

THE
WOMAN'S LEADER
AND THE COMMON CAUSE

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
A WOMEN'S JUBILEE	11
THE REAL FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE. By Lady Stephen	11
OPIUM TRAFFIC REVELATIONS. By Hebe Spaul	12
LETTERS TO A NEW VOTER FROM AN OLD VOTER: II	12
FOOD FOR THE NEW VOTER. By M. D. S.	13
THE EDUCATION OF THE CITIZENS. By Amy H. Badger	13

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NOTES AND NEWS.

Age of Marriage Bill.

As we go to press we learn that the Age of Marriage Bill which has been promoted by the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship was introduced by the Earl of Donoughmore and read a first time in the House of Lords on Tuesday. The bill provides that all marriages of people under the age of 16 years shall be void.

Another Woman in Parliament.

Those who wish to see the present disparity between the numbers of men and women in the House of Commons removed will rejoice over the successful return of Mrs. Dalton the Labour candidate for Bishop Auckland. Her advent makes the number of Conservative and Labour women now equal, four each. Mrs. Runciman is still unfortunately the sole Liberal representative of her sex. Mrs. Dalton, like Mrs. Runciman will join her husband in the House, and we hope that she will follow Mrs. Runciman's example and stand again at the General Election. We send her and Bishop Auckland our warm congratulations.

Women Medical Students.

Discussion on the question of training and opportunities for women medical students has continued actively during the past week. In *The Times* and elsewhere, Dr. Graham Little, while paying a tribute to the value of the Royal Free Hospital, maintains his thesis that so long as even in that hospital only a minority of the staff are women, the question of finding places for women on the senior staffs of "men's schools" may be postponed, at any rate till the need for extended clinical instruction for women students has been met. We are informed that in the first place Dr. Graham Little under-estimates the proportion of women on the staff of the Royal Free; that they hold in fact well over half of the honorary posts and all but two of the junior resident posts. Secondly, the contention of the women's advocates is just that in hospitals which take, as the Royal Free does, men, women, and children patients, it is only right that doctors of both sexes should be available. Women could never be satisfied with a position that admitted women students in restricted numbers to the earlier stages of training, while refusing them the right to compete for either the junior resident posts which are, in fact, an important part of their training, or the higher honorary posts which indicate permanent success in the profession.

Hospitals which give Training and Experience.

We mentioned last week the need of the Royal Free Hospital for increased funds. Since then Lord Riddell has appealed for £180,000 to enable it to extend its clinical facilities by the substantial number of forty beds. In this connection it has been pointed out to us that there are two other hospitals to which we did not allude in our article on the subject last week which are staffed by women—the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital and the South London Hospital for Women. Though these hospitals do not take students in the ordinary sense of the term they offer facilities for experience which is an essential part of the equipment of the medical woman. Once again we remind our readers that practice is better than precept, and that women who have any money to spare to help the hospitals should remember those which offer the best opportunities for the training and experience of women.

Nationality of Married Women.

The absurdity of our law by which a woman on marriage to an alien loses her British nationality, whether or no she is living with her husband, was once again brought to light in a case which came before the magistrates at the Lambeth Police Court last week. We were glad to note that the magistrate imposed no penalty on the woman concerned for failing to notify her change of address to the Registration Officer, stating that it was "quite clear that this was an oversight." The importance of urging the necessity for a change in the law in view of the impending conference on the Codification of International Law was pointed out in the article on "The Political Year" in our New Year's issue.

The Real Florence Nightingale.

We print this week an article which is of special interest at the present time, as it discusses the play "The Lady with the Lamp," now appearing at the Garrick Theatre, and reviewed in our columns on 18th January. Lady Stephen's criticism, in view of her personal knowledge of the circumstances of Florence Nightingale's later life, must necessarily carry great weight. Whether the play is a good play or not may be disputed, but there can, we imagine, be no difference of opinion as to the superb acting of Edith Evans and indeed the high quality of the performance of each member of the cast. An interpretation of the character of a woman when many who knew her are still living must necessarily be a delicate and difficult matter, and even if there are no living memories it is difficult to reconcile a high standard of strict historical accuracy with the demands of the stage. This is a question which is entirely outside our scope. But in this year, when women are entering into their political freedom, we cannot but welcome the revival of interest engendered by the play, whatever its merit or demerits, in a woman who was strong enough to break down the high walls of convention which surrounded her girlhood.

Exemptions from Jury Service.

We have been asked by a correspondent to explain the origin of the singular wording of the summons she has received to serve on a jury of her County Court. This document instructs her to "take notice that you may apply to the Registrar of this court for exemption from attendance as a juror on account of pregnancy or other feminine condition or ailment provided that . . ." Our correspondent wishes to know why feminine ailments are singled out as exempting from jury service and what would have happened if she had been suffering instead from influenza, measles, a broken leg, or any other similarly sexless complaint. Considering that women jurors are with few exceptions widows

or spinsters, the singling out of pregnancy as the most probable feminine complaint certainly requires explanation. We can only suppose that the document in question must have been composed by Sir Almroth Wright, whose obsession on the subject of "feminine ailments" as incapacitating women for any form of public service will be remembered by all of our readers whose memory extends to the pre-war days of the suffrage struggle.

The Bitter Weather and the Mining Areas.

Money must surely flow more rapidly into the Lord Mayor's relief fund during this bitterly cold weather. We hear with compunction when we enjoy our own warm beds that blankets are wanted—blankets and warm clothes. Readers who can send new or old blankets or clothes should send *at once* to the Coalfields' Distress Committee, Friends' House, Euston Road, N.W. 1, where they will be packed for dispatch.

Who does the Compelling?

"In the medical and legal professions women were compelled to conduct their affairs on the same terms as men; women on the road were under-cutting in the labour market," said a member of the United Commercial Travellers' Association of Great Britain and Ireland, at the recent annual meeting of the Belfast Branch. The last annual meeting had carried a resolution deprecating the action of the committee in electing a woman member. It was sought to rescind this deprecatory resolution on the ground that by the articles of the association the word "gentlemen" included ladies. The effort, however, failed on the familiar excuse that women would encourage under-cutting. We seem to have heard that women demand the world on the same terms as men, but it seems to be the view of this Association that compulsion is necessary to force them to accept equal terms.

