

THE WOMAN'S LEADER

AND THE COMMON CAUSE

Vol. XXI.

No. 18.

Twopence.

REGISTERED AS
A NEWSPAPER.

Friday, June 7, 1929.

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Annual Subscription for Postal Subscribers: British Isles and Abroad, 10/10.

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

NOTES AND NEWS.

“The Tumult and the Shouting Dies.”

Many of our readers whose thoughts and time have been devoted to election work of some kind during the last four weeks can now regard the result of their labours with rejoicing or disappointment as the case may be. The poll was high, which showed that women voters took their responsibilities seriously, and, as we expected, they were blamed for the results—anyway, by the defeated! For our own part we feel real satisfaction, firstly at the constitution of the new Parliament, to which we refer in our leading article, and secondly at the return of a Government whose programme in many respects runs parallel with our own. We cannot but welcome a Government which both in the realm of foreign affairs and in the tackling of problems such as unemployment, housing, public health, is anxious and able to go ahead on the lines we have so often advocated. We know we shall have in this the sympathy of women of any party who share our views on these particular points. At the moment Cabinet-making is in the air, and no doubt it will have been settled by the time this is in the hands of our readers. We can only express our hope, therefore, that among those who hold high offices of State will be found several women, more especially Miss Margaret Bondfield, who has already proved her worth as a Minister of the Crown, and is certainly worthy of Cabinet rank.

The International Issue.

There is no doubt that thanks largely to the efforts of the Women's Peace Crusade and the League of Nations Union, international affairs have played a significant part in the General Election, and have been a major consideration in the minds of a very large proportion of the new as well as of the old women voters. Nor can there be any doubt that the failure of Mr. Baldwin's Government to sign the Optional Clause, to secure any large measure of Disarmament, or to effect the withdrawal of British troops from the Rhine has told heavily against Government candidates all over the country. Their position, for instance, at all party meetings called by the League of Nations Union, has been an uncomfortable one. In consequence, they have on occasions shown an understandable but unfortunate reluctance to broach the subject or to respond to invitations to co-operate in such meetings. On the other hand, it is generally admitted that the brightest side of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's short official record was his pacific handling of European Foreign Affairs, and Labour speakers, especially in middle-class areas have not been slow to stress this aspect of the party conflict. More and more clear does it become, that the best recommendation that a candidate or a party can place before its women electors is a shining record of constructive pacificism. More and more clear does it become that our trust in the good sense and goodwill of enfranchised womanhood was justified.

Eleanor Rathbone, M.P.—as Politician.

Miss Rathbone's return as Independent Member for the Combined Universities has been greeted with enthusiasm in all quarters. Indeed, it would be difficult to find any woman in the country more suited for the work and responsibility which falls on Members in general and on woman Members in particular. There is an element of dramatic justice, unusual perhaps in this life, in the fact that Miss Rathbone, who has throughout her whole adult life down to this very year devoted a large portion of time and work as leader of the woman's suffrage movement, should immediately after the achievement of Equal Franchise herself be returned to the House. There are, moreover, no women, and very few men in the House at present who go so well qualified to play a useful and distinguished part. Miss Rathbone has sat on the Liverpool City Council for eighteen years as an Independent, and has therefore an actual working knowledge of all laws affecting Local Government as seen from the point of view of the locality itself. As the organizer of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families' Association for Liverpool during the war, and as investigator for many years before that date into the conditions of dock labourers, she has an intimate knowledge of the lives of the people. As President of the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship during the last ten years, when it succeeded not only in the achievement of its chief object, Equal Franchise, but was also responsible for the initiation and much of the parliamentary work in connection with five Acts affecting women and children and the amending of many more—Miss Rathbone obtained a working knowledge open to few who have not actually been Members of the parliamentary machine itself.

—As Thinker.

But even more important than her qualities as administrator and as practical politician has been her contribution to constructive thought. Miss Rathbone's chief claim to fame is undoubtedly her having thought out and “got across” the need for the adoption of some scheme for the giving of Family Allowances. The *Spectator* describes her book, *The Disinherited Family*, as “one of the most important contributions to social economics which has appeared for many years.” It would be a disaster if Miss Rathbone's parliamentary duties prevented her having sufficient time for original thought in the many aspects of social economics both in this country and elsewhere, on which we hope she will write. Still, we feel hopeful on this point, as her constituency is one which does not make the same demands as one of the ordinary type, although she intends to keep in close touch with it. The Combined Universities were wise in electing as one of their representatives one who, while having no party ties, has put forward a progressive and broadminded programme. There is no doubt whatever but that Miss Rathbone will work extremely happily with the new Government, while retaining her power to criticise when she feels it to be necessary.

The Birthday Honours List.

The first thing that must strike any unprejudiced reader in the new Birthday Honours List is the amazing difference between service and award in respect of men and women. It is true that as yet women have not had the opportunity in political fields of equal distinction with men, but is it possible that with all the distinguished women who gave their services to the late Government in varying capacities, the only equitable awards for “political and public services” should be the lower grades of the Order of the British Empire. Why, if the Chairman of a Unionist Association is a woman does she receive the O.B.E., when a man for similar services receives a Knighthood? As in political, so in other spheres. It is not fitting that Dr. Brock, head mistress of the Mary Datchelor School, and one of the most outstanding figures in the world of education, should be asked to accept the O.B.E. An interesting feature of the List is the

bestowal of the rarely awarded Order of Merit on two eminent men in the world of literature, the Poet Laureate, Dr. Robert Bridges, and Mr. John Galsworthy. It will be remembered that a few years ago Mr. Galsworthy refused a Knighthood. We were glad to note that Major Hills received his Privy Councillorship.

—Honour for Distinguished Scientist.

