worker and a very special personality. She was a student at Lady Margaret Hall, but before her course was completed she was wanted at home, and left without taking her degree. Later she returned to her old college for a time as Bursar. On the outbreak of war she served first under the Queen's Work for Women Fund, organizing workrooms and kitchens all over London. She next became secretary and organizer of a Sick Room Helps Society, and then went out to Russia in charge of the British Women's Maternity Hospital, Petrograd.

On her return from this very arduous expedition she was sent to France under the Y.W.C.A. Her next undertaking was a two months' lecture tour in America, after which she was appointed Principal of St. Hilda's College, Oxford. Her principality covered a period of great activity both in the College, which increased its members and extended its buildings, and in the University, whose welcome action in admitting women to full membership involved much reorganization. Miss Moberly's foresight, breadth of vision, and sense of justice were invaluable, and she contributed not a little to the inheritance of Oxford women. But this succession of strenuous tasks had told on her strength, and three years before her death her health began to fail. Her friends will not forget the gallantry with which she faced life and continued her work under the scourge of sleeplessness. In September last she underwent an operation, and was not able to return to work again.

Born of a soldiering family, the daughter of one colonel and sister of another, and niece of a distinguished general, Miss Moberly was herself completely fearless. Physical risks, delicate situations demanding frank dealing, unpleasant tasks, she met them all unhesitatingly. The same sincerity and courage characterized her whole mental outlook, and gave her a refreshing freedom from worry. A pervading quality was her generosity. She would give without measure time, help, or money. New ideas she welcomed, and she was always on the side of youth. She was quick to divine and appreciate the qualities of all sorts of people. Together with her administrative power and her rare balance and sanity this personal gift peculiarly fitted her for her position and endeared her to her students.

Miss Moberly's interests were not limited to her work; she

(Continued on next page, column 2.)

A MODERN CASUIST.

The Rev. F. A. M. Spencer attempts, in his book *Civilization Remade by Christ* (George Allen and Unwin, 7s. 6d.), to carry forward the traditions of the mediaeval casuists by a completely fearless application of the Christian ethic as revealed in the Gospels to the social problems of contemporary life. He takes in his stride such hard conundrums as war, punishment, property, charity (in the technical sense), marriage, the family, education, and eugenics. If he handles these matters without displaying any very startling profundity or suggestive originality of treatment, at any rate he diffuses over them an atmosphere of unfettered sincerity which is not the unvariable attribute of members of his cloth. At no point does his quest for the logical application of a very stirring (one might almost say subversive) moral and spiritual precept knock up against blank walls imposed by ecclesiastical tradition or social convention. He is prepared to follow the leading of his spiritual and intellectual perception on a rough cross-country run, off the beaten high-roads and the track of comfortable hostelries. It may, and indeed it does, land him in social and political conclusions somewhat inimical to the guarded monopolies of the well-to-do, the safe taboos of traditional morality, and the entrenched strongholds of sex privilege.

Incidentally, he displays in all his dealings with the difficult situations confronting the twentieth century citizen, a wide knowledge of the relevant contemporary political, economic, and scientific literature. Thus, for instance, dealing with the social and economic frustration of family life in our present economic system, he is able to draw upon the technical possibilities of various family endowment schemes. He expresses himself in sympathy with the principle of family endowment, and his sympathy survives the possibility that in some future millennium science and organization may vastly increase the product of labour so that a man's wage may be sufficient to support quite a numerous family. Why, in such a case, he asks, should not the children receive their full share of the prosperity to be? But in this matter this attitude to the problem of distribution reflects his attitude to property in general. He is, on the whole, unconvinced that the unrestricted possession of property, carrying with it no social function and imposing no citizen obligation of stewardship should be regarded as an inalienable and sacred personal right.

N. D. S.

SUTTEE.

A Historical and Philosophical Enquiry into the Hindu Rite of Widow Burning. By Edward Thompson. 7s. 6d. net (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.).

