

THE WOMAN'S LEADER

AND THE COMMON CAUSE

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A COMPLETED LIFE.

MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT.

11th June, 1847-5th August, 1929.

On Thursday, 18th July, Dame Millicent Fawcett was a guest of honour at the public luncheon given by the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship to celebrate the advent of the first woman Cabinet Minister and the return to Parliament of fourteen women M.P.s. Many of us had scarcely seen her since her return from the winter's visit to Ceylon, which had taken the place of her usual—for so we had begun to think of it—Easter holiday in Palestine. She seemed in her usual health and in good spirits, and at Mrs. Corbett Ashby's bidding she rose in her place so that all the assembled guests could greet her—had they only known it—for the last time.

Three days later, on Sunday, she stayed in bed suffering from a cold. This rapidly developed into double pneumonia. There were alternations of hope and fear. As lately as last Saturday she was reported conscious but too weak for speech. But during the night she sank, and at one o'clock on Monday morning the end came very peacefully, her old friend and doctor, Dr. Jane Walker, as well as her sister and daughter by her side.

It is all very well to say "Nothing is here for tears," and, in a sense, never was that hackneyed quotation better justified than by the life which has just completed "on earth a perfect round" (the misquotation is deliberate). The public life of Mrs. Fawcett—to use the name we all know best—began with the beginning of the suffrage movement and has ended with its end. She made her first speech for "The Cause" in July, 1869, just over sixty years ago, and for fifty of those years she was always on active service. It was in the nineties—during a period when the movement was making little apparent progress—that she had to make a rule not to speak more than twice a day nor more than four times a week. Yet when the long struggle ended with a victory so complete that it overshot anticipation and even hope, it brought no disillusionment. Mrs. Fawcett has told her own story and made her own comments and we know that in her estimate "What the Vote has done" has transcended even her previous expectation of what it would do. What more of life on the public side, could anyone ask for her?

Yet for all that, and partly because of it, Mrs. Fawcett's death will bring sadness to very many. Scattered all up and down Great Britain and beyond it are the remnants, dwindling steadily but numerous still, of those whom she used to call "the goodly fellowship of the prophets"—those who had seen the vision she saw and worked with her to turn it into reality. To these she has been not only a leader and a friend but also a symbol, the living embodiment of the movement to which she and they gave the best years of their lives, not grudgingly.

"People used to talk about our fifty years' struggle as fifty years in the wilderness, and offer their sympathy upon the length of time we had had to work for our cause. But there was no call for commiseration. We had had a joyful and happy time, marked by victory in some phase or other of our movement all along."

So she wrote in 1920 and went on to enumerate the various instalments of citizenship which has marked the passage from the period when women were treated "as if they were helpless children or 'milk-white lambs, bleating for man's protection.'"

There are many who can so see the past, looking down on it from the Hill of Attainment! The peculiarity of Mrs. Fawcett was that she so saw the present, even while leading her followers along its dustiest, most uphill and unfruitful stretches. Her personality was so strong and her optimism so rational that she was usually able to impose it on others, though occasionally her more impatient and ardent followers felt at once rebuked and irritated by it. At black moments in the movement when some bad set-back had been suffered or the excesses of friends and the treachery of opponents seemed united to obstruct us, Mrs. Fawcett would take her seat at the committee table of the National Union, her brow as smooth as usual, her demeanour as unruffled, her comments on the situation only a trifle more caustic and incisive. No doubt her imperturbability at such times owed something to self-discipline and to her declared belief in the precept—

"Keep on ploughing where you've missed crops,
Keep on dancing when the fiddle stops."

But it was also manifestly the result of a real, deep-rooted conviction, based on a wide outlook on history and human nature, that while victory could be hastened or retarded by wise or foolish tactics, it was bound to come in the end. She has recorded that after the Sunday service at St. Paul's which closed the Pilgrimage of July, 1913—

"a deep sense of peace and of absolute confidence in our ultimate triumph came upon us. We were as certain of it as if it had already been in our grasp." (*The Woman's Victory—and After.*)

To recognize the light which this remark throws upon Mrs. Fawcett's character, one must recall the occasion to which it refers. The Pilgrimage took place at a time when, to many both inside and outside the suffrage movement, its fortunes seemed at a very low ebb. The previous twelve months had witnessed the fiasco of the Government's abortive Reform Bill, the defeat of the Conciliation Bill, the outbreak of militancy in its most violent, dangerous, and unpopular form. On the basis of a cool calculation of political chances, a stranger moment for a conviction of certain victory could scarcely have been found.

It was the combination in Mrs. Fawcett of this kind of intuitional, religious faith in her cause with more matter of fact qualities which made her so invaluable a leader. Enthusiasts who inspire enthusiasm in others are not rare. Cultured, well-balanced persons, who never lose their sense of humour or their grasp of actualities are not rare either. What is rare is the combination of these usually severed gifts in one person, and that combination was just what was needed by a movement which attracted many silly and unbalanced people, yet never could have won through if it had not been inspired by conviction, warmed by enthusiasm, refreshed by emotion, and drilled by discipline. Mrs. Fawcett was free from the convention which compels the post-war generation to regard language and expression chiefly as vehicles for concealing thought and emotion except when these are ugly, cynical, or materialistic. Believing in a good many categorical imperatives and eternal verities, she did not hesitate to speak of them when the occasion seemed to need it. Yet the most rabid Anti-Potterite could not have suspected her of humbug, rant, or anything sappy. The academic precision and restraint of her words and tones and their often nipping quality prevented that.

