

THE WOMAN'S LEADER

AND THE COMMON CAUSE

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NOTES AND NEWS.

The Peace of Locarno.

The text of the Locarno treaties, with which we deal elsewhere in this issue, has now been given to the world at large, and though we write without having made as yet a detailed study of its minute and difficult implications, we are inclined to boast that the optimism of our German correspondent was justified when in August of this year he dared to disagree with so many of our enlightened contemporaries and prophesy success for this great adventure in European diplomacy. At any rate, the Pact has been defined ingeniously and we believe innocuously; it has been provisionally signed, and the next move lies with the Parliaments of the interested Powers. We venture to hope that the next but one will lie with President Coolidge in the initiation of an effective disarmament conference. Not that the definition on paper of nicely adjusted terms is of necessity calculated to secure the peace of Europe. It is the spirit in which such agreements are achieved which must eventually determine their efficacy. And if at any point during the long and dangerous European wrangle which followed the "Peace" of Versailles it might be said that a new spirit had prevailed, that point is marked by the formulation of the Treaties of Locarno. Certain sections of the German Press have emphasized a hope that the phrase "Allied Powers" may disappear from the diplomatic vocabulary. We hope rather, as we contemplate in their significant juxtaposition the signatures to the new treaties, that it may not disappear, but instead acquire a different significance. But let us not underrate the importance of "the letter" nor the dependence in this life of man's spirit on his hand and brain. The complex tangle of legal checks and balances embodied in these treaties may have to do duty in times to come when the spirit of Locarno is obscured by new rivalries and fears and frictions. If they are as equitable as on a first quick perusal they appear to be, then at least we have a body of bone and brawn in which the spirit of confidence and good will may dwell, and to which it may return after those incursions into nothingness to which the individual and collective spirit is at all times liable.

Equal Franchise—The Campaign Opens.

The most important work to be undertaken this autumn by the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship is the inauguration of a great Equal Franchise Campaign, which will culminate in a large mass meeting soon after Parliament meets in February. Distinguished speakers are being invited for that occasion, the main object of which is to demonstrate the force of public opinion in the country in favour of Equal Franchise. The date has been chosen with an eye on the Conference of Members

of Parliament of all parties, which the Prime Minister has undertaken to set up next Session to try to arrive at an "agreed measure" on Equal Franchise. Although the Government stands for "equal political rights between men and women," it has refused to state its views as to the age at which the Franchise should be given. The danger to be feared is that the Government will recommend what has, indeed, wide support amongst its followers and others, i.e. that equal franchise should be given at the age of 25. Such a proposal, if put forward seriously by any Government, would of course be political lunacy if accompanied by a real intention to see it through. No Government would dare to take the franchise away from large classes of people already possessed of it. But the condition laid down by the Prime Minister that the measure should be one "agreed to" by the three Parties would save it from the disastrous practical consequences of such a proposal, as neither of the other parties could possibly agree to it. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has already indicated as much. All that the Government has to do, therefore, if it wishes to give the appearance of supporting Equal Franchise while denying the substance is to put forward this proposal. It is our hope that in the course of Equal Franchise Campaigns to be undertaken by the N.U.S.E.C., the Women's Freedom League, and others this autumn, the attention of the country will be drawn to this danger.

The Food Council at Work.

Seldom, if ever, has an appeal for sympathy fallen so flat as that of the Master Bakers in their present economic tribulations. The very outcry of their deepest terror recoils upon them, and the Prime Minister's wife publicly and laughingly flaunts the title of "carping housewife." So they have given in. At least, the London Master Bakers' Protection Society has given in, to the point of offering to lay before Lord Bradbury accounts of various bakers' businesses, supported by a chartered accountant. And this, of course, represents an advance upon their earlier attitude of discourteous aloofness from the Food Council's researches. At any rate, they are now determined to prove in accredited black and white that, unlike the Royal Arsenal Co-operative Society and its more active competitors, it is impossible for them to produce a quartern loaf at a lower retail price than 9d. Or, in other words, they are prepared to prove to the satisfaction of the public that their members are not wicked—but merely rather inefficient. Meanwhile, we understand that the offices of the Food Council at Sanctuary Buildings are full of specimen quartern loaves, despatched there to show what many enterprising bakers are prepared to supply for 8½d. It is satisfactory to note that, unlike the bakers, the organized grocers have accepted with expressions of pleasure the invitation of the Food Council to lay all cards on the table.

A More Elusive Problem.

For the present, however, the Council are busily engaged in an even more elusive problem. They are collecting and sifting information concerning the prevalence of short weight measures. Already detailed evidence has been contributed by sundry public officials, including chief inspectors of weights and measures. And the L.C.C. has accepted for submission to the Food Council a comprehensive report on the subject, in which it is strongly urged that "it should be made a statutory offence in all cases to give short weight." Representatives of the three main organizations of the retail food trade—the National Chamber of Trade, the London and Suburban Trades' Federation, and the Federation of Grocers' Associations have already been invited by the Food Council to give evidence on this suggestion. Thus day by day the battle front between producer and consumer widens, and the economic interests of the housewife *qua* housewife are

championed with an official vigour comparable to that which has hitherto been reserved for the primary interests of enfranchised men. We are struck anew by the inevitable connection between the quality of the electorate and the preoccupations of Governments!

"A Great Amalgamation."

At a Labour Party meeting held last week in Manchester, Mr. F. O. Roberts, M.P., referred to the large membership of women in his party and to the fact that middle class, and even aristocratic women were finding their way in. "It is," he said, "a great amalgamation." It is. And were we to set ourselves to the task of accounting for it, we should begin by contemplating the fact that women slide more easily than men up and down the social scale, both by marriage and occupation. A chorus girl is more likely to marry an earl than is a chorus man likely to marry a countess. The countess's daughter is more likely to become a lady cook than her son a gentleman butler. But there are other factors. The employer's wife as mother and housekeeper has an interest and a human experience in common with the employee's wife—while their respective husbands often meet day by day on opposite sides of a barrier of conflicting economic interest, of which the daily business of life renders them continuously conscious. At any rate, whatever its causes, the reasons which have led us to acclaim the emergence of this "great amalgamation" outside the ranks of the political parties, lead us to acclaim it when it occurs inside. If Mr. Roberts is right in his diagnosis of events, we recognize something which can only have a healthy effect on Labour Party values, giving them that balance of interest in the human problems of the home which recent party deliberations at Liverpool appeared to lack.

