

THE WOMAN'S LEADER

AND THE COMMON CAUSE

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CONTENTS.

| | PAGE |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| THE SANER SEX | 115 |
| LETTERS TO A NEW VOTER: PROTECTION AND SAFEGUARDING.—XV | 115 |
| HOW TO CONDUCT A NON-PARTY ELECTION CAMPAIGN.—THE OUT-DOOR MEETING: THE MASS CANVASS. By A. H. W. | 116 |
| WOMEN CANDIDATES IN 1929 | 117 |
| THE ELECTION AND RENT RESTRICTION. By G. W. Currie | 118 |

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NOTES AND NEWS.

Election Addresses.

The publication of the election addresses of the Prime Minister and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald over the week-end enables us to compare the policy of these two parties with regard to the special causes for which we stand. Both the addresses are striking. That of Mr. Baldwin is far longer, and therefore more comprehensive. With regard to foreign affairs, for example, although we know that the published Labour programme makes special reference to the need for signing the Optional Clause and to all-in arbitration, no special mention is made in Mr. Macdonald's address, whereas in Mr. Baldwin's omission means, as we know, that his Government would not be in favour. With regard to unemployment, the Conservative address offers no new proposal except "to expand our training system as need requires," and to "continue to provide money for public works with due regard to the requirements of industry for which the maintenance of public credit is so necessary." Assistance to railways is also indicated, and reliance placed on the effects of Safeguarding and Derating. Mr. Macdonald, on the other hand, refers chiefly to the need for nationalisation of the coal industry, to a programme of public works, and the payment of adequate insurance to those still unemployed. The education policy of both leaders is remarkably alike, as although no reference is made in his address to nursery schools, we know that Mr. Baldwin intends to set up a Committee of Inquiry into their expansion. With regard to Housing, Mr. Baldwin, to our mind, dwells too little on the need for ensuring the building of new houses, and too much on the possible effects of reconditioning. Mr. Macdonald recognizes that special assistance must be given in order to promote the adequate building of houses for lower paid workers. With regard to the welfare of mothers and children, here again there is very little to choose between the programmes of the two leaders. Mr. Baldwin is most explicit. Next week we shall endeavour to contrast and compare the chief points of interest to us as they appear in the programmes of all three parties.

Not Yet Quite Equal.

Although we all welcome wholeheartedly the Equal Franchise Act of 1928, there is one anomaly of which at the time we were aware but were unsuccessful in having removed. According to the 1918 Representation of the People Act, men on Foreign Service

are eligible to vote by proxy for parliamentary elections in Great Britain, being placed on the Absent Voters' List. But the 1928 Act does not include a parallel clause covering women in similar conditions. Thus women employed by the Government and serving abroad for periods of three or five years are unable to qualify for registration. There is also the large numbers of women who accompany their husbands on Foreign Service, soldiers' and sailors' wives, etc. The total number of women affected is no small one, and we believe it would be of immense value, quite apart from justice, to give them the vote, for they can do much as unofficial ambassadors abroad, and this would be greatly increased by their closer contact with the Government of the country encouraged by their responsibilities as voters. We hope that a simple amendment to the Representation of the People (Equal Franchise) Act may be passed early in the new Parliament.

If St. Joan were here to-day.

The celebrations in honour of the 500th anniversary of St. Joan's delivery of Orleans are in full swing this week throughout France; but the police have found it necessary to remove from among the wreaths which lie at the feet of her statue in the Place de Rivoli an inscription attached to one of them, and bearing the following words: "*To Joan of Arc, who saved France, but who would not be thought worthy to elect a municipal councillor to-day.*" In support of this action, M. Abel Hermant has pompously pointed out that St. Joan would probably have taken no interest in performing such a civic duty, and anyway would have been under voting age. Would she not indeed? Would she rather have conformed with docility and due discretion to all the ordinary and taboos of polite society? If so, how canonization has changed her! Well—the police may carry off her inscriptions and even open her letters in the post, but they will find it more difficult to smother the passionate aspirations which go up to her in the smoke of candles burned at her altars by the suffragist women of France. St. Joan, who cast aside the shackles of sex and cared only for the work in hand, pray for us who are still fighting that age-long fight!

Professional Sweating.

Seven leading medical women had occasion to protest in *The Times* of last week against conditions of payment in a Government department which would be unbelievable were they not presented with circumstantial authority. It appears that in the Post Office, which is by the way the only Government Department to pay unequal salaries to its male and female medical officers, is attempting to recruit qualified women doctors at a rate of £350 a year with no sick pay and no pension. On behalf of the Medical Women's Federation they express the hope that the next Government, whatever party it may represent, "will set itself to rectify this unjust and intolerable state of affairs." We hope so indeed!

Women's Suffrage Overseas.

The question of Women's Suffrage in South Africa is so entangled with race prejudice and the problem of native political weight that it is difficult to appraise the situation and its prospects from this distance. It appears that General Smuts, in enumerating the points on the South African Party's election programme, reaffirmed its allegiance to Women's Suffrage and stated that the enfranchisement of European women would be one of its first acts. He did, however, disclaim any intention of promoting an equal franchise as between black and white, and added that in view of racial difficulties, Cape native women "preferred to leave their rights over for settlement at a convention dealing with the rights of native men." We can only

hope that they have been consulted in the matter and that their preference has not simply been taken for granted. In Belgium the situation appears to be governed by another type of extraneous consideration. Recently a Catholic motion to enfranchise women for the coming provincial elections was defeated in the Senate by 69 votes to 54. We suspect that a good part of this opposition was inspired by an anti-clerical fear that such a measure might increase the power of the Church. It is a scruple with which we have no sympathy whatever. If adult women wish to vote clerical they have every right to do so.

Strange Doings in New York.

Angry protests against the closing of Mrs. Sanger's New York Birth Control Clinic, and the seizure of confidential medical case-sheets by the police, have led—very rightly—to drastic action by the Commissioner of Police. Mrs. Mary Sullivan, Director of the Women's Bureau of the New York Police Depot, has been dismissed, and a male police officer put in charge of her work. Whether Mrs. Sullivan was instrumental in promoting the raid, and what she has to do with this particular branch of police work, we do not know. Neither do we know precisely what change of policy, if any, is implicit in the new appointment. We can but hope that it is expressive of disgust at the occurrence of an outrageous infringement of personal liberty and serious social endeavour. If so, we can only regret that the Commissioner did not find it possible to replace Mrs. Sullivan by another duly qualified woman. It is, after all, not customary to replace defaulting male officers by women. But, of course, we are writing in the dark. We would gladly know more of the matter.