There can be few survivors now of her era and generation of great Victorians. It remains to be seen whether their successors will achieve a tithe as much, either of happiness for themselves or of good for future humanity.

ELEANOR F. RATHBONE.

A GREAT ENGLISHWOMAN.

To the world at large Dame Millicent Fawcett will be known as a great statesman, the architect of the emancipation of women and the leader who guided its fortunes from the very beginning to the very end. To those of us of this generation who were privileged to work under her, however, she was much more than that—more human, more charming, and wiser than a mere historical personage; and we have lost not only our leader but our friend. Whether we saw her often or only once, whether we shared the long hours of committees, or just shook her hand at a meeting, every one of us who met her felt the same. For she was, in fact, the friend of her fellow-workers, ready to sympathize with and uphold them all.

All her ways were friendly. When she rebuked us, for instance, how gently and often how indirectly she did it, and yet how irresistibly and unmistakably it was done. And when she praised us how matter-of-fact and steady it was. And how she enlivened everything with her sense of the ridiculous and comic, keeping our sense of proportion in order with her apposite stories and jokes! When we disagreed among ourselves, for instance, she used to quiet us, and give our heat time to cool with some of her endless store of anecdotes, and then turn our attention back to the cause itself and away from our quarrel. She never would admit that she did this on purpose, but it was a very effective method none the less.

But of course it was her steadfastness and her wisdom which helped us most. She was so unshakable, so firm, and, in the later stages of the struggle, so very experienced. She knew when to be insistent and when to wait; but she did not know how to give way. The cause was bound to triumph, and she always knew it. Whatever happened she would see the progress and the good it contained, and so none of us who followed her could ever for an instant despair.

She always said that she enjoyed it all—the ups and the downs, the rough and the smooth. Even the heavy hard work, of which she did more than her full share for more than sixty years, was somehow turned to pleasantness in her own mind. When there were riots and disturbances she took comfort in the friendly people who extricated her; when there were triumphs and celebrations she rejoiced in the progress of the cause; and always, on every occasion, she said exactly the right thing. If a contretemps occurred she could be entirely relied on to put it right; if someone was left out she remedied the omission, and if others said what was tactless she invariably countered with the perfect turn of phrase. We always felt safe when she was present, because she understood so much.

It is comforting to remember that she herself found pleasure even in the long years of work and the difficulties of the fight, and that part of this pleasure came from the friends and colleagues the work brought her. And it is satisfactory, in a way that few

things are satisfactory, that she should have seen the victory and the fruits of victory, and known the young women who are inheriting their freedom. Sixty-five years ago Millicent Garrett dreamt of social liberty, political equality, and economic opportunity for women; and as her life went on she saw her dream come true. She saw schools and colleges opened to them, and she saw her own daughter win the highest academic prize. She saw the professions opened, first the medical profession in which her own sister was the pioneer, and then the others in their turn. She saw political emancipation, first in its compromise state, and then fully and equally, and she saw its quick, far-reaching results. She saw the old, unequal laws giving way to justice, and prejudices melting like snow. She saw women entering Parliament, and the Cabinet, and, as she said, she was content. We, who have lost the leader we have loved and followed, cannot but be sad. But she would not herself very greatly approve of our sorrow. She would remind us that there is still much to be done, and that the price of our liberty is still eternal vigilance. She would perhaps let us tell each other stories about her sayings and doings, but she would not forgive us if she thought that was all we should do.

"Let thine eyes look right on and let thine eyelids look straight before thee.

"Ponder the path of thy feet, and let all thy ways be established.

"Turn not to the right hand nor to the left: remove thy foot from evil."

RAY STRACHEY.

DAME MILLICENT AND "THE WOMAN'S LEADER."

During the greater part of its journalistic existence, THE WOMAN'S LEADER Board has worked under the chairmanship of Dame Millicent Fawcett. When, in 1925, she handed over that office to a trusted successor, Mrs. Oliver Strachey, she continued to watch over the destinies of the paper and contribute to its columns. To us fell the honour of publishing in serial form her autobiography, afterwards issued in book form as *What I Remember*, and later, part of her travel diary from post-war Palestine. To the end of her life we were accustomed to receive from her, on her various journeyings, small characteristic messages of comment or greeting. We are profoundly touched to learn, just as this paper goes to press, that among the papers on Dame Millicent's desk was found a note and short review addressed to THE WOMAN'S LEADER. The last of her public activities to be chronicled by us or any of our contemporaries, was her participation in a lunch given last month to celebrate the return of fourteen women M.P.s and the accession of the first woman Cabinet Minister. We believe that Miss Bondfield will not be slow to apprehend the rare and dramatic fitness of the personal encounter which links her own ministerial future to so splendid a past. A special memorial number of THE WOMAN'S LEADER will appear in the Autumn.

THE MEMORIAL SERVICE.

A funeral service will be held at the Crematorium on Thursday of this week at 11.30 a.m. The public memorial service has been postponed until the Autumn in order to enable many friends and fellow workers now scattered far and wide to be present to pay their last tribute of gratitude and admiration to their beloved leader.

THE WOMAN'S LEADER
EVERY FRIDAY. TWOPENCE.

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NOTES AND NEWS.

The Fate of Europe in the Balance.

