

THE WOMAN'S LEADER

AND THE COMMON CAUSE

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NOTES AND NEWS.

The Criminal Law Amendment Act.

Readers of this paper will remember that in 1922, during the passing through Parliament of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship pressed for an extension of the time limit during which proceedings might be taken in cases of criminal assault to twelve instead of nine months, but an amendment to this effect by Mrs. Wintringham was defeated. In the House of Commons on 24th July, Mr. Hurd introduced a Bill to amend the Law in this respect which passed its second reading without any difficulty two days later, and will probably become law this Session. Mr. Hurd cited a tragic instance of the injustice of the present Act which had occurred recently in his own constituency. A child of thirteen who had been seduced died of convulsions during childbirth; strong indignation had been aroused in the countryside, but no proceedings could be taken against the offender as owing to ignorance or neglect no steps had been taken during the legal period of nine months.

The B.M.A. and the Birth-rate.

We have from time to time recently had occasion to record signs that the medical profession is beginning to give serious expert attention to the vitally significant problem of birth control. Last Friday's discussion by the British Medical Association at its Cardiff conference gives us additional reason to believe that the old attitude of aloofness is giving place to something more constructive. It arose upon a paper by Dr. Crew, of Edinburgh University, on the subject of the falling birth-rate. Dr. Crew expounded the biological thesis of Professor Raymond Pearl, that there are defined population growth-cycles in which movements of rapid increase generate stagnation, and dealt with the various alternative methods by which the inevitable checks might operate. Lady Barrett concentrating on the method of birth control, advocated the instruction of medical students in these matters. Dr. Collier, of Oxford, also stressed their importance, and urged the medical profession to sit no longer upon the fence, and Sir Thomas Horder reflected much the same point of view. We ourselves believe that the inclusion of birth control knowledge, even in its present rudimentary stage, in the ordinary medical curriculum is a matter of most urgent importance. The average medical practitioner's ignorance of the subject is unquestionable. And persons who have come into intimate relation with ignorant working mothers know something of the dangers which result when a woman turns from a doctor who cannot or will not give her expert advice, to an advertising commercial agency or a neighbourly friend who is only too ready to supply the deficiency.

A Woman Candidate at North Aberdeen.

Four candidates have been adopted for the North Aberdeen by-election. In addition to a Liberal and a Communist, Dr. Laura Sandeman has been adopted as a Unionist candidate and Captain Wedgwood Benn as the Labour candidate. Readers of this paper will remember that Captain Wedgwood Benn, when sitting as a Liberal in the House of Commons, was one of the best friends of women's suffrage, and of the different Parliamentary reforms which women's organizations have brought forward since the first instalment of the vote was won. We are not in a position yet to state Dr. Sandeman's position on our particular "programme," but hope to do so at an early date.

The Woman's Vote in Ceylon.

A correspondent writes with reference to our note last week on the franchise proposals for Ceylon. She points out that while the report contains a scheme for a constitution which is democratic, representative, and non-party, the Government is in no way bound to accept it. As the Colonial Office vote was taken in the House of Commons two or three days before its appearance, there will be no opportunity until next session for a public discussion of the matter. Mr. Amery and the Cabinet will therefore presumably make up their minds without having ascertained the opinion of Parliament. Our correspondent urges readers to study the report, which is of the greatest possible interest at the present time for themselves, as a model of its kind.

Committees and More Committees.

The fashion of setting up Government Committees for this and that laudable philanthropic object, appears to us to be in danger of being over done. A Committee "to help lonely girls" is excellent, especially as it contains seven women members who understand girls and their problems—Mrs. G. Arbuthnot, Miss F. H. Durham, of the Ministry of Labour, Mrs. Hatfield, Mrs. Mark Kerr with special Girl Guide experience, Miss Mary E. Phillips of the Y.W.C.A., and Hon. Eleanor Plumer, formerly of the Mary Ward Settlement, with experience of girls of all ranks of life from the working-class girl to the University student. But why not a Committee for lonely boys? We recognize the need of girls who flock to London in large numbers, and this new Committee may, however, prove to be valuable in co-ordinating existing organizations for their welfare. The function of the Committee, we are told, is to consider how existing arrangements would be improved and whether a centralized bureau is necessary. The Committee will, it is expected, issue a report and draw up a scheme. We are, however, unconvinced of the desirability of a new Committee of Inquiry. Could the matter not have been entrusted to the Juvenile Organizations Committee of the Board of Education? If a new committee was necessary, could it not have dealt with boys as well as girls? Their needs are just as great in spite of the recent publicity given to the lapses of little servant girls.

The Milk Grants.

Last week Mr. Neville Chamberlain informed a deputation from twelve London boroughs that he was obliged, for reasons of economy, to cut down the grants for milk for expectant and nursing mothers. We can well believe that Mr. Chamberlain came to such a decision with the greatest reluctance, but no amount of reluctance can make it other than monstrous. To deprive a nursing mother of milk, if she needs it, is no economy; it is to save money now with the certainty of having to spend more, and nobody knows how much more, in the long run. It happens that the first newspaper in which we saw a report of this deputation had printed the account next a column of society gossip. In this column it was stated that it is now "the thing"

at fancy dress balls to change one's costume at least once, and possibly twice, in the course of an evening. When we remember the cost of the fancy dresses with which rich people provide themselves, the amount of labour which goes to the making of them and the service they render to the community, it seems disproportionate that a society which can allow some women to wear three in an evening, should grudge necessary milk to its nursing mothers.

A Woman Clerk to a Board of Guardians.

One of the most interesting appointments of the year is the recent appointment of Miss Jessie Hellier as Clerk to the Honiton Board of Guardians. Mrs. Phillips, known to our readers as Mayor of Honiton for five years, writes that Miss Hellier's father was clerk for over 30 years, and her grandfather preceded him. This is, we believe, the only instance of a woman holding this important post, though there are women assistant clerks. Honiton has a fine record so far as opportunities for women are concerned.

A New Lease of Life for Dog Racing.