An award which everyone will be glad to see is that of the G.B.E. to Professor Dame Helen Gwynne Vaughan, an award which is long overdue. It is true that Dame Helen already held the D.B.E. (Military Division), but that was for her exceptional war services as Commandant of the Women's Royal Air Force, and before that as Chief Controller Overseas of the Queen Mary's Army Auxiliary Corps in France. The present award is the first State recognition of her lifelong work in the interests of science, work which has been honoured by Universities, scientific societies and public opinion. It will be remembered that Dame Helen Gwynne Vaughan's paper was the outstanding feature, at any rate in the public mind, of the meeting of the British Association last year. It is much to be regretted that the Conservative Party has not been ready to make more use of Dame Helen's exceptional abilities in the political field. Her interest in politics is well known, and she stood for the North Camberwell Division as a Conservative on two occasions.

The International Labour Conference.

The conference of the International Labour Organization meeting this week at Geneva has elected Dr. Brauns, former German Minister of Labour, as President. Sir Malcolm Delevigne, of the Home Office, the principal British Government delegate, has been appointed Chairman of the Commission formed to study the prevention of industrial accidents, and Mr. A. A. Findlay, a British Workers' delegate, has been appointed Chairman of the Commission on Unemployment. No British woman, as we pointed out before, is present as delegate, though Miss E. M. Foster, of the Ministry of Labour, is secretary of the British Delegation and Miss Julia Varley one of its advisors. Other countries are more fortunately placed, and it is perhaps safe now to predict that our Government will send a woman delegate next year.

Australian Wage Legislation.

We learn from the *New Statesman* that Mr. Bruce, Prime Minister of Australia, has been demanding that the several States shall surrender into the hands of the Commonwealth Government their powers of wage-fixing and industrial arbitration. So far the States have offered a strenuous opposition to the proposal and Mr. Bruce has replied with the threat of all or none. That is to say, he declares that if he cannot secure the transfer of the State powers he will repeal the existing Commonwealth wage statutes and throw the whole matter on the shoulders of the States. But this, too, would not find favour with the States owing to the economic confusion which it would undoubtedly cause. What the outcome of this political tug-of-war is likely to be we have no means of knowing. Its major interest, from our point of view, lies in the fact that the State and New South Wales recently adopted a system of Family Allowances as a logical complement of its existing wage legislation. From the point of view of this particular reform, we should be reluctant to see a large transference of legislative responsibility from a Government which has adopted the principle of Family Endowment to a Government which has rejected it.

In the Old World and the New.

In such widely differing countries as small Belgium and the great United States, successes of pioneer women are reported. Belgium, like ourselves, has been in the throes of a General Election, and at Liège the Socialist candidate, Mlle. Lucie Dejardin, who is the sister of a Socialist deputy, has won the seat from the Communists. She is the first woman to be a deputy in Belgium. In the United States the success may characteristically be measured in "dollars". The appointment of Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt, the first woman Assistant Attorney-General of the United States, as counsel for the Aviation Corporation of the United States at Washington, carries with it a salary of £10,000 a year, which is stated to be a record for a woman. She will therefore resign her post as Assistant Attorney-General in charge of Prohibition Enforcement. During her term of office the eyes of the whole country were on her work, and

although working in extraordinarily difficult circumstances she achieved remarkable success. Federal Prohibition agents swept down on the night clubs of New York and secured indictments against a number of society hostesses and night club patrons, many of whom were called before a grand jury to be questioned. The raids and investigations were made at Mrs. Willibrandt's instigation. President Hoover has attributed her achievements to "legal ability and moral courage". Whatever one's views on the subject of Prohibition, there can be only one view as to the advisability of enforcing the law of the country. Mrs. Willibrandt's new task will be to make a comprehensive survey of national and state laws as affecting the aviation industry. We wish her every success in her new work.

Suicide.

No one can have failed to note the increase in the number of suicides, judging from newspaper reports. This increase is confirmed by figures issued by the Ministry of Health. The rate for 1927 is the highest ever recorded. The proportion of men to women is stated to be 184 to 71, and middle life is the dangerous age for both sexes. The Coroner of a London Court ascribes the increase to the following causes: Mental illness, physical breakdown, drink, financial worries, and love affairs. This is a very important subject which has hardly received the attention it deserves. It is significant that health causes come first in the list. The early and wise treatment of nervous breakdown would save many tragedies and preserve many useful lives. The line between physical "run-downness," over exhaustion, uncontrollable depression and any mental trouble is very fine, and both conditions are neglected. A patient must have some definite complaint or symptoms to attract attention in either case. It every man or woman who felt that life was no longer possible had some wise and skilled adviser to whom they could turn we believe the suicide rate would speedily fall. Drunkenness should, of course, be classed with physical and mental weakness. Financial worries fall into a different category, but here again most cases are preventable. It would be interesting to know the proportion due to love affairs—which is lowest in the list of causes. Not many, we imagine, and these in all probability are due primarily to mental or physical defect of morale which modern psychology tells us might easily have been cured if taken in time. We hope these startling figures will attract attention to the tragedy of those who for want of comfort and help at the right moment find their burden greater than they can bear.

The Mantle of Josephine Butler.

The Association for Moral and Social Hygiene which carries on the noble work of Josephine Butler is holding its annual meeting, which is open to the public, next Tuesday, 11th June, at 5.15 p.m. at the Caxton Hall. Lord Balfour of Burleigh will speak on the policy and principles of the Association, and the Rev. William Paton will speak on the work in India. India, with its great military centres, is one of the places with special problems of its own, and there is certainly a vast amount of work still to be done there. Many women who took the trouble to interrogate their candidates at the General Election on women's questions including this important one of the Equal Moral Standard will have been surprised to find how many men, otherwise enlightened, have still a crooked view on the question of the total abolition of State Regulation of Vice within the British Empire. One candidate wrote in answer to a letter that he was not in favour of State Regulation, he was only in favour of the regulation and inspection of houses and women of a certain class in parts of the British Empire where special circumstances prevailed. He was no doubt surprised to get a further letter telling him that this in fact *was* State Regulation. The General Election certainly was a great opportunity of teaching something of the women's point of view to the men who are anxious to help in the government of the country.

Newdigate Prize.