Married Women Workers in Germany.

Owing to the heavy unemployment prevailing in Germany the suggestion has been put to the General Council of the German Trade Unions which is always forthcoming when jobs run short—that married women should give up their jobs in favour of those completely dependent on their own efforts. The General Council, while reaffirming their belief in the right of married women to work under the Constitution, has stated that in times of heavy unemployment persons not absolutely obliged to earn money should relinquish their posts in favour of those who need the work in order to earn their livings. This admirably unbiased reply does not apparently determine whether the husband or the wife of a married couple who are both earning their living shall be required to make the sacrifice, and it will be interesting if this effort to "spread the work" results in women being left as the family representative in the labour market.

Women and the Army.

Several interesting examples of new activities for women come to us from abroad. Mme. Kameneva, a member of the Russian women's militia, has been appointed to the chief command of the militia, including regiments of men as well as women, in the Northern Caucasus. She is the first woman to hold such a post. We cannot help hoping that she will be the last. Equality of opportunity in the army is no doubt desired by our friends of the Open Door Council, but we hope that the time will shortly come when fighting forces will be so small and unattractive that they will offer very little inducement to citizens of any peace-loving country.

Women Mine Workers in India.

The Press Association reports that new regulations concerning the employment of women in Indian coal and salt mines have been issued from New Delhi and will take effect on 1st July. With the exception of certain specified mines in Bengal, Bihar, the Central Provinces and the Punjab they immediately prohibit women from working underground. In the exempted mines, a progressive cessation is provided for, covering some cases a period as long as ten years. The friends of Indian labour will have to see to it that this purely negative type of legislation does not result in a diversion of attention from the arduous and constructive task of rendering working conditions in these obscure places fit for human beings irrespective of sex.

Dismissal of Women Workers.

It is discouraging to learn that in the Liverpool offices of the White Star and Royal Mail Steam Packet Company all women have been dismissed with the exception of telephonists. No reasons are apparently published. Representatives of the other shipping companies bear testimony to the satisfactory

work of women, though one was heard to state "Of course, the women in our place aren't in responsible posts." Naturally, there is bound to be an "of course" if women's opportunities of learning any job are to be so restricted.

Handbooks for Citizens—How to do it.

Some time ago we had occasion to write with approval of an admirable local handbook prepared by the Acton Women's Citizens' Association. We have now received a similar and equally praiseworthy publication, prepared by another Women's Citizens' Association for a very different type of place—Tonbridge. It may encourage other Associations to embark on the same piece of work if we enumerate the headings of this little book: "Statistics of Population and Area"; "Open Spaces"; "Sports"; "Local Government Law and Police"; "Health Services"; "Officials and Public Services"; "Schools"; "Churches"; Societies and Institutions." It very legitimately ends with some particulars of the activities of the Women Citizens' Association itself, and its last word is an admonition to the new voter to join the association "if you wish to hear all sides and discuss political affairs without party bias... join the Women Citizens' Association." (Incidentally, we may add, we were gratified to discover among other attractive and appropriate local advertisements a conspicuous one of ourselves on the outside cover, for which we return grateful thanks.) This is the right way to set to work. Instead of sitting and sulking in a corner because "so few people are interested" if women's societies would make themselves felt by doing something that is really needed they would not find it so difficult to reach the "new" or indeed the "old" voter.

Children in the Labour Market.

The Government Stationery Office has now issued a Memorandum (Cmd 3327) summarizing the views of local Juvenile Employment Committees on the extent and effects of the approaching diminution of juvenile labour resulting from the decline of the birth-rate. Curiously enough, some districts contemplate an increase rather than a decrease of juvenile recruitment. These are the districts, including munitions and coal mining areas, which experienced immigration of labour during the war. The majority, however, contemplate a decrease, which is specially marked in the textile districts. There is no evidence of consternation at the prospect of a scarcity of juvenile industrial recruits, and some committees go so far as to welcome the movement as leading to a more effectual choice of employment for young people and to the improvement of conditions in the "blind alleys." They do not, however, display much enthusiasm concerning the possibilities of transfer on a large scale from one type of area to another. We must confess that the prospect offered by the material of this memorandum occasions us the liveliest satisfaction. Industry has hitherto had too many half-educated children to play about with. And this fact is not without bearing upon the magnitude of its human scrap heap.

The Miners' Choice.

The vote of the Durham miners' for speakers at their annual gala has resulted in the following choice, given in order of preference: Ramsay Macdonald, A. J. Cook, Philip Snowden, Ellen Wilkinson, Oswald Mosley, Jennie Lee, J. Lawson, and Albert Shepherd. The inclusion of the two women is something of a portent, for miners, though they may be radical in their politics, are conservative in their habits. And yet the return of Miss Jennie Lee for New Lanark has already shown that in this particular aspect of conservatism they are magnificently on the move.

Ruskin College Women Workers' Scholarship.

A scholarship, tenable at Ruskin College, Oxford, from 7th October next to July, 1930, to the value of £160, will be awarded as the result of an examination to be taken locally on Saturday, 1st June. Only candidates above the age of 20, and actively engaged in Trade Union, Co-operative, Labour Party, or similar work, are eligible.

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.

THE SANER SEX.