Millions of inarticulate citizens all over the country will share the disappointment of the National Emergency Committee of Christian Citizens at the demise of Mr. Buchan's Dog Racing Bill which seeks to confer licensing powers upon local authorities. Whatever may be the rights and wrongs of the angry controversy which raged last week between the Emergency Committee and the Home Secretary concerning the assignment of blame, the fact remains that the present Bill is dead, and in the matter of greyhound racing tracks local authorities are terribly at the mercy of any financial syndicate which chooses to acquire land for this purpose. Nor is it possible to believe that the Government could not, had it possessed the will, have found time for a measure which boasts a wide, influential and non-party backing throughout the country. We venture to think that what the government might have lost on the swings of financial vested interest, it would have gained on the roundabouts of civic gratitude by a vigorous championship of this popular and necessary Bill.

East and West.

The King of Afghanistan appears to be applying the lessons of Western civilization with a selective perception which promises great things for the East. He is at the moment campaigning against polygamy. This, he says, is one of the chief causes of corruption in his country, and will in future disqualify any subject who practices it from holding office under the government. In addition to monogamy, love of sport is commended as an aspect of Western civilization worthy of imitation. The drinking habits of the West, however, he roundly condemns.

The International Alliance of Women and the League Assembly.

Readers who are fortunate enough to be able to attend the Assembly of the League of Nations will be glad to hear that as in previous years, the International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship will open temporary headquarters in Geneva for the month of September (27th August to 22nd September). This will be situated in the Foyer du Travail féminin, 11 Cours de Rive. Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Miss Sterling, and several Vice-Presidents of the Alliance intend to be in Geneva at this time, and the Alliance Headquarters will be a live centre of international feminism in international Geneva. Miss Gourd, the hon. secretary of the Alliance, extends a warm invitation to members of Societies affiliated to the Alliance likely to be in Geneva to make use of this delightful centre.

Lady of the Air.

Lady Heath, a true pioneer, moves from one aerial enterprise to another. Last week she entered the employment of the Royal Dutch Air Service, thus becoming the first woman pilot to officiate on a regular air line. She has already piloted an air liner from Amsterdam. We wish her all success in her new capacity, hoping at the same time that she will not remain in it too long—for so much pioneering still remains for her to do.

Westminster Hospital and Women Students.

The Joint Committee on Women in the Service of Hospitals, organized by the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, and now representing sixteen nationally organized women's societies, is progressing with its work of bringing pressure to bear on those London Hospitals which have closed their doors to women medical students. The School of Medicine Committee of Westminster Hospital deputed its Chairman, Mr. A. Marshall,

to receive a deputation from this representative Committee on Wednesday, 25th July. Miss Eleanor Rathbone, representing the N.U.S.E.C., led the deputation, which included Miss Beard (Association of Headmistresses), Miss Bond (British Federation of University Women), Lady Sprigge (London and National Society for Women's Service), Miss Green (National Council of Women), Mrs. Corbett Ashby (Women's National Liberal Federation), and Mrs. Barton (Women's Co-operative Guild).

The extension of the State Health Services with the consequent increased demand for women doctors was one of the reasons urged by Miss Rathbone for a withdrawal of the limitations now imposed on facilities available for women medical students; while Mrs. Barton pointed out that the extension of medical examination to factory workers, a practice growing among employers, necessitated an adequate supply of women doctors to whom women in industry might go, and also that women doctors have a far greater understanding of the domestic difficulties of their women patients. Mrs. Corbett Ashby stressed the fact that women hesitate to go to a male practitioner when symptoms of illness first appear, so that from the point of view of preventive medicine the need for an adequate number of women doctors is urgent. An appreciation of the great value of women doctors in the so far little explored field of adolescence was expressed by Miss Beard, who had found, as a headmistress, how grateful parents were for the services of the woman doctor who inspected girls' schools. The necessity for fair opportunity for trained medical women to obtain hospital appointments was stressed by Miss Bond, a condition which could not be fulfilled if the hospitals training women students were limited to the Royal Free and University College. Mr. Marshall undertook to convey a full report of the deputation to his Committee, which, unfortunately, will not be meeting until the autumn.

These Grapes are—Impure!

In the interests of social decorum Cardinal Gamba, of Turin, issued elaborate instructions to the Ladies of his diocese concerning their attire during the recent heat wave. Sleeves were to reach below the elbow, skirts below the knee, and not more than two inches round the neck was to be left uncovered. We must not, however, rush thoughtlessly to the somewhat obvious conclusion that a kind of male pruderie stimulated these evil thoughts at the sight of low necks and sleeveless cotton frocks. Male attire, especially clerical attire, must be peculiarly uncomfortable in hot weather. We are all human, and it is easier to rail at the sourness of grapes than at the stupidity of one's own sex.

Questions in Parliament.

LONDON LOCK HOSPITAL.

Mr. Pethick-Lawrence asked the Minister of Health whether the Committee which is inquiring into the London Lock Hospital have now finished their labours; and when their report is likely to be published.

Mr. Chamberlain: I understand that the Committee are now considering their report, but I cannot say when it will be ready for publication.

FEMALE PRISONERS (MATRONS).

Sir V. Henderson, replying to a question by Mr. Hayes, said: A matron is engaged to be and remain in attendance so long as a female prisoner is detained at any police station throughout the Metropolitan Police district, and a similar arrangement is general elsewhere.

BOARD OF EDUCATION (WOMEN).

President of the Board of Education (Lord Eustace Percy), in answer to a question by Mr. Pethick-Lawrence, stated: In addition to the women inspectors and women executive and clerical officers, the Board of Education staff includes a chief woman medical adviser, two women medical officers, a woman administrative officer, and a woman librarian. A woman was among the six candidates recently interviewed for a vacancy in the administrative class which was filled by promotion, and women are equally eligible with men for vacancies filled from the Civil Service competitive examination.