For the third time in succession the Sir Roger Newdigate Prize has been awarded to a woman, this time a scholar of St. Hugh's College, Oxford. To Miss Phyllis M. Hartnoll we extend heartiest congratulations for thus maintaining the splendid record. Not only was the winner a woman, but *Proxime Accessit* was Miss Lilian E. Jones of Lady Margaret Hall. We wish all success to these women whose early work promises so well.

THE NEW PARLIAMENT.

There can be no doubt that both the personnel and the task of the new Parliament are unusually interesting. We, who have no party allegiance, and no party axe to grind are not concerned with discussing the positions of the various parties and relations which may or may not exist between them. We are concerned with their programmes, and there can be no doubt that the Labour Government will put forward many points which it holds in common with the Liberals and which we ourselves have been advocating for a considerable time.

In Foreign Policy, for instance, the Labour Government supports both all-in Arbitration, the signing of the Optional Clause, effective Disarmament and a generous and go-ahead policy where the League of Nations is concerned. Were it for this alone we could not help rejoicing at the prospect of a change in the Government. With regard to Unemployment, the next most important issue before the country at this election, here again we find both Liberal and Labour Parties combined in putting forward the policy that it is far better to initiate constructive public works at a period when unemployment is so rife—believing that such works will absorb very large numbers of the unemployed—than to continue to maintain the great bulk in idleness. We have advocated this policy for many long months; indeed, like many of our readers, we have believed in it for years. With regard to Education, Public Health, and Housing, we are also promised a really forward programme. Here again we ourselves see eye to eye with those sections of the Liberal and Labour Parties' policies which see in the spending of considerably larger sums on these objects not extravagance but the wisest kind of economy.

It is true that in view of its Minority position the Labour Government will inevitably be somewhat hampered on account of a feared lack of stability, but it is unlikely that the Liberal Party, sharing as it does to so large an extent a common policy, will wish to take advantage of any possible defeats of the Government on small points, as they will recognize the need for a Government's being in power long enough to get something done. This session, at least, no matter is likely to be introduced which would be considered fundamentally controversial by the Liberal Members of Parliament; indeed, a second session also may pass, which would enable both Liberal and Labour Parties to get on with their job, in many aspects of which, such as educational reform, they will also receive the warm co-operation of the Conservative Party.

When we leave policy and turn to personnel there are many friends both old and new whom we are glad to find in their places in Westminster. We refer to the women members in another page; among the men it is delightful to see the return of so many of those who have done yeoman service for the

WOMEN MEMBERS OF THE NEW PARLIAMENT.

We are slow and cautious people who like to take our reforms in homeopathic doses. When working men were first enfranchised, the clubs of Pall Mall apprehended a horde of fustian-clad workmen as invaders of the green benches. But the proletariat continued to prefer to be represented through their "betters." So in 1918 preparations were made, we believe, in Parliament for a bevy of women M.P.'s, but not one (except Countess Markievicz, who refused to take her seat) achieved victory at the polls. Now, after ten years, we have fourteen victors out of sixty-eight women candidates. It is too few, but at least is the highest number yet on record.

We are, if not satisfied, at least relieved that the new Parliament will open with a larger number of women than at the dissolution. The success of by-elections during the last few years leads us to hope that their number will be speedily increased. We wish first to welcome Miss Eleanor Rathbone, well-known to all our readers, whose success as the first woman to represent a University constituency is a tribute firstly to her own fine reputation and secondly to the suitability of such a constituency for a candidate free from party ties.

There will be universal rejoicing that Lady Astor's spirited contest once again resulted in victory (though by a painfully

causes for which we stand during the last Parliament, such as Sir Robert Newman, whose triumph as Independent candidate for Exeter can in part perhaps be ascribed to the gratitude of his women constituents for all he has done during the last ten years on behalf of legislation affecting women and children. Parliament without Major Hills (U., Ripon) would have been indeed strange, and we are glad to see that his great services have been honoured by his being made a Privy Councillor. Among other old friends is Mr. Ernest Brown (L., Leith), a more recent but no less doughty champion, and many who have done so much for Equal Franchise in the past, including Captain Wedgwood Benn (Lab., North Aberdeen), Mr. Whitely (Lab., Ladywood), and Mr. Isaac Foot (L., Bodmin), this last now returning after an absence of five years.

Mr. Ernest Simon's return (L., Withington) will be warmly welcomed, as it is felt that with Mr. Simon in the House a reasonable housing policy will be expounded and adopted. Even during the short months that he was in Parliament in 1923 one useful housing measure stands to his credit. He and Miss Rathbone between them should be able to ensure that children's rent allowances become an accomplished fact. We are also glad to see the return of Sir Charles Trevelyan (Lab., Newcastle Central), who has done so much to influence public opinion as to the need for a progressive educational policy.

Among the more interesting of the new recruits are Professor Noel Baker (Lab., Coventry), and Mr. Norman Angell (Lab., Bradford N.), who will now have an opportunity of putting forward their views on Disarmament and Foreign Affairs.

Dr. Leslie Burgin (L., Luton) will be well-known to our readers owing to the help he has given to the woman's movement as legal adviser in so many recent Acts, such as the Guardianship of Infants Act, and the Matrimonial Causes Act, of which Act indeed he was the original draughtsman.

