

THE WOMAN'S LEADER

AND THE COMMON CAUSE

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NOTES AND NEWS.

The Security Pact.

The French reply to the German Note of 20th July was published in last Thursday's papers. Much discussed in advance its actual publication fell rather flat. The fact is that it confined itself, like the German Note to which it was an answer, to points of principle; and these are always capable of a variety of interpretations. France declares that she will under no circumstances "surrender her rights." This is taken by pessimists to mean that she is determined to make the Security Pact nothing more or less than a buttress to the Versailles Treaty; and on this rock, they prophesy, all negotiations will be wrecked. But it is of little use at this stage to argue as to the interpretation of this and the other points made. Both the French and the German Notes are directed quite as much, if not more, to the pacification of domestic opinion as to the conciliation of external hostility. It is sufficient to record the generally admitted fact that the Note does not represent any advance in the French point of view; that the French and the Germans have not been brought any nearer to an agreement by these two Notes; while, on the other hand, there is the definite gain that the French Note explicitly invites the German Government to enter into negotiations, and thus brings the exchange of memoranda to a final end. We do not see that there is anything in the French Note to preclude the possibility of a successful issue of the negotiations now beginning. The Allies still have time, at the eleventh hour, to show that they wish to exorcise the spirit of war and are capable of meeting a statesmanlike offer in a statesmanlike temper.

Towards a Debt Settlement.

Meanwhile the atmosphere is growing perceptibly clearer in the sphere of international indebtedness. Mr. Churchill has made a firm offer to write down France's debt to Great Britain by an amount which leaves certain champions of the British taxpayer a little breathless. The proposal is that France shall pay us 12½ millions sterling a year for twelve years; a proposal which

seems likely to find eventual acceptance, and which, so the Paris correspondent of *The Economist* optimistically points out, "has impressed the French mind as nothing has done since Great Britain entered the Great War" on her side. Meanwhile an element of piquancy is added to the situation by the condition laid down by the British Government that its offer is contingent upon a proportional scaling down of French debts by America—and by the annoyance which this condition has caused at Washington. Our Government is in the position of a shrewd benefactor at a public meeting who embarrasses his rich friends by promising a thousand pounds to the good cause if another person will do likewise. Certainly we find it a little difficult to account for the expressed displeasure of America in this respect. It is hard for us to forego the major proportion of our legal payments from France at a time when our own obligations to America are sitting heavily on our chest. It would be doubly hard to feel that we were adopting this self-denying ordinance in order that America might herself press more heavily upon our common debtor.

The Evacuation of the Ruhr.

The evacuation of the Ruhr and of the three sanction towns of Düsseldorf, Duisburg, and Ruhrort is a great step on the road to permanent peace. But it is regrettable that a number of the troops from the Ruhr are being sent to the occupied Rhineland. The French authorities maintain that it is only a temporary measure, but in that case it is difficult to see why one or more small towns should be asked to find accommodation for as many as 1,000 men. The psychological effect is certain to be bad, and the longer the troops remain the worse it will be. In the last year the Rhinelanders have passed through many changes of feeling. The London Agreement restored hope and confidence, the failure to evacuate the Cologne area brought fresh bitterness, and the recall of the coloured troops swung the pendulum once more in the opposite direction. It is only necessary to consider the position of those inhabitants of Trier who, turned out of their houses a year or more ago to make room for the occupying forces, are now informed that the barracks in which they are temporarily housed must be handed over to the incoming troops from the Ruhr to realize the effect this new move is bound to have. In the interests of peace and goodwill it is to be hoped these men will be recalled to France in the very near future.

The N.U.S.E.C. Summer School.

The second week of the summer school is now in full swing at Oxford, and both halls at St. Hilda's—overflowing the first week—remain well filled. We print elsewhere an account by one of the students of the first week and we hope in forthcoming issues to give some of the admirable papers read during the fortnight. We cannot, if we would, however, reproduce the atmosphere of the school and the valuable contributions made to the discussion by the students, every one of whom is engaged in some form of public work. The lectures given have fallen under five headings—The Status of Women, The Administration of Justice, Urgent Problems of Social Reform, The Ideals of the Three Great Political Parties, and International Affairs. Among so many excellent addresses it seems invidious to select any for special attention, but we cannot refrain from mentioning the following: Legal Aid to Poor Persons, by

'Keep fit on
cocoa'

BOURNVILLE
SEE THE "Cadbury" ON EVERY PIECE
NAME OF CHOCOLATE

Write
Cadbury, Bournville
about Gift Scheme

Mrs. Rackham; The Criminal Justice Bill, by Mr. Lieck and Mr. Leeson; The Abolition of Capital Punishment, by Miss Margery Fry; Women Police, by Miss Tancred; The Abolition of the Solicitation Laws, by Mrs. Bethune-Baker; Women in Industry, by Miss Constance Smith; and Restrictive Legislation in Industry, by Miss A. Helen Ward; Miss Macadam, on Training for Social Work; Professor Carr Saunders and Mrs. Stocks on The Problem of Population. Dr. Marie Stopes has at the time of writing still to advocate Birth Control, and Dr. Pulteney to oppose it. Professor Stocks has still to discuss the value of Party, and Dame Helen Gwynne-Vaughan, Mr. Brailsford, and Mr. Henderson (editor of the *Nation*) to describe the ideals of their respective parties.

Family Endowment and the British Association.