The international conference on the Young Plan which opened on Tuesday at the Hague is perhaps the most momentous European discussion which has taken place since the Versailles Conference of 1919. Two closely allied events hang precariously upon its outcome. One is the termination of the reparations tangle which has troubled the political and economic peace of Europe for a decade. The other is the termination of the military occupation of ex-enemy territory which has so far infused all our pacific agreements, such as the Locarno Treaties and the Kellogg Pact, with an element of unreality, and constituted a standing menace to the internal prestige of those parties in Germany which stand for a policy of "fulfilment." If the financial sacrifices which the Young Plan imposes upon the British taxpayer are the necessary price of a final settlement of both these outstanding difficulties, we are inclined to think that the British taxpayer will be prepared in the end to pay that price, even though no comparable sacrifice may be demanded of any of the allied powers. But he must be assured of a fair return for his money in terms of a genuinely pacific settlement, and we are assured that the French demand for a vested continuance of the Rhineland occupation in the form of a "Committee of Verification and Conciliation" will not be so regarded by any responsible sections of British opinion. As the *Observer* remarks, with commendable decision: "Its existence would be a living lie."

Miss Bondfield's Next Move.

According to an interview given by Miss Bondfield to a representative of the *Daily News* last week, a general overhaul of the unemployment insurance system is under contemplation. Miss Bondfield hopes, she says, to introduce legislation in the autumn. Exactly what form it will take is as yet undetermined, she did, however, suggest that any changes would make the system "more helpful to the applicants," though without violating the sound principles of insurance. She indicated also that she was considering the question of lowering the insurable age for unemployment to 15, so that when the higher school age comes into force the existing gap between school leaving and insurance will cease to exist. So far so good. It is, we think, a matter of general agreement among observers, that the present system is responsible for a disastrously rapid turnover of juvenile labour at the point where it becomes cheaper for the employer to engage new school-leavers than to retain the services of young people who have become insurable. It will be interesting to see how far Miss Bondfield will succeed, by the recasting and humanizing of the National Unemployment Insurance, in recovering the confidence of those extreme sections of her party who still bear her a grudge for her signature of the Blanesburgh Report. We are inclined to think, however, that hers will be a thankless job, since there remain, both in the more aloof and ignorant sections of the middle classes as well as in the left wing of the Labour Movement, persons whose brains have not yet grasped the truth that the sums received by unemployed persons under the Insurance Acts are in fact insurance benefits, and not a form of public charity to be designated as reckless or stingy according to the political outlook of the critic. So long as Miss Bondfield sticks to the "sound principles of insurance" she is unlikely to disarm these two types of criticism.

"Modern Developments."

The National Council of Women is to hold its annual meeting and conference in Manchester this autumn, and it has selected "Modern Developments" of different kinds for the public discussions. Broadcasting, the cinema, the preservation of the countryside, new standards of child guidance, proposals for

police procedure are among the "developments" which find a place on the programme. The public meetings of this great annual gathering are conspicuous events in the woman's year, but of course the real interest lies in the sessions at which the business of the Council is carried on. The eight resolutions which have first place deal with (1) Contamination of Food, (2) Affiliation Orders Overseas, (3) The Local Government Act, (4) Information on Methods of Birth Control, (5) Legal Aid for Poor Prisoners, (6) Preservation of the Countryside, (7) House Property Management, and (8) Slum Clearance. Of these the first three, 5, 6, and 7, are uncontroversial and unlikely to arouse much discussion. No. 8 is less straightforward, for the proposal of graduation of rent in subsidized houses in proportion to the number of dependent children is still a new idea to many people. The real battle, however, will be waged around No. 4, proposed by the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, which calls upon the Ministry of Health and local authorities "to allow information with respect to methods of Birth Control to be given by medical officers at Maternity and Child Welfare Clinics in receipt of Government grants in cases in which either a mother asks for such information, or in which, in the opinion of the Medical Officer, the health of the parents renders it desirable." Whether this resolution be carried or not, its discussion at such a fully representative assembly of women is of first-class importance at the present time.

Child Slavery under the British Flag.

The Women's Franchise Union of Ceylon has produced a quarterly journal entitled *Prabuddha Sri*, which means "The Awakened Woman," the first issue of which, according to a report in the *Daily News*, contains an article on child slavery in the island. It is here stated that almost every day cases of appalling cruelty to young servants occur, comparatively few of which reach the courts. The matter is linked on to a demand for effective compulsory education, and it is stated that of 42,508 children of school age (6-14), 30,000 were last year failing to attend any school at all. It may be remembered that recently in the House of Commons, in reply to a question relating to the selling of Ceylonese children for domestic service, Mr. Lunn (Under-Secretary for the Colonies) replied that the Governor of Ceylon had been asked to present a report on the matter. We trust that it may soon be presented—but with some hesitancy, since the history of Ceylon has, in the past, been characterized by some peculiarly formidable time-lags.

University Women in Conference.

On 7th August the world conference of university women, organized by the International Federation of University Women, assembled in Geneva, and will remain in session until 14th August. Thirty-four nations are represented. Among the subjects down for discussion are "Unemployment among Intellectual Workers" and "The International Status of Married Women." The second of these is a relatively straightforward matter. It involves points of law which can be elucidated and dealt with by national legislation and international agreement. The former is, however, a harder nut to crack—at any rate, in so far as it concerns women. It raises the question of that intangible prejudice and force of masculine vested interest which opposes women in various guises wherever appointments to academic posts are in question. In Great Britain it is intimately connected with the practice of filling university posts by private inquiry among the colleagues of those who already hold them. Thus where men are already in the field the tradition of female exclusion tends to be perpetuated, for it is among men that such conversations take place. One way of meeting this difficulty is by continued insistence upon the necessity for public advertisement of university posts so that women shall at any rate have a fair opportunity of presenting their qualifications for the consideration of the appointing bodies. In which case, those who are not prejudiced against qualified women but merely oblivious of their existence, have a chance of pulling their weight. It would be interesting to know to what extent this particular type of experience is international in its scope.