The Conference on the Education of the Citizen.

The impression left of the conference at University College, arranged by the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, on the education of the citizen, is that although much good work is being done there still remain many gaps which should be filled up. Although by such schools as Bedales efforts are being made to train the child from an early age in citizenship, the plea for the teaching of civics to quite small children does not seem yet to be realized in the ordinary elementary schools. With regard to the teaching of citizenship to the adolescent the discussion brought out the salient point, viz. that it is useless and even harmful to a child who has worked from the hours of 8 to 6 to be urged to attend classes in an evening, dead tired, and probably not having had time for a good meal. The much improved programme of the B.B.C. is a hopeful feature, and will tend to create that background of interest in the home which is necessary for good citizenship.

Votes for Women. What shall we do with them?

A most useful and up-to-date penny leaflet bearing the above title, has been recently published by the Y.W.C.A. We strongly recommend it for distribution among the newly enfranchised young women who are not quite sure if they really wanted the responsibility of the vote or not. It traces briefly the history of the suffrage agitation, and points out the debt the modern girl owes to the woman who fought her battles, and often sacrificed health and happiness in so doing. The section headed "Women in 1928" deals with the comparative freedom of the modern girl and the tendency of the elders to refuse to believe that the young generation must in its turn progress beyond their limit. We quote from the paragraph dealing with the responsibility of the vote. "Governments are the servants of voters, and can only bring forward a policy which is popular. Too often votes are recorded by women who have never troubled to inquire what the policy of each party really is. It would be of no use to pray 'Give peace in our time, O Lord' and to record a vote for a candidate who was not in favour of the League of Nations." Excellent advice on the way to fit themselves for their new responsibilities are given in the section on Practical Politics and Christianity and Politics. Girls are urged to read the newspapers, not only the fashion columns and the latest adventures of a film star, but also news of foreign countries, of laws passed by Parliament, and of suggested reforms in social conditions. The dullness of ignorance is pointed out. The prospective voter

¹ We regret that this note was omitted in error in a previous issue.

is advised to read the election addresses of all candidates, and if there is a particular reform she wants which has been omitted by her own party candidate, she is told to write and ask him to include it. "If enough people write he will do so rather than lose votes." Finally the leaflet calls on women to use their new weapon, both for their own benefit, and for that of succeeding generations.

The Death of the Spanish Queen Mother.

The death of the Queen Mother of Spain last week, at a time when the political situation is so precarious, has given rise to anxiety in many quarters. She was greatly respected by the people, and regarded as a power for good. The Madrid correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* writes that she is remembered as the only ruler of recent times under whose reign there had been no coup d'état. Queen Maria Christina will go down to history as a wise and strong woman who guided her country during a difficult period in its history, and her experienced judgment will be greatly missed.

A Women's Question at the Church Assembly.

At the meeting of the Church Assembly on 8th February at Church House, Westminster, Mrs. Sharrock (York), speaking from the woman's practical point of view on the subject of pensions for clergy, said that no man in these days ought to be expected to retire on a pension of less than £200 a year. The Assembly had been kind in offering sympathy to the aged clergy, but sympathy would not provide food, fire, and clothing. In many cases the wife was too old to look after the house, and often she was an invalid. Would even £200 a year provide for anyone to look after her?

Working Women Artists.

We call our readers' attention to the exhibition of paintings by working men and women, now on show at the Tate Gallery, Millbank, S.W. 1. Among a varied display of portraits, still life, and landscapes are two charming water-colours, "A Bow Garden" and "The Aviary," by two women artists. It is probable that there are other women exhibitors, but the majority of the pictures are signed with initials only. The Exhibition is the work of students at the Bow and Bromley and East Ham Commercial Institutes. These students were gathered together and encouraged to express their own ideas of their surroundings in line and colour, and after several years their work displayed real merit and originality, and 200 paintings and drawings were exhibited at the Whitechapel Art Gallery last year, and now at the Tate Gallery. As a result of the interest aroused, the trustees hoped that a further display at the Tate Gallery would do much to awaken increasing appreciation in our National Galleries.

The Servant Problem.

The public meeting called by the National Council of Women on 14th February, at which Lady Emmott will preside, promises to be of extreme interest. The shortage of servants still continues, but the N.C.W. believes that the constructive ability of its two million members should be able to find a solution to the problem, and to help to raise the status of domestic service to a high level as a skilled and valuable occupation. The speakers include the Duchess of Atholl, Miss Margaret Bondfield, and Professor Winifred Cullis, who will each emphasize certain aspects of the subject. A special feature of the meeting will be the circulation of literature by societies engaged in providing for the needs of mistresses and maids in regard to training, clubs, etc.

Prize for Woman Student of Architecture.

We congratulate Miss Olwen Emerson Price on winning a prize for a design for an infant school in competition with five men fourth year students at the Welsh School of Architecture. Two former woman students are now employed as assistants to Cardiff architects, but Miss Price is the only one up to the present who has carried her studies into the fifth year.

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.

A WOMEN'S JUBILEE.

The 11th Congress of the International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship will very appropriately meet in Berlin in June of this year. It is now twenty-five years since the meeting in Berlin in 1904, so this Congress will celebrate the jubilee of twenty-five years of work for the enfranchisement of women. Those who had the privilege of being present at the first post-war congress in Geneva in 1920 will never forget that memorable gathering where women of nations so lately at war with each other met together in concord to rejoice over the long procession of representatives of countries which had enfranchised their women. The Berlin Assembly will hardly be less impressive. For the first time the congress will be held in a country in which women not only have the vote on equal terms with men but which can point to some years' experience of its exercise. Better still, they can show with pride the conspicuous part which women are playing in public affairs with thirty-two women in the Reichstag, forty-three in the Prussian Diet, and many in other State Parliaments. This in a country where before the war the sphere of woman was summed up as "Kinder, Küche, Kirche!" Women from unenfranchised countries will have much to learn, and we ourselves, proud in the new possession of the full franchise, will see with admiration and some envy the strides which women have made in such a short period of time.