Section F (Economics and Statistics) of the British Association, at its morning meeting on Tuesday, indulged in a short discussion of Family Endowment. Mrs. Stocks, who read a paper entitled "The Economic Man and his Economic Family," took as her text a complaint drawn from Miss Rathbone's *Disinherited Family*, to the effect that if the community had consisted exclusively of adult self-perpetuating bachelors and spinsters, the whole output of economic theory during the past fifty years might remain as it was written. Her elaboration of this text was distinctly waspish. In a discussion which followed, Mrs. Florence, of Cambridge, and Mrs. Arnold Lupton expressed some distrust regarding the capacity of the average working woman to administer intelligently and economically ready money entrusted to her care. They expressed their preference for some form of payment in kind, Mrs. Lupton going so far as to advocate the repeal of the Truck Acts. This contention was answered by Mrs. Thody, who called attention to certain war experiences connected with the social and physiological effects of separation allowances. There was no more to be said about the matter. For the rest Mrs. Stocks' paper, if a little long-winded and in parts unduly obscure, was submitted to no seriously destructive criticism. No member of the audience was found to challenge the familiar assertion that some form of Family Endowment is a necessary condition for the realization of a living wage. This is a common experience.

A New Appointment for Miss Bondfield.

Nothing could be more suitable than the recent appointment by the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs of Miss Margaret Bondfield, J.P., as a Member of the Oversea Settlement Committee. Miss Bondfield was in Canada as leader of a deputation making a special investigation on the subject of emigration when the last General Election was announced, and it was thought in some quarters that this cost her her seat. We understand that the leading features of Miss Bondfield's recommendations have already led to overdue reforms in connexion particularly with the emigration of children.

Women and the Drink Trade.

We are reminded of the consistent opposition of the trade to votes for women when we read in an account of a speech by Lord Salvesen at the Stockholm Conference, reported in the *Observer* of Sunday, 30th August, that he held it wrong to enact or enforce any law embodying any measure of temperance reform if the majority of the male population were against it. This great gathering, composed of delegates from thirty-seven nations and thirty-one Christian communions, numbering nearly 600, endorsed a resolution urging the Churches to favour and actively promote legislation likely to prove effective in the diminution of the drink evil, "and as such legislation to be effective must be based upon the convictions of a majority of the people, the Church should urge that the State should provide the appropriate means for the people in their several localities to record and give effect to their judgment on the drink question." In this connexion the Licensing statistics published recently (Cmd. 2,496, price 3s. 6d.) reveal some interesting facts. The total number of convictions for drunkenness in England and Wales together shows an increase of 2.6 per cent. In Wales there was a decrease of 10.4 per cent.; in Swansea alone the decrease amounted to the remarkable figure of 47 per cent. The increase was mainly to be found in Northern England. The convictions of women over the whole country show a slight decrease, and of men a slight increase. The convictions of women in 1924 are rather less than double, and of men three times the number in 1918.

The Rights of the Child.

The text of the Declaration of the Rights of the Child, which was endorsed by the Fifth Assembly of the League of Nations on 26th September, 1924, has been given already in these columns. The original document has been presented to the authorities of Geneva for custody in the city archives. The first general Congress on Child Welfare was opened on Monday, 24th August, by the Vice-President of the Swiss Federal Council, when M. Oltramare, head of the Geneva Department of Education, was elected President. Eight hundred members from fifty-eight different countries were present. An interesting impression of the gathering appears in the Educational Supplement of *The Times* on Saturday, 29th August. Different sections dealt with different aspects of child welfare; Lady Aberdeen, as President of the section on Education and Propaganda, gave an account of the efforts of the International Council of Women to formulate children's charters in every country. Other sections dealt with Hygiene and Medicine and General Social Welfare, Dr. Cyril Burt, whose recent remarkable book, *The Young Delinquent*, we hope to review in a coming issue, Mr. Percy Alden, and Lady Erieh were among the British delegates taking part in the proceedings. Dr. Edith Abbott and Miss Breckenridge, of the Department of Social Administration, the University of Chicago, represented the United States. This great Congress, coming so close to the meetings of the Council and Assembly of the League, can hardly fail to focus attention on the common cause among the nations—the care of the children.

Married Women in Factories.

The question of married women in industry has risen again—this time in Leeds in connexion with the textile dispute. Alderman Ben Turner, in an interview with a representative of the *Leeds Mercury*, states that while women have as much right to work as men, married women who have no need to work would help their unmarried sisters who have to earn their own living if they would withdraw from the labour market. At the same time, he points out that, under present conditions, financial reasons drive married women to seek ways of securing employment. These financial reasons, he maintains, would not exist under a system of family allowances plus the husband's wage. We agree with Alderman Ben Turner that with an adequate income the majority of women will prefer to remain at home, but we would remind employers and others who are in favour of the dismissal of married women who cannot show "good and reasonable cause for employment" that this involves an unjustifiable scrutiny of matters which are entirely personal and private. The employer has no more right to interrogate a woman employee on her domestic affairs or financial position than a man.

An American View.

The opinion of an American student of the Public Health administration in this country taken from the annual report of our Chief Medical Officer of Health, 1924, will interest our readers:—"Like ourselves you have a serious housing problem to meet, and there appears to be a serious shortage of houses for the people to live in, and much overcrowding of persons and houses; I notice also that in some of the towns your methods of smoke abatement appear to be neglected or ineffective, and there always seems to be a pall of smoke over the town. I am surprised to find that in the land of Jenner vaccination is so neglected." Sir George Newman adds, "this stranger within our gates has put his finger upon three of our most serious defects."

Matrons at Police Stations.

"We welcome the announcement in *The Times* of Tuesday that an Order has been issued from the Home Office to the effect that immediately a female prisoner is brought to a Metropolitan station and detained a matron must be called and be in constant attendance until such prisoner is admitted to bail or taken to Court. At present such arrangements are made at the most important stations in London and elsewhere. We hope this new rule will soon be universal.