Not to all nor for the asking is understanding of India given. It must be wooed and won with the talents neither common nor often found together—practical ability to see where change and reform are needed, how to carry them out, and keen vision into the human value of a system of life radically strange to us. But the appeal of India to the literary man—to Mr. Kipling, to Mr. E. M. Forster, to Mr. Edward Thompson—may be due to just this, that his place is somewhere between the man of action and the philosopher.

Since much of what repels the West hinges on the rite of suttee, it is fortunate that to Mr. Thompson has fallen the lot of giving the first full account of it to be published anywhere. As poet, dramatist, novelist, and historian he has already brought to Indian affairs sympathy, penetration, and balance, and in the present volume he adds substantially to his reputation. In his 144 pages he unites conciseness with fullness; he is neither laboured nor summary and he can look at our own social system as dispassionately as that of India:—

"It may seem . . . illogical that nationals of Europe, whose countries had such ferocious penal codes and had known, scarcely a century before suttee began to shock the English conscience, orgies of witch-burning and religious persecution, should have felt as they did about suttee. But . . ." etc.

Tracing suttee to an almost universal savage custom, Mr. Thompson holds that it died out among the Aryans before their migrations but that it was reinstated among those of them who, on invading India, found it still there. And once grafted on to the rigid code of Hinduism, there it remained. From the fifth century B.C. there is continuous evidence of it, of the burning of thousands of women at one pyre, of wild revelry over reluctant victims goaded to death. Its suppression began in the early sixteenth century, and it loomed large before the first British rulers in India. Individuals, by their own efforts, did much to put it down in the late eighteenth century, but suppression in British India in 1829 was almost wholly due to

Lord William Cavendish-Bentinck. Similarly in the Native States Dalhousie step by step achieved the same thing. By the middle of the century suttee had become the exception, and it is almost obsolete now.

A brief "historical and philosophical inquiry" covering a long period of time is almost bound to incline to the former side. Here there is, indeed, little "philosophy" as such. The author does not connect suttee with the rest of Indian thought, as the philosophical method would suggest, and the result is that, though an avowed lover of India, he paints a black picture. Nor does he probe far into the religious side of suttee—its view of an after-life similar to that on earth and the belief that the widow, punished for sin by her bereavement, expiates that sin on the pyre. The dark backward and abysm of time in which suttee began often remains dusky. As there are records of it in Greece, Scandinavia, and Egypt, as well as India, some greater Aryan connection is suggested than the chance graft from savage custom. And there is no inquiry why, if rites alike suttee were so widespread, there is no trace of belief in an after-life in any of that early funeral-song traceable over most of the globe from Abyssinia to Ireland and ultimately to the Hindu-Kush itself. Nor is there mention of the ethnologists' claim that rites like suttee belong to the "culture" religions imposed by conquerors and that they are later in origin than the regular communal lament, which has been said to begin in "that blackness of thick darkness which veils the life of earliest man."

Mr. Thompson inevitably recalls Miss Mayo, though his book was finished a year before hers. Differences in attitude and method only drive home the more emphatically his reinforcement of her protest, especially in his statement of the reasons for suttee. There were religious causes, there was that of saving the widow from falling into an enemy's hands. But he insists that it was also an expedient for dealing with the fact that Indian women had no social, intellectual or political function or entity:

"A chieftain's women were toys and dolls . . . moths who led a twilight existence that ended in the bewildering pomp that brought them to the flame."

The zenana, existing solely for the husband, often seethed with intrigue, and on the death of the husband his wives became a peril and a problem to the heir. Suttee thus became useful, a brilliant device for driving out the Devil by mean of Beelzebub.

Nowhere is Mr. Thompson more outspoken than at his climax—the climax, be it remembered, of a study historical, scholarly, intent on setting forth facts and neither impressionistic nor polemical.