The Berlin Committee appears to be sparing no pains to make the Congress a success. The wife of the Chancellor, women members of Parliament, and many leading women are uniting in their efforts, and knowing something of the excellence of German organizing ability we are confident that the Berlin Congress will be a memorable event in the history of the woman's movement. Special arrangements are to be made for visits to social institutions and a guidebook has been published for the benefit of foreign visitors. The youth movement is very strong in Berlin, and it is therefore fitting that a special youth committee should have been formed to entertain the more youthful of the delegates and visitors and there will be a Midsummer night festivity which should attract the interest of the young of the city as well as the younger guests.

So far as we are concerned there are two important factors.

THE REAL FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

By LADY STEPHEN.

Owing to an unlucky accident I have only recently seen a copy of your issue of 18th January, containing an article by A. H. W. entitled "The Real Florence Nightingale." I knew Miss Nightingale well, and saw her frequently from her earliest childhood till her death in 1910; the last years of her mother's life were spent in my father's house; and I was one of those who were responsible for Miss Nightingale's personal welfare in her old age. I hope, therefore, that you will allow me to state some facts in connection with this article.

In the first place, I notice that A. H. W., in speaking of the material at Captain Berkeley's disposal, mentions Mr. Lytton Strachey and Mrs. Oliver Strachey, but makes no reference to the *Life of Miss Nightingale*, by Sir Edward Cook, in two volumes, published in 1913. Sir Edward Cook, who was an experienced biographer and one of the leading literary men of his time, agreed to write Miss Nightingale's life only on condition that he should be allowed perfect freedom to carry out the task in his own way. The result is an unusually candid and authoritative work, based on Miss Nightingale's copious correspondence, on her published and unpublished works, and on other sources such as Blue books and official reports. It may be difficult to learn "the whole truth" about Miss Nightingale; it will certainly be impossible to anyone who ignores this book.

As to the play itself, it seems clear that Captain Berkeley has not consulted Sir Edward Cook's *Life*, except perhaps quite superficially, otherwise he could not mistake Miss Nightingale's character. I will note only a few of the more salient points. An essential feature in the play is the jealousy alleged to have existed between Miss Nightingale and Lady Herbert, which comes to a climax in Act III, when the two ladies wrangle in a way which could never have occurred in real life, as anyone who consults Sir Edward Cook will easily see. Miss Nightingale is represented as suspecting that a contemplated dispatch of additional nurses to Scutari who would not be under her control was due to Mrs. Herbert's machinations. This is quite unfounded. Several influential people were putting strong pressure on

First, Great Britain must do its share in the provision of an adequate fund for many reasons. Many countries are quite incapable of helping financially, so that those countries more fortunately placed must do what they can. Every woman in the country interested in the international aspect of the woman's movement will wish to support the appeal just issued in this country by a special committee of which Lady Astor is President, and we trust that the required amount will be in the hands of the treasurer in good time to give the officers of the Alliance confidence in making their preparations. Perhaps personal reasons may to some extent also enter into the situation, for many readers will wish to give our international President, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, and Miss Frances Sterling (who we are glad to learn is recovering from the effects of an operation) a strong backing.

But not only are adequate funds needed, but a large British contingent should be preparing to spend the Congress week in Berlin. The delegates, twelve in number, and the twelve substitute delegates, are elected from the three auxiliary societies, The National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, The Freedom League, and St. Joan's Social and Political Union. Others are "fraternal delegates" representing other International women's organizations. Many countries at recent similar congresses have made a point of sending their best women and we trust that the British delegation will be a strong one composed of women who can represent their country with some distinction. But though it is limited, visitors are warmly welcomed both by the Alliance and by our German hostesses. It is not too soon to be making plans for June, and a visit to Berlin in June should if possible be arranged for by women who are in a position to spare the time and money required.

So far as the actual business is concerned, we need only say at this juncture that the interest of the conference will lie in two directions. First, the case of the nations in which women are still unenfranchised, and secondly, the future of the woman's movement in countries in which the vote is won. In our own country we are this year considering the problem, and it will be deeply interesting to compare notes with those in the same case elsewhere.

Mr. Herbert to send out more nurses, but there was certainly no plot on Mrs. Herbert's part, and Miss Nightingale never suspected her. The friendship between the Herberts and Miss Nightingale has been fully described by Sir Edward Cook in an interesting passage, from which I may quote the following: "Miss Nightingale was as dear to the wife as she was helpful to the husband, and affectionate friendship between her and Mrs. Herbert was not impaired" (vol. i, p. 411). Mrs. Herbert, in fact, continued after her husband's death to write to Miss Nightingale (see, for example, Cook, vol. ii, pp. 60, 89, 187-8), and to visit her from time to time. The unique relation between Miss Nightingale and the Herberts is completely misrepresented.

The love-story—admittedly fictitious—misrepresents Miss Nightingale's views of love and marriage, and some of the language used in the love scenes would have been impossible to her, or to any woman of refinement, in the nineteenth century.

Miss Nightingale is represented as telling the nurse whom she dismisses that she could not help doing wrong—"you are made like that"—or some such phrase. Anyone who has studied Miss Nightingale's writings, ever so slightly, will see that she could never have said anything like this. Her whole life was based on the conviction that mankind is perfectible, that sin can and ought to be avoided. "This is the very plan of God," she wrote, "to teach man through inexorable consequences, to bring each and all of us to perfection." Her religious beliefs were from her earliest days the dominating motive of her life and conduct, and she would never have admitted any such fatalistic excuse for a fault.

The last scene of the play is as painful to witness as it is far removed from the facts. The picture of Miss Nightingale as a lonely, feeble old woman, exposed to an unseemly inroad of strange visitors, is quite untrue. The presentations were made to her in private, and no official entered her presence. Miss Nightingale's memory for current events began to fail when she was a little past eighty (I should not myself call this "premature" old age), but she continued to have a vivid recollection of past

events, and was able to talk with her visitors on a variety of matters, including such things as nursing, sanitation, irrigation works in India, the Army, and so forth, till a much later date. She was visited constantly by her relations and friends, and there are plenty of others besides myself who can testify to the fact that her old age was a very happy one. Her days were spent in a large quiet sunny room at the back of her house in South Street; the room was always gay with flowers, and the atmosphere was one of serene dignity and peace. I cannot imagine anything more unlike the alleged "Purgatory" of the play.