The Household Service League.

The formation of an association of domestic service employers and employed under the auspices of the Household Service Section of the National Council of Women of Great Britain is a development which will receive a cordial welcome. The object of the new league is to promote the co-operation of employers and employed in improving the status, conditions, and efficiency of domestic service and household management. Our readers cannot have forgotten Ann Pope's insistence in our columns of the need for some such organization and its formation under the Presidency of Lady Emmott augurs well for its success, for few women in this country understand the problem of domestic service better than she does as the result of her experience in the United Women's Insurance Society. We shall hope to hear more details of this new scheme at an early date.

Women in the Consular Service.

Two young American women have just received appointments as Vice-Consuls—Miss Stogsdall to Beirut and Miss Warner to Geneva. We are informed by a special correspondent in the *Evening Standard* that they took the same examination as men candidates and after passing were assigned to a special training school. Consular appointments sometimes lead to the diplomatic service, and the careers of these two young women will be watched with interest. In a country which has produced Gertrude Bell, it is indeed strange that women are barred from the consular and diplomatic services. Women's organizations do well in pressing for the removal of this obsolete bar.

Women and the B.A.

Miss Vera Brittain had an amusing article in the *Manchester Guardian* recently on women and the British Association, in which she quotes the President of the second meeting in 1832, who said that "ladies" would turn the whole thing into a sort of "Albemarle-dilettante movement." The programme of the Association at the meeting in South Africa shows the difference that the last century has made. Women have invaded almost every section, and though we have not heard of any woman President of a section this year there are many women readers of papers—too many for enumeration here. Women who can find an open door are making good in scientific research, but the opportunities of entrance are still far too rare.

The Scottish Week-end School.

The annual autumn week-end school of the Scottish Federation of Societies for Equal Citizenship is to be organized this year by the Glasgow Society for Equal Citizenship and the Glasgow Women Citizens' Association. The choice of place is a happy one. It is to be held at the Bridge of Allan near Stirling in October, and those who have ever had the privilege of visiting that part of the country in October know something of its autumnal beauty. The subject is one of great interest—"Problems of Population"—which will be dealt with from the statistical, social, economic, feminist, and international points of view. The fact that both the President and Secretary of the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, Mrs. Corbett Ashby and Mrs. Ryland, have promised to be present is a guarantee that the feminist aspect of the problem will receive due attention.

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 HOUSING PROBLEM.

CONDITIONS IN FINSBURY.

By G. W. CURRIE.

The Times of 28th ult. published the substance of Survey Reports by Mrs. John Barclay and Miss Perry (whose work on behalf of such organizations as the Magdalen College Mission, the Shoreditch Survey Group, and the Chelsea Housing Association is by this time known not only to our readers but to the Government and to all students of the problem in London), and drew public attention to Finsbury.

In publishing these reports *The Times*, it should be noted, took an unusual course; it mentioned the names of landlords and ground landlords. The recent Southwark report it is true mentioned, unfavourably, the name of the Corporation of London, and *The Times* mentioned the name of St. Bartholomew's Hospital and that of Sutton's Hospital in Charterhouse, more familiarly known simply as the Charterhouse. The former is the owner and the latter the ground landlord of property described in the reports as defective. To quote from *The Times* excerpt from the report on St. Bartholomew's property: "... In these instances, these houses come dangerously near to being not in all respects fit for human habitation, and therefore should be classed as slum property." And to quote from *The Times* excerpt from the Charterhouse report: "... The general neglect, filth and dirt are indescribable." The general public will have read what *The Times* published with surprise and displeasure, and it is satisfactory to see that both of these institutions made immediate reply to the Editor. A reply in this form was the only reply open to them, because, apart from the action of the Editor of *The Times*, the reports have not been made public, though they have been sent to the Minister of Health. Lord Stanmore argues that the properties having regard to their age are "maintained in good condition", and states that an independent surveyor will shortly report upon them on the nomination of the Charity Commissioners. The Master of Charterhouse does not discuss the accuracy of the language quoted by *The Times*; but pleads that the Charterhouse governors are only ground landlords and that this "exonerates Charterhouse from blameworthiness." Public opinion has receded from this position; and the Master's letter is strangely silent on the powers and duties entrusted to ground landlords in the 1925 Act.

It is well known that at a recent meeting in Finsbury the condition of property in the Borough was commented upon and that in particular property publicly owned was criticized. What really matters is not any processes of defence, excuse, or explanation but the much more elementary consideration of where the real truth lies. We confidently look to Lord Salisbury and the other distinguished statesmen who are associated with the work of the Estates Committee of Charterhouse to enlighten public opinion now that *The Times* has ventilated the matter. No one imagines that their lordships have any personal associations with defective property.

The Town Clerk of Finsbury should be in a position to judge and he has said that the reports contain little beyond what is already known to his public health committee.

We are aware that some solid work stands to the credit of Finsbury Borough Council, and it is reasonable to urge that if these hospital properties were a model and example of what can be done the work of the Mayor and Council would be lightened.

The governing bodies of "Bart's" and "Charterhouse" are in every way extremely powerful and influential bodies; they have no ends to serve except those of benevolence and charity of the finest type, and generation after generation they have served them well. If, in this sole, but extremely important, particular instance of housing conditions there has been a deflection from the very highest standards it is open to them to become more vigilant for the future.