"The Hindu marriage ideal cannot survive examination; still less can the sex-obsession of the civilization and the social system which, in making one sex the unpitied servant of the other, drains and destroys both. . . . Suttee has gone, but its background remains. Children are married and ravished, their bodies maimed, their minds mutilated. If a generation could arise with the physical and moral vigour that in nearly every other land is a normal possession, much that is now thought admirable in Hindu literature and religion would be seen as a revolting nightmare."

E. C. E.

MISS WINIFRED MOBERLY—(Continued from previous page.) loved games and gardening and sketching; she was a wide though a fastidious reader, and an ideal companion alike in a picture gallery or on a country walk. Her loss is keenly felt by a very large number of friends and fellow-workers.

OCTAVIA ADLER.

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LOCAL GOVERNMENT NEWS.

By BERTHA MASON.

FACTS AND FIGURES.

The triennial elections for local authorities in London and the country are over. In accordance with the promise made in our last article we are now able to give a brief summary of the results with some facts and figures concerning the elections which have recently taken place.

COUNTY COUNCIL ELECTIONS.

The outstanding feature of the County Council election in London was electoral apathy. The proportion of electors who voted on 8th March in 1928 is shown by an official return to be 35.6 per cent, compared with 30.6 per cent in 1925. The percentages of persons voting ranged from 48.0 per cent in Mile End to 19.6 in Brixton. Sixty-five women candidates were in the field compared with 49 in 1925, of whom 22 were elected. These, with the addition of 3 women aldermen, of whom 2 were elected at the first meeting of the Council, brings the total of women now serving to 25. The provincial County Council elections were marked by the same electoral apathy. In many counties few contests took place, old members in the majority of cases being unopposed.

A woman has been elected for the first time to the Soke of Peterborough County Council. In England, Essex, Lancashire, Middlesex, Norfolk, Northumberland, Hants, Sussex (E.), Suffolk (E.), Wilts, have increased the number of women; and in Wales, Caernarvon, Carmarthen, Merionethshire. The number of women County Councillors is approximately 135 and 11 Aldermen; total 146, as compared with 130 in 1925.

URBAN AND RURAL DISTRICTS.

Elections for the Councils of these districts took place throughout the country between 30th March and 4th April. Judging by the returns before us, of which we give a few, it would appear that in many parts of the country there is a quickening of interests in the work of local government, while in other districts great apathy and lack of civic interest still prevail.

Cumberland.—At Brampton, for instance, keen interest was taken in the R.D.C. election, 75 per cent of the voters polled; 2 women returned.

Penrith.—In the U.D.C. election, a 90 per cent and 80 per cent poll was taken in three wards. "An unusual feature of the election was the return of the first woman candidate."

Lancashire.—Considerable interest taken in the U.D.C. elections, due, it is stated, to the introduction of party politics! At Tollington, Bury, 85 per cent of the electors polled, which in the words of a resident, "is more than can be said for many places."

Yorkshire.—Polling and interest only moderate. At one little village, Osgodby, in the East Riding, however, the polling strength of which was a hundred, every voter was accounted for. The two candidates for one seat on the R.D.C. tied with 48 votes each; result settled by a draw. At Horsforth and Otley less than half the electorate polled in the U.D.C. election. No women candidates.

East Anglia.—In some districts considerable interest was taken in the U.D.C. elections. At Brightlingsea there was a record poll.

Nottingham District.—At Long Sutton a woman candidate, the first, was returned at the head of the poll in the U.D.C. election.

North London.—At Finchley only 35 per cent of the electors voted in the U.D.C. election. The only woman candidate in the field for a seat on the Council and the Board of Guardians, and the nominee of the Women's Citizens' Association, secured a double, being elected for the former and heading the poll for the latter.

Caterham District.—"The unspeakable apathy of the electorate combined with the rain to make election day dull and uninteresting." Small polls. At Leatherhead only 32.8 voted. About 130 women candidates came forward, some for the first time, many of whom returned.

BOARDS OF GUARDIANS.

Polling throughout the country in the majority of cases on 2nd April.