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

WOMEN AND THE MEDICAL SERVICES.¹

An admirable memorandum on the subject of women and the medical service had just been issued by the Joint Committee of women's organizations, recently formed by the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship to promote equal opportunities for women with men in the Hospital Services. It deals chiefly with the situation created in London by the closing to women medical students of six training schools which during recent years have been open to them jointly with men. This leaves as the sole co-educational school the University College Hospital, which in conformity with its agreement with the Rockefeller Trustees admits twelve women entrants per annum. It is true that there is still the admirable London (Royal Free Hospital) School of Medicine for Women. But in 1927 there were in London 654 women medical students, of whom 298 were at the women's school and 59 at University College Hospital. Some of the remainder were doubtless in the earlier stages of their training and thus not requiring clinical facilities. But even allowing for considerable powers of expansion in the Women's School, the facilities left to women are obviously insufficient to accommodate even the present output of women medicals, to say nothing of the increase that will be urgently necessary to meet the growing demand for the services of women doctors.

Apparently some of the male members of the profession have rashly concluded (perhaps the wish is father to the thought) that this increased demand was merely a temporary phenomenon, due to the shortage of men doctors during the war. The Report shows that on the contrary the demand, despite temporary fluctuation, is bound to increase. The most substantial of several reasons for this view is the fact that the Government is pledged—and subsequent Governments of whatever political colour will find themselves bound to carry out the pledge—to make more adequate provision for the needs of that great mass of married working women who at present find themselves completely outside the scope of National Health Insurance. Whether the new provision will take the form of their inclusion within that scope, or of the provision of some other kind of public medical service no Government will be able much longer to resist the growing anxiety of the public on the subject of maternal mortality and the increased pressure of the women's vote. No longer will it be possible for political parties in preparing their programmes to comfortably ignore one of the greatest and most indispensable classes of "occupied persons"—those who are occupied in keeping its homes and bearing and rearing its children. At

WHISPERS FROM WESTMINSTER. UNLIMITED WHITEWASH AND LIMITED WHIPS.

On Friday morning the newspapers contained news of unlimited whitewash and limited Whips in the reports of Lord Birkenhead's amazing speech on the Savidge Reports, and of the withdrawal of the party notices from the Member for Barnstaple. It was, and is, an instructive contrast. The minority report of Mr. Lees-Smith had put in a strong plea for fundamental civil liberties, and "F. E." swept its conclusions away with the monstrous statement: "To say that with the repercussions of a case like this the public are losing confidence in the police"—then a pause, a look around the red benches almost unoccupied, a sweep of the arm indicating that he had found a phrase containing enough vigour; and the conclusion of the sentence—"These are the murmurings of imbecility." The whole speech was the result of a brush dipped in unlimited whitewash, and indicated an unbelievable intolerance of other views, even of members of his own party. Meanwhile, the Chief Conservative Whip was busily engaged in excommunicating one of the most loyal and intense Conservatives in the Commons House, Sir Basil Peto. The Member for Barnstaple, we understand, is to receive no more Government Whips because he dared to disagree, at 12.3 a.m. last Friday, with his party over the treatment of merchant seamen in the distribution of the Naval Prize Fund, and together with the Liberal Member for Leith, told against the Government Whips at a time when there were just one hundred Members in the House. But according to the common opinion of such friends as I have in all parties, neither the policy of unlimited whitewash nor that of limited Whips is likely to succeed, for public opinion is uneasy about the management of that fine body of men, the Metropolitan Police, and there are occasions when the back bench M.P. claims liberty to vote as his convictions and conscience dictate.

I thought the Marquess of Reading near the mark on the

¹ Obtainable from the Secretary to the Committee, Mrs. Horton, at 15 Dean's Yard, S.W. 1.

present the married working housewife cannot afford the extravagance of medical advice until absolutely obliged. When able to indulge in that resource, her choice will naturally fall in very many cases upon a doctor of her own sex. No one will ever know how many cases of "inoperable cancer" and other intestinal diseases have become inoperable because of the intense distaste which many women feel to submitting themselves to medical examination to the cheap doctor in the neighbouring street, or to wasting hours in awaiting attention at an out-patients' department, perhaps to be laughed at for their pains if their fears prove unnecessary. On this question of sex delicacy the man doctor shows a human desire to "have his cake and eat it". He is acutely conscious (or so say some of his protagonists) of sex differences, when it is a question of receiving or giving instruction by the hospital bedside in the company of women students. But when reminded that the woman occupier of the bed may feel the same scruple, he loftily proclaims that, qua doctor, he represents pure science, stripped of the consciousness of sex.

The Joint Committee's Report, while expressing no opinion on the vexed question of co-education versus separate medical instruction, argues that just because the merits of the two systems are in dispute, it is desirable that both men and women students should be able to choose freely between the two kinds of schools. The London School of Medicine itself, justifiably confident in its own power to continue to attract a large proportion of the ablest women students, desires no monopoly. It prefers that those students who prefer co-education should be able to have it.

Another most valuable part of the Report is a table of figures showing the sources from which the hospitals which have closed their doors to women draw their funds. Less and less do they rely upon the individual subscriber, more and more upon public authorities, large central funds, and contributory associations, to which women are required to subscribe equally with men, without being able to select the hospital which is to benefit by their contributions. In the face of the figures given, the pretension that hospitals may regulate their own affairs as their committees (usually composed almost or quite exclusively of men) think best, becomes plainly indefensible. The hospitals, as the Report says bluntly, exist for the benefit neither of men nor women doctors, but of the general public. Their present voluntary management, we would add, is on its trial and those concerned in their management would do well to remember it.

police question when he said that the inquiry had served its purpose, and had been extremely useful in leading to alterations in the regulations. Pressure is being brought to bear on the Government to include women Members on the wider tribunal, and satisfaction is expressed at the attitude of the Home Secretary to the fifteen questions in the Minority Report.

The reports of Lord Birkenhead's speech show that there are some words which no politician should use. He was reported by most of the daily papers as saying: "It is not our habit to frequent Hyde Park in the disreputable hours." I listened to the speech very carefully and the word used was "disputable", a very different adjective. The Commons had narrowed the issue down, as they do all controversies, to the plain issue of "Aye" or "No." Their Lordships did not test "Content" or "Non Content." Many visitors to the House of Commons are asking "Who are the Whips who have denied their whip to the Member for Barnstaple, and what is the Whip?" The Whip is the message of the party official to the follower of the party, and is varying in its urgency. In the old days they bore five degrees of intensity. One line meant "Come if you can," two lines "Come if you are a good party man," three lines, "Give up a dinner party or a visit to your constituency or any other pleasure," four lines "Come at any cost from anywhere," while a five lined Whip sent the message, "The party will meet with disaster if you fail to come."