The first thing to be realized in connection with Finsbury is that at the last census more than 25,000 of its citizens were huddled together at the rate of more than two to a room; over 7,000 of these at the rate of more than three to a room; nearly two thousand at the rate of more than four to a room. The second thing to be realized about Finsbury is that the prevalence of vermin is simply disgusting.

(Continued on next page.)

A CHRISTIAN TRAVESTY.

Dr. Edward Lyttelton has contributed to the literature of Birth Control a small book,¹ written in the form of a discussion between a male C.O.S. worker, who voices the doubts of the plain man, a doctor, and a clergyman, who between them articulate what appears to be the author's point of view. The thesis of the book is simple enough. It may be accurately summarized in the following argument: Granted that under modern conditions some form of family limitation is necessary, how is it to be achieved? Contraceptive methods being contrary to the Christian law and repugnant to human decency, there remains only the suspension of marital intercourse, which may incidentally be regarded as a beneficial exercise in self-restraint. Therefore the Episcopacy should be prepared to issue an absolute and unqualified condemnation of contraception under all circumstances.

Let us confess at the outset that there are certain features of this book which we find so repellant as almost to prejudice cool judgment. There is, for instance, the author's reference to "a Jewish lady, a most helpful worker, but of course you can't expect her to take a very idealistic view of things"; or again, his description of a public schoolboy who "is loyal to the ideal of duty because he is a British-born boy." But these are small things which provoke a smile rather than a shudder. It is when we come to the moral tale of a certain Mr. A. who asked and received and acted upon the advice of Dr. Lyttelton's medical and clerical mouthpieces, that real repulsion is generated.

It appears that Mr. A. was so constituted that enforced continence was indisputably detrimental to his health. It hampered him in his professional work and subjected him to constant headaches. His wife, on the other hand, was so constituted that "another child would probably be fatal to her life." Here, if anywhere, contraception would seem to be indicated. Not, however, in Dr. Lyttelton's view. Mr. A. had clearly received an indication from the Holy Spirit that for him "further abstinence would be wrong." The advice given to him was therefore: "Come together again and leave the issue in God's hands," for "in the long run no harm ever comes of doing right." It so happened that Mrs. A. died of Mr. A.'s righteousness. "She was in her prime and he was devoted to her." But "the way he bore it was a signal instance of the power of a true Christian." Whether after this "triumph of faith" Mr. A. once more suffered from constant headaches and was hampered in his professional work, and if so, what he did about it, Dr. Lyttelton does not tell us. We are glad, on second thoughts, that he did not see fit to add a woman's voice to his tripartite discussion. We could not have borne the thought of her participation in the "Hallelujah Chorus" over the sacrificial rites of the unspeakable Mr. A. Indeed the sanctimonious gusto with which the whole abominable story is narrated, lives in the memory and poisons cool judgment of the thesis of which it forms a part. Nevertheless, to such judgment let us proceed:—

In admitting the real necessity for some form of family limitation in a large number of cases, Dr. Lyttelton is doing more than many of those who share his antipathy to contraception are prepared to do; he is frankly and honestly facing one of the difficulties of the situation. And in so doing he definitely parts company with a large group of anti-birth controllers who take the view that any interference with the natural increase of humanity is a violation of divine law. So far so good. Again, in accepting the fact that effective limitation by the method of abstinence means a continuously enforced separation, and not merely a measure of moderation in normal marital intercourse, he is honestly facing another difficulty which some of those who share his general outlook are unwilling to face. So far so good. But his thesis breaks down on its unqualified indictment of contraception as an alternative form of limitation. It is in his opinion "filthy" and "disgusting". Why? He does not tell us; and we can only reply that large numbers of persons who practise it for reasons which seem to them ethically sufficient, and of whose existence Dr. Lyttelton is strangely oblivious, do not find it so. Again, it is in his opinion clearly contrary to the Christian law. Why? Once more he fails to argue his case. If he were to assert that sex intercourse unhalloved by the *intention* of procreation is unjustifiable, he would be defending a strategic theoretical position; though we deny that he would find justification for it in the Christian ethic or for that matter in the Anglican marriage service. But he quite definitely admits that intercourse may

¹ *The Christian and Birth Control*, by Edward Lyttelton, D.D. (S.P.C.K. 3s. 6d.)

legitimately take place not merely without the procreative *intention*, but (as in the case of Mr. A.) with the urgent *hope* that no procreation may result. Therefore Dr. Lyttelton's veto is applied not to a spiritual state, but to the presence of a material appliance. It is thus strangely out of harmony with that fundamental teaching of the Christian Gospel which identifies the will with the deed. If the murderous thought finds condemnation with the murderous act, should not the non-procreative hope find condemnation with the non-procreative deed? Or, contrariwise, should not the non-procreative deed find justification where the non-procreative hope is justified by circumstances? At bottom, Dr. Lyttelton's sharp differentiation appears to us wholly materialistic.