But there are many figures present in the last Parliament whose seats will be vacant either because they were unsuccessful or because they did not stand again. The resignation of Mr. Sidney Webb (Lab.) and Mr. George Thorne (L.) withdraws two doughty champions. The defeat of so many of the group of progressive young Conservative members, such as Captain Harold Macmillan, Mr. T. J. O'Connor, and Mr. R. S. Hudson, will greatly impoverish the Conservative party, as will the defeat of that veteran social reformer, Lord Henry Cavendish-Bentinck. Possibly the greatest loss is that of Mr. Frank Briant (L.), who in season and out of season for the last ten years has been one of the greatest champions of Equal Franchise and other causes of interest to women. We cannot imagine Parliament without him, and hope that his absence is only a temporary one.

narrow margin), and we imagine that women of all parties, once the heat of the election fever is over, will welcome back warmly to their accustomed places the Duchess of Atholl, Miss Margaret Bondfield, Miss Susan Lawrence, Miss Ellen Wilkinson, and a more recent recruit, Lady Iveagh. Jenny Lee is still only a name to us, and she deserves a chance to make good after her lively campaigns. While we gladly welcome Miss Megan Lloyd George for her father's sake and her own, we regret the loss of a Liberal woman member of such experience as Mrs. Runciman, and we echo the keen disappointment among the women of the country that Mrs. Wintringham was defeated by under 500 votes, and that Mrs. Corbett Ashby's plucky fight at Hendon resulted in an increased vote, but not in the victory she deserved.

Labour has now by far the largest number of women—nine, as compared to three Conservatives, and one Liberal. The newcomers will unquestionably add distinction and weight to the group of late members. Dr. Ethel Bentham deserves success; she has contested East Islington at four successive elections, and has by sheer hard work transformed a small Labour vote into a substantial majority. She is a Justice of the Peace, has served on the Kensington Borough Council for thirteen years, and is a member of the Metropolitan Asylums Board. She is the

first medical woman to be returned, and apart from her political experience has done valuable medical and social work in North Kensington. Mrs. Mary Agnes Hamilton, who has written successful novels, is better known to the general public by her admirable broadcast criticisms of current literature. Miss Picton Turbervill will bring to her Parliamentary duties a very varied and long experience in the work of organization for women and girls, and will therefore establish a useful link between Westminster and several women's societies. Dr. Marion Phillips, on the other hand, though at an earlier stage of her career closely connected with the suffrage movement, is now wholly immersed in the work of the Labour party. We wonder what Lord Curzon would think of a daughter of his on the Labour benches. Fortunately ability is more often inherited than opinions, and we expect great things of Lady Cynthia Mosley.

So much for those returned; we turn now sorrowfully to those whose defeat we much deplore. We have already mentioned two who sooner or later, and it should be sooner, must find constituencies with the good sense to appreciate them—Mrs. Winttingham and Mrs. Corbett Ashby—and there are others. We especially regret Mrs. Ayrton Gould's defeat by only four votes, for she would have been a well-informed and able exponent of our principles. That Miss Dorothy Jewson's defeat, in spite of a poll of over 31,000 votes is a loss to the women's movement we know from our experience of her help during that brief period in which she sat in the House. Miss Whately fought a good fight, and gained nearly 12,000 votes. It would have been interesting to see, had she been successful, how she would have reconciled her known objection to differential factory legislation for the sexes with the known tenets of the Labour party.

There are others who have failed whose experience would have enriched the House. They must stand again, and better luck next time.

Although the proportion of women candidates who stood a reasonable chance of victory was rather better than at previous elections, there is still a pronounced tendency to put up Conservative or Liberal women in industrial centres with known Labour opinions, while Labour women are sent to health resorts and other strongholds of the well-to-do. We do not complain of this practice when applied to novices, for women candidates, like other novices, must win their spurs. But the women of each party should see to it that undue advantage is not taken of the loyalty of their best women.

THE ASSOCIATION FOR MORAL & SOCIAL HYGIENE.

(Founded by JOSEPHINE BUTLER.)

ANNUAL MEETING

AT

CAXTON HALL (Westminster),

TUESDAY, 11th JUNE, 1929,

at 5.15 p.m.

THE RIGHT HON. THE

Lord Balfour of Burleigh

WILL SPEAK ON

"The Policy and Principles of the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene in Work at Home and Abroad."

The Rev. William Paton

(International Missionary Council)

WILL SPEAK ON

"Abolitionist Progress in India."

CHAIR - - MISS J. E. HIGSON

ADMISSION FREE. Reserved Seats, 1s. Tickets and all information from the Secretary, A.M.S.H., Orchard House, Great Smith Street, Westminster, S.W. 1.

THE WOMEN'S PEACE CRUSADE.¹

By E. M. TROTTER.

The important rôle played by the Women's Peace Crusade in this Election, in which for the first time women have held preponderant power, is surely a hopeful augury for the future and a justification of the faith of the pioneers who worked for the political enfranchisement of women.

Readers of THE WOMAN'S LEADER already know that the Crusade is an association of twenty-nine National Organizations, comprising several million women of all shades of political opinion. It represents a united effort by women to make a permanent contribution to the Peace Cause, at a time when the acceptance of the Pact for the Renunciation of War by practically the entire world gives reason to hope for the firmer establishment of peace. It has helped to voice the strong sentiment against war which exists among women, and by providing a means of organized expression and a common platform, has made that sentiment effective. Above all, it has aimed at securing the return to Westminster of a Parliament of Peacemakers, pledged to work and vote for measures actively promoting international peace. That the great mass of women were at one with Lord Cecil in regarding Peace as the paramount issue of the Election is proved by their eager response to the appeal of the Crusade. From Inverness to Torquay, from Dover to Anglesey, they rallied enthusiastically to its support. Over ninety Crusade Committees, representing the local women's societies, were at work, and covered between them more than 300 Parliamentary Constituencies. Nearly 1,200 meetings were organized all over the country, and on not a few occasions these filled to overflowing the largest halls in the town—in Manchester, for example, two large overflow meetings were not sufficient to contain all who sought admission. In some instances the candidates were the speakers, and stated their views on the policy of the Crusade. Special meetings with "under 30" speakers, and dinner-hour addresses inside and outside factories, were among the attempts to reach the younger voters. One enterprising Committee organized a Young Voters' Poster Competition and a procession through the town in which the competitors exhibited their posters.

The literature with which the Crusade equipped itself proved extremely popular; nearly half a million leaflets were circulated, in some cases by door to door distribution. Posters urging women of all parties to use their vote for the return of a Parliament of Peacemakers were also widely used, while several Committees approached every clergyman in their district asking that prior to the Election a Sunday should be devoted to Peace.