A Remarkable Social Experiment.

The most astonishing experiment in social reform ever undertaken in any country may perhaps be said to be National Prohibition in the United States of America. So astonishing was it that for the first few years social workers and others were very guarded in estimating its results. Now, after a trial extending over five years, a report of remarkable sociological value has been carried out by the Research and Education department of the Federal Council of Churches in Washington, with which we hope to deal more fully in a subsequent issue of this paper. A special correspondent writing in last week's *Nation* tells us that this report has had wide publicity and is generally commended on account of the impartial measured character of its deductions. It gives, however, a definite reply to the question of the possible reversal of the policy of prohibition. There is not the slightest chance that the law will be repealed. The report is all the more valuable because of its strict and scientific lack of bias, and is a very important addition to the literature of the temperance problem.

Housekeeping Institutes in Austria.

Our correspondent, Gisela Urban (Vienna), writes: "The Austrian Council of Women began with the propaganda for the establishment of 'Chambers of Housekeeping,' and will energetically continue this action in the coming months. 'Chambers of Housekeeping' endowed with official rights and powers of authority will have the task of standing up for the interests of the household in public and legal life, of promoting its development, advising it, cultivating household education, discussing and regulating all professional questions of the household, and instigating the establishment of institutions for furthering its progress (technical testing stations, experimental stations for food science, advising offices for housing questions, etc.), and finally organizing international intercourse between housewives for the purpose of exchanging experiences."

Education and Trade.

The names of the members of the Committee appointed by the President of the Board of Education and the Minister of Labour to consider the public system of education in England and Wales in relation to the requirements of trade and industry, with particular reference to the preparation of young persons for employment, have been announced. Miss Violet Markham is the only woman member, and her position as Chairman of the Central Committee on Women's Training and Employment, added to her knowledge of education gained as Vice-Chairman of the Chesterfield Education Committee and as a member of the Chesterfield Town Council, amply justifies the selection. Nevertheless we cannot refrain from wishing that on a Committee consisting of seven members, at least one other woman, pre-

ferably one who had had personal experience in industry or trade, had found a place. Officers of women's organizations will do well to make a note of this Committee. The adequacy or inadequacy of the equipment of boys and girls for their future careers might form the subject of a useful inquiry or discussion.

A New Job for Dame Helen Gwynne-Vaughan.

We congratulate Dame Helen Gwynne-Vaughan on her appointment as a member of the Advisory Committee set up by the Board of Trade to consider the application of the Worst-Industry for protection, under the Safeguarding of Industries Act. Dame Helen served in 1923 on a Committee to consider the causes of depression in the lace, embroidery, and silk industry, and in 1925 was appointed on a committee, under the new Safeguarding of Industries procedure, to consider the lace trade. We congratulate ourselves that a woman of recognized ability and experience should be chosen to play a part in what ten years ago, would have been erroneously regarded as a peculiarly male preserve.

The Health of the Nation.

We call the attention of our readers to the first of a series of three articles by Mr. J. L. Cohen on Health Insurance and Women's Organizations.¹ The National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship has convened a conference of women's organizations on this subject, to be held in the Caxton Hall on Thursday, 29th October, at 4 o'clock. The Royal Commission on National Health Assurance which heard evidence throughout the year will shortly be drawing up its recommendations, and women cannot sit with their hands folded while matters which so closely affect their interests and those of the whole community are under consideration. We venture to suggest that such conferences should be held throughout the country.

Our Who's Who.

Most of our readers hardly need an introduction to Mr. J. L. Cohen, as he has appeared in our pages already from time to time. Mr. Cohen is the author of several standard works on Social Insurance, of which *Social Insurance Unified* is perhaps the best known. Mrs. Innes represented us as our Press correspondent at the recent Assembly of the League of Nations, and is the author of a delightful book, reviewed in our pages of 12th June, *The Story of the League of Nations: Told for Young People*. She has also organized and conducted some of the League of Nations Union parties to Geneva. Mrs. Rackham, J.P., is too well known for mention, and Mrs. Corbett Ashby is intimately known to all of us as a persevering and admirable candidate for hopeless seats in Parliament, as a charming and kindly chairman at Council meetings, and one of the most attractive of speakers. She is not yet known to everybody, however, as the new President of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. We introduce her in this capacity, and hope that after reading her appeal, as many as possible of our readers will open their diaries and write the word "Paris" in the space reserved for next year's events.

Enquiries.

J. E. asks: "Can you tell me exactly what pledge has been given by the Treasury with regard to 'equal pay' in the Civil Service, and whether employees of the Civil Service Commission would come within its scope?"

We are indebted to the Federation of Women Civil Servants for the following reply:—

No pledge has been given by the Treasury as to Equal Pay. In May, 1920, and again in August, 1921, the House of Commons accepted the principle. On the latter occasion they refused to put it into operation, however, owing to the financial position of the country, but promised to review the matter within a period of three years. No such review by the House of Commons has yet taken place. A Civil Service Equal Pay Committee, representing all Associations of Civil Servants, is endeavouring to get the House of Commons to fulfil their pledge, but so far they have no gains to report.

Any application of the principle of Equal Pay would at any rate cover all established Civil Servants in the same grades as men, and it is believed it is the intention of the Equal Pay Committee to press for adjustments of the salaries of other women.

¹ Readers are also referred to a former series of articles on this subject by Miss Elkin, appearing in our issues of 21st and 28th November, and 5th and 19th December, 1924.

"THE SECURITY PACT."

By K. E. INNES.