Nowadays the party message has only from one to three lines, but the average meaning is the same.

As for the officials who issue the Whips, and are themselves called "Whips," they are the officers of the parties through whom party machinery is used for the conduct of the business of Parliament. They are the eyes and ears of their party chief, and also his hands and feet in all things concerning the division lobby. In the end this is the real test for all Members. A hundred

(Continued at foot of next page.)

THE MODERN GIRL AND MASS PRODUCTION.

Youth has great publicity value in these days; it has therefore become the favourite standby of the Press when news is scanty. If the other phenomena of nature—storms, floods, and heat-waves—fall the modern girl" is called in to fill half a column, either as the subject of dire prophecies made by centenarians or as an opportunity for a rising author to air his style and earn three guineas.

It is one of the delusions of maturity that the young enjoy publicity. They certainly do not enjoy the misleading labels which publicity gives them. The labels affixed to the genus "modern girl" cannot, or at least do not, tell us anything of the specimen, except that she is of the species Flapper or Athletic or High Brow or Bright Young Person. And these are the headings under which young women are classified not only in the popular Press, but also, only in rather different language, by the great majority of the older generation.

Classification of any sort involves a denial of the elementary right to be considered as an individual, and it is therefore very galling to the victim particularly in this case, when that right has at last been gained by women. A young woman of to-day strongly objects to being pinned up for public exhibition as "the modern girl", a description which ignores all that she considers her essential self and magnifies out of all proportion to its importance that outward standardization which an age of mass production inflicts on her. True she dresses like her fellows, for the shops sell only one-kind of clothes; true, also, that she thinks and speaks to some extent from the point of view of her generation, but this is a necessity of every age from which not even Dante and Shakespeare escaped. Her modernness consists in these and not, whatever the journalists may say, in the drinking of cocktails. If total abstinence were ordained to-morrow, "the modern girl," that imaginary creature born of a false generalization, would still be with us.

Since the creature is imaginary, the views put into her mind by her inventors are imaginary too. One cannot summarize the ideas of a generation; one can expect contemporaries in age to have only one thing in common—their age, and thus to share the same point of view about one subject—other ages and more especially their elders. Perhaps this common factor is responsible for another pet theory, of age, about youth—that all young people are independent (or disrespectful or self-reliant—the same qualities under other names). There are, of course, grains of truth in this as in all generalizations. Among women some are born independent, and for them this age gives greater scope than any other. Some achieve independence of mind through an education which makes them think for themselves. Here, again, the age with its wide facilities for education offers opportunities for that constructive dissatisfaction which is more fruitful than inactive contentment. Others have independence thrust upon them, for the woman's life was, after all, easier when the slaves had no responsibility. When the chains drop off it is difficult at first for the newly enfranchized to find herself in a world in which she must be self-supporting mentally as well as economically.

Growing up into this world is a disturbing business. In the first place facts have to be found, and faced, through the trappings of hypocrisy under which they are too often presented.

Then women, at least, have to adjust themselves to an environment which is quite different from that which former generations knew and which offers problems other than those which confronted the pioneers who fought to achieve it. While the feminist battle was raging it was obvious what to do. Now that the militant stage is over the new generation of women have to reckon up their gains and losses and decide what position in the world they wish to occupy. To some freedom feels like emptiness; to many a career with no other life is unsatisfactory. If these cannot have the best of both worlds as, it must be confessed, they would prefer, they have to find a compromise which avoids losing both. Now that the stigma of inferiority has thus disappeared the air of equality with men in all things has lost its inspiration. To the present generation it seems even to be leading its devotees in the wrong direction. Women in becoming persons remain women, with special excellencies and special deficiencies. While there is so much in the world that can only be done by women, it seems a pity to bury talents and waste opportunities in the name of equality.

EVELYN MARTELLI.

WELCOME TO THE KELLOGG PACT.

The Queen's Hall was crowded on the evening of Wednesday, 25th July, when under the auspices of the British-American Women's Crusade, a demonstration welcoming the Kellogg proposals was held. Surely this was an indication that the women of this country are not only satisfied that the Government has notified its acceptance of the proposals but that they are determined that the Pact should be more than a gesture, and that full advantage should be taken of the possibilities it offers for preventing war. Under the able chairmanship of Lady Acland, time was found for a large number of speakers to make their contributions, all of which the attentive audience greatly appreciated. Lady Astor, spirited and direct of purpose as ever, proposed the resolution. This was effectively seconded by Miss Margaret Bondfield, who in a most convincing speech drew attention to several of the practical difficulties which must be faced by the country if world peace is to be brought about with the consequent reduction in armaments. Everyone was particularly interested in hearing Miss Ruth Morgan, chairman of the National League of Women Voters, U.S.A., who outlined a few important points which govern public opinion in the United States—lack of effective political opposition on national affairs, the united peace sentiment of the country behind the Kellogg proposals which really come from the minority of the Republican party, and the propagandist work of the united women's organizations under the leadership of Mrs. Catt, culminating in a big meeting in New York on 24th November, just before the Senate meets, and which will be addressed by Mr. Kellogg himself. In answer to the question how can war really be renounced, Miss Morgan gave her reply: "Why not?" Directly or indirectly all the speakers stressed the fact that if women will realize their power and determine not to have war, and will be active in educating public opinion as to the possibility of world peace, war can be abolished. Lack of space alone prevents a fuller account being given of the very effective speeches made by representatives from Canada, Australia, South Africa, India, and Ireland, but mention must be made of the charming note struck by Miss C. P. Smuts, who, after reading a message to the meeting from her father, General Smuts, expressed her own desire as a young South African for peace, and for the application of pacific methods to the settlement of the delicate and difficult inter-racial questions. An appeal was persuasively made by Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence for contributions to the funds needed to launch a big campaign up and down the country in the autumn, the result of which was declared at the close of the meeting to be over £60. The undoubted success of the meeting must have been a very great satisfaction to all who had the work of organizing it, and to whom every thanks are due.