It is moreover based upon a complete and equally materialistic misapprehension of the interaction of spirit and body in sex matters. In our view, there is indeed a kind of sex-intercourse within the marriage bond which may fairly be described as sheer lust, *whether or no* it involves the use of contraceptives, *whether or no* it results in procreation: intercourse undertaken purely for the satisfaction of bodily need (as in the case of Mr. A.), desire unaccompanied by affection, rather than the physical expression of the spiritual relation of two individuals and of "the mutual society, help and comfort that the one ought to have of the other". Where this spirit is present, and the physical act is in consequence something more than a physical act, whether or no it is undertaken with the further intention of procreation, there we have a relationship which a vast mass of human experience rises up to affirm as a good relationship in profound harmony with the spiritual as well as the physical needs of two persons living within the social framework of monogamous marriage. And Dr. Lyttelton condemns it at the peril of the cause which he professes to serve. As to his brief preliminary discussion on the problem of the slums, the atmosphere in which it is conducted showed that Dr. Lyttelton is writing with a supercilious and cold remoteness from the complex human aspects of his subject. "Moral disorders have generated slums." The remedy for the sins of the slum-dwellers is that "Someone must live among them, appealing to the few who have some instincts for cleanliness to war against filth of all kinds till the irretrievable savages find the tenements too clean to hold them and they gradually clear out. Meantime establish a rudimentary but wholesome respect for law by insisting on punctuality as to payment of rent; get hold of the children, teaching them, through the school-teachers, to say their prayers morning and evening, and some of the mothers will back you up. For religion never fails with all." Such is our author's "rich and hopeful programme." We leave it, as it stands, to the judgment of our readers.

M. D. S.

THE HOUSING PROBLEM. (Continued from page 212.)

The third thing is the truth of the principle laid down and fought for by the Chelsea Housing Association—"a heavy load of responsibility rests upon all, be they rich or poor, individuals or corporations, leaseholders or freeholders, or ground landlords, who have any financial interest—large or small, direct or indirect, profitable or unprofitable—in property so called the condition of which" is so defective. No suggestion of any personal financial interest is for a moment possible as regards Bart's Hospital or the Charterhouse, but they are not the only landlords or ground landlords in Finsbury.

The Charity Commissioners are closely concerned in these hospital properties in Finsbury. They exercise financial supervision of all such charities. The supreme authority, however, is the Minister of Health. We hope Mr. Greenwood will remind ground landlords everywhere that they have power (a) to enforce the upkeep of property where leaseholders are neglecting it either by serving a schedule of dilapidations according to the covenants of the lease, or (b) in the case of "working class" property, to bring an action in the High Court to obtain the right to determine the lease and to carry out a scheme of improvement, paying such compensation as the Court may think just.

Was a provision of this kind inserted in the 1925 Act for exhibition purposes or for actual use? Why has it been used so seldom? As things stand, we regret that we are unable to agree with the Master of Charterhouse that Charterhouse stands exonerated. It may be a matter of opinion; our own opinion is quite clear. A reasonable and serious measure of responsibility in our view rests upon the Charterhouse authorities, the Charity Commissioners, and the Minister of Health, and we think *The Times* deserves the thanks of the public.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT NEWS.

By BERTHA MASON.

COUNTY COUNCILS' SCHEMES FOR POOR-LAW ADMINISTRATION.

As our readers are aware, special committees of County Councils have been busy for some time preparing the draft schemes for the administration of powers transferred under Part I (Poor-Law), which must be submitted to the Minister of Health by 27th September, 1929.

Some of the schemes which have received the approval of their respective Councils are now open to inspection. From the list before us we have selected the following seven which may be of interest to our readers.

Derbyshire.—The draft scheme provides for the division of the county into six areas. The Public Assistance Committee is to consist of twenty-four persons, of whom eighteen (i.e. two-thirds) are to be members of the Council, and the remaining six are to be co-opted. Of the six co-opted persons, at least four are to be women. Particulars *re* the appointment of "Guardians Committees" are not to hand.

One woman on County Council.

Essex.—The administrative scheme which has been approved by the Council provides for the division of the county into eight areas, a Public Assistance Committee, consisting of forty-five persons, of whom thirty shall be members of the County Council, including the chairman and vice-chairman. Of the fifteen co-opted members, at least five must be women. Guardians Committees, each consisting of thirty-six members, are to be appointed for the eight areas. Total number of members, 288. These committees may be empowered to appoint one or more sub-committees for the discharge of functions which can be more efficiently carried out by sub-committees.

Seven women on the County Council.

Gloucestershire.—The draft scheme proposes to set up a Public Assistance Committee of thirty members, twenty-four of whom will be members of the County Council. Of the six co-opted members, three are to be women. Each part of the county to be represented. County to be divided into fifteen areas with Guardians Committees. Every member of the County Council to have the right to membership on the Guardians' Committee for his own area.

Three women on County Council.

Kesteven (Lincolnshire).—The draft scheme provides for the setting up of a Public Assistance Committee of twenty-four members of the County Council, and eight co-opted members. The latter will be one man and one woman from each of the four areas into which the county is to be divided. The number of members for the Western Guardians Committee is thirty-six, Northern thirty, Eastern thirty-six, Southern thirty-six, total 138, including representatives of the county and urban and rural district councils.

One woman on County Council.

Norfolk.—Special interest is attached to this scheme for the following reasons. The proposal in the first instance, was (1) to constitute the *Public Health Committee* of the Council as the Public Assistance Committee, (2) if the consent of the Minister of Health could be obtained, to use for the present, district councils as Guardians Committees. The Minister, it is stated, turned down suggestion (2) on the ground that it was legally impossible. The proposal now is that the county be divided into twelve areas, with a Guardians Committee in each area.

Three women on County Council.

Worcestershire.—The scheme provides for the constitution of a Public Assistance Committee of thirty members, to meet at least quarterly, and for the division of the county into eight Guardians areas, each with a Guardians Committee to meet monthly.

Two women on County Council.

Yorkshire, West Riding.—Under the scheme it is proposed to set up a Public Assistance Committee consisting of sixty persons, of whom forty will be members of the County Council. Of the remaining twenty co-opted members, ten will be women. Sixteen Guardians Committees to be set up, one in each area.