It is not possible at the time of writing to speak about the text of the Pact initialled last Friday at Locarno. It will be published before this issue appears, and certain features of it that are already public are of great interest and importance. It is clear that in the main Treaty between Germany, Belgium, France, Italy, and ourselves, we have undertaken a very definite and serious responsibility in guaranteeing to support France and Germany each against attack by the other in case of any violation of the Treaty concerned. The reciprocity of the obligations, however, is a new factor, inspiring hope that this is a Treaty much more in line with League of Nations politics than the old pre-War alliances. We are not committed to any obligations in the east of Europe, but Arbitration Treaties have been made between Germany and Poland, and between Germany and Czecho-Slovakia. The preamble to the former of these two Treaties gave some difficulty at the Conference; for Germany was reluctant to recognize stabilization of the *status quo* on her Polish border, and Poland was steadfastly set against admitting any possibility of revision of the Treaty of Versailles.

Agreement was finally reached in a pledge to settle all differences by pacific means and in the recognition that arbitration is not applicable to questions already settled by the Peace Treaties. For any hope of revision of her eastern frontiers at some future date Germany is thus thrown back upon Article 19 of the Covenant. The general acceptance of arbitration on such important issues as are involved in the Acts of Locarno marks a great step forward in the substitution between nations of arbitration for force, and this is the first point to emphasize. Next year at the meeting of the Assembly, a report is to be made as to how far the Pact fits into the general scheme of arbitration proposed in the Geneva Protocol. It seems likely that it will appear as a possible part of the wider whole, to which the European nations adhere.

The second point—perhaps the first in importance—is that Germany, if she signs the Pact, is to become a member of the League of Nations. Her difficulties over Article XVI in her disarmed state, are met by a Collective Note containing a

declaration by all the Allied Governments, giving a guarantee to Germany of reasonable prospect of adaptation of the Covenant to meet her special case. The presence of Germany at Geneva on terms of equality with the other nations will go far to create the atmosphere which will keep the Pact an instrument of peace, and something different in kind from Treaties under the old system of political alliances.

The friendly atmosphere is, further, to be promoted by the removal of causes of ill-feeling which have hitherto been stumbling blocks. The evacuation of Cologne is to be expedited and the armies of occupation reduced. Some modification will be introduced in the Government of the Saar, and French troops are to be withdrawn. The eligibility of Germany for a Colonial mandate has been admitted in principle. All these are factors of incalculable benefit in the re-establishment of a "peace" frame of mind in Europe.

It must be remembered that while the establishment of sincere peaceful relations—if such are achieved—between France and Germany is an omen of greatest hope for the future of Europe, one of the fears of Germany over entering the League was the danger of such action being construed as against Russia. The effect on Russia of the conclusion of the Pact has still to be seen; but there is some hope that the actual *fait accompli* may result rather in a degree of co-operation with the rest of Europe at Geneva than in accentuating her isolation; at any rate, with Germany in the League, the force of circumstances will surely increasingly lead in this direction.

The Pact initialled at Locarno is to be signed—subject to agreement by the different Governments—in London on 1st December, and a Special Assembly at Geneva will probably admit Germany to the League next January. If this programme is carried through, next September's Assembly will be the testing-ground of the agreement. The Sixth Assembly showed the greatest self-restraint in refraining from discussion of the Pact Proposals while important decisions were pending. Next year its framers will undoubtedly have to justify the arrangements come to not merely in the light of the Covenant but also of the Protocol.

AN APPEAL TO BRITISH WOMEN.

Did others share my delusion that once we women had won the vote we need not attend meetings? I, who never meant to attend another, am now the first British President of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance and urgently beg for your support to make our Congress in Paris next May show the rich contribution which women's thoughts and energy can bring to the common good. We need £700 in cash and a strenuous winter of discussion on the subjects on the agenda if the British delegation is to play its full part.

We are proud to believe that our Congress in Rome was directly responsible for the grant of the Municipal vote in Spain and Greece, and that in all probability it will lead to a similar victory in Italy before the end of November. Our next Congress in Paris in May, 1926, is intended to complete the conversion of the French Senate by the convincing testimony of the enfranchised women. We must not fail our kind hostesses the valiant French Suffragists, who are sparing no pains to make the Congress a landmark in our movement for suffrage and equality. We know a victory in France would bring victory in all the lands of the Mediterranean and in the great continent of South America. To such a great international gathering each nation sends its best thought and experience to be tested against the thought and experience of others. We believe the best can only be given by women who are not only politically free but have social, moral, and economic equality.

The international movement for franchise and equality was conceived in Washington in 1902, and born in Berlin in 1904 as the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. The suffragists welcomed the declaration of the International Council of Women in favour of Suffrage but believed victory would be hastened by concentrating on the Suffrage propaganda apart from the wide and admirable programme of the I.C.W. Their belief has been abundantly justified by the legal, social, and moral reforms which, laboriously advocated by the unenfranchised women, have been speedily won by the enfranchised. In 1904, the alliance was composed of only nine national Suffrage associations, among which only the Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand, and

four of the United States had given the vote to women. Our numbers and victories grew from Congress to Congress at Copenhagen, Amsterdam, London, Stockholm, and Buda Pesth, when twenty-two countries were represented, and when Finnish and Norwegian women were among the women voters.

After the long interval of the War, there was announced at Geneva, in 1920, a wonderful list of more than twenty Suffrage victories, and in Rome we celebrated those of the whole of the U.S.A. and of India. To-day we represent the Suffrage and equality movement in forty countries, of which twenty-eight have enfranchised their women.

But our task is by no means over. Our practical work may tend to touch that of the other great international organizations, but our distinguishing driving force, our passionate belief in the right of women to equal status, liberties and responsibilities, is as greatly needed as ever. Even when we consider the same problems we do so from the point of view that not only political equality, but also social, moral, and economic equality is needed if women are to make their best contribution to the welfare of the whole. Our programme at Paris will be the most interesting ever attempted. Mrs. Arenhold, of Denmark, will present the report and resolutions of her committee on equal conditions of work for men and women. This is perhaps the present centre of the woman's fight for equality. We shall hear of the success of the Scandinavian countries in shedding protective legislation for women and many other aspects of this question. The unenfranchised women will make a dramatic protest against the tyranny of the Code Napoléon. The nationality of married women, the protection of the illegitimate child, and the world fight for an equal moral standard will be discussed. The enfranchised women will present an account of the activities of the women Members of Parliament. We shall hope to welcome again the official representatives of the League of Nations, of the International Labour Bureau, and Miss Rathbone, Mrs. Wickell, and Dr. Luise will give us accounts of the work of their Commissions of the League.