WHISPERS FROM WESTMINSTER.—(Continued from page 211.)
different views may be held in the Chamber as to the course to be taken in a given emergency. They must contract to two when they pass the tellers at the doors of the division lobbies, and Sir Basil Peto's offence was that he told against his own Whips, though why he should have been pitched out is less explicable, as numbers of his fellow Conservatives have also told against their party during the progress of the Finance Bill, for the Chancellor has not had an easy passage. Thinking of Whips and the origin of the titles, I am wondering what our modern Whips would have done with Edward Burke, when he was moved to obstruction. Once, when an attempt was made to bring some printers to the bar for having published and criticized the debates, Burke, in a small minority of fifteen, divided the House after 11 o'clock no less than twenty-three times, and wearied the majority till victory was won at 4 a.m. It was he in the great Luttrell-Wilkes debate in May, 1769, who first coined the phrase "Whipping them in," and now it is the accepted title of the shepherds of any flocks. This week's smile is from Mr. Macquisten's supplementary question on the subject of discharged prisoners: "Would not the best way of providing for ex-criminals be to have them trained in journalism in gaol, so that they might write for the Sunday Press when they came out."
GREEN BENCH.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

REPRESENTATIVE WOMEN.

There are some queer juxtapositions in the series of *Representative Women*, edited by Mr. Francis Birrell, and issued by Gerald Howe, Ltd., at 3s. 6d. a volume. At a first glance it is difficult to say what Letizia Bonaparte, Rachael and Elizabeth Barrett Browning—to take some of the most recent volumes—represent in common, unless it is their sex. And if Mrs. Browning represents the female sex—and no one will deny that she was a very "womanly woman"—can the fierce, avid, passionate "Rachel" represent it, too? It seems at the first glance that the most noticeable thing about the remarkable characters selected by the author of this very interesting series is that they were all human beings before they were anything else. On further examination, however, it appears that their humanity was developed under the restrictions and by the special incitements to which women as women have always been subjected; and therefore unlike as they are, and human as they are, it is not meaningless to call them "representative women".

Through all the generations, women have been encouraged by men to develop those qualities which make them satisfactory mothers, wives, paramours, daughters, or sisters. Different women have chosen different rôles, according to their natures, and have carried them out with more or less force according to their capacity. They have, moreover, infused into them something of their own special characteristics as individual human beings. Letizia Bonaparte chose the rôle of mother and carried it out with a success which was partly the result of her own vigorous character and partly of the special circumstances in which she lived. She became *Madame Mère* par excellence, but she gave some trouble by not always being only that. She was too individual and in some ways too like Napoleon himself not to be very annoying to the Emperor at times. Still, on the whole, she was a great success. Her life includes almost too much European history to go very comfortably into a biography of this compass, but Mr. Clement Shaw has dealt competently with his difficult task.

Rachel—or Elisa Felix, to give her her true name, chose the rôle of the enchantress of men. But by nature she was first the great artist (and art is without sex), and secondly the ambitious, able, unscrupulous Child of Israel; a true descendant of Jacob and Joseph, but with qualities which might have belonged to a son as well as to a daughter. Mr. Agate's life of her is interesting; but there is nothing so difficult as trying to reproduce the effect that a great actress had on her contemporaries, and I do not think he has been quite successful in gathering up the snows of yester year.

Elizabeth Barrett chose first the rôles of devoted daughter and sister, and then those of devoted wife and mother. She was nearly perfect in them all, and quite perfect when she was ably complemented by Robert Browning. She put all her great human qualities, her magnanimity, her tenderness, her fidelity, her intellectual power, her romantic imagination into her womanly rôle, and, at least after she married Robert, there was no conflict. Miss Cooper Willis tends to hesitate between her devotion to Elizabeth and the fashionable necessity of showing a good deal of pitying contempt for the Victorians. On the whole, the former *motif* prevails.

All these sketches make pleasant reading, and the slender volumes are easy to hold, and easy to carry about, so they are good holiday books.

I. B. O'MALLEY.

ISADORA DUNCAN.

An acquaintance of the present writer, being once upon a time intrigued by the incongruous appearance of two elderly ladies at a Paris exhibition of modern painting (largely composed of studies from the nude), followed them from picture to picture in the hope of overhearing their comments. To his disappointment they remained speechless—until the very end of their careful perambulation, when one of them remarked to her companion, and with an accent which suggested Scottish ancestry, "*Jane would not have liked this.*" That was all.

Nor would Jane have liked the autobiography of Isadora Duncan.¹ Nor—to tell the truth—do we. It is not that we deplore the candid recital of successive ultra-marital love-affairs. We all know well enough that artists will be artists, and we are accustomed to meet that kind of thing in candid biographies with perfect equanimity. But there is an element

¹ *My Life*, by Isadora Duncan. (Gollancz, 15s.)

in Miss Duncan's candour that borders on the obscene, a hint of physical and material acquisitiveness in her love passages that borders on the sordid. Moreover, it must be remembered that she intended to face the world with this autobiography, and that only a peculiarly fortuitous motor accident made of it a posthumous work. She was in fact prepared to face the world with all the secret doors of her personality thrown wide open—with no reserves—with nothing to offer friend or lover that had not been offered before, offered and taken, offered and rejected, as the case might be, over and over again. There is surely some sinister significance in the fact, which this biography makes perfectly clear, that as time went on the turnover of her lovers became more rapid, and their quality deteriorated. We are left to surmise the end, for her narrative breaks off in 1921, and her death did not occur until 1927. But if we "follow the curve downward" the end can be pretty clearly surmised. She became progressively less capable of giving a fair return for the insatiable demands of her erotic passion and her reckless personal extravagance. The balance of ecstasy and melancholia tilted with an increasing list to starboard.

That is the worst that we can say of Isadora Duncan, and perhaps those who knew her, and found in her some spark of personal appeal which she does not succeed in transmitting through the medium of words (they were not, after all, her chosen medium, either spoken or written), will regard it as an irrelevant and stupid judgment. "*Jane would have said this,*" they will doubtless remark—and so of course she would. But though it is the worst that we can say, it is not of course all that we can say. For inextricably tangled up with her ego-centric and reckless turbulence of body and spirit was her love of dancing and the work she did on its behalf. She was not out solely to dance herself into the situations which she desired, she was out to dance the dance itself into a new world of public consciousness. She did for dancing something of what Cimabué did for painting. Not long ago we had occasion to visit a social institution in a north-country slum. A dozen little girls, bare-footed, bare-legged, loosely-clad in little cheap cotton tunics, were dancing freely and exuberantly to any music that was played to them. It struck us at the time that in all probability they were dancing in this particular way because of Isadora Duncan and her school.