The outstanding feature of the elections was the remarkable number of women candidates, and the return of many

standing for re-election. In many divisions the eagerness of persons to secure election was more marked than the willingness of persons to elect.

London.—Little interest shown. 1,300 candidates in the field. Many women candidates returned. Less than 20 per cent, it is estimated, of those entitled to vote went to the poll.

Manchester City.—"The apathy of the electorate was again a marked feature." Poll for the whole of the union about 33 per cent.

Leeds.—"Women played a prominent part."

Sheffield.—"Poll extraordinary poor." About 24 per cent. 30 women candidates, of whom 14 were returned.

Birmingham.—Poll in every ward very small. Nineteen women returned out of 36.

Stockton.—"Outstanding feature of election was the number of women candidates."

Brighton.—Only 20 per cent of the electors voted. New woman candidate was elected.

Lack of space forbids further examples being quoted. We hope in our next article to write briefly on some lessons to be learnt from the elections.

FIRST ANNUAL DINNER OF MORLEY COLLEGE.

The result of reading the Press report of the recently held First Annual Dinner of Morley College, at which Lord Eustace Percy and Miss Ellen Wilkinson were the principal guests, is to make us a little envious of its principal. "Morley College," said Professor Graham Wallas, its new president, "stands for the free, unbiased study of the humanities, of literature, and of life." What music on the ear is this to those who have spent wearisome years in propaganda. But we would wish to overcome our feelings of unworthy jealousy and to offer to the College the warmest congratulations on this brilliant event.

A MISUNDERSTOOD MAN.

In a recent address to the National Council of Women in Manchester Lady Emmott put up a strong plea for local action by women's organizations on behalf of women police. There was, she reminded her audience, already enough legislation to make possible the appointment of women to every police force in the country. What was wanted was strong local effort. She did, however, admit that the circular on the subject sent out by the Home Secretary "erred on the side of discretion," and that though local authorities tended to resent dictation from Whitehall, a number of them suggested by their action that they had somewhat misunderstood the feeling which existed there. "They had not quite realized how strongly in favour of women police the Home Office really was," and this favour she attributed not merely to its parliamentary chief but to some of its permanent officials. She wished, indeed, that the Home Secretary's circular had been more strongly worded. So do we. The more so as we are well aware that Sir William Joynson-Hicks can word things strongly enough when he chooses. But we agree that the appointment of women police like the retention of married women teachers is a cause that under present conditions must fight its main battles on innumerable local fronts.

CORRECTIONS.

We regret that in the paragraph entitled "Deputation on National Health Insurance," published in our issue of 13th April, it was stated that Miss Rathbone put forward the case for "benefits graded according to sex." This, of course, should have read "benefits graded according to wages and not according to sex."

We regret that in our leading article of 13th April entitled "Women in the Church" Dr. Grenfell was referred to as Dr. Greenfield.

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Telephone: Victoria 6188.

DEMOCRACY.—Oxford, 4-11th September, 1928.

There is no doubt whatever that the Summer School at St. Hilda's College this September will be tremendously interesting. We have already indicated that it is intended to be of special use to the new voters, and we are therefore particularly glad to be able to announce that *Mr. Norman Angell* hopes to give an address on "Can the Vote be Intelligent?" and that the ideals of the Conservative and Labour parties are to be presented by *Miss Maxse* and by *Mr. Pethick Lawrence* respectively. The "History of the Woman's Movement" will be given in two or three lectures by *Miss Rathbone*, whose direct contact with the work for so many years is sure to make this series exceptionally inspiring. "Arbitration," a subject so much before the public at present, about which many are anxious to hear more details, will be discussed by *Miss Courtney*. More directly associated with "Problems of Democracy" will be the lecture on "Local Government," given by *Miss Macadam*, and on "Woman as Wife and Mother," given by *Mrs. Hubback*. Requests for application forms should be made to Headquarters as soon as possible.

MARYLEBONE BY-ELECTION.