Miss Nightingale's reputation is in fact undergoing the usual vicissitudes of famous persons. Mr. Lytton Strachey in his "severe and ironic sketch" provided an artistic distortion of her character¹; Captain Berkeley, building on this foundation, has invented new facts to fit it; and so we see the process going on, as rapidly as "Russian scandal." The nineteenth century, knowing nothing of Miss Nightingale except her Crimean exploits, adored her as an insipid saint; the twentieth century, with a child-like pleasure in rebelling against this conception is reading its own ideas into her story, regardless of historical truth. The "real Florence Nightingale" can never be known by those who study her only in fictions.

OPIUM TRAFFIC REVELATIONS.

By HEBÉ SPAULL.

This year the fight against the illicit traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs which the League of Nations has been waging since its inception, has entered on a new phase. For on 15th January, the first meeting of the newly appointed Central Board of Control, set up under the provisions of the Opium Convention of 1925, was held at Geneva. Judging by the revelations made at the meeting of the League's Opium Committee, which immediately followed the meeting of the Board, the latter has a gigantic task before it. Some of the figures given in reports presented to the Committee are almost unbelievable. For instance, the French delegate reported that the French Government had received a request from a German firm at Mannheim to send a consignment of heroin, alleged to amount to four tons through France to Marseilles. Heroin is very much more dangerous than morphine, and, if the figure is correct, it represents as the Italian representative pointed out, no less than 240,000,000 doses. The French Government refused permission but it is stated that the consignment will reach its destination through a country which is not a member of the League nor a party to the Opium Convention.

Another startling fact brought to light was that the amount of morphine alone which has been seized during the past eighteen months is officially stated to be equal to 9,000,000 fatal doses. And this is believed by experts to be only one-tenth of the huge quantities actually smuggled. Figures presented by the representative for India on the Committee indicated that the illicit import of cocaine into the country exceeds the medical requirements by forty times. In Hong Kong it is computed that from five to ten times the amount of opium authorized for sale by the Government is consumed.

The Committee decided to set up what was referred to as a "Black List" of firms whose products are involved in the illicit drug traffic as it is thought that if firms are pilloried in this way it may assist in the stamping out of the traffic.

(Continued from next column.)

and perhaps the best thing you can do under the circumstances is to shake the dust of South Kensington from your feet and go and live in Battersea where political conditions are less settled. But fortunately election times are not the only times when votes count; and dropping a voting paper in a ballot box is not the only way of using the vote, as I will try to show next week.

Greeting to you from
AN OLD VOTER.

THIS WEEK'S QUESTION IS: "WHEN DID THE PRIME MINISTER PROMISE TO GIVE THE VOTE TO WOMEN ON THE SAME TERMS AS MEN?" Briefly describe the course of events between the Representation of the People Act, 1919, and his promise.

¹ I speak advisedly, and would refer my readers to the abridged edition of the *Life* by St. Edward Cook (1 vol., 1925), Appendix A; and to an article by Mrs. Vaughan Nash in the *Nineteenth Century*, Feb., 1928.

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

DEAR MADAM,

You must forgive me for putting words into your mouth, as I did a week ago, when I credited you with the Question (in reply to some remarks of my own): "How can I make my vote really count—one among twenty-five millions or so?" It is, by the way, the fault of my defective handwriting transcribed into print, that the figure reached you as "five and a half millions". That is roughly the number of the new voters. But they of course are not the only voters. You are, in fact, an even smaller political insect than the question appeared to suggest. And now to the business of answering that Question:—

If you use your vote in a constituency which returns its candidate by a majority of one, you can, of course, be perfectly certain that your vote has counted. More especially is this the case when the party to which that candidate adheres, subsequently takes office by virtue of a majority of one in the House of Commons. In that case you may walk with dignity as an arbiter of the world's destiny—by virtue of your vote. And all those who have voted on the same side as you in that particular constituency may do likewise, for each one of them may say in his or her heart: "It is my vote that has turned the scale."

I will not, however, disguise from you that this is unlikely to happen. More probably you will find your candidate elected by several thousand or perhaps several hundred votes, and you may be tempted to say: "If I hadn't taken the trouble to vote the result would really have been exactly the same. Well—perhaps it would. But the successful candidate himself was not at all certain what the result was going to be, and he is still less certain what it is going to be when next he stands for election. Therefore he is likely to adjust his promises before the election and his behaviour in Parliament afterwards, with some reference to what he believes to be the wishes of his constituents. And the best way of letting him know your wishes is by voting for him, or against him.

A DIGRESSION ON ELECTION PROMISES.

At this point I will venture to insert a word of moral warning: Do not be too cynical about election promises. Do not pretend to be a woman of the world and shrug your shoulders in acquiescence when people say that election promises are made to be broken. That is the very way to encourage people to break them. They are not made to be broken, although unfortunately they sometimes are broken. They are made to be kept, and they sometimes are kept; as you, Madam, should have very good reason to know. *Because it was the keeping of an election promise by Mr. Baldwin which brought you your vote.* There were one or two of his colleagues who thought less than he did of that particular promise, and did not make it easy for him to keep it. Yet he did keep it in spite of them. Therefore I beg you, if ever you are inclined to be cynical about election promises, to remember how you came to get your vote in 1928. Only—here is just a small sop to your cynicism from an old campaigner: *Get your election promises in writing.*

HOPELESS MINORITIES.

But to return to the matter in hand. So far we have been supposing that your candidate is not very secure in his seat, and that your vote helps to register opinion and changes of opinion which are important to him. A few candidates are, however, in a much happier position than this. Let us, for instance, take the state of affairs in a constituency like South Kensington, which is so overwhelmingly Conservative, that at election after election, Liberal and Labour voters do not think it worth while to put up a candidate at all—because he would not stand a dog's chance of getting elected. Under such circumstances you may feel that whatever party you believe in, you might as well not be a voter, for all the difference your vote makes. But at any rate if you are a Conservative, there is something you can do. You can play an active part in your local party organization, and do your best to see that the particular Conservative candidate who is returned in this easy manner, is the kind of man you would chose to see in a responsible public position. Some of the Conservative women voters in South Kensington are busily engaged in doing this at the present moment. Suppose, however, you are not a Conservative, but a Liberal or a Socialist? How in such a case can you make your vote count when you are not even given the chance of using it? Well—as far as election times are concerned, I greatly fear that you cannot make it count;

(Continued in preceding column.)