The Public Assistance Committee to meet monthly. The Guardians Committee fortnightly.

One woman on the County Council.

Certain outstanding points emerge from the schemes before us which call for consideration.

(1) *Schemes only Provisional.*—It is obvious that the schemes are of a provisional character, especially in respect to the fixing of areas. This apparently is realized by the County Councils. It cannot be otherwise when we remember that though the transfer of administrative responsibility will date from 1st April, 1930, the schemes—if any—for the rearrangement of the administrative areas of minor authorities provided for under Section 46 of the Act, are not required before 1st April, 1932. There are many other matters also which must be arranged before the schemes can be regarded as permanent.

(2) *Position of Women.*—As we anticipated, and as a glance at the schemes which are before us show, the number of elected women who are to have opportunity to serve on the Public Assistance Committees will be very small. We hope to return to this subject when more figures are to hand.

(3) *Co-optation.*—It would be interesting to know on what principle the *co-opted* members of Public Assistance and Guardians Committees will be selected. The question is important. We submit that the qualification for these appointments is fitness for the work and ability to serve, irrespective of party political considerations.

A warning in this direction is not out of place, for we have reason to believe there is danger ahead in this direction. Further, unsuitable persons with little or no knowledge or experience who would not face an election, may be willing to accept seats on the new committees as co-opted members.

In another article we hope to give further details regarding the arrangement not only of counties, but of county boroughs.

THE OPTIONAL CLAUSE.

By OLIVER BELL.

In a room at the Peace Palace at The Hague in Holland the Permanent Court of International Justice holds its sessions.

The Permanent Court or "World Court," as our American friends term it, was set up by the League of Nations in 1922. The purpose of the Court is to provide a place where nations can bring their disputes for settlement on legal principles. It does for nations, in effect, what the High Courts of Justice do for individuals in this country.

In order to become a member of the Court, nations have to sign and ratify its Statutes. Fifty-two States have taken this course. The absentees are mostly non-members of the League of Nations and certain South American republics, such as Peru and Honduras, which, though members of the League, have not become members of the Court. But Brazil, though she has retired from the League itself, yet retains her membership of the Court.

Amongst these Statutes, there is one—Article 36—which is known as the "Optional Clause." It gets this title because it is expressly left open to States Members to sign it or not. If they accept it, they bind themselves beforehand to accept the jurisdiction of the Court in certain classes of dispute. These are: (a) the interpretation of a treaty; (b) any question of international law; (c) the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation; and (d) the nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

So far seventeen countries, including Germany, are bound by the Clause. Great Britain has not as yet seen fit to accept its obligations, though there is every prospect in the near future that, subject to certain reservations with regard to inter-imperial matters, she will do so. More especially will this be the case should the United States of America, who will probably have joined the Court by the end of this year, take the plunge and sign it.

[In reply to a reader who asked what is exactly meant by "the optional clause" we print a short explanation above. Such requests from thoughtful readers are of great value to the editor of a paper, as they give some clue to the interests of his readers. Questions dealing with subjects which come within our scope will be answered to the best of our ability.—Ed.]

OBITUARY.

MRS. WILLIAM ARCHER.

Mrs. William Archer, whose death at the age of 74 was announced last week, was less well known to the public than her husband, with whose work she was actively associated. But apart from her interest in drama and music, she developed a line of her own in the treatment of nervous exhaustion by a system of relaxation introduced first in America and evolved by herself. In this department she was a pioneer, though much work is now done on similar lines. Mrs. Archer worked in close collaboration with the medical profession, and had a genius for diagnosing the needs of her patients. It is good to know that her work will live after her.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT NOTES.

WOMEN COUNCILLORS.

The number of women Town Councillors is increasing, Newport and Hornsey each having elected another woman. Mrs. Neville Hill, who has just been returned unopposed to the Hornsey Council, making the second woman member of the Council. Mrs. Neville Hill is a daughter of Mrs. Keynes, J.P., of Cambridge.

A second woman has been elected to the Tynemouth Borough Council. Mrs. Gertrude Fraser, who stood for the Council last autumn, is already a member of the Board of Guardians and one of the magistrates for the borough. She stood as an independent candidate, her opponent being Mrs. Young, of the Labour Party. Commenting on the contest, the *Sheffield Daily News* said: "The election was unique in the fact that it was the first time in the history of the borough that women alone had contested a municipal seat." Mrs. Coleman has been elected as chairman of the Belfast Board of Guardians for the ensuing year. She is the first woman since the Board's inception, ninety years ago, to hold the office.

THE WEST RIDING COMMITTEE AND THE MENTALLY DEFICIENT.

The problem of the Mentally Deficient was discussed at a meeting of the West Riding Committee. A resolution of the Mentally Deficient Act Committee recommended the sterilization of mentally defective persons and expressed the view that the "segregation of mental defectives, unless accompanied by measures to prevent propagation, was likely to impose an unfair and continuous financial burden on the public." It was stated that the Council was responsible for 578 mentally defectives in institutions and for about 900 under supervision. If the figures, however, of the Board of Control were taken, the Council would be responsible for over 7,000. The proposal was warmly contested and Alderman Ben Turner, who led the opposition, described it as a serious attack on the liberty of the individual. The recommendation was finally referred back to the Committee.

WESTMINSTER HOUSING IN THE LIMELIGHT AGAIN.