But the most important piece of work was to ascertain the views of the candidates. The Crusade urged peace in no mere vague and sentimental terms; its programme, strictly practical and realist, was compressed into five points—Are we going to observe the principle of the Kellogg Pact in every dispute without exception? Sign the Optional Clause? Accept the obligation to settle all disputes by peaceful means? Make definite proposals for disarmament? Evacuate the Rhineland? Deputations representing the various organizations in the constituencies waited upon the candidates to learn their views upon these questions, and having received them, published the replies in the local Press. By this means the women voters were enabled to know definitely where the candidates stood in regard to these vital questions. The deputations also ensured that whatever candidate was returned would go to Westminster conscious of the fact that World Peace was the issue about which women felt most keenly.

That the Crusade has made a serious impression cannot be doubted. The attention of the candidates and the remarkable publicity given by the Press indicate this. It had, of course, the support of men and women prominent in many spheres of public life, but also, and even more important, it had the enthusiastic backing of numberless unknown women who hate war and rejoiced to have in their hands a weapon potent for peace. One significant tribute to the importance of the Crusade was the Cartoon by Low in the *Evening Standard* of 9th May. This has been reproduced, and is being sold as a souvenir of a memorable and inspiring campaign.

The Election gave women a great opportunity; they used it worthily. The members of all parties who have gone back to the House of Commons know what we expect from them. Let us take confidence; something has been accomplished. But not everything! It is necessary still to remember that the price of peace is "eternal vigilance" and work and sacrifice.

¹ Contributed on behalf of the Women's International League, 55 Gower Street, W.C.

AN ELECTION IMPRESSION.

By AN OLD VOTER.

The women who really enjoyed this Election were those who were of an age to remember pre-War elections. No Suffragist who dates back to the 1910 election when we stood in the pouring rain at polling booths not for one day only but for several days, for elections were more prolonged then, could possibly have thought this election dull. On that occasion the men trooped in, the more thoughtful and kindly halting for a moment to give us their signatures. Ten years ago the scene had changed. The Suffragist canvasser rounding up on polling day saw with profound satisfaction the propriety of the spinster finding her way to the booth and wives tidying up to come "round later when my husband comes home". Last Thursday the scene was changed once again. Perambulators were much in evidence, motor cars were in greater request than ever (how fortunate that they are no longer the luxury of the rich) for the young mother who could only come if the baby and ex-baby could come too, or who could only be away for a few moments. Little family groups could be seen—father, mother, and a daughter or two, or a sister or brother, or clusters of girls dressed in a mode as different to that of ten or twenty years ago as flowers from dusters.

It was sheer joy to one who was not only an old voter but an old Suffragist to go from house to house both before and after the eventful day and talk to the women. My experience may have been more fortunate than that of others, but my impression was the women were just as keen as the men. At the half dozen or so meetings I attended in several different constituencies they asked questions as readily as men. At one women's meeting written questions on almost every prominent issue of the day poured in in a rapid succession. I can personally vouch for the interest of the young married woman, but the under-thirty, like her brother, is an elusive quantity and only on rare occasions visible to the canvasser. Families were in some cases amicably divided. Father and one girl on one side and mother and another on the opposite side. Husband and wife by no means in my experience had identical political views.

The notion that women would all vote alike was, of course, exploded long ago; there should be no vestige of it left. But there is, I think, some truth in the assertion that women take personal elements into consideration and are not wholly swayed by party. This does not imply that they are not loyal to the party they join, but personal character and qualifications weigh with them. So far as the superficial observations of a canvasser are worthy of record vast stretches of constituencies are only little in touch with our party organizations. Another impression that this election left on my mind after working in constituencies at which in the one case a very popular woman and in the other a very popular man was standing is that the prejudice against women is almost dead. Sex is a matter of indifference if there is enthusiasm for a cause or the exponent of a cause, and the failure to secure more than fourteen women must be accounted for on other grounds.

WOMEN IN THE CIVIL SERVICE.

The London and National Society for Women's Service has issued a useful memorandum on the position of women in the Civil Service. This publication has special point at the present time when a Commission to consider the position of women in the Civil Service has been promised. The case is a strong one. Though the principle of equality has theoretically been accepted by Parliament, it is absent in practice from methods of entry, conditions of employment, opportunity of promotion, pay, marriage regulations; and women are wholly excluded from Civil Services overseas. The appointment of the Commission will be anxiously looked for, and we hope its terms of reference will include the above and certain other matters connected with recruitment, which have an adverse effect on the employment of the best type of women.

THE PROFESSIONAL WOMAN'S HAIRDRESSER

MADAME EDYTHE,

118 VICTORIA STREET, S.W.1. (Private Entrance.)

TEL.: VIC 2389.

PERSONAL ATTENTION. MODERATE CHARGES.

MR. STRACHEY AND ELIZABETH.

In the strange story of *Elizabeth and Essex*,¹ Mr. Strachey has found a subject which is almost too congenial—at least to one side of his genius. The scholarship, the clear, balanced judgment, the humanity which characterize him when he is at his best, do indeed shine forth in many passages of this remarkable book. The narrative is not only enriched with the wit and the grace of style that we are accustomed to expect from Mr. Strachey, but it has a dramatic intensity which is perhaps greater than any he has hitherto reached. But the story, in providing scope for the author's great imaginative power, has also tempted him to those imaginative excesses which are the great flaw in his work. His passion for the grotesque leads him away, and he leads us away with it. Just when we think that we are following a wise guide, whose mind will give us light on things we long to know, we sometimes find that we have surrendered ourselves instead to a mocking sprite. Take, for instance, his description of the death-bed of Philip II of Spain. It ends with these words:—

... "as he mused, a paper was brought in. It was the dispatch from Ireland announcing the victory of Tyrone. He sank back on his pillows radiant; all was well, his prayers and his virtues had been rewarded, and the tide had turned at last. He dictated a letter to Tyrone of congratulation and encouragement. He promised immediate succour, he foretold the destruction of the heretics and the ruin of the heretic Queen. A fifth Armada . . . he could dictate no more, and sank into a tortured stupor. When he awoke it was night, and there was singing at the altar below him; a sacred candle was lighted and put into his hand, the flame, as he clutched it closer and closer, casting lurid shadows upon his face; and so, in ecstasy and torment, in absurdity and greatness, happy, miserable, horrible, and holy, King Philip went off to meet the Trinity."