FOOD FOR THE NEW VOTER.

The wooing of the New Voter by authors and publishers is already well under weigh. Some of her wooers have doubtless the ulterior motive of party policy. But in the case of two volumes¹ which lie before us, the motive is patently and strictly honourable. Their authors aim at educating the New Voter for her own good and for no particular party's advantage.

Miss Challoner and Mrs. Mathews, in *Towards Citizenship*,¹ have divided the history of women's emancipation between them; Miss Challoner tracing its ups and downs from the dawn of history to the industrial revolution, and Mrs. Mathews carrying it forward through the nineteenth century to the Franchise Act of 1928. Their subject matter hardly challenges comparison with Mrs. Strachey's book, *The Cause*, for though it is a survey of the same developments, it is one which makes less call upon time and money, and should thus serve as a stimulating introduction to the larger and more objective book. The two authors, it may be remarked, write so frankly and openly from the Roman Catholic standpoint that their bias need not detract from the book's value to non-Catholic readers. Nor is their Catholicism all bias—for even the sturdiest present-day Protestant must admit with Miss Challoner that the leaders of the Reformation added new shackles to the bodies and minds of women. How far their uncivil diatribes were, as she suggests, responsible for the exclusion of women during the seventeenth century from trade and professional life we are, however, in some doubt. The growing specialization of economic life undoubtedly played its part in undermining the prestige of an essentially non-specialized section of the community. But in our opinion, whatever may be said for any particular aspect of organized Christianity as an emancipating or retarding force, this much must be said against organized Christianity as a whole. The persistent and universal denial of holy orders to women was a standing public contradiction of the principle of spiritual equality bequeathed to it by its Founder.

When we come with Mrs. Mathews to modern times, we find a measure of emphasis on the romance and efficacy of the militant suffragist movement that may provoke a spirit of controversy in some of her veteran readers. No matter. It does not detract from the interest of the book, and an element of hero-worship or even of mythology is not a bad item of spiritual food-value for the young woman citizen of to-day. Only on one point would we challenge her interpretation of late events. She has omitted to point out that the franchise situation as it developed in 1926 when the Equal Political Rights Committee took the field, was rigidly governed by the existence of Mr. Baldwin's pledge given at the General Election of 1924. It is as well that the New Voter should know this fact and realize its deep significance. For it may suggest to her the strategic importance of election time, as a psychological moment for pressing her point of view, and it may at the same time disarm some of her cynicism regarding the fragility of political promises.

The joint authors of *The New Voter*² show themselves to be serious and objective students of politics. They have produced not merely an exceptionally able explanation of parliamentary and political machinery (the inaccuracy of describing the 5½ million new voters as between 21 and 30 is a minor blot) but they have successfully performed a far more difficult and delicate task in their outline of the three parties and the probable issues of the next General Election.

One or two points seem to call for special comment. In their references to the pros and cons of Proportional Representation they ignore the argument, incidentally the main plank in the P.R. opposition platform, that this method of election is likely to put a premium on the formation of political groups and post-election coalitions. In their outline of the ideals of the Conservative Party they omit what is in our opinion an important characteristic feature—its many-sided insistence upon the significance of the national unit in human affairs. But these omissions are compensated by the immense service which they confer upon the cause of balanced thinking at the present

(Continued at foot of next page.)

¹ *Towards Citizenship*, by Phyllis Challoner and Vera Laughton Mathews. (P. S. King and Son., Ltd., 2s.)

² *The New Voter*, by Harold Dore and J. A. McKinnell. (Longmans, Green and Co., 1s.)

THE EDUCATION OF THE CITIZEN.

By AMY H. BADGER.

There was a large attendance at University College on 8th February for the opening session on the teaching of citizenship in schools at the Conference organized by the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship. The Hon. Mrs. Franklin presided in the absence through illness of the Duchess of Atholl. Mr. J. H. Badley, head master of Bedales, gave a most interesting account of the training for citizenship in his co-educational school where absolute equality of opportunity for boys and girls prevails. He spoke of the two methods employed. In the first method place must be found in the timetable for lessons on aspects of government, and for the teaching of universal history; he pointed out that a child must not only be prepared to be a good citizen of the Empire, but a good world citizen, and that the question of friendliness or otherwise to other nations is often determined by the attitude of the history book. The essence of citizenship being co-operation for the common good, he welcomed the coming together of different social classes in schools. Secondly, the children must feel they are citizens *themselves*, while they are at school; they must co-operate with the community, i.e. the school itself. The school council is recognized as a form of government in most modern schools and here the boy or girl soon realizes the fact that what is necessary for the welfare of the community is not always the same as the wishes of the individual. Mr. Badley pointed out that the whole environment should be made use of in the teaching of citizenship, and in the village schools attention should be drawn to the preservation of footpaths and of natural beauty. Finally he said that there could be no better training ground for good citizenship than a co-education school where boys and girls worked together for communal welfare. Miss Addison Phillips (Clifton High School) thought civics better taught incidentally than as an added subject. She spoke of successful experiments in Bristol where the Town Clerk had given a lecture to the school on Local Government, illustrated by a chart showing the cost of various services paid for by the rates, where Mock Elections, Mock Trials, debates between boys and girls on League of Nations subjects had been held, and where the Union of Girls' Schools for Social Service showed a fine record. Miss Pennethorne (Parents National Educational Union) pointed out that the unit of citizenship was human nature, i.e. ourselves. This idea should be carried into the reading of the biographies of great citizens. The children of the Parents' Union Schools had the ideals of the ancient as well as the modern world set before them, discussions and reading of books with diametrically opposite opinions were encouraged. Miss Dymond (Regional Survey Work) said the L.C.C. teachers aimed at linking up the teaching of history with life, and tried to make the children realize that history is progressive, and they might have their share in making it. Miss Best (Streatham High School) thought girls quickly became interested in civics. In the G.P.D.S. School which she represented, the older girls became very keen on a course of economics, they wrote letters asking for tickets of entrance to Parliamentary debates, and visited the County Hall. The meeting was then thrown open and a lively and useful discussion followed.