All our memories of what the London *Evening Standard* said about the "flapper vote" are obliterated by the cartoon which appeared on the evening of last week's Women's Peace Crusade meeting at the Central Hall, Westminster. It is entitled "*The Saner Sex.*" From the right of the page, a galaxy of armed warriors advance across the picture—the military heroes of all the ages. They typify "romantic man." "Woman!" they say, "it is for you we fight! For you we conquer or die! one word from you, and our swords fly from their scabbards..." Their declaration is interrupted by "Matter of fact woman," who stands in the foreground, a small shingled Jane Bull, carrying a banner labelled "Women's Peace Crusade", who interrupts a yawn to reply: "*Well let's see them fly into the nearest rubbish bin.*"

Is this indeed the answer of enfranchised womanhood to the blandishments of that most meretricious and hollow of romances, the romance of war? We are beginning to believe that it really is. The *Evening Standard* by its admirable cartoon gave wide and trenchant publicity to what was being expressed in the Central Hall by the spokeswomen of a national and all-party women's movement. Its chairman, Miss K. D. Courtney, spoke with the spirit of that little Jane Bull, when she said: "Whatever else women care for, they care supremely for the cause of Peace." And a little later in the evening, Miss Ellen Wilkinson, who should know something at first hand about the rank and file of our newly enfranchised women workers, related how, time and again during the expiring gasps of the late Parliament, M.P.'s had asked her: "What do the women want." And her answer had always been: "Peace."

One meeting, our readers may protest, and for that matter, one cartoon! What a small breeze in the whirlwind of election

LETTERS TO A NEW VOTER FROM AN OLD VOTER.—XV.

DEAR MADAM,

I have said that Peace is the greatest issue of our time and that Unemployment is likely to be the most talked about issue of this election. There is, however, another issue, as I hinted last week, which is very closely bound up with both, but especially with Unemployment, and that is *Protection*. Here is a familiar word to students of political history, and one which refers to the protection of home industries by means of a tariff or import duty on competing foreign goods. But as a matter of fact you will not often meet with this particular word in the present election campaign, for the policy which used to be called *Protection* is now presented under the name of *Safeguarding*. You may say that the two words mean precisely the same thing, that your dictionary gives the same definition of both, that "a rose by any other name will smell as sweet," or, if you prefer it, "a skunk by any other name will stink as foul." But, of course, that is not true. Words are wonderful things. Their dictionary meanings are no more the essence of them than a written programme is the essence of a political party. They have associations, traditions and experiences, accretions and scare which add immense power and personality to them—otherwise, I ask you, what use would they be to poets? But that is by the way. What I am anxious to explain is that the words *Safeguarding* and *Protection* though they have the same dictionary meaning have a somewhat different political association, although when you have heard what the difference is you are quite at liberty to say that in practice the two policies are bound to come to the same thing in the end.

SAFEGUARDING AND PROTECTION.

Until recently, most people who professed a belief in *Protection*, and the Conservative Party is traditionally *Protectionist* in outlook, believed in the desirability of a general tariff on all imported manufactures and foodstuffs which undercut the produce of British industry and farming and made it relatively unprofitable. They thought that even if *Protection* increased prices at home (that, of course, is likely to be the immediate result of taxing competing foreign goods—but it need not in every case be the ultimate result) such an increase would be offset by steadier employment, freedom from the disturbance of temporary "dumping" of cheap goods by foreign producers, greater dependence upon our own resources and greater independence of foreign markets and foreign supplies. To which the Free Traders replied that the foreigner does not send us goods for nothing, that imports are paid for by exports and that if you stimulate our home industry by importing fewer competing goods

politics! But as it happens it is not a matter of one meeting. Such meetings are taking place all over the country. In constituency after constituency meetings are being held, deputations organized, in the name of the Women's Peace Crusade, and all with the fixed intention of securing, not the preponderance of a particular party, but the preponderance of a particular quality of personnel in the parties which will compose the future House of Commons. Whatever may be its party grouping, the next Parliament is to be composed, if the organized women have their way, of Conservative, Liberal, and Labour enthusiasts for the constructive cause of Peace. In the General Election of 1918 agents warned their candidates that there must be no public talk of pacificism or soft dealing with Germany—the electorate would not stand it. They were right. All over the country in 1918, the pacifist candidates went down, and we secured that Parliament of "hard-faced men" which cast a sinister shadow over the Peace negotiations in Paris, and succeeded in convincing Lloyd George that a collapse of his Parliamentary majority at home would be the sole result of standing four-square for a difficult policy of constructive Peace in the world at large.

To-day, we venture to predict that election agents will be telling their candidates something very different. The new voters of 1918 may have let down the cause of Peace—we were all mad together in 1918!—but the new voters of 1929 are helping them to pick it up again. They really do care. No political question thrills them as the cause of peace thrills them. This is no local breeze. It is a strong wind of the upper air. And, like the world's great constant winds, it will determine the climate of continents, make or mar the destiny of empires.

you will damage a more efficient and profitable home industry by closing foreign markets for its exports. Space constrains me to leave you alone to the digestion of these two crudely stated arguments. Suffice to say, the *Protectionist* view has always fitted in with the rather nationalist outlook of Conservatism.

But in spite of this, the country remains as a whole incurably Free Trade. After all, its prosperity, its very economic survival has come to depend upon the large-scale exchange of industrial and commercial products for raw material and food. As I said last week, this is the price we pay for being able to maintain the densest population of the civilized world at a relatively high standard of life. Most people realize this, including the leaders of the Conservative party. As Mr. Churchill said recently in Manchester: "So far as the Government are concerned, there is no question of a revolution in the fiscal system—the establishment of a general system of *Protection* being made an issue at the next election." But though the Conservative Party does not stand for *Protection*, it does stand for *Safeguarding*, and the Conservative Government has already carried the policy of *Safeguarding* some way. *Safeguarding* simply means the protection of *particular* industries which appear to be suffering from *particular* difficulties. As Mr. Baldwin said at Newcastle: "*Protection* is made applicable to everything: *Safeguarding* is made applicable to the things that need it." At present any industry which can prove before a Committee of Enquiry that it is (a) reasonably efficient, (b) suffering from abnormal or unfair competition, may secure a protective tariff. So far the following industries have been safeguarded in this way: Optical glass, scientific glass and a complicated collection of scientific instruments and parts, lace, gloves, gas mantles, wrapping paper, translucent pottery, buttons, and enamelled hollow ware. These are not our only import duties, but they are what might be called the *Safeguarding* duties. There are also, of course, the so-called McKenna duties, of which the most important is the duty on imported motor cars, also Mr. Churchill's duty on silk and artificial silk. Now the point of view of the Conservative Party is that these duties have had excellent results, and added greatly to the prosperity of the industries to which they have been applied, without in effect causing their prices to rise. The point of view of the Liberal and Labour Parties, however, is that the duties have done little or no good to the safeguarded industries, that they have either caused prices to rise or prevented them from falling, and that they have had disturbing reactions on foreign trade. It is possible by quoting different sets of figures for both parties to put forward convincing statistical

(Continued on next page.)