Mr. Strachey is really too much like the sacred candle. The picture he gives us is unforgettable; but does it—even if we take this culminating passage in connection with all that has gone before, as of course we ought to do—does it, even then, help us to any better understanding of Philip II or of human nature? And is not such a help to better understanding the chief thing we look for from a biographical historian of Mr. Strachey's rare power?

In the portrayal of Elizabeth's own personality which is the central theme of the book, Mr. Strachey does not, as in his picture of Philip, parody himself. But it is here that we meet with the sharpest disappointments. At the very moment when we feel that the luminous exposition of this strange woman's ways and the reasons for them is going to give us new knowledge, we are baffled. We become conscious that, by laying exaggerated emphasis on certain features and obscuring others, Mr. Strachey is turning his portrait into a caricature. Moreover, one cannot help suspecting that in dwelling on what is odd and incongruous he sometimes misses the main truth.

It is, of course, quite probable that Elizabeth was the victim of one of those sex repressions about which we now talk so much and know so little. As Mr. Strachey points out, no childhood or adolescence could have been better calculated to produce bodily and mental reactions in later life. This may have been one of the reasons for her not marrying. But the rather lurid picture of the Queen meditating on her dark secret is over-drawn, and obscures the other perfectly good reasons she had for remaining single. Marriage in the sixteenth century was dangerous to all women and almost invariably fatal to queens. Elizabeth had examples of its danger all round her. Her own sister's marriage showed her the risk of marrying a foreign prince, and the Queen of Scots' marriage showed her the risk of marrying a subject. Nor could she be sure that even if she had a child she would gain in security by it. The Queen of Scots was worse off than ever after she had "a fair son." With or without children, marriage in the age of woman's subjection meant for her the loss of control over her own actions: this would have been intolerable to the great woman. In the case of a female sovereign it might also mean loss of power to protect her people: this would have been intolerable to the great queen.

That she was a great queen, Mr. Strachey admits; he does not, like Froude, attribute all her statesmanship to her ministers. But he is far too much taken up with her queerness to be aware how wonderful she was. He dwells on her indecision till we can think of nothing else. But an appearance of indecision

¹ *Elizabeth and Essex*. A Tragic History, by Lytton Strachey. (Chatto and Windus, 15s. net.)

was part of the recognized statecraft of the time. It was considered necessary to bewilder one's enemies by constant changes of plan. In this, and other forms of duplicity, Elizabeth was like the other rulers of her period: in greatness she exceeded them all. She had to struggle against difficulties of the same class and of as much magnitude as those that confronted any of them. She had also to overcome special difficulties that arose out of the fact that she was a woman. The practical, almost material, obstacles that a female sovereign had to encounter in the half-savage age in which Elizabeth began her reign were considerable: added to them, there was the immense force of tradition and habit which made men think they could not be controlled by a woman, and which constantly suggested to the woman herself that it was unnatural for her not to be subject to some man. Elizabeth overcame all the obstacles, physical and spiritual. She had greater success than any contemporary monarch. She made her country strong, prosperous, and glorious as it had never been before. She created a new tradition of patriotism and a new tradition of what women could do and be. She did not, of course, achieve all this alone, but she was recognized as leader by the soldiers and politicians and poets of her time—and they were some of the greatest of all time. They offered her a worship which modern writers find it difficult to understand or believe in. Yet the proper understanding of it is the key to English history at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries. Mr. Strachey with his magical endowment, might have found the key and unlocked the doors. Instead of that, he has only given us a delightful and thrilling entertainment on the *outside*.

I. B. O'MALLEY.

OBITUARY.

MRS. J. R. GREEN—A WOMAN HISTORIAN.

By the death of Alice Stopford Green at the age of 84 the Irish Free State loses one of its most distinguished women. Mrs. Green became a Senator of the Irish Free State Parliament when it was established and continued her attendance almost until her death. Though an Irish woman by birth, for many years her home was in Westminster, where she attracted a large circle of distinguished friends, and after her marriage to John Richard Green, the historian, she collaborated with him in his *Short History of the English People*, and after his death published a revised edition with an epilogue bringing it up to the outbreak of war. Mrs. Green had strong Nationalist sympathies, and in the last twenty years published books on Irish life and problems. The friendships of her long life extended back to Florence Nightingale, Tennyson and Browning, and included many men and women of note in English letters, advanced reformers and leaders of Irish Nationalism. The University of Liverpool recognized her work by an Hon. Litt.D. in 1913. She will probably be best remembered for her part in the movement that culminated in the Free State Treaty. She left her Westminster home and her accustomed circle after the tragedy of Easter week, 1916, and devoted the rest of her life to her country's cause.

THE HON. MRS. DIGHTON POLLOCK.

We deeply regret the death of Mrs. Margaret Dighton Pollock, daughter of Lord Buckmaster, who died of pneumonia on Tuesday, 4th June, at the age of 36. All her life, both before and after marriage, Mrs. Pollock had done all she possibly could to alleviate suffering and squalor. A keen member of the Labour Party, she entered public life on the Peace for Ireland Committee, an all-party committee set up in 1920 to protest against the Black and Tan policy. Later her efforts were concentrated chiefly on women and children, and she founded a children's clinic near Notting Hill, and helped to establish one for birth control. Her book, *These Things Considered*, gives an extraordinarily interesting and sympathetic account of the lives of working people. Her death is a real loss not only to her family, but also to the community.

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THE LAW AT WORK.