But reports will only be the basis for constructive work.

Our Congress will close by a great demonstration for Peace, the fundamental need of the world and the fundamental condition for women's best work. Only one shadow will be across the Congress, the absence of our much loved Vice-President, Mme. Schlumberger. Our best and warmest good wishes go out to Mme. Brunschvicg, her friend and successor, in whose first year as President of the French auxiliary falls the heavy task of arranging the great Congress.

As International President, I am keenly concerned with the success of the whole, as a British woman I am anxious that the contribution of British women in brains, interest, attendance, and money should be outstanding. Peace can only be secured by the habit of International Co-operation, and towards mutual understanding the Paris Congress can contribute greatly.

M. CORBETT ASHBY.

WOMEN AND SOCIAL INSURANCE.

By JOSEPH L. COHEN.

I.

The enfranchisement of millions of women has given a great impulse to the movement for the removal of the more obvious injustices, economic iniquities and social strains from which they suffer. In respect of one such evil and consequent problem resulting from the function of motherhood, this impulse has led to a great extension in our system of social insurance. The great interest taken by women's organisations in the education of public opinion on the subject of pensions for widows and orphans and the considerable influence which they yielded in modifying some of the proposals in the Government's original bill has naturally raised the question to what extent they might take a more detailed and continuous interest in other branches of social insurance. The whole elaborate existing system of social insurance might usefully be reviewed from the attitude of a person thinking only of the special needs of women. Such an examination, it may be affirmed at once, shows that there is a great field of activity for women's organisations. They can play a leading role in moulding one of the great and growing institutions in our modern society.

MEANING OF SOCIAL INSURANCE.

What is meant by Social Insurance? It may be defined as an agreement which is *legally enforceable*, to pay a certain sum of money, or goods and services in kind, as compensation against the loss resulting from certain given emergencies which lead to a diminished capacity to earn, or to an increase of expenditure. It is being applied to-day to the following emergencies, (1) industrial accident, (2) industrial disease, (3) non-industrial accident, (4) ill health, (5) maternity, (6) unemployment, (7) invalidity, (8) old age, (9) blindness, (10) burial, (11) unprovided widowhood, (12) unprovided orphanhood, (13) the extra burden of providing for the needs of children. Its aim is to enable the insured man and his family to maintain, even during periods of economic stress and strain, a given standard of living. It meets the problem of the economic insecurity of the labourer's family. The main function of this device is not to lessen inequalities or hazards. Its essence is to substitute for an uncertain but heavy loss to some, the loss of a smaller certain sum to all who are insured. It involves the distribution of risks amongst all those subject to that risk. This device may take many forms. Schemes of social insurance may be voluntary or compulsory. They may be contributory or non-contributory. They may be organised on a State basis or on an industrial basis. They may apply to all citizens, or only to certain categories of citizens, or to those engaged in gainful employment alone.

WOMEN AND SOCIAL EMERGENCIES.

What are the emergencies which most clearly concern women? Are there any which affect them more than men? The average woman who marries has the duties of a wife, that of a housekeeper and of a mother. Some three quarters of the women who marry are the wives of wage earners and the carrying out of their manifold duties on a low income involves a strain which is dangerous to health. Such women are deeply interested in the amount of benefits provided during periods of emergency. As wife, mother and housekeeper they must attend to their husband's health, achieve their recovery when suffering from invalidity, or the effects of an industrial accident, attend to the wants of the children and keep the house going. It goes without saying that where the family is largest the need for the recognition of the extra needs of a "family man" over a bachelor will be felt most keenly.

It is true then that the wives as housekeepers are deeply interested in the amount of benefit provided to their husbands. Economic problems may be viewed as individual, affecting the workman alone, but this is a little strained and unsatisfactory. The wage earner is a member of a family and the wife or mother normally provides for his comforts. It is doubtful therefore whether any women's organisations could in the long run restrict themselves exclusively to the special needs of women in social insurance.

Women will therefore be interested in the rates of benefits granted in all emergencies and in the proposal of family endowment or, as it might better be termed, in family income insurance, whereby certain benefits are granted to the mother in respect of all children at school.

But there are certain modifications of the existing system of social insurance which more directly and immediately interest women. A proper system of maternity insurance, the recognition of family needs in the provision of benefits, the extension and improvement of the scheme of pensions for widows and orphans and the fuller recognition of the special needs of women workers. Little need be said here about the inadequacy of the benefits provided under our existing schemes of social insurance, 15s. a week is granted in cases of ill health for 26 weeks and 7s. 6d. a week after that. Surely, this is inadequate. It bears no relation to the needs of the workman's family, or to his wage. This same criticism is made to-day in the case of every branch of social insurance. When industrial accidents occur the workman still bears about two-thirds of the loss involved. The wife and the children suffer from these inadequate benefits.

PROGRESS OF FINNISH WOMEN.

THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN FINLAND. By Ilmi Hallsten, ex-M.P. The Government Printing Office, Helsingfors.

SOCIÉTÉS FINLANDAISES TRAVAILLANT POUR LES INTÉRÊTS ET LA DÉFENSE DES FOYERS DOMESTIQUES. Rapports sur leurs activités en 1925. Helsinki, 1925. Helsingfors.

That the Finnish Government, through its Legation in London, should send to us these two brochures, which give a short summary of the progress of women and of the work of some of their Societies, is an indication that up to a certain point women in Finland have arrived. The first—a general review of their advance in the last hundred years—apart from details might be an account of the progress of women in any Scandinavian or Anglo-Saxon country.