HOW TO CONDUCT A NON-PARTY ELECTION CAMPAIGN.¹

THE OUTDOOR MEETING: THE MASS CANVASS.

The full-dress field-day, that is, the grand meeting with all candidates present, has already been described, and no doubt such meetings are being planned up and down the country, and no doubt the best halls have been secured for them before the party agents have booked them up.

But there are other kinds of meetings, of as much importance in their way as those with the candidates present. There is the *outdoor meeting*, upon which the success of the woman suffrage movement depended to a considerable extent. Whole pages might be written about these, and the subject will be referred to in other articles. Just a few words may suffice here. My own view—it will probably be violently contested by others—is that the small scratch gathering got together at any noisy street corner which may be indicated by the police is hardly worth the heavy strain upon resources of speakers, of their voices, and of organizers and workers in general. The listeners at such meetings contain little grain and a great deal of chaff (those who like puns may scent one here). What is of very much greater use is to find out by many inquiries from all and sundry, which are, say, the three recognized pitches situated in three key positions in the constituency, and including one which is *the pitch*, as, for example, the market place or central square in a town, the village green in a rural district. By various ingenious methods peg out your claim to these pitches at times which are the right and not the wrong times. This point needs more attention than it generally receives. Make, again, the most careful inquiries, and check, if possible by personal observation, the information given in regard to whether it is a midday or an evening pitch, or both, and whether a late or an early evening hour is best. Try to give some definite character to your little speaking group, a banner, some poster, and, when the pitch is suitable, it is worth while to secure a "dray" or other open cart or car rather than a chair or a tub, or even one of those neat-looking stands associated with the temperance movement, though these too have their value. A clever organizer, whether amateur or professional, will know how to give her woman's movement *prestige*. Do not despise this strange and elusive quality. It is well worth acquiring, not only for the period of the election but for the future. I do not suggest that a flag or an open cart will cause you at once to become possessed of the quality. But they can be made to contribute to its acquisition, as, if your appeal is not chiefly to the privileged, but to the thoughtful workers, it is important to become easily known, as otherwise you cannot hope to become respected. Go into the open when you can; a great outdoor meeting, not too long, and with two or three speakers, and above all, discussion, will attract men and women workers and others who may never enter a hall, but who are thinkers and are prepared to give "the generosity of their minds" to any speaker who has a worthy subject and who knows it and knows how to present it.

I have spoken of the women, as well as of the men, at the big general meetings on the well-known pitches in the town or rural area, but do not let us forget that probably one-third of the electorate are women who cannot easily get to such meetings. For them there is the "Mass Canvass." To do this you need about two speakers with good carrying voices and a friendly manner, but lacking a too keenly developed sense of the comic. For a mass canvass has its comic side. You get, therefore, your two speakers, and with them some eight or ten helpers with handbills, and, above all, with some gift for the best type of ordinary canvassing. You also need, if possible, a motor car, or, failing that, bring or borrow a chair. Thus equipped your party proceeds to a carefully chosen poor district and, entering the first street, it wields a weapon which I have not yet mentioned, but which is essential to success, namely, a *big bell*, the bigger the better. While the bell rings, the helpers proceed to knock at the doors. The result of all these remarkable doings is that figures appear at doors, heads at windows, walkers from neighbouring streets, and the speaker has her opportunity and the helpers have theirs, and what with the speech from the car and the chats at the doorways, the women are shown that their opinion and vote are needed, and, if rightly used, can make the place in which they live, and the world in general, a better thing than it is. But the speaker must have faith, even if only a

¹ The first two articles on 26th April and 3rd May dealt with public meetings and deputations. (Post free, 4½d.)

shadow behind a lace curtain seems to reward her eloquence. After about ten minutes, say goodbye, tell them to heckle their candidates, and move to another street. Incidentally the mass canvass is an excellent training for new and shy workers, the more experienced "talkers" at the doors and the oft-repeated speeches from the car teach them a lot.

All this may sound formidable to a busy secretary of a woman's society, but those who have tried it all, know it is worth while. In my view, the larger the scale on which things are done the easier in the end they are. More and better workers are attracted, and efforts become cumulative. Nevertheless, a tiny outdoor meeting of ten people, a canvass of one street with one speaker on a tub, is better than *no* mass canvass and *no* outdoor meeting.

A. H. W.

ALL PARTIES FOR PEACE.

"This mass meeting of the Women's Peace Crusade, representing twenty-nine organizations, declares that the supreme need of the world is Peace. It calls upon the voters of all parties to elect a Parliament of Peacemakers pledged to make the Renunciation of War a reality by accepting the obligation to settle all international disputes by peaceful means, and pledged to take the lead in pressing forward the progressive reduction of all armaments."

On the eve of the dissolution of Parliament the women, by their great mass meeting in the Central Hall, Westminster, on 9th May, showed that, though about to divide up into their respective parties, they were and would remain united on the question of Peace. It was a warning to Parliamentary candidates and a promise of the return of a Parliament of Peacemakers.

The tenor of all the speeches was the greatness of the opportunity before the women to-day of putting an end to war. The resolution, which was carried unanimously, was moved, seconded, and supported by Lady Acland, Lady Winefride Elwes, and Miss Ellen Wilkinson, M.P., respectively, representing the three political parties. They were followed by three distinguished speakers from other lands, who received a warm reception. Dr. Salmon gave a moving picture of the psychological effect of the occupation of the Rhineland on the children of the area—taught in school Peace as an ideal, but daily seeing Militarism in practice. Madame Drefus Barney pointed out the close association between the French feminist movement and the desire for the abolition of war and Miss Henrietta Roelofs described the fine effort of the American women.

THE LADY WITH THE LAMP.