Women Dentists.

We are glad to read in the *Dental Surgeon* that it is proposed to admit women fellows and members of the Royal College of Surgeons and licentiates in dental surgery with the same rights as men. Hitherto women, though eligible for the M.R.C.S. or F.R.C.S. degrees, had no right to vote or to occupy seats on the Council of the Royal College.

THE PERPETUAL MUNITION WORKERS.

An eminent French journalist, M. Ludovic Naudeau, has recently been investigating the various meanings attached by his contemporaries to the overworked word "security." It is recorded of Humpty Dumpty, in a conversation held shortly before his precipitous and untimely death, that he was in the habit of paying overtime rates to words subjected by him to excessive extensions of meaning. If this equitable and generous policy is pursued by the French taxpayer we would surmise that the present currency of the word "security" must cost him a pretty penny. That it does in fact do so is doubtless in part the cause of his reluctance to discharge his legitimate international debts. But enough of such idle speculation.

M. Naudeau has selected fourteen notable statesmen and academics for consultation. They include M. Herriot, M. Painlevé, M. Cambon, Professor Séignobos, Dr. Le Bon, and a number of others whose names are familiar to the public of Western Europe. Naturally there is a profound divergence of opinion. The majority appear to agree that "security" consists in "the certainty that France will not again be attacked," but are moderately hopeful that the existence of the League of Nations will add materially to the prospect of this certainty. Nevertheless such hopes are heavily qualified. M. Painlevé, for instance, considers that though civilization will cease to exist unless the practice of going to war is abandoned, it is not likely to be abandoned during his own lifetime. Meanwhile, therefore, France must remain on the alert, prepared to resist aggression, hold the lead in science, reduce infant mortality, and assist large families. Regarding this last recommendation there appears to be a fairly considerable consensus of opinion. Six of the fourteen are strongly of opinion that a primary condition of "security" is an increase of population. M. Naudeau himself lays it down as the duty of all patriots to "produce children," "openly or secretly," while M. Cambon seems to have confined his contribution to the problem to a threefold repetition of the significant phrase: "*Faut faire des enfants.*"

Well—if M. Cambon really desires to produce a large population for purposes of military security there are various ways of doing it. And the first and most efficacious way open to France is to substitute the phrase "*Faut conserver des enfants*" for the cruder programme indicated by M. Cambon. For she is at present producing cannon-fodder under the most wasteful conditions. With a birth-rate of 19.4 per 1,000 in 1923 (as compared with 19.7 in England and Wales) she tallied a death-rate of 17 per 1,000 (as compared with 11.6) and an infant mortality rate of 96 per 1,000 (as compared with 69). Indeed it is curious how ready politicians are to under-estimate the importance of this form of wastage. Nor are our own economists altogether above reproach. We do not remember having seen in any historical estimate of the recent progress of human material welfare adequate insistence upon the importance of the two parallel movements of recent times: a decreasing birth-rate coinciding with a decreasing infant death-rate. And yet

THE MOSUL REPORT.

By A. G. MACDONELL.

The Council of the League meets in the first week of September before the opening of the Assembly. The first and principal item on its agenda is the report of the Mosul Commission, which had been sent to study on the spot every possible aspect of the frontier dispute between Turkey and Iraq. It will be recalled that the main recommendations of the Commission were that the Mosul province should either be incorporated with Iraq, provided that Great Britain extends its mandate over Iraq for a period of 25 years, or that in the event of Great Britain declining to extend the mandate, the province should go to Turkey. In any case, the Commission considered that the province should not be handed over to the Arab Government of Iraq if British supervision was withdrawn, on account of the instability of that Government. These recommendations have met with a very mixed reception by Great Britain. The "clear out of Mesopotamia" party hails the report as a very good reason for our terminating the Iraq mandate as soon as possible. The ultra-imperialists regard it as an equally good argument for extending the mandate, at the same time protesting violently against a statement in the report that Mosul legally belongs to Turkey. The anti-Leaguers demonstrate how hopelessly biased the League is in not handing over the province to Iraq unconditionally, while the "Jingos" point to the Hungarian nationality of one of the Commissioners, and ask plaintively "How can you expect an impartial statement from an ex-enemy?"

what a world of incalculable economy underlies the interlocked downward curve of these two graphs—economy of physical wear and tear, economy of money, economy of medical skill and hospital accommodation, economy of nerve and spirit and happiness! Is it because the principal wastage involved is a wastage of women's time, and women's health, and women's happiness, that the thing is so often overlooked? We are inclined to think so—particularly in the case of France where it is so readily taken for granted that the only way to increase the survival rate is to bring more and more and still more children into the world in order that with good luck nine out of ten of them may survive the precarious chances of their first difficult year of life. And if some of our gentler readers are inclined to think that we have over-estimated the extent to which French public opinion is putting its trust in the policy of "*Faut faire des enfants*," we would call their attention to a contemporary national campaign whose existence was indicated by the Paris Correspondent of *The Times* in its issue of 25th August: the campaign for improving the attitude of the community towards unmarried mothers. There are of course a number of very good reasons for making efforts to improve the difficult lot of unmarried mothers. But there is one very bad reason: the desire to encourage their willing multiplication as contributors to the ranks of a future national force. And we are inclined to suspect that this one very bad reason is among the reasons which are operating strongly on French public opinion at the present time. If not, what does M. Naudeau mean by his advice to patriots to produce children "openly or secretly"?