The aim of the woman's movement has a familiar ring. It is described as "the right to develop her talents and, unfettered by hereditary prejudices and limitations, use her power and capacity for the common weal in working for family, community, and State". This ideal was first expressed early last century in the protests of pioneer writers, men and women, against the hard lot of women. Then followed in the seventies the demand, not fully conceded till 1901, for the admission of women to the universities, and in the eighties the movement for the setting up of girls' schools. About the same time are established women's associations to work for legislative reforms to give woman an equal status with men and to abolish legal restriction on her freedom of action. The proposed reforms are familiar to us here. But the Finnish women's demand for the establishment of the majority for women at 21 reminds us that in this country unmarried women have never been treated as perpetual minors. Finland, too, is unique in having been the first country in Europe to grant suffrage and political eligibility to women. That the women were not slow to use their privileges is evident from the fact that the Finnish Legislature has always included some fifteen or more women.

While there are a number of women doctors and members of the civil service, it was only in 1925 that the first woman became a graduate in law. Women vote in the different church elections, but though they may graduate in theology they are not yet eligible for the priesthood and apparently the status of nurses is not yet what the women want.

As elsewhere there are women's organizations specializing in child welfare, promoting domestic training, seeking to abolish State regulation of vice, and promoting temperance. The most widespread organization seems to be the Martha Society, a prototype of our own Women's Institutes, and it is of interest to note that it also sprang up in conditions of national stress and with the support of its Government. It was established in 1899, when the Russian policy of oppressing Finland began. Its object was to improve the conditions of the homes of the

country by helping to educate the housekeeper. Its activities include many home industries. It arranges co-operative sales, has exhibitions of gardening and other products, and in 1923 had in that small country some 361 branches, 731 circles, and more than 30,000 members. As in many other European countries, the Finns have the double language difficulty from which we are practically free. This means that organizations may have to be run in two sections, one Finnish and one Swedish speaking. Special interest is given to the first-named brochure by the reproduction there of portraits of many women pioneers in the feminist movement.

C. M.

THE STORY OF A GREAT ADVENTURE.¹

A sudden and unexpected discovery of that which brings enduring wealth can surely be described as a great adventure.

Dr. Agnes Savill was—until 1913—thoroughly unmusical, at least she thought she was. She was bored with music; not only was she indifferent to it but she actively disliked it; moreover, she was impatient with, and scornful of, the musical temperament. She gives a full account of her antipathy to music and an amusing account of the horrors of a holiday when music was the chief after-dinner attraction. When taken—protestingly—to hear Paderewski for the first time she put an anatomy book in her pocket and kept her eyes glued to the pages throughout the whole recital "without the slightest temptation to be distracted by the music!"

Dr. Savill was well on in middle age when came the awakening. She was persuaded to go to a Chopin recital by Busoni. She went intending to slip out early if she could do so without offence. Busoni played the first *Étude*. Then came a sensation. Notes that to her had hitherto been dead became alive, she heard sounds of unimagined beauty brought into being with "alterations of rhythm and touch," and from that day of her "conversion," as she quite simply describes it, she entered a new world. She learnt that the piano is capable of communicating not only pleasure but an "active experience of vivid and creative joy."

Even so, it was some time yet before Dr. Savill realized the beauty of either opera or orchestral music. In 1913 the Russian opera with Chaliapin left her cold, and in 1914 she listened to Beethoven's Fifth Symphony unmoved—a great achievement! Six years later she heard it again, and left the hall before the rest of the programme was played in order not to lose the overpowering effect of that great masterpiece.

A new world has been opened to Dr. Savill, and she frankly writes in order that others—though middle-aged—may seek to enter it. She questions whether anyone is so unmusical by nature that it is useless to cultivate the love of it; she thought that of herself for many a long year, but the love of music was dormant, not absent, and a door has been opened which has led to "untold and indescribable joy." Dr. Savill has much to say of Beethoven, Chopin, Wagner, challenging some of the accepted estimates and denying strenuously that the main current of Wagner's music is sensuous and materialistic. She has much to say of the high value of emotion, its creative power, and warns the middle-aged of the necessity of keeping the emotions alive if they are to be of value to the world. The first half of the book telling of the adventure of her awakening is beautifully—almost breathlessly—written. We discover ourselves wanting to know Dr. Savill—and perhaps to argue a little with her! The chapters on music as a healing agent, and its psychic effect, are extraordinarily interesting if not quite as thrilling as the first half of the book.

It is a book to read and to keep. We do not imagine that the *British Medical Journal* is apt to be over enthusiastic in its reviews; in its review on *Music, Health, and Character* it says that the book "does not contain a dull page." We agree. The present writer has a vivid recollection of hearing Big Ben strike 1 a.m. when one night, reading it for the second time, shew as still absorbed in its pages.

E. P.-T.

¹ "Music, Health and Character." By Dr. Agnes Savill. The Bodley Head, 7s. 6d.

THE WOMAN'S LEADER

EVERY FRIDAY.

ONE PENNY.

SPECIAL TERMS FOR SOCIETIES

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CHILDREN IN WESTMINSTER.

A few weeks ago a striking article entitled "A City of Contrasts" appeared in this paper. It described the housing conditions existing to-day in Westminster. "Wealth beyond the dreams of avarice on the one side, poverty and squalor complete in its picture of human wretchedness on the other. No matter on what part one may be, side by side with the most beautiful thoroughfares abutting on to the open spaces of the parks, there lie narrow courts, insanitary houses, and overcrowded tenements." A little book just published on the initiative of the Council of the Save the Children Fund, *Childlife in Westminster*,¹ completes the picture and sharpens the hard edge of the contrasts. Sketches drawn from real life are given of the lives of children born and reared beneath the shadow of Big Ben or within a few hundred yards of Buckingham Palace. The object of the book is to test the Declaration of Geneva, or, as it is called, the Children's Charter, adopted by the Fifth Assembly of the League of Nations, by the intensive investigation of a small easily compassed area and for this purpose Westminster was selected. The results of the test will rudely open the eyes of those who think that the clauses of the Charter have materialized into fact in a Christian and civilized country whatever may be the case in less advanced lands. It is a highly valuable piece of social analysis, and should be studied by all students of existing conditions and marked, read and digested by every child welfare worker. We agree with Mrs. de Bunson, the chairman of the Committee of Inquiry, that it should stimulate similar investigations in other parts of the country.