In view of the controversy in this paper on Captain Berkeley's play, "The Lady with the Lamp," a great deal of interest was shown in the party given by the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship in honour of Miss Edith Evans last week. As Mrs. Corbett Ashby, who presided, said, whatever might be thought of the historical accuracy of the play, there was only one opinion on the acting of Edith Evans. Mrs. Oliver Strachey, who in her book *The Cause* gives hitherto unpublished and remarkably interesting writings of Florence Nightingale, stated the facts of her life and character while paying a tribute to the wonderful acting of her impersonator. She regretted Captain Berkeley's absence in his constituency, as she had hoped to fight the realism of his adaptation with him face to face. Miss Evans spoke entirely from the point of view of the player, and gave a charming interpretation of the play as she saw it, replying to criticisms which had reached her both on points of accuracy and details in the acting, such as the use of remedies not then invented or her treatment of the practical difficulties of the stage that the lay person knew nothing about. She let them into the secret of the existence of a final death-bed scene with beautiful music from the "Dream of Gerontius," where the dying woman has a vision of her lover and herself in the days of their youth. This had to be abandoned because of expense and technical impossibilities, but the listeners appeared to agree with her that they preferred the present ending. Altogether a very delightful afternoon.

LETTERS TO A NEW VOTER FROM AN OLD VOTER.

(Continued from page 115.)

proof of both sets of propositions. But only one of them can be on balance true, and it is up to you to find out which of them it is.

At any rate, the Conservative Party is determined to carry on with its Safeguarding policy. As Mr. Baldwin says in his election address: "We pledged ourselves at the last election that there should be no *Protective taxation of food and that there should be no general tariff. We have kept that pledge, and we renew it. But subject to that pledge, we intend that no manufacturing industry, large or small, shall be debarred from presenting its case for a safeguarding duty to an impartial tribunal.*" Or as the Government Chief Whip said last autumn: "I have always been a *Tariff Reformer, but it is no use kicking against the pricks. The country will not have it all at once, so they will have to take it a bit at a time—which is being done by 'Safeguarding.'*"

So now I hope you really understand the difference between Safeguarding and Protection.

Greeting to you from

AN OLD VOTER.

THIS WEEK'S QUESTION: WHEN IS A SAFEGUARD NOT A SAFEGUARD?

WOMEN CANDIDATES IN 1929.

LADY CLARE ANNESLEY.

Prospective Candidate for Bristol West.

Lady Clare Annesley, who was born in Ireland, was educated abroad. She became a member of the Independent Labour Party in 1915 and after the war worked in the famine areas. She has done active work in the cause of Peace and has travelled and lectured for the Women's Peace Crusade and the Women's International League. She polled nearly 8,000 votes at a by-election at West Bristol in 1928, so that she is by no means unknown to that constituency.

DR. STELLA CHURCHILL.

Prospective Labour Candidate for Brentwood and Chiswick.

Dr. Churchill was educated at Girton College, and afterwards qualified at the London School of Medicine for Women. So far, no woman doctor has found her way to Westminster, and Dr. Churchill's experience in connection with public appointments as Assistant Medical Officer of Health in Bermondsey and St. Pancras and for some months as Medical Officer for the latter borough, combined with her four years' experience on the Public Health Committee of the L.C.C., qualify her in an unusual degree for a Parliamentary career. Dr. Churchill has written some useful books on the health services, and is a well-known speaker. She has not taken much part in women's organization, but has shown herself to be an excellent feminist in practice.

LADY CROSFIELD.

Prospective Liberal Candidate for North Islington.

Lady Crosfield is not new to politics as she helped her husband, Sir Arthur Crosfield, M.P. for Warrington, from 1906-1910, in his political campaigns. She has made the interests of North Islington her own in her capacity of Chairman of the North Islington Infant Welfare Centre and as a Governor of the Royal Northern Hospital. Her war work won for her the Royal Red Cross.

MISS MEGAN LLOYD GEORGE.

Prospective Liberal Candidate for Anglesey.

Miss Lloyd George, in spite of the handicap of a very distinguished parent—handicap of course only in the sense that people consider her in her relation to her parent rather than as a distinct personality herself—has already made her own individuality felt. She has studied politics and her speeches are characterized by wit and apt phrasing. She is not yet known in feminist circles, for not unnaturally she is mainly concerned with party and has done excellent work in the League of Young Liberals. But if successful, as seems probable, we hope she will give some attention to the problems which closely affect the lives of her young contemporaries.

MRS. CHARLES MASTERMAN.

Prospective Liberal Candidate for Salisbury.

Mrs. Masterman, the daughter of Rt. Hon. Sir Neville Lyttelton, Governor of the Chelsea Hospital, is by many links associated with politics. Gladstone was her great uncle and she gave her husband, the late Rt. Hon. C. F. G. Masterman, valuable help in the different stages of his political career. She herself is a charming speaker and writer, and has had wide experience of social work beside having acquired knowledge of many countries not only in Europe but including India and South Africa.

DR. BETTY MORGAN.

Prospective Liberal Candidate for Sunderland.

Dr. Betty Morgan is the youngest woman candidate, as she is only 23. She is a B.A. of Cardiff University and Doctor of Literature of the University of Paris *avec mention très honorable*. She has taken a leading part in associations of students and was the first woman President of the Political Union in the University of Wales. She has studied the League of Nations at first hand and is greatly interested in international affairs. Though so young she has won for herself a place in Liberal circles where she has a reputation as a brilliant speaker. Dr. Morgan is fighting jointly with Sir John Pratt for the two-member constituency of Sunderland and is opposing Dr. Marion Phillips, one of the Labour candidates.

LADY CYNTHIA MOSLEY.

Prospective Labour Candidate for Stoke-on-Trent.

Lady Cynthia Mosley is one of the daughters of the late Lord Curzon. Before her marriage she studied at the London School

of Economics and was subsequently employed for a time at the War Office. At the time of her marriage to Sir Oswald Mosley he was Conservative M.P. for Harrow, but when he became Independent and subsequently joined the Labour Party it was with her full approval and support. She is an effective speaker and has wholeheartedly identified herself with the party of her adoption.

DR. MARION PHILLIPS.

Prospective Labour Candidate for Sunderland.

Dr. Marion Phillips, D.Sc. (Econ.), J.P., is well known to all our readers as the Chief Woman Officer of the Labour party. A graduate of Melbourne University, she came to London about twenty-five years ago as Hutchison Medallist at the London School of Economics. She was one of the chief investigators for Mrs. Webb into conditions of children under the Poor Law in 1907. In 1912 she became organizing secretary of the Women's Trade Union League, and in 1913 General Secretary of the Women's Labour League. She was a member of the Reconstruction Committee 1917-18, and has been a member of the Central Committee on Women's Training and Employment since 1914. She was also a member of the Consumers' Council of the Ministry of Food 1918-19, and is a member of the Advisory Committee of Magistrates for the County of London. She is Secretary of the Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organizations, and editor of the *Labour Woman*. Her record speaks for itself, and her powerful personality needs no introduction to our readers.