But after all our main business is with the mote in our own eye. There are a sufficient number of alert and enlightened women in France to look out for the beam in our neighbour's. We will leave them to their task. Only we wish that M. Naudeau had seen fit to consult some of them concerning the social implications of the quest for "security". It was distasteful to many of us, during the late European war, to contemplate the written and spoken opinions of certain uncompromising elderly home-keeping persons concerning the necessity for preserving a dogged "war spirit" and fighting to a finish. If such opinions had to be expressed, we felt that their expression would have come more becomingly from those who were or might be called upon to incur the hardship and danger of fighting. And if France's only hope of security lies in the rapid and somewhat indiscriminate breeding of a generation of fighting men we would prefer to hear that policy advocated and expounded by those who are or may be called upon to incur the pains and burdens of childbirth.

Frankly, we think there is something (to put the matter mildly) rather nasty in the vision of an elderly and well-to-do gentleman murmuring, with no practical knowledge of their human implications, the words: "*Faut faire des enfants. Faut faire des enfants. Faut faire des enfants.*" And for such a purpose!

MAGISTRATES AT WORK AND PLAY.

By a LAY STUDENT.

No body less courageous than the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship could have conceived the idea of gathering together dozens and dozens of magistrates in an assembly which bears the name of school and is in fact conducted somewhat on the lines of the schools of youth—with times for work and times for play strictly defined. But to quote our French friends, "l'audace, toujours l'audace," is really the only way to win success. And success has certainly crowned the Oxford Summer School for Magistrates and Citizens. The non-J.P.s are kindly treated—allowed their full share in all that goes forward, not snubbed, not arrested, not even patronized; in fact to them has been applied the modern system of education for the young—they have been allowed to do exactly what they like, and they on their part have responded by being with and not "agin" the powers of "lor-and-order." These powers of "lor-and-order" are an extraordinarily able and delightful set of women, and what they don't know by the end of the week will be something or other quite unnecessary to know. Not only the officially appointed lecturers, but everybody, seems to have something worth saying, and to say it during all the little interstices of time which can be found between the lectures. Perhaps, after all, brisk conversation is the human way of purring, and no cat beside the hob could possibly be more comfortable than we are. The garden is charming, the river just the old Oxford river with its punts, the sitting-rooms and the bedrooms a dream of comfort, and the food—vulgar, no doubt, to talk of food—but its quantity and quality is so startling that it would be mere affectation not just to say with George Grossmith, "None was never like this." Can the modern psychologist tell us what that secret is, which in a post-war world of "servant problems" makes a household run on oiled wheels without effort, without hitches, with complete unity of purpose? Whatever the secret, the Bursar of St. Hilda's and her staff know it. After all, who should know it better, for have not feminists always held the gift of managing a home? It is not a grace conferred upon woman at baptism or at marriage, but is the reward of a trained intelligence. But perhaps it is more seemly to dwell upon the food for the mind bestowed upon us during the week. Among outstanding successes were Mrs. Rackham on Legal Aid for Poor Persons, Mr. Ammon on the Liquor Control Bill, Miss Fitzgerald on Smoke Abatement (a reformer so urbane that she leaves us one coal fire at least on the occasions when "convivial warmth" is required), and Miss Rathbone on Family Allowances. Miss Rathbone's facts showed that the cause so near her heart is making its way in the world, and she can hardly fail to be proud that, as she told us, a youthful male student replied to a question in his economics tripos examination paper on the subject as follows: "Family Endowment has made great progress since a lady called Miss Rathbone wrote a novel called *The Disinherited Family*." The sun has shone upon us nearly all the time, and Oxford's own particular sleepiness besets us now and again, but it is all as it should be. Without doubt the prisoners in the dock in the latter half of 1925 up and down England will be judged by some magistrates at least full of wisdom and of the milk of human kindness, for no very logical reason perhaps, but because Oxford whispers things the harsh world outside knows not of.

MISS MARY BILLINGTON.

The death of Miss Mary Billington deprives us of an experienced and distinguished woman journalist who, though not in any sense a pronounced feminist, gave valuable support to many of the reforms for which this paper stands. Miss Billington was herself a pioneer of women's work in journalism, and from 1913 to 1921 she was president of the Society of Women Journalists. She was also a traveller and visited India twice to study the position of women. She also visited Russia, Canada, and other countries. Her three books, *Women in India*, *The Red Cross in War*, and *The Roll Call of Serving Women* describe some of the experiences of an interesting life. But we remember her not as a writer or traveller, but as one of our loyal friends, a frequent visitor at our offices, always willing to help us whenever she could.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY WOMEN MAGISTRATES ATTENDING SUMMER SCHOOL OF NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

25th AUGUST—2nd SEPTEMBER.

I. LEGAL AID FOR POOR PERSONS.

We are unanimously of the opinion that there is need for some free legal aid and advice for poor persons in Courts of Summary Jurisdiction.

The special considerations which lead us to these views are as follows:—

A. In all cases.

(1) The difficulty of understanding Court proceedings felt by ignorant persons or those unfamiliar with its formalities and nomenclature. (2) The need for help for such persons in presenting their case in a concise form and to the best advantage. (3) The popular ignorance as to the right of calling or subpoenaing witnesses, the proper method of doing so and the proper choice of witnesses, and the conditions applying to witnesses' expenses.

B. In Criminal Cases.

(1) There is need for advice to the accused upon: (i) Conditions of bail; (ii) How to plead; (iii) How to cross-examine; (iv) The right to give evidence on oath or make a statement; (v) In indictable cases option of trial by jury, and (vi) Disclosure of defence; (vii) Possibility of applying for Counsel in a higher Court.