BOOKS FOR THE WOMAN IN THE HOME.

Two publications dealing with psychology applied to home life which deserve more space than the *WOMAN'S LEADER* can afford should be brought to the notice of women who themselves are working out the problems of domesticity or to those who are in a position to help others who are. *The Psychology of the Servant Problem*² should be read by every mistress. The writer thinks that the resident servant is doomed. We are inclined to agree with her. In large establishments where the domestic staff have their own quarters and social circle she may survive. But in smaller households she will probably either share the family life on equal terms or live outside with a life of her own apart from her work. The latter plan seems to us capable of infinite adjustment and would put domestic service on an equal footing with other forms of wage-earning occupations. *Everyday Psychology in the Nursery*³ has practical chapters on such subjects as sex education, the use and abuse of suggestion, and provides a useful bibliography. A third book *Health in Childhood*,⁴ containing five lectures delivered at the Institute of Hygiene, gives the mother who has no time to attend lectures the opportunity of hearing the foremost modern authorities on child hygiene.

MISS LENA ASHWELL'S VENTURE.

Miss Lena Ashwell's Players opened last week their sixth season of dramatic enterprise in the London Boroughs. Ilford, Edmonton, Camberwell, Greenwich, Watford, Hackney, Deptford—such are a few of the landmarks in their missionary travels. They play in Town Halls or Public Baths. And their aim is to secure the closest possible co-operation with the municipal authorities in the districts in which they play. What serious and intelligent theatre-goers in these outlying districts, these theatrical deserts, owe to Miss Ashwell's Players is a thing unknown to most of the well-to-do inhabitants of London, W. 1, and its immediate neighbourhood. But if our British municipalities ever attain to the degree of cultural enlightenment displayed by their German contemporaries, or, in other words, if the popularization of good and varied drama is ever recognized as a public concern, much of the praise for that desirable consummation will be due to the difficult and laborious pioneer enterprise of Miss Lena Ashwell and her accomplished Players.

¹ *Child Life in Westminster*, with a foreword by the Right Rev. Bishop Gore, D.D. (may be obtained at the office of the Westminster Housing Association, 32 Charing Cross, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday mornings. 2s., postage 3d.).

² *The Psychology of the Servant Problem*, a study in social relationship, by Violet M. Firth. (C. W. Daniel Company, 3s. 6d. net.)

³ *Everyday Psychology in the Nursery*. (National League of Health, Maternity and Child Welfare, 117 Piccadilly, W. 1, 1s.)

⁴ *Health in Childhood*. (G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., 2s. 6d. net.)

THE LAW AT WORK. "THE YOUNG DELINQUENT."

We return to this book of Mr. Cyril Burt's (published by the University of London Press, Ltd., price 17s. 6d.) to consider the author's proposals as to the treatment which should be meted out to young offenders. In the first place he asks that every child (before its case is dealt with) should be examined and tested by a psychological expert. There should be a psychological clinic available for the use of every Court, and here the examination should take place. It is amazing to see how far some American cities are in advance of us in this respect. In Philadelphia (the area of the Court covering a population about the size of Birmingham) there are attached to the police court a medical director, two psychologists, two surgical specialists, four psychiatrists, and six women physicians. Magistrates in this country know only too well that though ordinary medical advice is available for the Bench, yet expert psychological advice is hardly ever to be obtained, even if the magistrates are sufficiently enlightened to ask for it. As a result of such examination, Mr. Burt contemplates that a larger number of children would be certified as feeble-minded, and sent to Institutions. But he urges that, in connexion with Institutions, hostels should be provided in which high grade or border-line defectives could live and go to daily work. For cases that do not need a residential institution he suggests special day schools or home supervision under a voluntary worker.

There are some good suggestions on the subject of probation. It is urged that every probation officer should receive an intensive training in the psychology of delinquency and child life. With this in view there should be in universities departments of criminology which would carry on research and instruction. It is a truism to say that no probation officer should have more cases than he or she can properly supervise; the right number depends largely on the amount of voluntary help that a probation officer can secure. In London the average number is between sixty and eighty cases to each officer. Under some circumstances this would be far too many.

It is pointed out that institutional treatment, whether in a remand home or a residential school must always present grave risks of one child being contaminated by another. Mr. Burt says, "too often it is through experiences obtained during custody . . . that the harmless waif gleams his earliest knowledge of skilled devices for fraud and stealing. . . . The danger is greatest with growing girls of tender years. Many a girl on the verge of puberty has testified that she learnt more evil during her first twelve hours of detention than she had discovered throughout all her life before." It is easy to say there should be better classification, and to use the metaphor that if we mix all patients together, whether they have measles or tuberculosis, the infection will spread. The condition of the mind is not so easily diagnosed, and the "first offender" may be old in crime, while children from the worst surroundings are sometimes strangely ignorant of evil.

The main criticism of Industrial Schools and Reformatories is directed at the training in trades; less than 6 per cent. of the boys who leave get work in the trades which they have nominally been learning for years; it is suggested that the Schools should specialize more than they do, and that no school should aim at a variety of vocational training. Mr. Burt considers that removal from home should be a last or a late resource, and that if possible boarding-out or "committal to a fit person" are preferable to an Institution.

On the whole he is opposed to corporal punishment, though his remarks on the subject are rather confusing. He gives reasons why it might be administered for such offences as cruelty to animals or putting obstructions on the line (though there does not seem much in common between the two) even for lads over 14, and quotes cases in which it has been effective, but concludes by saying that in 99 cases out of 100 corporal punishment is likely to make the incipient transgressor not more penitent but more furtive and defiant, and impunity would do less harm. If this is true the risks involved in using such a dangerous weapon seem too great to run. One pronouncement on punishment in general is so illuminating that it must be quoted here. "Punishment, as a rule, proves far more effective with mild impulses than with strong; as a mode of deterrence, it is like a blast of the wind, which will extinguish the flickering taper but may only fan the burning coal to hotter flame."