MISS JESSIE STEPHEN.

Prospective Labour Candidate for Portsmouth South.

Miss Jessie Stephen began her career in domestic service and has distinguished herself by efforts to raise the status of domestic workers. She became an organizer of the Workers' Suffrage Federation and afterwards was appointed industrial organizer of the Bermondsey Independent Labour Party. For six years Miss Stephen served as Borough Councillor in Bermondsey and for three years she was a Poor Law Guardian. She is an excellent speaker and her own experience as a worker "by hand as well as brain" is a valuable preparation for a Parliamentary career.

LADY STEWART.

Prospective Liberal Candidate for North Kensington.

Lady Stewart has one qualification for a Parliamentary career that few other candidates possess. She has lived after her marriage to Sir Francis Stewart for many years in India, and had exceptional opportunities of understanding the problems of that country. She became Hon. Secretary for a time of the National Indian Association and engaged in other forms of social work. After her return to this country she identified herself with Infant Welfare and Care Committee organization and took an active part as Hon. Officer of a branch and speaker for the League of Nations Union. She is specially interested in Housing, Temperance and Industrial questions and as a member of the Kensington Society for Equal Citizenship her well-informed championship of feminist principles is certain.

MISS DORA WEST, O.B.E.

Prospective Liberal Candidate for the Rotherhithe Division of Bermondsey.

Miss Dora West was a teacher before the war, when she carried on recruiting work in South Wales; she later became Private Secretary to Rt. Hon. C. A. McCurdy, M.P., first when he was Food Controller and afterwards when he was Liberal Chief Whip. After the war she took an active part in the formation of the League of Nations Union. More recently she has spoken in different parts of the country on the Liberal Land campaign, and has had opportunities of studying life and conditions overseas.

The following candidates have to be added to the list given in our issue of 19th April:—

| UNIONIST. | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|
| Lady Baxter | Montrose. |
| Miss M. G. Cowan | Paisley. |
| Miss M. G. Williams | Pontypridd, Glam. |
| LABOUR. | |
| Mrs. R. Davis | Honiton, Devon. |
| Miss G. M. Colman | Hythe. |
| Miss S. Widdowson | Rushcliffe, Notts. |

The number of women candidates stands at present at: Unionist, 11; Liberal, 25; Labour, 30; 66 in all.

THE ELECTION AND RENT RESTRICTION.

By G. W. CURRIE.

In a recent article, attention was drawn to the operations of a corporation formed to acquire and rent out to tenants large ranges of working class properties in London and to the risks which might, in certain contingencies, arise—the principal risks being firstly that rents might be pushed up in order to earn large dividends; and secondly, that tenants might be dispossessed altogether in pursuance of the same aim. The tenants' chief (indeed only) protection against such misfortunes lies in the maintenance of rent restriction. The position of tenants whose incomes are, relatively speaking, large, has certainly in many places (amongst which most London boroughs would not fall to be included), been rendered safer than of old, by reason of the houses built since the war. We do not argue that the building of more than a million houses has made no difference: but we do argue two things. Firstly, that overcrowding in London is as bad as ever, and secondly, that practically nothing—all but literally nothing and in a great many places absolutely literally nothing—has been done to provide decent accommodation—or even indecent accommodation—for the low paid worker. It may be said, and we quite agree, that this latter portion of the problem is the more difficult. That is just why it is doubly disgraceful that it has been shirked. It is easy to build houses for the rich: it is not very difficult to build houses for workers who, on subsidy terms, can pay an adequate rent. It is not easy to build houses for families who can only pay 7s. or 8s. a week. Why? The physical process of building is exactly the same: the difference is purely financial. The normal economic gap has been faced not unfairly: the "gap" which arises in the case of the low paid worker has simply been shirked. In his case it is not enough to maintain rent restriction; actual relief must be afforded. This might be arranged in several ways—in the form of family rent allowance, in the form of grants from the taxpayer or in that of rent reduction by local authorities. The question of method is of subsidiary importance. Are we or are we not to continue to force families to sleep three, four or five in a bed? That is the question for women, above all others, at the election. The present government's policy as regards agricultural cottages is an admitted fiasco, and whatever Mr. Chamberlain may say, the condition of North Kensington, Southwark, Stepney, and Poplar and many other places is a disgrace to any Ministry of Health and the less *The Times* says about Mr. Chamberlain's so-called "housing triumph" the better. If the Ministry had been definitely instructed by Parliament to do all in its power to secure the unrelieved continuance of the evils we protest against in many wards of overcrowded boroughs—what would it have done? Simply nothing; and what, in point of actual fact, has it done in many quarters of London? The answer is "Simply nothing". It may be said that the Ministry depends upon what local authorities do; and this is partly, though not wholly, true. But who is there who believes that the Ministry could not have accelerated the action of local authorities as a whole far more than it has done?

We object altogether to attempts on the part of anyone (private landlord or company matters not) to "cut in" and make profits out of the repeal of restriction. We regard the policy of making larger payments in name of compensation to property owners as one of dubious wisdom and dubious morality: in any case it scarcely seems the sort of thing to fight a general election upon. But, be these things as they may, we cannot too plainly warn every mother in Britain that the threat to repeal rent restriction (a threat made in *The Times* quite plainly last summer and a threat never withdrawn) is a threat to turn families by the thousand into the street. Unless Mr. Baldwin, in whom, in a matter of the kind, general confidence is placed and who in any case is the Minister who really matters, pledges himself absolutely on this point, we can only advise that the risk of wholesale eviction is of the gravest kind. We think it strange,

that so far as we know, no leading Minister has given a definite assurance on this point. The absence of such a pledge would put the whole Conservative Party under suspicion of being, to say the least of it, luke-warm in sympathy. Disraeli in his day spoke plainly enough, "Pools of stagnant filth, gutters of abomination, reservoirs of leprosy and plague." Mr. Chamberlain speaks plainly enough too, but action is wanted. Speeches without action are infinitely worse than nothing. In his speech on 18th April, 1929, Mr. Baldwin does not refer to restriction at all: nor does the budget provide for it. We repeat that no effective action against slums as a whole has been taken down to this date—that overcrowding in London has been left to drift and that no pledge binding the Government to forbid wholesale evictions has been given so far. Failing such a pledge, we can only say that nothing should be left to chance. We are not unaware that many candidates hold the view that the process of demanding pledges is overdone: very likely it is. But what can poor tenants do?