(2) A legal adviser being the only person that the defendant is able to see in private when he is remanded in custody, the unrepresented man is debarred from any opportunity of making confidential arrangements with regard to the conduct of his defence.

C.

The very fact that Voluntary Societies in different parts of the country raise funds to assist poor litigants in civil cases (especially affiliation and matrimonial cases) shows that there is a vital need for legal assistance to those who cannot pay for it.

We particularly urge the provision of legal defence for first offenders (except, of course, in trivial cases) and where the prosecution is legally represented. In civil cases where one side is represented it is important that the other side should have the same assistance.

We consider that the high sum required as deposit from a convicted person desiring to appeal is prohibitive, and weighs the scales of justice most unevenly against the poor classes of the community.

We are of opinion that the services of the Probation Officers should be employed in recommending Poor Persons for free legal aid, and that there should be a panel of solicitors drawn up by the Justices on the recommendation of the Law Society to undertake this work, who should receive a fee from the public funds on an agreed scale. We consider that these privileges should be extended to those who are able to pay part of the solicitor's fee. It is most important that whatever scheme is adopted should be clearly explained to accused persons on summons or arrest.

The explanation should also be printed in simple language on the summons and on the cell cards in prison and remand cells. We know from experience that persons often need information as to their rights before the Law (as, for example, in cases of child custody) and are unable to pay for legal assistance. Such persons may often hesitate to apply for information to the magistrates at the Police Courts and some further provision for their assistance is desirable, probably by an extension and standardization of the Poor Man's Lawyer Scheme which at present exists in only a few places.

II. PROBATION OFFICERS.

1. Whilst recognizing the great value of voluntary Probation work we consider that no district should be served by it exclusively. Voluntary workers should in our opinion always be under the supervision of a fully qualified Probation Officer.

2. We deprecate the permissive section of the Criminal Justice Bill allowing remuneration of Probation Officers to be made to a Society instead of to the officer himself, as detrimental to the relation between the Probation Officer and the local Probation Authority employing him.

3. No appointments of Probation Officers, whether full or part time, should be made without preliminary public advertisement. The local Probation Authority should themselves interview and select candidates.

4. Whilst fully recognizing the primary importance of character and personality in the selection of Probation Officers, we consider that a good general education and some knowledge of social and civic work are also most desirable. Where a selected officer has been unable to acquire them we hope that an opportunity will be provided for a course of study before he takes up his work. A probationary period of work under an experienced officer should form part of the training of every Probation Officer.

III. OBSERVATION CENTRES FOR PURPOSES OF CLASSIFICATION.

"That this Summer School organized by the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship (including women magistrates) urges the necessity for the foundation of observation centres throughout the country, quite apart from prisons, for the examination of accused persons before their treatment is decided upon. In particular we record our view that the present system of examination for boys at Wandsworth should be removed at the earliest possible time from its present connexion with a prison. We hope that this system will be speedily extended to apply to girls, and that the institutions to which they can be committed will be classified.

IV. DRINKING CLUBS.

We strongly urge the need for legislation to deal with the present position of clubs regarding the sale of liquor. We consider that the safeguards intended by the licensing laws are at present being nullified by the facilities for such sale provided by clubs.

V. HABITUAL OFFENDERS.

"That this meeting is of the opinion that in the case of petty offenders who have a large number of convictions against them, say, from 25 upwards, it ought to be in the power of the Court to order a lengthy period of non-penal corrective, preventive detention in some institution set aside for the purpose, preferably a farm colony or similar rural institution, and that if no institution already exists suitable for this purpose such an institution should be set up under the Home Office."

PSYCHO-THERAPY AND CIVILISATION.

BY ALICE RAVEN.

The most helpful and inspiring system of psycho-therapy is that which gives the patient the strongest *motive* to get well. Dr. Jung, writing of the methods of the Zürich school, says: "We do not help the neurotic by freeing him from the demand made by civilisation; we can only help him by inducing him to take part in the strenuous task of carrying on the development of civilisation."¹ This task is the crying need of the moment, and perhaps the "neuroses," so characteristic of the present generation, are the individual's inward call to so great a work.

Jung says further: "We deceive ourselves greatly if we suppose that many married women are neurotic only because they are unsatisfied sexually, or because they have not found the right man, or because they still have a fixation to their infantile sexuality. The real ground of the neurosis is, in many cases, their inability to recognise the work that is waiting for them, of helping to build up a new civilisation."² These remarks are probably true not only of many women of culture and leisure, but also of women of the working class, women with small families, or whose families have grown up, releasing the energies formerly absorbed in caring for a large household. But whether it be the case of married or unmarried women, or of parents, it seems as if the essential of a healthy attitude towards life is for each individual to let his or her sympathies go out beyond the immediate circle of the "family," and to give the benefit of his or her knowledge or experience to the larger problems of social life.

To build up a new civilisation: what does this imply? To answer the question one must live and move in one of our great cities, and see first what are the conditions of the "old" civilisation. The "new" civilisation must begin at the bottom. With one hand the worker must help to destroy the old conditions, and with the other must bring an educative influence to bear on the classes who have lived so long under those conditions that they have ceased to wish for anything better.

Only those who have lived or worked in the slums of great cities know what the squalor of life is in the back streets. One must see, in order to appreciate, the dreariness of the slum and the tenement house, where no object of beauty ever meets the eye, and where the sordidness of life seems to crush the humanity out of the parents, so that the children are brought up without

¹ Jung, *Analytical Psychology* (1920), p. 224.² *Op. cit.*, p. 227.

understanding, in a state of fear and hostility towards their parents, and often towards the world. The work of the "new civilisation" is to bring decency and order and beauty into the lives of the lowest classes in our social community and to abolish the dirt, the hideousness, and the noise which make us blush for our national standard of existence.