C. D. RACKHAM.

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

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

RECEPTION TO THE DUCHESS OF ATHOLL, M.P.

The reception to the Duchess of Atholl has been arranged to take place at the Lyceum Club on Tuesday, 17th November. Tea will be provided at 4.15 p.m. and speeches made by the Duchess of Atholl and Miss K. D. Courtney at 5 p.m. As the accommodation is limited, early application for tickets is requested. Tickets, price 2s. 6d. may be had from the Secretary, 15 Dean's Yard, S.W. 1.

INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE CONGRESS.

The attention of Societies is drawn to the article by Mrs. Corbett Ashby in this issue dealing with the forthcoming I.W.S.A. Congress, which is to take place in Paris next year. We wish to urge that Societies will arrange meetings on the work of the I.W.S.A., and the forthcoming Congress. Mrs. Corbett Ashby will be prepared herself to speak on this subject, and Madame André Rieder, an old supporter of the I.W.S.A., recently returned from Turkey, is also prepared to speak on the work of the I.W.S.A., especially in connexion with women in the near East.

CONFERENCE ON WOMEN AND HEALTH INSURANCE.

This Conference is to be held on Thursday, 29th October, at 4 p.m., in the Caxton Hall, Westminster. Affiliated Societies, Woman's Organizations and Industrial Organizations have been asked to send representatives. Miss Eleanor Rathbone, J.P., C.C., will be in the chair, and a resolution on the following lines will be moved by Mr. J. L. Cohen:—

"That this Conference of — women's organizations realizing that no scheme of Health Insurance can be deemed national if it ignores the needs of the wives and children of the industrial community, expresses the earnest hope that the Royal Commission on National Health Insurance will include among its recommendations (a) the need for making provision for allowances for the wives and children of sick insured persons, (b) medical benefits for the wives and children of insured persons."

Resolutions will also be moved on the following points:—

(1) That in order to reduce the high rate of maternal mortality in this country, provision for maternity under a National Health Insurance scheme should be considerably increased.

(2) That in order that married women should be able to benefit adequately from the contributions made before marriage they should be allowed to become voluntary contributors in the same way as single women or men.

Tea will be provided, price 1s.

NEWS FROM SOCIETIES.

BOLTON W.C.A.

"The Mary Haslam Centre" is the name given by the Bolton W.C.A. to their new premises at Somerset House, Churchgate, in memory of the late Mrs. Haslam. Mrs. Haslam was one of the pioneers of Women's Suffrage, and Dame Millicent Fawcett wrote of her: "She was of the salt of the earth. Wherever she went she made things sweeter and purer, and was a tower of strength for all things that make for true happiness and well-being for men and women." A large gathering attended the opening ceremony, which was performed by Miss Margaret Ashton on 6th October. Here it is that the Committee hope to create a centre where women of all classes may find congenial companionship and intellectual stimulus and work under delightful conditions.

BARNSELY S.E.C.

The opening meeting of the session 1925-6 took place in St. Mary's Parish Room on 7th October, when Mrs. Stocks gave a most interesting address on "Legislation particularly affecting Women (Recent and Proposed)", and outlined the policy of the National Union for the coming winter. There was a good attendance, and Mr. Evan Davies (Director of Education) occupied the chair.

FULHAM S.E.C.

A well-attended meeting was held on Wednesday, 14th October, by the Fulham Society for Equal Citizenship. Mr. Sayer, former Mayor of Fulham, in the chair. Miss Beaumont gave an interesting address on Women and Local Government and Recent Legislation. There is only one woman at present serving on the Fulham Borough Council, and it is hoped that more women may gain seats at the forthcoming Borough Council Elections.

SAFFRON WALDEN S.E.C.

A very successful open meeting for men and women was held in the Town Hall, Committee Room on 13th October, when we had the great privilege and pleasure of a visit from Miss Eleanor Rathbone, J.P., C.C., who spoke upon "A Living Wage and Family Allowances." The address was felt to be refreshingly practical and constructive, and the questions and discussion which followed proved that the audience had been keenly interested.

WOMEN AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS.¹

The Women's International League held an interesting Council meeting in the Caxton Hall on 14th October. The Council had been fixed in the summer for the purpose of considering any situation arising from the meeting of the League of Nations Assembly, and it was then expected that the Pact negotiations might also have been concluded before the end of September. As it happened the Pact negotiations were still in progress at Locarno when the Council met, so no resolutions on the subject were possible, but Mrs. Swanwick addressed an interested audience on the history of the Pact, pointing out the advantages and the dangers of the present situation.

The discussions on the work of the League of Nations and on international affairs showed once more that the W.I.L. is a group of women which makes a real study of problems of foreign politics. Mrs. Binyon, in moving a resolution urging the Government to do all in its power to satisfy China's demand for fiscal autonomy and revision of the Treaties, made an informative speech, dwelling upon the psychological side of the case; Mrs. Barrs Davies gave a succinct account of the present position of the Mosul question, and there was a useful discussion on the Convention to abolish slavery, brought forward by Great Britain at the League Assembly. But the main business of the Council was the consideration of its attitude to the great trinity—Arbitration, Security, Disarmament—in the light of recent events at Geneva. The Council was fortunate in hearing an admirable account of the League Assembly from Mr. Wilson Harris, who was lecturing in the Caxton Hall that afternoon, and this was supplemented by the impressions of members of the W.I.L. who had been at Geneva this year. The following resolutions, which were amongst those carried, sum up the policy adopted:—

"In view of the evidence at the Sixth Assembly that the objection made by Great Britain to submitting to obligatory arbitration as provided for in the protocol and to signing the optional clause in the Statute of the Court is felt by other States to block the way to disarmament and security from war, and makes it difficult for them to undertake to resort to arbitral methods, we agree that the most important work for the W.I.L. this winter is to educate British public opinion to accept the principle of obligatory arbitration."

"That this Council urges that, as the armed state of the world is a constant menace to international peace, no time be lost by the Council of the League in setting up the Committee proposed by the Assembly to investigate the obstacles to disarmament, with a view to calling a conference to bring about such disarmament at the earliest possible moment."