We are glad for once to be able to congratulate the Westminster City Council on something, and we hasten to express our satisfaction that the Council has decided to appoint trained women property managers to the new Grosvenor Housing Estate. The Housing Committee, before recommending this step, prepared an admirable report based on personal investigation of the system of property management inaugurated by the late Octavia Hill. Outside London, Chesterfield, Chester, Rotherham, and Liverpool have adopted this method, and the example of Westminster will do much to spread its advantages in housing circles. But here unfortunately our satisfaction ceases. The rejection of the site offered by the Westminster Housing Association and the Duke of Westminster is a step backwards. The new Grosvenor Estate Scheme will do little more than provide for those dispossessed by the flood of last year. The urgency of the need must be admitted. The fact that a Council grant to the Housing Association was suggested appears to rule out serious objections to the site. Only financial considerations remain, and they cannot be taken seriously. We cannot agree that "the City Council is shouldering its full responsibility under the Housing Acts" if it turns the cold shoulder to an offer of ten and a half acres in the midst of the overcrowded area, while its citizens live under conditions unworthy of any civilized country.

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THE SCOTTISH AUTUMN SCHOOL.

Once again the time has arrived for us to give our readers notice of this important and pleasing annual event. This year the school is to be held at the Allan Water Hotel, Bridge of Allan, from Friday, 11th to Monday, 14th October. Fuller particulars of the programme are given on another page, but we are happy to announce that visitors will have the particular pleasure of meeting our President, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, and our Hon. Secretary, Mrs. Ryland, who have both very kindly consented to address the School.

DEPUTATION ON WOMEN POLICE.

In response to our request, the Home Secretary has consented to receive in the autumn a deputation of representatives of the N.U.S.E.C. and the N.C.W. on the subject of Women Police. The Secretary of State for Scotland has also informed us that he has arranged to be present with Mr. Clynes when the deputation is received.

TOWNSWOMEN'S GUILDS.

As a result of the Conference on the Organization of Townswomen's Guilds it was recommended by the Committee that a panel of advisers should be drawn up to assist the Guilds in the various activities they wish to undertake. These advisers should be consulted, by any Guild, on their particular subject, as to speakers, lectures, study circles, etc. The advisers collectively will form an Education Committee for Townswomen's Guilds and will meet in the autumn, to prepare a list of speakers and to make suggestions for next year's programmes. The following have consented to serve:—

Handicrafts.—Mrs. Barrow, 3 Fitzjames Avenue, W. 14.

Home-craft.—Miss Petty (The Pudding Lady), 22 Goldhurst Terrace, N.W. 6.

Mother-craft.—Lady Erleigh, 65 Rutland Gate, S.W. 7.

Play-acting.—Miss Macnamara, 219 Hampstead Way, N.W. 11.

Parliamentary and Local Government activities will be dealt with by Headquarters.

The Committee are endeavouring to add to this list of advisers, on subjects of interest to the Guilds.

QUESTIONS IN PARLIAMENT.

Friday, 26th July.

UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT (CHILDREN'S ALLOWANCE).

Mr. Frank Smith asked the Minister of Labour whether, in view of the inadequacy of the statutory allowance of 2s. per week allowed for a dependent child of a parent in receipt of unemployment benefit, she can see her way to sympathetically consider the question with a view to an increase in the allowance.

Miss Bondfield: I will note this point.

CIVIL SERVICE (ROYAL COMMISSION).

Mr. Cowan asked the Prime Minister whether the terms of reference to the proposed Royal Commission on the Civil Service will be wide enough to include consideration of the whole question of recruitment, including such points as the age limitations so far as the university graduate is concerned.

The Prime Minister: The terms of reference of the Royal Commission have not yet been fully determined, but it may safely be assumed that the general question of recruitment will be within the scope of the inquiry.

TYPEWRITING.

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SWISS GIRL (20), daughter Geneva feminist desires au pair with young people August-September; now visiting Bournemouth.—M. Corbett Ashby, c/o THE WOMAN'S LEADER, 4 Tufton Street, Westminster, S.W. 1.

HOLIDAY POST REQUIRED; lady would run small house or flat, seaside, with one or two adults; cooking, etc.—Write, Box 1,553, THE WOMAN'S LEADER, 4 Tufton Street, Westminster, S.W. 1.

LADY wishes to accompany lady or family for holiday during August; offers services, not cooking or children, in return for board, near Catholic Church.—Box 1,550, THE WOMAN'S LEADER, 4 Tufton Street, Westminster, S.W. 1.

ORGANIZING Secretary, experienced office, committees, election work, speaker; free now; go anywhere.—Box 1,554, THE WOMAN'S LEADER, 4 Tufton Street, Westminster, S.W. 1.

POSTS VACANT.

WANTED, Assistant Secretary, end of September, for Southwark Diocesan Association for Preventive and Rescue Work. Typing, book-keeping, and good experience of social work desirable. Churchwoman.—Particulars from Miss Retallach, 125 Kennington Road, S.E. 11.

PROFESSIONAL.

LADY, whose daughter (aged 20) is anxious to train in House Property Management, would be glad to hear from Woman Estate Manager, willing to take pupil. Opportunity to attend lectures preparatory to the Surveyor's Institution Examination desired; please state terms, and approximate date when pupil would be required.—Box 1,558, THE WOMAN'S LEADER, 4 Tufton Street, Westminster, S.W. 1.

INCOME TAX RECOVERED AND ADJUSTED. Consult Miss H. M. Baker, 275 High Holborn, W.C. 1. Income Tax Returns, Super Tax Returns, Repayment Claims of all descriptions. Telephone: Holborn 0377.

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