Fortunately there is plenty to be done by anyone with only a modicum of time, energy, or money to spare for the work. Voluntary workers are needed everywhere to supplement the work of the local authorities. Voluntary societies are always in need of additional helpers for different branches of social service. In the tasks of housing, education, and child welfare, in social work for hospital and asylum, in the problem of unemployment, in the provision of amusement, and in many other branches of social activity, there is opportunity for any worker who will co-operate in the efforts being made to raise the national standard of health and efficiency.

To return once more to Jung and psycho-therapy, Jung continues: "The suffering which he (the neurotic) undergoes in performing this duty (the strenuous task of carrying on the development of civilisation) takes the place of his neurosis." Here it may be remarked that it is a pity for the neurotic to suffer more than he need. When once he has found his work in the world the inner disharmony should be dissolved, so that the energies before dissipated in conflict can now be concentrated on a satisfying aim. The social worker may at first feel a sense of inadequacy owing to his lack of knowledge of the conditions with which he has to deal, but it should be remembered that an act of courage or of "duty fearlessly performed" (Jung) takes up far more energy than something done simply with enjoyment. The "social drive" which operates in any one working for such an aim as the "new civilisation", is quite strong enough to enable the worker to overtop difficulties and dangers, without drawing too often on his reserve of courage and will power.

THE RETURN TO GOLD.¹

It is not easy for an ordinary member of the general public to take sides in the gold standard controversy. Party divisions give no guidance. Mr. Keynes, who took an uncompromising line on the matter of international economics six years ago, but who looks forward to the continued functioning of a perfected capitalist system, tells us that our liking for the gold standard is a stupid fetish. Mr. Brailsford, of the I.L.P., who hates the capitalist system, and sees no tolerable future for it, hates the gold standard as much as Mr. Keynes does, but his hatred approaches it along a different trench. To-day a Conservative Government has given us back our gold standard with the benediction of *The Times*' City Editor; but Mr. Philip Snowden sympathetically prepared the way for their achievement. Meanwhile for most of us the possibility of taking sides intelligently is a distant objective. The immediate objective is to understand the precise arrangements which constitute a gold standard, the kind of advantages which one expects to derive from its presence, the reasons which led our rulers to abandon it in 1914 and re-establish it in 1925, and the mysterious process by which we can now boast of a "return to gold," although currency notes still take the place of sovereigns in daily use and are, for the first time in their history, inconvertible into sovereigns at the Bank of England. All these things Mr. T. E. Gregory explains with admirable lucidity in his little book. It is stiff reading for those unaccustomed to the subject; indeed, it is a stiff subject, one which cannot easily be reduced to easy reading. But Mr. Gregory does his best with it, and the result is enlightening. On one point he is, we venture to think, unduly obscure: the indirect process by which during the war the Government used the treasury note issue for purposes of inflation. That process is admirably and quite simply described in the report of the Cunliffe Committee, which can be purchased for 3d., and which we therefore recommend as an adjunct to Mr. Gregory's book. It is not an impartial book—Mr. Keynes and Mr. Brailsford would doubtless complain of things unsaid and factors understressed, for its author is a frank partisan of the gold standard as a relatively safe, though imperfect basis for the world's currency arrangements. The gold standard is, he considers, a necessary protection to the banks, and indirectly to the public, against the politically inspired demands of Ministers of State. But impartial or not, the book is an exceedingly useful one; potentially a valuable contribution to the general reader's knowledge of the obscure factors which affect the material condition of daily life.

M. D. S.

¹ *The Return to Gold*. By T. E. Gregory. (Ernest Benn, Ltd. Paper, 2s. 6d. net; cloth, 3s. 6d.)

BOARD OF EDUCATION REPORT FOR 1923-24.

This report should receive the careful attention of local authorities. Amongst other matters it contains a very interesting account of the development of Secondary Schools in England during the last quarter of a century. Previous to 1924 development was slow, "But after a few months of hesitation and perplexity at the beginning of the war a new phenomenon became apparent, a real demand for education, or, at least, a demand for places in schools, for which there was no precedent." "In five years," we are told, "the average size of Secondary Schools on the Grant List increased by 40 per cent.," and there has been an increasing all round development in this branch of the Education Service. From this and other facts noted in the Report, the Board are led to conclude that the great change underlying these developments is "the birth and growth of a demand for education." Then follows the question, "What does this demand mean and where will it carry us?" "Are the schools doing their obvious and necessary work of teaching with reasonable efficiency?" "Quantity is one thing; quality is another." The Board is of opinion that though there is plenty of room for improvement it is certain that the general average of teaching has greatly risen, while the traditions of service and freedom, which for long have been the glory of English Public Schools, are being developed in these newer schools.

MOTHERS AND CHILDREN.