Well—that much may yet remain of her work, her extravagant outpouring of her own nervous energy, and of other people's money, her crazy schemes, her mad impulsive flights from continent to continent, and her pursuit of beauty. Like all who pursue beauty, she found it of course. She found it in her own body, and at opposite ends of the æsthetic pole; in the Attic shapes and clear air of Greece, and in the hot pulsating ecstasy of the Bayreuth opera house. And if her pursuit lacked some objectivity, at any rate, she had her moments, in spite of the desertions and disappointments, and tragedies and bankruptcies. She had, as she herself says in quotation from Nietzsche, "often sprung with both feet into golden-emerald rapture," and perhaps at times carried others with her in her spring. No mean feat. She might even have added "*Jane could not have done this.*"

M. D. S.

ST. JOAN'S VICTORY PARTY.

By kind invitation of Mrs. Laughton Mathews, St. Joan's Alliance enjoyed a very delightful Victory Party at her house in St. John's Wood on 26th July.

In honour of the occasion flowers in the colours of the Alliance as well as its banners decorated the rooms, while in the centre of the main table was a "Winged Victory" and a model of a ship come safe to port.

After brief speeches by Miss Fedden, one of the earliest members, and by Miss Nancy Stewart Parnell, representing the Liverpool Branch and the younger members, a presentation was made to Miss Jeffery, co-founder of the Catholic Women's Suffrage Society, to Miss Barry, Hon. Secretary, and to Miss de Alberti, Editor of the *Catholic Citizen*, in grateful recognition of their many years of devoted service to the Alliance and to the woman's cause.

THE WOMAN'S LEADER
EVERY FRIDAY. ONE PENNY.

SPECIAL TERMS FOR SOCIETIES

Send 6/6 to the Office of the Paper, 4 Tufton Street, Westminster, S.W. 1
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LOCAL GOVERNMENT NEWS.

By BERTHA MASON.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT REFORM (continued).

"The magnitude of the derating proposals must profoundly affect not only the whole fabric of local government, but local authorities individually"; changes in areas, new methods of distribution of government grants and reorganization of administrative arrangements are, says the Memorandum, "essential."

"The services for which there is a clear case for modifications are the Poor Law and Highway Administration."

In our article of 20th July we outlined the "modifications" in regard to Poor Law administration proposed in the Memorandum, the chief of which are the abolition of Boards of Guardians and the transfer of their functions to the councils of county and county boroughs.

We propose now to consider the proposals in respect (1) to highway administration, (2) the position of women under the proposals.

Highway Administration.—The modifications proposed in the existing system of highway administration are, briefly, as follows:—

(1) The responsibility for the maintenance of all roads in rural districts will be transferred to County Councils, which (2) will in addition take over some of the financial charges in respect of certain classified roads in boroughs and urban districts outside county boroughs. The proposals in regard to the latter clause are, however, somewhat vague. (3) Boroughs and urban district councils will continue to be responsible for the maintenance of the roads in their districts (mainly residential "streets") which are not already maintained by the county or which would not be transferred to the county as classified roads. (4) County boroughs and Metropolitan boroughs will retain their existing responsibilities in respect to all the roads in their areas.

Already strong protest, which is steadily increasing, has been set up by the rural district councils.

Such, in brief, are the proposals in so far as the administrative side of the scheme is concerned.

The Position of Women.—The Government scheme, as already stated, provides for the displacement of 20,000 elected Poor Law Guardians, of whom, approximately, 2,500 are women, and the transference of their duties to authorities functioning through committees largely composed of appointed or co-opted members.

No provision is made in the scheme for any large proportion of the displaced women guardians to be included in the number of co-opted members. It is true that "it will be a requirement where a county or county borough decides to provide in its scheme for co-option that provision must be made for women as well as men" (this is the only mention in the scheme of women), but the provision for co-option in a county or county borough scheme is optional, and, even if provided for, the number of women co-opted is, entirely in the hands of the authorities who make this provision.

To ensure the services of women there are only two methods of procedure—direct election and co-option.

It is obviously impossible for even a fraction of the displaced Guardians, even should they wish, to find place by direct election on county councils, and specially difficult for women owing to the regulation which limits the number of members for each electoral area in the provinces to one member. The other method, co-option, is unsatisfactory, for it is admitted that the position of a co-opted member of an authority or on one of its committees, is neither so influential nor from the standpoint of the work itself, as satisfactory as that of a directly elected member.

The scheme cuts right across the principle of direct election, and provides for co-option only if the local authority so decides.

Women Poor Law Guardians are robbed of the responsibility which direct election gives, and under existing conditions must depend, if they are to continue their service, on co-option or appointment on a committee.

The serious menace to the work now carried on by directly elected women on behalf of children, the poor, and the physically and mentally sick, if the scheme of Poor Law reform at present before the country is carried into law, cannot be over-estimated. The immediate effect, in our opinion, would be the disappearance of a great proportion of the directly elected women who are now serving the state intelligently and devotedly in the administration of the Poor Law.

Even if the services of all at present engaged in this work could be retained by a process of co-option to the new authorities

(Continued in next column.)

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

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

INFORMAL CONFERENCE WITH DAME EDITH LYTTTELTON.

A very successful informal conference, to which twenty-three Societies sent representatives, was held at 35 Marsham Street on Friday, 27th July, when various questions likely to arise during the League of Nations Assembly, and of direct interest to women, were discussed with Dame Edith Lyttelton. The subjects raised by delegates included the Nationality of Married Women, which is to be discussed at the conference on the Codification of Law; the position of women in the Secretariat of the League; appointment of more women to the Health Commission, and to the Economic Consultative Committee on which there is no representative of women; inquiries to be urged by the Child Welfare Committee on Maternal Mortality and Age of Marriage; Conference (1929) on Forced and Contract Labour to which women advisers should be appointed, and for which a carefully planned questionnaire is required; Minimum Wage Convention from which principles of equal pay for equal work is omitted.