A MAGISTRATE'S HANDBOOK.¹

This book is intended to "provide in non-technical language an outline of the law and practice relating to the various branches of a magistrate's duties." No one can say that such a work is not needed, and this book has many useful features which recommend it to all magistrates who have a desire to learn. But the perfect handbook has still to be written.

Certain shortcomings will strike the reader. In enumerating cases in which corroboration is required it is a pity merely to state "certain offences against women and girls," and not to explain that various forms of procurement are referred to. It is such a common delusion that corroboration is required by law before a conviction can be obtained for an assault on a woman or child that it is important that there should be no want of clearness on the point. There is an unfortunate error on page 70, where it is stated that young persons under 18 are dealt with in the Juvenile Court; the upper age limit is of course 16. It is a little confusing that it should be laid down on one page that "no person under the age of 16 years may now be sent to prison," while on another the correct explanation is given that such person can only be sent to prison under a special certificate of unruliness or depravity. It would be more helpful if in the paragraph on the making of Bastardy Orders some reference had been made to the Collecting Officer. The appointment of this official is now obligatory in all Courts, though not always carried out in practice.

In the chapter on Bastardy the authors give the impression that justices need to be more forcibly warned as to their duties and responsibilities in connection with these cases than with any others that come within their jurisdiction. Much emphasis is put on the need for extreme care. It is surely so obvious as hardly to need saying that "justices should remember that they owe as great a duty to see that no man is unjustly condemned as to see that no woman is left to bear the expense of maintaining her illegitimate child through the meanness of the man responsible." It would be interesting to know whether there is any foundation for the idea that magistrates are more likely to go wrong in these cases than in others by granting orders on insufficient evidence.

Attention may be drawn to some passages of great value. The question of bias is very fully dealt with, and interesting examples given of cases in which magistrates are or are not disqualified from acting. It will be surprising to many to learn that a conviction has been quashed because one of the magistrates was a shareholder in a railway, and the charge was that of defrauding that railway by travelling without a ticket. On the difficult question of the undefended prisoner the authors state that when the accused person is asked to put questions to the witness it is desirable that the Bench should give him any necessary assistance if he is illiterate or unversed in the procedure.

A clear account is given of the powers and position of magistrates at County Quarter Sessions. When sentence has to be passed, all magistrates present are entitled to give their opinions, although the actual decision rests with the chairman and sentence is passed by him. In the case of appeals from Petty Sessions to Quarter Sessions, all the magistrates at County Quarter Sessions are in theory equal and entitled to ask questions of the witnesses and may vote as to the decision of the Court. The jurisdiction of magistrates in rating matters is limited to cases of default in payment, and to the hearing of rating appeals as a Committee of County Quarter Sessions. A useful summary is given of properties which are exempt from rates, and of the principles which generally govern rateability. An occupier is not liable for rates unless he is in exclusive occupation. For example, a tenant of a railway bookstall is not liable to be rated, because he has not the exclusive use of the bookstall at night. The general principles of valuation are also discussed. Some useful lists and a very full index complete the book.

CLARA D. RACKHAM.

¹ *A Magistrate's Handbook*, by S. R. C. Bosanquet, K.C., and D. H. J. Chalmers. (Pub. Ernest Benn, Ltd., price 10s. 6d.)

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MISS ELEANOR RATHBONE, M.P.

It is quite impossible for us adequately to express our immense delight in the return to Parliament of our ex-President, Miss Rathbone. All suffragists will, we are sure, welcome her there as their "own Member".

CONGRATULATIONS.

Our members will all wish to join with us in sending our hearty congratulations on their return to Parliament of Miss Picton-Turbervill, a member of our Executive Committee of many years standing, and to our Vice-Presidents, Lady Astor, Miss Susan Lawrence, Major Hills, Mr. Pethick Lawrence, and Sir John Simon.

CONDOLENCES.

We deeply regret that our President, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, was unable to gain a seat, but recognize what a splendid fight she put up, notwithstanding her heavy responsibilities as President of the I.A.W.S.E.C. which is holding its triennial Congress in Berlin this month. Others closely associated with the National Union who were unsuccessful were: Mrs. Wintringham, Vice-President; Mrs. Hornabrook, lately of Plymouth W.C.A. and recently elected to the Executive Committee; and Miss Whately, of the St. Pancras S.E.C. and a former Executive member. Of other friends not so closely connected with the N.U.S.E.C., reference is made in other columns.

CONFERENCE ON ORGANIZATION OF TOWNSWOMEN'S GUILDS. 28th June to 1st July.

Again may we draw our readers' attention to the conference on methods of organization of Townswomen's Guilds, which is to be held in London during the week-end Friday, 28th June to Monday, 1st July. The object of the conference as has been stated, is to interest members of societies so that they may be able to assist in starting Townswomen's Guilds locally. Useful discussions will take place on:—

- (1) Methods of forming new societies.
- (2) Suggested activities; political, civic, educational, and recreational.
- (3) Programme planning.
- (4) Links with headquarters.

We hope to make the conference as widely representative as possible, and trust that all societies will urge their members who are interested in the question to attend. Applications should be made to headquarters as soon as possible.

BERLIN CONGRESS.

We are looking forward to this Congress with special interest, it being the first since the granting of Equal Franchise in this country. We are glad that the delegation from the N.U.S.E.C. is to have as its leader one of our newly-elected M.P.'s—Miss Rathbone. The delegation will hold a preliminary meeting at Headquarters on Monday, 10th June, at 2.30.

From MISS PICTON-TURBERVILL.

We have received the following letter from Miss Picton-Turbervill, M.P.:

Permit me through your columns to thank Mrs. Mott, Mrs. Abraham and Mrs. Shackleton, all N.U.S.E.C. workers, for their valuable help on polling day. They arrived in Wellington the night before from Liverpool. Their energy, hard work and zeal did wonders with their cars. Many of my people would not have been able to get to the poll but for them. Miss Fogg and Mrs. Cusden, both Suffrage workers of days gone by, were several weeks in the constituency; their work and organization were absolutely beyond praise. I little thought in days gone by that the cry "Vote for the woman" would be heard. Yet in one small village the people having wrestled in vain with my name contented themselves with that cry! The usual scene of excitement took place at the announcement of the result. When, however, the roars of the huge crowd ceased for a moment, a large section of the crowd sang the Doxology. Has this ever happened before?