Our attention has been drawn to a case before a Scottish Court dealing with a father's successful appeal for the custody of his two children, little girls aged three years and one year. The father had contracted pulmonary phthisis, for which he had undergone treatment in a sanatorium. His wife left his home when he left for treatment, and refused to return though requested to do so or to deliver the children up to him. The Sheriff states that he is not concerned with the question as to whether the wife is justified in remaining apart from her husband for reasons which can only be explained by the state of his health. The only point in her plea for the custody of the children which, according to him, calls for remark is their tender age. He then proceeds to cite similar cases in which the father's right to the custody of his children was sustained in which children of two years, one year and nine months, and only ten months were concerned. The law as laid down required that as there were no considerations affecting the welfare of the children to lead to either parent being refused their custody, the father, who is by law the guardian of the children during the joint lives of the spouses, cannot be displaced from his position as their guardian. It appears astounding to us that this decision should have been given even under the 1886 Act, in which the Court was directed to take into account among other considerations the wishes of the mother as well as the father and also the welfare of the child. While sympathizing with the father in his desire to have his children with him, and knowing nothing of the causes which lead the mother to remain apart from her husband, we feel that surely babies of one and three years old should be with their mother, and the condition of the father's health, though ignored in the decision, is clearly a "consideration affecting the welfare of the children." The new Act does not come into operation until 1st October, and so far as we can judge from the Press reports, we wish for the sake of the children that action could have been postponed until that date as it is impossible not to believe that the decision would have been reversed in view of the fact that under the 1925 Act the welfare of the child is to be "the sole consideration" of the Courts.

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SUMMER SCHOOL.

The attention of Societies is called to the various articles in other parts of the WOMAN'S LEADER dealing with the subjects being studied at the Summer School.

The attendance is excellent, and there are many distinguished names both among lecturers and students.

A large party of magistrates visited the Borstal Institution at Aylesbury by the kind permission of Miss Lilian Barker, and among other expeditions was a most enjoyable one to Abingdon, where tea was kindly given by Miss Sandys.

THE LATE PREMIER OF NEW ZEALAND.

Dame Millicent Fawcett has recently received a letter from Mrs. Massey, the widow of the late Premier of New Zealand, in reply to a letter of sympathy sent by her at the time of his death, on behalf of the National Union. Mr. Massey was in Paris when the mission from the women's societies went to the Peace Conference, and he was most kind and helpful to the women's point of view. Mrs. Massey writes:—

ARIKI-TOA, 200 TINAKORI ROAD, WELLINGTON.

29th July, 1925.

DEAR MRS. FAWCETT,

The appreciation of my dear husband expressed in your kind letter of condolence and sympathy on behalf of the National Union of the W.S. Societies is a source of solace to myself and family in our great sorrow and irreparable loss.

We have the consolation of knowing that he did his utmost for the well-being of the Empire which he served until the end of his life on earth.

Had he spared himself a little, he would be living now; but God knows best, and I must not question His dealings with His children. We do not know His plan and must trust Him always.

With grateful thanks,

Believe me,

Yours sincerely

C. A. MASSEY.

EDWARD WRIGHT AND CAVENDISH-BENTINCK LIBRARY.

Members are reminded of the facilities offered by the Library during the holidays. Those wishing to study any special question can obtain a book box of twenty books for the sum of 7s. 6d. for three months. Individual books can be borrowed at the rate of 4d. per week per book. Apply, the Hon. Librarian, 15 Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W. 1.

LITERATURE.

Societies will be interested to hear that all literature is being revised and brought up to date, and new editions of the leaflets on "The Case for Equal Franchise," "The Programme of Constructive Work," and "What the Vote has done" will be available in the autumn. It is also hoped to bring out a new leaflet on the "Qualifications of Women Voters."

THE SOCIETY OF WOMEN JOURNALISTS.

PRESIDENT: VISCOUNTESS BURNHAM.

Founded for the Association of Women engaged in Journalism in the British Empire and abroad, *The Woman Journalist*, the organ of the Society, is published every alternate month. Supplied free to members, it is an invaluable guide to current journalism. Members of the Society are privileged to receive free medical advice, free legal advice, and the Honorary Ophthalmic Surgeon is always available by appointment. A Benevolent Fund, administered without publicity, is another advantage to members.

The Subscription for membership is One Guinea for London and Half a Guinea for Country.

Application for membership should be made to Sentinel House, W.C. 1.

THE ARBITRATION PETITION.

Women's International League, 55 Gower Street, W.C. 1.

It was unfortunate that pressure of work in connection with M. Caillaux's visit made it impossible for Mr. Chamberlain to receive the influential deputation which had undertaken to present the Arbitration Petition. It has now been sent to the Foreign Office at Mr. Chamberlain's request, and he has promised to give it his serious consideration.

The total number of signatures obtained was 425,000. About 40,000 of these were forwarded through the W.I.L. office, but this figure does not represent the total for which the League is responsible, as many helpers, who obtained forms from the W.I.L. sent them direct to the National Council for the Prevention of War.

The campaign has been very successful. Canvassers found that as a rule the principle of arbitration in international disputes was accepted without question, and in one area it was estimated that not more than 5 per cent. of the people who were approached declined to sign.

The work has had its lighter side. During the British Legion Fête at the Town Hall at Wood Green, where signatures were collected, one woman wanted to pay a penny for signing, so impossible did it seem that she should, on that occasion, get something for nothing.

The interest in this question must not be allowed to flag; work for the Petition may be at an end, but work in support of the principle of arbitration must be continued with vigour this winter.

UNEQUAL PAY.

It was reported from Sydney last week that the new basic wage promulgated by the New South Wales Board of Trade, shows an increase of 2s. per week for men, and 1s. per week for women. The man's minimum thus stands at £4 4s., the woman's at £2 2s. 6d. We are not sufficiently well acquainted with cost of living conditions in New South Wales to pronounce upon the adequacy or inadequacy of these rates, but we do not feel in danger of making a gross *faux pas* when we suggest that an unmarried man without dependents will be in a position to do very comfortably on his four pound four a week, while a woman with others dependent upon her will have a distinctly thin time on her two pound two and six. We quote extreme cases. But seriously—what a world of social inequity and economic waste lies between these two rates!