BANK HOLIDAY.

The Office will be closed for August Bank Holiday on Friday, 3rd August, at 5.30 p.m., and will open again on Tuesday, 8th August, at 9.30 a.m.

WOMEN AND ROYAL COMMISSION ON POLICE METHODS.

The Executive Committee at its meeting last week decided to send a letter to Members of Parliament asking them to press for the appointment of an adequate number of women to the above Commission, and also to invite nationally organized women's Societies to join in signing a letter to *The Times* on this subject. The letter was published in the issue of Monday, 30th July.

NEWS FROM SOCIETIES.

EDINBURGH S.E.C.
The Edinburgh S.E.C., in co-operation with the Glasgow S.E.C. and W.C.A., are arranging an Autumn School to be held at the Buchanan Hostel, East Suffolk Road, Edinburgh, from 28th September to 1st October. The subject of the School is to be "Equalities still to be won by women," and the speakers include Mrs. Abbott, Mrs. Horton, Miss Macmillan, Miss Picton-Turberville, and Mrs. Basil Williams. Further particulars can be obtained from the Hon. Secretary, Edinburgh S.E.C., 40 Shandwick Place, Edinburgh.

KENSINGTON AND PADDINGTON S.E.C.
This Society is considering the question of supporting some women candidates for the Borough Council at the November elections. It is probable that the candidates will stand in one ward as Independents, and in addition to the Equality programme, the candidates will make a special feature of housing in their campaign. Women residents in Kensington who are anxious to see an increase in the number of women serving on the Council are urged to take this opportunity of supporting the Society's effort.

MALVERN S.E.C.
The Chairman (Mrs. W. A. Priestly) and the Executive Committee of the Malvern S.E.C. issued invitations to New Voters to a Garden Party, held at Langland (by kind permission of Mrs. Farmer) at the end of last month. Although the numbers had to be limited on account of space, there was a large and representative gathering. Tea was followed by short talks on "The Vote and its Uses," and the proceedings closed with the final act of *The Taming of the Shrew*, given by members of Trinity Girls' Club.

(Continued from previous column.)
or their committees, which is obviously impossible, co-opted members would not be, and could not be, for the reasons given, efficient substitutes for directly elected representatives.

(To be continued.)

School of Social Study and Training,
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Autumn Term begins in October. Two years' course of study and practical work qualifying for a Diploma, suitable for those interested in social conditions, or undertaking different branches of public and social service: Welfare Supervisors, Teachers, Hospital Almoners, Police Women, Health Visitors, Secretaries, Poor Law and Employment Exchange Officials, and others.

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MISS HELEN STORY, Hon. Sec.,
QUEEN MARGARET SETTLEMENT, 77 PORT ST., ANDERSTON.

CORRESPONDENCE.

EQUAL PAY AND THE I.L.O.

MADAM,—The statement in your leading article of 13th July, that in addition to the principle of Equal Pay there are a "host" of other Wage Principles in the Treaties, the omission of which from the Minimum Wage-Fixing Machinery Convention would equally render it *ultra vires*, is not correct. The Wage Principles of the Treaties are:—

- (1) . . . that labour should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce.
- (3) The payment to the employed of a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life as this is understood in their time and country.
- (7) The principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value.

The Minimum Wage-Fixing Machinery Convention by seeking to raise the wages of exploited workers . . . "in certain trades or parts of trades (particularly in home working trades) in which no arrangements exist for the effective regulation of wages . . ." does, within its scope, seek to give effect to Principle 1. The Convention by seeking to raise wages where they are "exceptionally low" does, within its scope, seek to give effect to Principle 3. On Principle 7 alone the Convention is silent. Yet doubtless the very reason for its presence in the Peace treaties was the recognition that, human nature being what it is, nations might take steps, under Conventions, to implement Principles 1 and 3, and blithely leave every woman worker in her present exploited position, paid at a special "female rate of pay"; so that, despite such Conventions, half the world's workers would still be treated as "a commodity or article of commerce" and paid a wage inadequate "to maintain a reasonable standard of life."

The fact that the Minimum Wage Convention contains no explicit contravention of the Equal Pay principle of the Peace Treaties is an additional reason for asking an Advisory Opinion from the International Court of Justice. It is plain from the insertion of the "reminder" in the recommendation that the International Labour Organization did not desire the Convention to be construed by Member States ratifying it as imposing any obligation on their wage-fixing bodies to fix equal rates for men and women doing equal work. But it may well be that the Treaty Principle is necessarily implicit in such a Convention. That is a matter on which the International Court alone could give a decision.

The most suitable method by which the Convention may be challenged or interpreted is not necessarily by means of a contested case, but by the very matter of fact procedure of asking through the proper channels for an Advisory Opinion as to the competence of the International Labour Organization in this matter, and the elucidation of the Convention as at present worded. A similar course has already been taken on several occasions. Examples are the question (raised by the French Government) as to whether the I.L.O. is competent to deal in its Conventions with agricultural labour. The answer was in the affirmative. By the I.L.O. as to whether it might occupy itself with questions concerning agricultural production. The answer was in the negative. By the I.L.O. as to whether it is competent in legislation protecting workers incidentally to regulate the same work when performed by the employer. The answer was in the affirmative; making clear, however, that a controversy might arise in specific cases as to whether such personal work of the employer would really be "incidental." But when a question affecting millions of women workers arises THE WOMAN'S LEADER suggests that it would be deplorable to seek an answer to the question.

Common sense suggests that if "economic internationalism" shows itself opposed to feminist and equality principles, the sooner the conflict is brought into the light of day and subjected to honest criticism, the better for women and for "economic internationalism." To say that a public conflict between these two forces would be deplorable means (if it means anything, of which I am in grave doubt) that conflicts of principle, and this conflict in particular, should be kept dark, and that by keeping it dark women will profit. Would THE WOMAN'S LEADER suggest that the conflict between the principles of socialism and capitalism should be kept dark? and that by keeping it dark socialist economic principles will presently be handed out to workers by capitalists as a nice little present for being good quiet children?