The second session (Subject: The Teaching of Citizenship to Young People after School Age) was presided over by Dr. Cyril Norwood, head master of Harrow, who pointed out that after the age of 15, five out of seven boys and girls received no training in citizenship whatever. Mr. A. W. Oylar (Joint Council of London Juvenile Organizations Committee) said that 50 per cent of the children had finished with all friendly influence, religious or educational, after 14. He pleaded for a larger number of better equipped voluntary workers, more co-operation between club-leaders and educational authorities, and urged the N.U.S.E.C. to help to get the gap filled in the medical supervision of the child between the ages of 14 and 16. Mr. Beresford Ingram (Organizer of the L.C.C. Continuation Schools) spoke of the great educational facilities in London which were not taken advantage of as they should be. Although the study of citizenship was not taught theoretically in the Evening Institutes, there was nothing to prevent its development, and they were now endeavouring to co-operate with Girl Guides and Boy Scouts. Miss Tottenham (Federation of Working Girls' Clubs) took the view that girls are not interested in the vote as such,

but are interested in questions behind the vote, such as housing. A series of lectures from a non-party point of view had been given to prospective voters. Lady Agnes Peel (Girl Guide Association) said that as a nation we were not very fond of education, but we were fond of games. Girl Guiding was in the best sense a game, and a working model of the body politic. The Guides played at being legislators and the leaders were given individual and corporate authority. Citizenship was put in the fore-front of the aims of the Rangers, they discussed the use of the vote, and practised making five minutes' speeches. The meeting was then open for discussion, and the difficult question considered of the child of 14 and after, who worked from the hour of eight to six, and was then urged to go to the Evening Institute, dead tired, and probably without having had a proper meal. The scrapping of the Education Act of 1918 which provided a remedy for this state of affairs was generally deplored.

The evening session, at which the subject was the Teaching of Citizenship to the Adult, was presided over by Dr. Mansbridge, Chairman of the World Association for Adult Education. Mrs. Wintringham gave an account of the amazing growth and development of Women's Institutes, and how they were meeting the question of Citizenship. The members are instructed in modes of Government, methods of procedure, they attend lectures on civics and have definitely shown that they are out for education in citizenship. They stir up local authorities to take action in questions of community welfare, and in 1924 a striking leaflet was published showing what resolutions had been passed, what actions taken, and what results obtained. Miss Curwen (Y.W.C.A.) said the branches varied much in type. Although the Y.W.C.A. was started during the Crimean War it had only recently done much educational work. Since the advent of the franchise they had been much concerned with the teaching of citizenship. Their method was to start with something in which they had an interest themselves, such as unemployment, Trade Boards, etc., and then to broaden out to study Economics generally. Some of their branches had taken courses with a W.E.A. tutor, and had had talks from Borough Treasurers and Fire Brigade officials on the work of their several departments. The Y.W.C.A. was an International body, and studied citizenship from the international and League of Nations point of view. Some members had attended the Congress at Budapest. Mr. C. W. Judd (League of Nations Union) pointed out that the 750,000 members of the Union were taught that they were not only citizens of a state, but of the world. The method of Education of the Union was by means of study circles, films, and they had at Headquarters the finest library on international affairs. Miss Matheson (British Broadcasting Corporation) said the B.B.C. aimed at stimulating the imagination, and thereby prepared the ground for political education. The general level of intelligence had immensely improved since the advent of 10 to 12 million listeners, and the value of personal contact between first-class minds and women in remote country districts was untold. Mrs. Rylands gave an account of the systematic and comprehensive work in citizenship carried out by the Birmingham Branch of the National Council of Women. Their method was to concentrate very thoroughly on one subject in one session. Mr. Milliken, representing Educational Settlements, said those settlements favoured the direct method, and gave instruction in economics, political science, etc., and worked in close touch with the W.E.A. A special course had been given to "flappers". The settlement aimed at being in little what the world ought to be. Dr. Mansbridge, in summing up, described the Conference as an extraordinarily interesting one; the speakers had set before the audience a romantic story of effort. He believed that although no one could be interested in everything, everybody was interested in something, and if the individual could be developed to become thoroughly alive and vital, he was bound to become a good citizen.

FOOD FOR THE NEW VOTER. (Continued from p. 13.)

junction by their treatment of socialism—what it is and what it is not. They opportunely point out that a Conservative Government has nationalized broadcasting, and is in process of nationalizing electricity, and they suggest that the attitude of parties on this matter is not as clearly defined as their respective extremists would have us believe. Such discussions may conceivably make political issues at first sight less simple and clear-cut. They are, however, the best possible prophylactic against electioneering stunts and bogies.

M. D. S.

OBITUARY.

CHARLOTTE CARMICHAEL STOPES.

The death of Mrs. Stopes on 6th February removes still another pioneer of the enfranchisement from the now sadly depleted ranks of early workers for the movement. Charlotte Carmichael from her girlhood was eager for privileges accorded to men, for she was one of a group of young women in Edinburgh who in the seventies attended classes of lectures organized by enlightened professors of Edinburgh University. Soon after her marriage to Mr. Stopes she became widely known as a lecturer and writer on two subjects as different as Shakespeare and Woman's Suffrage. Her work on the latter subject, however, showed the same spirit of research as her Shakespearean studies. Her book "British Freewomen" was originally prepared in 1885 as a paper for the Economics and Statistics Section of the British Association, on the offchance that a paper on a woman's subject might be accepted. It was rejected, as perhaps might be expected in the eighties, by the Committee on the grounds that though a valuable contribution to Constitutional History it would lead to political discussion. Her accumulated material was, however, utilized for speeches and articles, and the interest which they aroused led her to undertake a more exhaustive treatment of the subject and the book was published in 1894. It was the first book of the kind, presenting as it did carefully documented facts extracted first-hand from ancient charters and manuscripts in the British Museum Library and Record Office. This book, which passed through several editions and secured favourable reviews in leading journals, cannot fail to be regarded as a landmark in the history of the woman's movement.