The Council separated with a feeling of satisfaction that it has a concrete task before it, and a determination to carry out that task with all the vigour it can command.

CONGRATULATIONS TO A WOMAN STUDENT.

We congratulate most heartily Miss Janet Niven, of Glasgow University the first woman to carry off the Brunton Memorial Prize as the most distinguished medical graduate. Miss Niven achieved a double distinction with the honours degrees of Bachelor of Medicine and Surgery; and her success was described by Sir Donald MacAlister, who made the presentation, as "a portent for the men." We hope that it is also a portent for the women.

CORRESPONDENCE.

BIRTH CONTROL AND MORALITY.

MADAM,—While I am to a certain extent in agreement with the Catholic Editor who criticizes the short editorial in the WOMAN'S LEADER of the 10th July (as I felt at the time that the wording was perhaps a little hasty and calculated to be misunderstood by those biased against the movement), I totally disagree with her when she implies therefrom that

¹ Contributed by the Women's International League.

the WOMAN'S LEADER is yielding its feminist standard or its demand for an equally high standard of morality in both sexes.

The confusion is due to the inaccurate and contradictory use of the words "self-control" which still misleads moralists into assuming that everything described by partisans as "self-control" is the same thing and of the same physiological value. I have detected the fact that a variety of malpractices go under the name of "self-control"; and, in addition to that, even where complete self-control is intended, that it is inaccurate to describe it as "self-control"; when it should be described as "total abstinence".

The attempt to impose total abstinence on married persons is one of the chief sources of moral evil in the present day. The due use of self-control is taught by all sex reformers such as those urging constructive birth control.

M. C. STOPES.

[We agree with our correspondent in deploring the use of the word "self-control," which tends to side-track the uninitiated from a full realization of what is necessary for effective limitation of child-bearing. We would add, in reply to Miss De Alberti, that it is important not to lose sight of the difference between the environmental conditions of married and unmarried life. We recognise that chastity is often as difficult for an unmarried woman as for an unmarried man, and we abate no jot of our demand for an equally high standard of self-control from both. But we believe, nevertheless, that after many years of married life women often become absorbed in the maternal relationship and that their desire for the continued physical relationship of married life becomes less insistent and more easily translated into other forms of self-expression.—Ed.]

ARE CONSERVATIVE WOMEN TAME?

MADAM,—I do not see any allusion to the great Unionist Conference at Brighton last week. Possibly you may, naturally, have thought that it did not concern women; as only one woman (myself) was down on the programme, and her resolution was guillotined, being accorded the last place on the paper.

We Conservative women are very tame: we "feed out of the hand", so to speak. But some of us did feel a little hurt at this treatment. The strong, stern men who rule these matters at Palace Chambers believe that Silence is Golden—for women. And we have returned to the Gold Standard.

HARRIETT PACKER,
Councillor, and Delegate to the Conference.

[We are often fortunate enough to get reports of Unionist meetings from our special correspondents, but as it happened none was sent us about the Brighton Conference. We do not know the subject of our correspondent's resolution or the circumstances of its low place on the agenda, but we are glad to believe that all Conservative women are not so tame or Conservative men so anti-feminist as she suggests.—Ed.]

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COMING EVENTS.

GUILDHOUSE WOMEN CITIZENS' SOCIETY.

NOV. 2. 3 p.m. The Guildhouse, Eccleston Square, S.W. 1. Mrs. Corbett Asliby, President International Woman Suffrage Alliance, on "Women Overseas."

HARPENDEN N.C.W.

OCT. 27. 3 p.m. Miss Beaumont on "The Representation of the People Act and the Guardianship of Infants Act."

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

OCT. 27. 3 p.m. Speakers' Meeting at 15 Dean's Yard. Miss Rathbone on "Family Allowances."

OCT. 29. 4 p.m. Conference on Women and Health Insurance at Caxton Hall.

Gillingham W.C.A. *OCT.* 26. 3 to 7 p.m. Baptist School Room, Green Street. Exhibition, "100 Years Ago."

Reading S.E.C. *OCT.* 26. 7.30. Abbey Hall. Mr. H. G. Williams, M.P. for Reading, will address the Society. Chair: Mrs. Robie Uniacke.

Croydon West W.C.A. *OCT.* 28. Afternoon. Discussion on Birth Control. Mrs. Tamplin in favour, Miss Beaumont against.

Kensington and Paddington S.E.C. and Kensington W.C. and L.G. Association. Course of Addresses on Municipal Elections by Mrs. Reincke, to be held on Mondays at 5 p.m. Third Address on *OCT.* 26, at Pembroke Lodge. Chair: Alderman A. J. Allen, J.P.

Purley W.C.A. *OCT.* 25. 3.15 p.m. Friends' Meeting House. Mrs. Malmberg on "How the Women of Finland won their Citizenship."

Ilkley S.E.C. *OCT.* 26. 3 p.m. Save the Children Fund Meeting in Wesleyan Assembly Hall. Speaker: Miss Helen Knight.

West Houghton S.E.C. *NOV.* 3. 3 p.m. Meeting at the Hawthorns, Hindley (by kind permission of Mrs. Ainslow). Speaker: Miss Agnew, J.P.

ST. JOAN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ALLIANCE.

OCT. 24. 3 p.m. Emerson Club, 14 Great George Street, Westminster. Mrs. Beer, M.A., on "The International Democratic Congress for Peace, Luxemburg," and Miss Fedden on "The National Council of Women Conference, Birmingham." Chair: Mrs. C. J. Mathew, L.C.C., J.P.

SIX POINT GROUP.

NOV. 2. 5 p.m. 92 Victoria Street, S.W. Dr. Scharlieb, C.B.E., on "The Spiritual Obligation of Citizenship." Chair: Miss Eva Moore.

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FELLOWSHIP SERVICES, Guildhouse, Eccleston Square, S.W. 1. Sunday, 25th October: 3.30, Music; Lecture: Sir Thomas Royden. 6.30 p.m., Maude Royden: "Give to him that asketh."

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