We have sent copies of our Parliamentary Questionnaire to each of the candidates in the above by-election, and *Mr. Basil Murray (L.)* has answered all the questions in the affirmative. *Sir Rennell Rodd (C.)* has been asked to receive a small deputation of women constituents who wish to lay before him their views on a number of questions of immediate interest, such as an Equal Moral Standard, the maintenance of facilities for training Women Medical Students, and the appointment of more Women Police.

DEPUTATION TO THE MINISTER OF HEALTH.

Mr. Neville Chamberlain, in connection with the present National Health Insurance Bill, received on 17th April a Deputation from the N.U.S.E.C., consisting of members of the Executive Committee and *Miss Gertrude Tuckwell*, Hon. Sec., Maternal Morality Committee. Our case was presented by *Miss Rathbone*, *Miss Tuckwell*, and *Mrs. Hubback*. A full account is given in another column.

TWO NOTABLE SUCCESSES.

We offer our heartiest congratulations both to *Mrs. Margaret Hills* and to the *Stroud Urban District Council*, to which she is the first woman to be elected, though not the first to be nominated. *Mrs. Hills*, better known to suffragists as *Margaret Robertson*, stood for the Council with the support of the Local Women Citizens' Association, whose members "worked magnificently." Out of twenty-seven candidates *Mrs. Hills* headed the poll with 1,848 votes, a larger number than any candidate has previously attained, and we hear that no one could talk of "apathy among the women electors" in that district.

We should also like to congratulate *Mrs. Blakeston*, who was elected top of the poll with over 1,200 votes on the *Driffield Board of Guardians*. In both these cases election addresses and polling cards were used, and a good deal of educational work carried out by means of leaflets, etc., a large number of which were supplied by the N.U.S.E.C. Headquarters.

WOMEN IN THE SERVICE OF HOSPITALS.

Tuesday, May 8th, 2.30-6 p.m.

The Conference of representatives of Women's Organizations and others which, as already announced, the N.U.S.E.C. is arranging on various aspects of Women in the Service of Hospitals, will be held at the *Mary Sumner House*, 24 Tufton Street, S.W. 1 (not 4 Tufton Street as stated last week). The following have already very kindly consented to speak:—

Dr. Margaret Emslie.

Miss C. Fulford, Chairman, Fulham Board of Guardians.

Dr. Graham Little, M.P.

Miss Eleanor F. Rathbone, J.P., C.C.

Visitors' tickets (price 1s.) may be obtained either beforehand on application to the N.U.S.E.C. Office, or on the 8th May at the door. Those wishing for tea (price 6d.), at 4 o'clock, are requested to let the Secretary at the N.U.S.E.C. know by Monday, 7th May.

NEWS FROM SOCIETIES.

ST. PANCRAS S.E.C.

A large number of members and friends of the St. Pancras S.E.C. gathered at 27 Grove Terrace, N.W., for the monthly meeting held on 18th April, when addresses were given on the subject of "Women in India". The first speaker was *Mrs. Hannah Sen*, B.A., one of the most brilliant of the young Indian women at present living in England. After a brief sketch of what had been accomplished by Indian women in the past, she gave a short but extremely illuminating account of the various successes achieved by our Indian sisters during the last few years. Her speech was followed by one from *Dr. Herford*, whose long experience of medical work in India gave her address a special interest. *Miss Ashworth*, *Dr. Sen*, and many other members and friends took part in the animated discussion which followed and which was kept up until a late hour. The meeting was one of the most delightful and successful the St. Pancras S.E.C. has held.

EDWARD WRIGHT AND CAVENDISH BENTINCK LIBRARY.

The following books have recently been added to the Library:

The Case for Family Endowment, M. D. Stocks.

Civic Health and Welfare, Annie R. Caton and Marian Berry.

Social Insurance, Evelyn Martelli.

The Woman with the Basket; The Story of the Women's Co-operative Guild, Catherine Webb.

The Post Office, Sir Evelyn Murray.