Outside the circles into which THE WOMAN'S LEADER penetrates, Mrs. Stopes is better known, especially to Shakespearean scholars, for her original work as a student of Shakespeare. She became a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature, and received an award from the British Academy. In this year in which women are to realize the full extension of the franchise our readers will remember Mrs. Stopes as one who all through her long life gave her best to our cause. Less than three years ago she joined us in our demonstration in Hyde Park, and we rejoice that she lived to see the consummation of her hopes.

MRS. H. B. TAYLOR.

As we go to press we hear with deep regret of the death of Mrs. H. B. Taylor at 98 Cheyne Walk. Mrs. Taylor kept her keen interest in the causes to which she was devoted in her active years until the end, and those who knew her will not soon forget her gracious and beautiful old age. Readers may remember that she contributed some early reminiscences to this paper some years ago. Her daughter has kindly sent us the following notes of her life:—

From the early days of the woman's suffrage movement, Mrs. H. B. Taylor took an active interest in it and warmly supported Miss Lydia Becker in her life-long advocacy of the cause. To the Women's Property Bill, she and Mrs. Taylor gave their hearty sympathy and congratulated Mr. Jacob Bright when he succeeded in getting his Bill through Parliament.

She was an earnest worker in the Crusade led by Mrs. Josephine Butler against the C.D. Acts, and a letter of hers on the subject in 1863 was read by the Chairman at a public meeting held at Wigan called to protest against the action of the War Office in desiring to have the C.D. Acts extended to the Military and Naval Stations. Mrs. Butler's efforts, aided by Professor James Stuart's able advocacy in Parliament, were successful, and the working of the C.D. Acts was abandoned by the Authorities.

Mrs. Taylor's opposition to animal vivisection was well known to her friends, amongst whom she numbered Frances Power Cobbe, the founder of the first Anti-Vivisection Society, and President of the British Union—its later development.

The Women's Local Government Society as well as all the Temperance Associations had her hearty sympathy; indeed, throughout her long and varied life she was ever youthful in the interest she took in all the questions of the day.

THE WOMAN'S LEADER

EVERY FRIDAY. TWOPENCE.

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General and Parliamentary Secretary: Mrs. HORTON.
Offices: 15 Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W. 1.
Telephone: Victoria 6188.

THE GENERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN FUND.

We print below the first list of donors and the special fund for the election campaign at the coming General Election the first since the vote was won. The donations marked with an asterisk were sent to the Thanksgiving Fund of 1928 after it had closed but we are sure we have the approval of the donors in utilizing their gifts in this way. The response so far has been very encouraging and we hope soon to reach the figure of £300. Some of our regular contributors have anticipated our special appeal. One writes, "I am enclosing a little more than last year as I am a trifle better off. I know you will need extra this year with a General Election coming on." Another writes, "Your Union is doing a great piece of work and I am glad to help in any way." If this should be read by anyone who does not already contribute and who is not in close touch with our work, we would remind them that full information may be had on application to the address given above. Money subscribed for election work is earmarked for organizers' expenses, literature (important leaflets have already been widely distributed) and every form of publicity on the reforms on our programme before the General Election. A second list will be printed next week.

	£	s.	d.
Atkinson, Miss E. M. L.	1	1	0
Atkinson, Mrs.	2	6	
Auerbach, Mrs.	5	0	0
Becker, Mrs.	1	0	0
Beilby, Lady	2	2	0
Benham, Mrs.	2	2	0
*Birmingham N.C.W. (Citizenship Sub-Section)	8	12	3
Black, Mr. and Mrs.	2	0	0
Brereton, Miss K. B.	10	6	
Bridson, Miss M.	1	0	0
Burnham, Mrs.	5	0	0
Cadmore, Miss	5	0	
Caton, Miss A. R.	10	0	0
Chick, Miss M.	2	2	0
Clow, Dr. Alice Sanderson	10	0	
Cropper, Mrs.	1	0	0
Davies, Miss	1	1	0
Dawson, Miss Emily A.	5	0	0
Farmer, Miss A. K.	1	0	0
Fawcett, Miss P. G.	10	0	0
Furse, Dame Katherine	1	0	0
*Fyffe, Mrs.	1	0	0
Gibb, Miss	5	0	
Gossage, Mrs.	10	0	0
Horsley, Lady	1	0	0
Hughes, Mrs. Alfred	2	0	0
*Hull N.C.W. (Public Service Section)	17	9	
Johnson, Mrs.	1	1	0
Jones, Miss H. M.	5	0	0
Jones, Miss K. F.	10	0	
Jones, Miss S. E.	5	0	0
Lietti, Miss R. C.	2	6	
*Lowe, Mrs.	10	0	0
Lupton, Miss M. W.	1	1	0
Marett, Miss J. M.	1	5	0
Macadam, Miss Elizabeth	5	0	0
*Portsmouth, W.C.A.	1	0	0
Radford, Mrs.	1	0	0
Stout, Mrs.	1	1	0
*Tanner, The Misses	1	1	0
Van Gruisen, Mrs.	5	0	0
Walker, Miss Spalding	5	0	0
Total	£113	17	6

* Received after the Thanksgiving Fund was closed and allocated to the Election Fund.

ANNUAL COUNCIL MEETING.

PUBLIC LUNCHEON.—Criterion Restaurant, Friday, 8th March. We are now able to announce that the guests of honour at the public luncheon will include Sir William Joynson-Hicks, Bt., M.P., the Earl of Lytton, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Miss Isabel MacDonald, and Mrs. Runciman, M.P. We very much hope that many members of societies and friends will be present on that occasion. Applications for tickets (price 5s. for members, and 7s. 6d. for non-members) should be sent as soon as possible.

WOMEN'S SERVICE HOUSE.

In connection with the Council Meeting, it may interest our members to know that the reorganized headquarters, at 35 Marsham Street, S.W. 1, of the London and National Society for Women's Service is to be opened on 4th March. For those who are members of the Society, a suite of small bedrooms is available. Should any members attending the Council Meeting desire to obtain accommodation, they should apply to the Secretary, Women's Service House, 35 Marsham Street, S.W. 1.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON POLICE POWERS AND PROCEDURE.