"Can we rely on your unconditional opposition to the repeal of rent restriction for the next three years at least?" This we regard as a reasonable thing to ask of any candidate, irrespective of party.

We are told—and we are willing—and indeed bound—to believe that Mr. Baldwin has a slum policy. But whatever it is, we think it unlikely that he will suggest that it will clear out slums and provide adequate and adequately priced houses for the class who need them most *within three years*, and we would certainly not believe him, or anyone else, if he did.

What then is Mr. Baldwin's slum policy? and in particular what is his rent policy? Surely he cannot intend to allow thousands and thousands of tenants all over the country to be turned into the street? Mr. Baldwin must have heard of the sort of cases particulars of which have been published by the Bishop of London and by the Westminster and Chelsea Housing Associations: associations to a great extent supported by members of his own party who, like Disraeli object to "reservoirs of leprosy and plague" or their twentieth century equivalents of rheumatism, tuberculosis and vermin either in the middle of the West End of London or anywhere else.

ST. JOAN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ALLIANCE.

The Alliance gave a dinner to its late Chairman, Miss Douglas Irvine, at the Forum Club on 7th May, about sixty being present. Speeches were made by Miss C. N. Gordon, Chairman for this year, who proposed the toast of the guest of the evening. She was supported by Mrs. G. F. Abbott, who spoke of her personal knowledge of Miss Douglas Irvine's work, first in the suffrage movement and now also for the Open Door Council, Lady Rhondda and Miss Alison Neilans proposed "The Alliance," and Miss Eleanor Fitzgerald replied. An unexpected pleasure was furnished by Sir Henry Wood who, speaking from his own experience at the Queen's Hall, urged the formation of mixed orchestras, stating categorically that men did better work when there were women players present.

THE
WOMAN'S LEADER
and the GENERAL ELECTION

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NEXT WEEK:

The Programme of the Three Parties.
Last Words of Advice to the "New Voter."

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Telephone: Victoria 6188.

THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

WORK FOR WOMEN CANDIDATES.

Help has been, or is being given to the following candidates, either through members of our societies, or from headquarters: Lady Astor, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Mrs. Wintringham, Miss Picton-Turbervill, Miss Whately, Miss Margaret Bondfield, Lady Stewart, Miss Susan Lawrence, Miss M. E. Marshall, Miss Eleanor Stewart, and Mrs. Ayrton Gould. Some candidates we would greatly like to see returned do not require our help, and in some cases it has not yet been found possible to offer it. But during the remaining critical week every effort will be made to do what is possible.

SIR ROBERT NEWMAN.

Independent Candidate for Exeter.

At a general election it is generally found necessary to concentrate on work for women and on interviewing prospective candidates in the constituencies, but we are glad to be able to report some help both from headquarters and from individual members of the Exeter Society for Equal Citizenship for that staunch feminist and "tried friend," Sir Robert Newman, whose independent judgment and brave advocacy of unpopular causes has made him suspect in certain quarters.

DEPUTATION TO MR. O. NICHOLSON.

Late M.P. and Unionist Candidate for Abbey Division, Westminster.

A joint deputation, dealing with the points of the Women's Peace Crusade and the questions on the programme of the National Union, led by Lady Isabel Margisson and Mrs. Oliver Strachey, was received by Mr. Nicholson on Monday of this week. Mr. Nicholson said that he was in agreement with Mr. Baldwin on his Peace programme, and personally in favour of signing the Optional Clause and evacuating the Rhineland. Mr. Nicholson was found to be favourable to most of the points raised on our questionnaire, though he was not yet convinced on the need for women police.

THE LAST LAP.

The next fortnight, in spite of the holidays, will be full of meetings, deputations, and election work of all kinds. If any member is not already employed we hope she will write to us. There is something for everyone to do. Send for literature or *Woman's Leaders* to distribute at meetings.

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

As has already been announced, a conference on methods of organization of Townswomen's Guilds is to be held in London during the week-end, Friday, 28th June, to Monday, 1st July. We are hoping to make this as widely representative as possible, and we hope that every society will urge those of their members who are most experienced in organizing to attend. 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. On Saturday afternoon a typical guild meeting will be arranged among the members of the conference. Saturday evening will be left free. The object of this conference is to interest members of societies in the hope that they may be able to assist in starting Townswomen's Guilds locally in co-operation with the organizer, Mrs. Clowes. It is proposed to hold the conference at a house with a garden so that it may be an "Open Air School", weather permitting, and as the choice of the house depends on the numbers attending early applications should be made.

ELECTION LITERATURE.

Readers will already have received the National Union's Manifesto to the Women Voters of Great Britain, which was distributed with the *THE WOMAN'S LEADER* last week. May we remind Societies and others that further copies of the questionnaire for candidates and the leaflet explaining the questions can be obtained, each price 7d. per dozen post free, and that large quantities of leaflets useful for wide distribution can also be obtained on application to Headquarters. In addition to those leaflets advertised last week, a useful leaflet, "What have Women Members of Parliament Done?" can now be obtained, price 1s. per 100 post free.

WHITSUN HOLIDAYS.

The office will be closed from Friday evening, 17th May, to Tuesday morning, 21st May.

TEA-PARTY TO MISS EDITH EVANS.

The Tea Party held on Friday, 10th May, at 27 Grosvenor Square, was a great success, and we were most grateful to Miss Edith Evans and Mrs. Oliver Strachey, who aroused such enthusiasm among the large audience, and especially to Mrs. Robert Fleming for her very generous hospitality. We were sorry that Captain Berkeley was in the end unable to be present owing to engagements in his constituency. The opportunity was taken of interesting those new friends who were present, in the work of the National Union, particularly in its activities in connection with the General Election. We wish to thank all those who were able to be present and in this way contribute to the funds of the National Union.