EDITH PICTON-TURBERVILL.

14 Gayfere Street, S.W. 1.

A LOST BANNER.

We are distressed to learn that Bolton W.C.A., which took an active part in our Equal Franchise demonstration at the

Queen's Hall in March, 1928, has not recovered its historic banner since that meeting. Search has been made unavailingly so far, but we earnestly appeal to secretaries of societies to go through their collections of banners and flags as it is possible that Bolton's banner was inadvertently returned to the wrong Society.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE SERVANT PROBLEM.

MADAM,—Ann Pope's article on "Dietetics and Health" is good. I have long been of opinion that the status of domestic service *must be raised* or society will collapse:—

- (1) Educationally, so that ladies will go into it;
- (2) The hated words "domestic service" and "domestic servants" must go; and
- (3) The words "housekeepers"—which they are as they keep the house clean and neat and a going-concern—and "housekeeping" be substituted;
- (4) The present-day "Housekeepers" must be termed "house Managers" or simply "managers," which they are;
- (5) Housekeepers must be called "Mrs." or "Miss."
- (6) No caps, or aprons, unless preferred while dirty and dusty work is being done.
- (7) Bedrooms must be as nice as the daughters' bedrooms;
- (8) Cane *easy chairs* and nice tablecloths must be supplied for rest time and beauty (after the work is over);
- (9) Time off for recreation must be considered.
- (10) The status *raised* will save the situation, and the tragedy of the middle classes.

M. HYLTON DALE.

Empire Club, W.

A NEW FORM OF ART?

MADAM,—Will you forgive me if I refer to an article which appeared in THE WOMAN'S LEADER of 22nd March, which I have just read owing to my having returned to London after an absence of some weeks?

Your critic, in dealing with Miss Dorothea Spinney's rendering of "The Trojan Women" of Euripides, which she performed under somewhat novel conditions at the Rudolf Steiner Hall, asks certain questions which I venture to answer in the hope that my letter may be of interest to your readers. Whether or no works of such magnitude as the plays of Euripides can be rendered adequately by a single performer is a matter of opinion—theoretically it is impossible, but in practice Miss Spinney has proved to us that much of the magic of Greek Drama is preserved in her performance and that she can maintain the interest of her audiences in plays which are entirely foreign to the temperament of modern London theatre-goers.

Your critic asks whether her performance was dance, song, or recitative? Greek Drama, if correctly acted, should portray an intermingling of all three, and the fact that your critic asks these pertinent questions proves that in any case Miss Spinney gave a performance which was technically correct when judged by unelastic and unalterable classical traditions. The setting of Miss Spinney's performance was unquestionably correct, in that scenery, as we know it to-day, was unheard of in ancient Greece, where plays were performed in open air theatres and the unities of time, place, and action prevented the possibility of any elaboration or change of scenery—the only adjunct which was permitted in Greek Drama was the ekkyklema, which was a platform pushed forward from the back of the stage to give visible expression to some decisive event which had been referred to in the course of the play.

Your critic criticizes Miss Spinney's voice as rough and unmodulated: in "Trojan Women," the voices of Hecuba, of Andromache, and all the Trojan women are meant to be rough and unmodulated. The Trojan women are herded together before the ramparts of their conquered city—the play takes place in the dusk of early dawn before sunrise—the captive women are roused from a fitful sleep to hear the culmination of their sorrows.

In these circumstances, the highest art is to give effect to the utter desolation of weariness and despair which is the condition of all the Trojan women. No one could state that Miss Spinney's voice, when rendering the part of Cassandra was rough or unmodulated, because her performance of that difficult part was practically flawless, and Cassandra being mad was the only character whom Miss Spinney, with classical tradition at her back, could represent as speaking with a voice that was god-inspired and full of rhythm.

There is no possibility of comparing the art of Miss Spinney with that of Miss Ruth Draper—both in their way are inimitable—each to her particular audience has a charm which is all her own—Miss Spinney when declaiming Greek tragedy appeals to the few—Miss Draper in her delightful sketches appeals to the multitude.

"A. H. W." criticizes Miss Spinney's representation of the only male character in "The Trojan Women" "Had you seen her, as I have, in "Hippolytus," "Alcestis," "The Electra," "Iphigenia in Tauris," and "Hamlet," you would change your mind and own that, when given the opportunity of personating really vivid living men characters, her versatility, her flexibility of voice and power of facial expression are at their best, and it has been just these characteristics that have given such pleasure to her audiences in the Colonies and America, where she has a following which has justly appreciated her strange power of giving, and giving alone, a satisfactory rendering of a Greek drama crowded with male and female parts.

Say what you will, Miss Spinney deserves well of the public, because she gives a performance which satisfies the truly critical, which is the classic loving audience, and the gravest fault she made was to try in conservative London to entertain the many with dishes which appeal to the very few.

HAROLD N. CARVALHO.

252-260 Regent Street, W. 1.

COMING EVENTS.

ASSOCIATION FOR MORAL AND SOCIAL HYGIENE.

11th June. 5.15 p.m. The Lounge, Caxton Hall, S.W. 1. Annual Meeting. Chair: Miss J. Higson. Speakers: Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Rev. W. Paton. Tea from 4.15 p.m.

ASSOCIATION OF HEADMISTRESSES.

14th-15th June. Leeds Girls' High School. 55th Annual Conference.

INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE FOR SUFFRAGE AND EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

12th-24th June. International Congress, Berlin. Particulars from The Secretary, 190 Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W. 1.

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15th-16th June. International Conference, Berlin.

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FELLOWSHIP SERVICES, Guildhouse, Eccleston Square, S.W. 1. Sunday, 9th June, 6.30, Maude Royden.

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