The National Union has submitted evidence to the Royal Commission on points with which it is particularly concerned, but it is not to be presented verbally.

CONFERENCE ON THE EDUCATION OF THE CITIZEN.

A full report of the very interesting conference held in the Great Hall of University College, Gower Street, on 8th February, will be found in another column.

CORRESPONDENCE.

MRS. PANKHURST'S MEMORIAL FUND.

MADAM,—I notice that in your last issue you refer to the Mrs. Pankhurst memorial, but without giving an address as to where donations are to be sent. I think many of your readers would be glad to know that these should be sent to the Viscountess Rhonda, 15 Gayere Street, Westminster, S.W. 1. I may say that members of the Committee would welcome donations, large or small, as they hope that every suffragist who appreciates Mrs. Pankhurst's work will send a donation.

EDITH HOW MARTYN.

38 Hogarth Hill, N.W. 11.

[We are glad to print Mrs. How Martyn's letter. The address appeared in a previous notice.—Ed.]

EVENTS THAT MUST NOT BE MISSED.

We propose from time to time to give under this heading information of dramatic, artistic, and literary events of special interest to our readers. Under "Forthcoming Events" we shall continue to chronicle notices of meetings mainly of women's organizations which are sent us. We invite the co-operation of our readers in this, and shall be glad to have suitable events brought to our notice.

Interpretation of Classical Plays. By Dorothea Spinney, *The Alcestis of Euripides*, 23rd February (matinée), 2.30 p.m. Rudolf Steiner Hall, Park Road, N.W. 1. Particulars from Miss Alice Michaelis, 10 Canfield Gardens, N.W. 6.

The Lady with the Lamp. By Reginald Berkeley. Garrick Theatre (transferred from Arts Theatre Club; see "The Real Florence Nightingale," page 388, in issue of 18th January, and on page 11 of this issue.

The Westminster String Quartet (Women) Lunch Hour Chamber Music. Every Tuesday, 1.15-2 p.m. Christ Church, Victoria Street, S.W. 1.

Exhibition of pictures by working men and women. Tate Gallery, S.W. 1.

Society of Women Artists, 195 Piccadilly, W. 1. 11th February, to 4th March.

BROADCAST FEATURES.

Monday, 18th February, 10.45 a.m.—Law and the Home: The Law and Parents (2), Mrs. Crofts (5XX only).

Tuesday, 19th February, 7 p.m.—Questions for Women Voters. Should Wages be supplemented by family allowances? Miss Eleanor F. Rathbone, J.P., Professor W. L. Macgregor.

Wednesday, 10.45 a.m.—A woman's commentary. Mrs. Oliver Strachey (5XX only).

Wednesday, 7 p.m.—Public Departments (all B.B.C. stations except 5GB). 20th February: Department of Overseas Trade.

Wednesdays, from 6th March at 7.25 p.m. Mrs. Sidney Webb. Four lectures on "How to Study Social Questions." London and Daventry.

COMING EVENTS.

BRITISH COMMONWEALTH LEAGUE.

20th February, 8.30 p.m. Lyceum Club. Reception to Miss Maude Royden.

Guilhouse W.C.A.—18th February, 3.15 p.m. Visit to Victoria and Albert Museum. Meet outside entrance.

Morley College for Working Men and Women, 61 Westminster Bridge Road, S.E.—21st February, 8 p.m. Viscount Cecil of Chelwood: "Arbitration." Chair: Sir John Sankey, G.B.E.

INDIAN STUDENTS UNION.

17th February, 1929, 5 p.m. 112 Gower Street, W. 6. Mr. G. S. Dutt, "Women's Institutes in India and elsewhere." Chair: Beatrice, Countess of Portsmouth.

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

20th February, 1929, 2.30 p.m. Scouts' Hut, Burnt Oak. Public Meeting. Speaker: Mrs. Corbett Ashby.

6th-9th March. Annual Council Meetings. King George's Hall, Y.M.C.A., Gt. Russell Street, W.C. Wednesday, 6th March, 2.30 p.m., First session; 8.45 p.m. Reception at King's College for Women, Campden Hill, W. 8. Thursday, 7th March, 10 a.m.-12.45 p.m., Second session;

2.5 p.m., Third session. Friday, 8th March, 10 a.m.-12.45 p.m., Fourth session; 1 p.m., Public Luncheon, Criterion Restaurant; 3-5 p.m. Fifth session; Saturday, 9th March, 10 a.m.-1 p.m., Sixth session. All sessions open to the public. Tickets and further particulars from the Secretary, N.U.S.E.C., 15 Dean's Yard, S.W. 1.

Acton W.C.A.—22nd February, 8 p.m. Committee Room, Acton Municipal Offices. Debate: "That Married Women should not occupy paid positions." For: Mrs. Parsons; against: Mrs. Rees.

Cardiff W.C.A.—21st February, 7.30 p.m. Unitarian School Room, West Grove. Dr. Mary Phillips (Merthyr), "A Recent Visit to Yogo Slavia."

Edinburgh W.C.A.—20th February, 8 p.m. 116 Gartshore Street. Public Discussion "That it is Premature for Great Britain to sign the Optional Clause."

Glasgow S.E.C. and W.C.A.—22nd February, 8 p.m. 172 Bath Street, Conference on the "Report of the Street Offences Committee." Speaker: Miss Bury.

UNION OF WOMEN VOTERS.

25th February, 55 Chancery Lane, W.C. Mrs. La Chard, J.P., "A Woman Magistrate in the Lambeth Children's Court."

TYPEWRITING.

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ANNOUNCEMENTS.

LONDON AND NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SERVICE, 35 Marsham Street, Westminster. Secretary, Miss P. Strachey. Expert advice on what to do with your girls. Addresses to schools and societies in London and Provinces by arrangement.

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES, Guildhouse, Eccleston Square, S.W.1. Sunday, 17th February, 3.30, Rev. C. J. Parker; 6.30, Maude Royden, "The Well of Loneliness."

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/-. Suing fee; Employers, 10/6; workers, 2/-. (Victoria 5940.)

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