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE LAW AT WORK.—HOME OFFICE REPORT OF THE CHILDREN'S BRANCH.

MADAM,—The discrepancy between my figures and Mrs. Pyke's is due to the fact that I was quoting from Table IV on page 56, which gives the number of children admitted to Home Office Schools during the year, and she is quoting from Table I on page 53 which gives the number of children sent to the Schools by the magistrates. As I used the expression "sent to" the Schools I agree that it is best to give the figures in Table I. Whichever table we use we find that there has been an increase in the number of children sent to Industrial Schools and a decrease in those sent to Reformatories.

I fear that in attempting to review this Report in one column I have failed to make my meaning clear. What I meant to say was that as long as magistrates can only commit children and young people to the Schools for the present long period they are right in doing so only as a last resort. We remember in this connexion the words of the late Chief Inspector, quoted by Mr. Cyril Burt in "The Young Delinquent": "I am confident that long periods of detention in any institution, no matter how excellent it may be, do not quicken but rather deaden the intelligence." I should like magistrates to be able to send a child away for any period they thought right, bearing in mind the character and disposition of the child and the conditions of its home and environment. They should have the power of extending the period, where necessary, and in deciding on this they would be partly guided by the opinion of the school authorities on the child's progress.

I cannot believe that Mrs. Pyke really disputes my contention that a child sometimes needs a temporary change rather than what is practically a permanent one, and that it should be primarily the business of the Juvenile Court to decide on what period of institutional treatment is necessary in any particular case.

C. D. RACKHAM.

IN DEFENCE OF NEW ZEALAND WOMEN.

MADAM,—A cable has just reached New Zealand on the British Commonwealth Conference of 9th July. It is stated that "a New Zealander, Miss Kane, gave a somewhat gloomy account of women's franchise in New Zealand, alluding to the apathy of women and also to their lack of co-operation."

I beg to express unqualified denial of this imputation of apathy and lack of *esprit de corps*. All truth is relative, and more specific results of

woman Suffrage are to be expected from large centres of population, highly organized, and in close geographical touch. In New Zealand the whole female population is under 700,000, while in considerable areas of our young country, women are still grappling with pioneer conditions, unable either to combine or effectively to inform themselves on public affairs. But there are few areas untouched by the ramifications of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, constituted to destroy the drink traffic but concerned in all that touches women, children, and suffering humanity. Through country Unions, and the Union's live organ *The White Ribbon*, even the remote women may receive correct information on all that concerns them in New Zealand. The influence of the W.C.T.U. on public thought and legislation here astonishes those who have observed the comparative negligibility of the B.W.T.A. in England. In the larger towns the W.C.T.U. works in affiliation and harmony with the later-formed National Council of Women, and the two bodies, each possessing an organ of its own, are met in conference with civic welcome and granted full Press reports wherever they assemble. That the non-partisan National Council has publicly endorsed Prohibition is a telling proof of women's splendid co-operation in temperance, as in other philanthropic work.

Not unnaturally, New Zealand women, though thus alive to their national duty, have been difficult to rouse on remote, controversial issues overseas. But the pre-eminent part taken by the W.C.T.U. and the N.C.W. in founding and supporting our League of Nations Union shows how rapidly this preoccupation is being dispelled by Britanic and world need beyond.

Did Miss Kane inform the British Commonwealth Conference on the mass of feminist and humanitarian legislation secured since we won the vote in 1893?—of the reforms in adoption of children and child welfare, our safeguards for working women and girls, both as to health and wages, our benefits of equal divorce and summary legal separation, our more stringent laws regarding assaults on children, our Testators' Family Maintenance Act safeguarding widows and children, our fines, and soon to be universal, pensions system, providing for old age, widows with their children, the blind, the war-disabled? Did she recall our world-famed Plunket system of baby welfare, founded by Sir F. Trubey King, but worked from end to end of the country by women? Did she tell you of our district nurses, our female medical inspectors of schools, our dental work in the schools, assisted by women? All this, and far more of the same, tells of anything but apathy or dissension among the women of New Zealand.

Add to this the entirely different tone regarding women's status prevailing here, shown by our early opening of our colleges, law, and medicine to women on equal terms, and it will be seen that there is nothing "gloomy" about the feminist outlook in New Zealand. Much we have contended for has yet to be won, but we shall win it standing shoulder to shoulder, as in the past.

JESSIE MACKAY.

Christchurch.

13th July, 1925.

[We have asked Miss Collisson to reply to the above letter, and print her letter below.—Ed.]

MADAM,—Thank you for the opportunity of commenting on the letter you publish in reference to Miss Kane's speech made at the Conference on the Citizen Rights of women within the British Empire. I do so the more readily because I have received by the same mail from Miss Mackay a most kind letter; she says in reference to the Conference: "I trust so noble a scheme has been successfully initiated; it is on the very lines I have never ceased to uphold." Miss Kane is President of the National Council of Women in New Zealand; she was allowed only ten minutes, and definitely confined to the subject "Political Equality." I think the cables have done her some injustice in omitting the context of her speech. She distinctly emphasized the same pioneer conditions about which Miss Mackay writes, "in considerable areas of our young country women are still grappling with pioneer conditions, unable either to combine or effectively to inform themselves on public affairs."

Miss Kane said: "It is very hard to get sufficient women to take part in political life as they have all to help in carrying on their homes, doing work on the farm, and bringing up their children." I think Miss Kane was definitely speaking on the issue of political representation and not on the wonderful general social work of New Zealand women.

M. CHAVE COLLISSON,
Organizer, British Commonwealth League.

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