The Growth of the Constitution, E. Balfour Melville.

State Socialism in Practice, Archibald Nurd.

Some Historical Principles of the Constitution, Kenneth Pickthorn.

The Socialist Movement, 1824-1924—Parts I and II, Arthur Shadwell.

The Protection of Motherhood, Report by Dr. Janet Campbell.

The Economic World, Arthur and Eveline Burns.

George William Johnson Civil Servant and Social Worker, Alice Johnson.

Josephine Butler: An Auto-biographical Memoir—New Edition, 1928, George and Lucy Johnson.

Women and Holy Orders, Canon Raven.

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On SATURDAY, 12th MAY,
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will be held on

Josephine Butler's Challenge and the
Position To-day.

Chair - Sir ROBERT NEWMAN, Bart., M.P.

1st Session 2.30.	1. THE TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN. The Hon. Mrs. ALFRED LYTTTELTON, D.B.E. Dr. LOUISA MARTINDALE, M.D., B.S., J.P. 4 p.m. Interval for Tea.
2nd Session 4.45.	2. STREETS OFFENCES. Miss ALISON NEILANS. Miss CHRYSAL MACMILLAN.
6.5.	3. CONSTRUCTIVE RESCUE WORK. Miss JESSIE MARCH.

TICKETS, 1/- for the whole Conference, 6d. for each Session, also Tea Tickets, 6d. each, can be obtained from the Lectures Secretary, The Guildhouse, Eccleston Square, S.W. 1.

COMING EVENTS.

BRITISH COMMONWEALTH LEAGUE.

MAY 3. 1 p.m. 17 Buckingham Street, Strand. Luncheon. Guest: Dame Millicent Fawcett, G.B.E. Tickets, 2s.

JOSEPHINE BUTLER CENTENARY.

MAY 12. 2.30. The Guildhouse, Eccleston Square. Conference on "Josephine Butler and the Position To-day." Speakers: Dame Edith Lytton, Dr. Martindale, Miss Alison Neilans, Miss Chrystal Macmillan, Miss Jessie March. Chair: Sir Robert Newman, M.P.

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

Birmingham N.C.W. MAY 4. 7.30. Birmingham and Midland Institute. Equal Franchise Meeting. Speakers: Miss Macadam, Miss Nancy Stewart Parnell, Mr. Dennison, M.P., Mr. H. J. Dyer. Chair: Commander Locker Lampson, M.P.

Sutton Coldfield W.C.A. MAY 2. 3 p.m. Josephine Butler Centenary Commemoration. Public Meeting. Chairman: The Mayor (Councillor Lawrence). Speaker: Mrs. C. F. Abbott.

"SUFFRAGETTE" LECTURE.

MAY 21. 8 p.m. Essex Hall, Strand. Miss Evelyn Sharp, "Mary Wollstonecraft." See under Announcements.

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.

APRIL 28. 10 a.m. Caxton Hall. Twenty-first Annual Conference.

APRIL 28. 3.30-5.30. Minerva Club, Brunswick Square, W.C. Reception to delegates, members and friends.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE.

MAY 10. 4-6. Crosby Hall, S.W. 3. Reception to meet Miss Pye on her return from China. Tickets 2s. 6d.

MAY 22. 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Euston Road. Public Meeting. Miss Pye, "China."

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ANNOUNCEMENTS.

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EDUCATED HOME HELPS BUREAU, 199 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.)

LECTURE by Miss Evelyn Sharp at Essex Hall, Monday, 21st May. Subject: "Mary Wollstonecraft." John Stuart Mill Dinner, 20th May, at Craig's Court Restaurant.—Particulars and tickets from Miss Thompson, 38 Hogarth Hill, N.W. 11.

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES, Guildhouse, Eccleston Square, S.W. 1. Sunday, 29th April, 3.30, G. K. Chesterton, "Beauty in the Commonplace." 6.30, Dr. E. Lytton.

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The Woman's Leader

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