CORRESPONDENCE.

AN ANTI-LIBERAL BIAS?

MADAM,—I have before now written to you with regard to the anti-Liberal bias which I have so often noticed in articles in *THE WOMAN'S LEADER*. The "Letters to New Voters from an Old Voter" have fallen into the same error. The writer was called to account apparently by some other Liberal leader, and then wrote what she considered to be a statement of the Liberal policy, which was, however, no more convincing than her previous article. She now writes in the last issue on "The Press." She mentions and criticises the various papers belonging to syndicates and controlled by certain millionaires, next mentions a "much smaller group of Liberal papers" as unimportant, and then refers with approval to a few "independent dailies, splendid survivors of these bewildering commercial operations." But in this last category only finds it necessary to mention the *Morning Post*, *Manchester Guardian*, and the *Daily Herald*, entirely ignoring the *Daily News* and *Westminster Gazette*. Could an anti-Liberal bias be more definitely displayed?

The *Daily News* is an independent paper which endeavours to preserve the best traditions of journalism, has refused all invitations to become part of the huge "commercial syndicates," and has given full publicity to the progressive Liberal programme; it is also a daily paper which has given more prominence than any other to International affairs. Look at the issue of to-day, for instance, with its leading article on the last American overtures and the article by Wilson Harris.

J. A. Spender, W. T. Layton, Mr. Keynes, Sir Josiah Stamp, and other well known contributors to the *Daily News* make the paper worth reading; but the writer of your article is not sufficiently acquainted with the Press of to-day to even mention its name.

Your paper from another point of view has, for a long time, been too violently "feminist" to really interest me; and as this is, I think, the third time I have written expressing my views on your anti-Liberal bias, I have decided to cease taking it in, so will you please remove my name from your list of subscribers?

ELIZABETH M. CADBURY.

The Manor House,
Northfield, Birmingham.
29th April, 1929.

[Mrs. Cadbury's letter accusing our correspondent "Old Voter" of "Anti-Liberal bias" followed close upon a confident expression of opinion by a young voter that "Old Voter" is clearly herself a Liberal. These criticisms appear at first sight to cancel one another out, but we leave the matter to the final judgment of our readers. To the accusation that we are "violently feminist" we plead guilty. It is our intention to remain so. On referring the matter of the *Daily News* to "Old Voter" we were met with a frankly recalcitrant attitude. She says that the *Daily News* and *Westminster Gazette* is associated with the Liberal Cowdray, Starmer, Rowntree combine (mentioned in the article), although a majority holding of the *Daily News* and *Westminster* is in the hands of the Cadbury family.

She adds that she recognizes the honesty of purpose of the *Daily News*, the eminence of its contributors and supervising editors, but regards it as a completely different class of paper to the *Manchester Guardian*. She suggests that this view on her part is inspired by journalistic truism rather than "Anti-Liberal bias."

Anyhow, it seems that she is not prepared to make any sort of apology for failing specifically to differentiate the *Daily News* from the Liberal combine with which it is associated by a minority holding, and we must admit that had she mentioned many more papers by name her letter would have outrun its available space. It was already about 100 words too long.—Ed.]

COMING EVENTS.

BRITISH COMMONWEALTH LEAGUE.

24th May. 4 p.m. 17 Buckingham Street, Strand. Delegates' Tea Party.

INTERNATIONAL WOMAN ALLIANCE SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE.

12th-24th June. International Congress, Berlin.

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

Bolton W.C.A.—17th May. 7.30 p.m. Albert Hall. Public Meeting addressed by the five Parliamentary Candidates. Chair: Miss Rosamund Taylor, M.A.

Edinburgh W.C.A.—20th May. 8 p.m. Canonmill School, Bellevue. The Parliamentary Candidates for the North Division. Chair: Dr. Kennedy-Fraser, C.B.E. Questions and Discussion.

22nd May, 8 p.m. Portobello Secondary School, Park Avenue. The Parliamentary Candidates for the East Division. Chair: Mrs. A. R. Mitchell. Questions and Discussions.

23rd May. 8 p.m. James Gillespie School (Junior), Marchmont Crescent. The Parliamentary Candidates for the South Division. Chair: Councillor Mrs. Somerville, J.P. Questions and Discussions.

THE GUILDHOUSE.

26th May. 3.30 p.m. Dame Edith Lyttelton, G.B.E. (Substitute Delegate League of Nations Assembly). "Traffic in Women and Children."

UNION OF WOMEN VOTERS.

17th May. 4.30-5.30 p.m. Visit round the Inns of Court, conducted by Mrs. Helena Normanton.

TYPEWRITING.

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THE Misses Brackenbury, 2 Campden Hill Square, W. 8, offer one or two Front Rooms from 25th May; gas, electric; 25s. weekly. Breakfast by arrangement.

THE British Commonwealth League can arrange on favourable terms evening use of its charming Clubroom for any well-accredited small group desiring to meet regularly.—Apply, Organiser, 17 Buckingham Street, W.C. 2.

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ANNOUNCEMENTS.

LONDON AND NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SERVICE, 35 Marsham Street, Westminster. Secretary, Miss P. Strachey. Information Bureau. Interviews 10 to 1, except Saturdays. Members' Centre open daily. Bedrooms available from 4th March. Single room (with breakfast) 6s. 6d.; double room (with breakfast) 10s. Restaurant on premises. Apply by letter to the Secretary.

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES, Guildhouse, Eccleston Square, S.W. 1. Sunday, 19th May, 6.30, Maude Royden.

CHEAP HOLIDAY PARTIES for BERLIN.—MISS CHAVE COLLISSON has consented to arrange two parties for Berlin, June 10th-17th. The parties are intended to provide pleasant society, German-speaking conductor, and cheap tickets. They are open only to members of established women's societies. One is already nearly full. BOOK NOW.—Apply, Miss Chave Collisson, British Commonwealth League, 17 Buckingham Street, W.C.

EDUCATED HOME HELPS BUREAU, 190 Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W. 1, requires and supplies educated women for all domestic work. Holiday engagements. Registration: Employers, 2/6; workers, 1/-. Suiting fee: Employers, 10/6; workers, 2/-. (Victoria 5940.)

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