It would seem wiser to consider carefully whether women are likely to receive from an "economic internationalism" which is in fact in conflict with equality principles any more just or generous treatment than they have formerly received from other opposing forces; whether in this one case alone a miracle is likely to be sprung on them from the recommended darkness and silence; or whether they will be asked to content themselves indefinitely with the crumbs that fall from their masters' tables.

3 Bedford Square, W.C. 1.

ELIZABETH ABBOTT.

THE WESLEYAN MINISTRY.

DEAR MADAM,—The pastoral session of the Wesleyan Conference has confirmed the representative session's decision to admit woman to the Ministry on the same terms as man—but her marriage will be regarded as equivalent to her resignation.

The restriction is illogical and uneconomic. Few women will take up a vocation which they cannot complete. The Church would waste money on training women if they were dismissed on marriage, whilst Christ's teaching would be rejected. He taught His disciples that they should learn from little children. A woman, and a man, may learn more from parenthood than from theological tutors. Women ministers who are mothers have not found themselves less able to influence their fellow women.

If health fails, then women, like men, must resign. The Rev. T. H. Barratt commented that the women of the New Testament did not spoil their records as did nearly all the men. With two exceptions, we had no record of Christ rebuking a woman. Dr. Ritson expressed the truth for men and women alike when in

discussing the training of candidates he said, "If a man is called of God there is no further question. He is a suitable candidate for any ministry." ADELINE E. BROWNSON.

"Avondale," Laurel Avenue,
Heswall, Birkenhead.

WHO WON THE VOTE?

MADAM,—In your issue of 27th July, Mary M. Adamson expresses her own opinion as to who won the Vote. We are content to leave this matter with her, for the important thing now is that Woman's Suffrage is won and that women have before them the greatest opportunity in history. Surely it is time for us to get away from this futile petty outlook, which is a bar to all progress and unite together to work for the good of the race. There is so much to be done—help to be given to the newly enfranchised by those with wider knowledge—Miss Adamson might teach us much—showing comradeship, loyalty to each other, *esprit de corps*, and, above all, helping to educate the womanhood of the country as to the power of the weapon they now possess.

We might start in a small way by striving to circulate this little paper, getting in new subscribers and with an increased circulation, developing its size and influence by getting articles of real interest and help to all and making of it indeed THE WOMAN'S LEADER.

One glaring inaccuracy in Miss Adamson's letter cannot, however, be allowed to pass unnoticed, especially as it partly concerns one who was but lately laid to rest. I refer to her remark that Mrs. Pankhurst after giving certain instructions to her followers, "retired to Paris with her daughter Christabel."

Now the only thing that excuses this ignorance on Miss Adamson's part is that she admits she closely watched the suffrage movement "as a law-abiding suffragist," and from that I am inclined to think that she avoided all newspapers, reading only the organ of her own society, otherwise she would know that for some considerable time before the war, Christabel was in France, for it was common knowledge, as was her return to this country after the outbreak of war, when she and Mrs. Pankhurst, with many of their followers, threw themselves heart and soul into work to help their country.

That all of us were not on the spot was not that we had fallen away, but were already overseas on different war fronts. But it was not advertised, the need for advertisement was over, the country was in danger, our leaders had closed down all suffrage work, and pointing out the state of things had declared what our duty was and left it to each individual to do hers. Some practically went from prison to the seat of war.

Never during the whole of that time did Mrs. Pankhurst or her daughter fail to do what they considered was their duty—help their country to win the war—though I regret to say they lost a certain number of their followers who, because they were pacifists, considered the Leaders had done wrong.

Posterity alone will show the value of their work—both with regard to the War and Woman's Suffrage. Let us leave it there and, as a mark of respect to her who (whether we agreed with her methods or not) gave herself and suffered for what we now enjoy, let us get down to the work before us, one and all.

12 St. George's Mansions,
Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W. 1.

(Miss) GERALDINE LENNOX.

MARRIAGE LAWS IN NEW ZEALAND.

MADAM,—New Zealand is proposing a further experiment in marriage laws, in spite of already having the unenviable distinction of passing the inhuman and un-English law of divorce which allows a man to repudiate a wife who has been suffering in a mental hospital for seven years, although her affliction may have been due to no hereditary taint of insanity, but have been caused by bearing the children of a husband who had been warned by the doctors after the birth of the first child, that further child-bearing would wreck his wife's nervous system. That any woman would welcome release from such a husband is obvious, but that her release should be forced upon her at the cost of her honour, her suffering made a crime, and her future branded with the shame of a divorce, is an injustice which cries for redress. By a caricature of justice the divorce proceedings have to be solemnly read over to the wife *while she is ill in hospital* because they cannot be legal without her knowledge, in spite of the fact that she may be too ill to take in anything more than the distressing announcement that her husband is deserting her in her helpless condition. To anyone who pictures the life of such a woman on leaving hospital, with probably no means of escape from the town where her husband is living with his "second wife," while she is homeless, unprotected, and disgraced, it is a constant source of amazement that the woman's vote in New Zealand has sanctioned such cruel neglect and injustice to their unhappy and helpless sisters.

Burton Mere, Burton Bradstock,
Bridport, Dorset.

A. M. CURTIS.

OURSELVES.

We print this week the third article in our series of articles by young women voters. Miss Evelyn Martelli, of Lady Margaret College, Oxford, is known to her readers as the writer of the book on Social Insurance, one of the Guidepost Series issued by the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship. The editors will be glad to consider articles by the "new woman voter" on topics of the day, especially those for which this paper stands. They are anxious that it should offer a form of discussion in which the point of view of the young woman who whatever she may or may not be, is free from staleness. We regret that a report of the unveiling of the Queen Elizabeth statue must be held over until next week.

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ANNOUNCEMENTS.

LONDON AND NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR
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Women's Service House will be closed entirely for the whole
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Victoria 6188), and the paper will be sent to you at any address for a whole year. Persuade your
friends to do the same.

Please send THE WOMAN'S LEADER to me for twelve months. I enclose 6/6.

Name

Address