

THE WOMAN'S LEADER

AND THE COMMON CAUSE

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NOTES AND NEWS.

The Peace Offensive.

The outstanding political event of the past week is undoubtedly the brief visit of M. Briand to London, and his conversations with Mr. Austen Chamberlain concerning the proposed Security Pact. The significance of that meeting is dealt with in our pages this week by a student of German politics recently returned from Berlin. We react gladly to his mood of optimism concerning its outcome. Surely the world is growing saner and saner every day in every way. Saner and saner every day in every way. Saner and saner . . .

Hopes and Fears.

One serious cause for pessimism on the subject is of course the rumour, unsubstantial but disquieting, that Mr. Chamberlain has given modified consent to a French proposal that in certain cases of "flagrant" breaches of the Treaty of Versailles, French troops should be allowed to enter the demilitarized Rhineland without the previous consent of the League of Nations. We cannot believe that British public opinion would tolerate any such "contracting out" of League obligations under an agreement whose ostensible aim is to achieve bilateral security for two hereditary enemies. Indeed it is difficult to believe that the suggestion was ever seriously made by M. Briand, or seriously considered by Mr. Chamberlain. Meanwhile a spring of optimism is to be found in the cold reception of the reported conversations by the Paris Press. If the Paris Press had shown signs of jubilation there would indeed have been cause for alarm among well disposed persons. Our own syndicated Press cannot be regarded as a stabilizing influence in the political arena. It swings from side to side like a badly stowed cargo and thereby intensifies the rolling and pitching of the ship of State. But the Paris Press maintains an obstinate list to starboard which must greatly complicate the endeavours of whoever stands at the helm.

The Protection of the Consumer.

On Thursday last the Minister of Health issued certain new regulations based on the recommendations of the recent Departmental Committee on the Use of Preservatives and Colouring Matters in Food. Our readers may remember the general trend of the Committee's report, reviewed in our pages during the past winter. It was disquieting, but not horrifying. The new regulations, which do not come into force until 1st January, 1927, and in some cases until 1st January, 1928, aim at pre-

scribing exactly the kind of foods which may contain preservatives or colouring matters, and the precise kinds of preservatives or colouring matters which they may or may not contain. Further regulations provide for the labelling or accurate public description of certain scheduled foods, containing preservatives. And incidentally there is to be no "thickening" of cream by means of "sucrate of lime, gelatine, starch paste, or any other substance which when added to cream is capable of increasing its viscosity, but does not contain cane or beet sugar." It takes more than a straw to show which way the wind blows, for a single straw may be the victim of a local air current. But the trend of these regulations is, we believe, indicative of a very big social and economic tempest; the re-arming of the consumer in an age in which the beneficent forces of competition can no longer be exalted as his sure protection and shield against the natural human rapacity of the producer. We say "re-arming" rather than "arming" for after all in extending the sphere of public control over the prices and qualities of goods offered for sale, we do but revert to the ambitious legislative practises of the Middle Ages. Thus do we definitely turn our backs upon a temporary aberration of our forefathers and fore-forefathers which divorced economic acts from the ordinary standards of personal behaviour, and scheduled them as "the automatic reactions of an impersonal mechanism to which ethical judgments are irrelevant." For this last phrase we offer acknowledgements to the able editor of Richard Baxter's *Christian Directory*.

The Celibate Service.

Champions of the Naval Officers' marriage allowance have not taken their disappointment lying down. The immediate sufferers are, of course, precluded by the conditions of their service from protesting on their own behalf; but Rear-Admiral Davidson, writing in the *Times* of 18th August, is of opinion that if they could, they would "blow the proverbial parrot off his perch and perhaps influence a modern Conservative Government to sit up and take more notice than they have done about them." In the same letter, he recalls the view of Lord St. Vincent, expressed many years ago, that a naval officer who marries is damned for the Service. There is a grain of truth in the saying to-day! And what, the writer asks, will be the effect on the minds of parents and head-masters when reflecting about a naval career?

Second Thoughts on the Poole Case.

The *Morning Post* and the *Catholic Herald*, commenting on the recent judgment of Mr. Justice Romer in connexion with the Poole Education case raise between them some unpleasing considerations. The correspondent of the *Morning Post* points out that a local authority, though it can no longer dismiss a woman on the "irrelevant" ground that her husband is able to provide for her, can still decree that it is in the interest of local education that no married woman shall be employed, since this would involve an "educational ground" for dismissal. Meanwhile the *Catholic Herald* is of opinion that "a likely sequel to the Dorsetshire decision will be the more general adoption by education authorities of a condition of employment rendering the appointment in question automatically void, should marriage supervene. Public opinion would, it adds, "most likely support such a policy, which it would be beyond the powers of any court to upset. We agree with our Catholic contemporary, but with reservations. Public opinion, which was inoculated many years ago with a fallacious economic doctrine popularly known as "the wage fund," is very ready at first blush to condone the dismissal of a married woman on the ground that being assured by marriage of her daily bread, it is only fair that she should transfer her opportunities of wage-earning to an

unemployed spinster. But public opinion is obstinately individualistic. It loathes and detests all interference with the privacy of home life and domestic relations. On no subject—saving only the glory and self-sacrifice of motherhood—is it more easy to stir the sentiment of a public meeting. And experience shows that the case for the married woman teacher is one to which, with very little argument and explanation, people are quickly and easily converted. Therefore, in view of all the wrongs which the Poole case leaves unrighted, we urge our readers to spare no efforts, by speaking, writing, or exerting pressure upon local bodies to vindicate the right of a woman to choose her own occupation and invest her talents in the way which seems best to accord with their quality and quantity. We have hitherto spoken of public opinion, and its tendency to yield to treatment. There is of course a very widespread belief, held by considerable and influential sections of the community, that a married woman is in some degree the shadow or personal servant of her husband, and that it is not in accordance with his interest that she should serve two masters. But this is not public opinion. It is private opinion—often suspected, seldom honestly expressed. It is a more difficult kind of opinion to tackle.

The Future of the Hospitals.

Shortly after we went to press last week, the Voluntary Hospitals Commission appointed after the war to administer certain emergency State grants, issued a report called for by the late Minister of Health on "the extent of additional voluntary hospital accommodation required . . . and the best means of providing and maintaining it." The report contains definite proposals for the construction of additional accommodation involving some 10,000 extra beds and the assumption by the State of responsibility for half their initial cost. Although some of the leading personalities in the hospital world appear somewhat reluctant to give the proposal an unqualified benediction—owing, it appears, to the suspicion that State aid may involve State interference, we ourselves can see in the report nothing but the expression of continued faith in the voluntary principle. According to the report, the hospitals are, in the main, solvent and capable of preserving their solvency, solvent even to the point of being able to finance the new commitments when once their capital expense has been met. Undoubtedly this is a fact which calls for very much national self-satisfaction. So far as we are aware, in no country in the world is the public capable of meeting by voluntary munificence, the vast expense of a hospital system such as ours. But the thing is not perfect—nor will the additional provision of 10,000 beds render it so. And we are inclined to think that its gravest imperfections are to be met with in the out-patient departments. Our attention has lately been called by a social worker intimately concerned with the matter, to the unwholesome and often unnecessary delays to which working mothers are subject in the frequent business of taking their children to out-patient departments. Much of it is doubtless due to lack of adequate accommodation and financial stringency. Much of it is certainly due to the very poor valuation which hospital authorities put upon the time and convenience of that most strenuous member of society, the working mother. But can we blame them? They do but reflect current social standards.

Progress in the Churches.

We learn from the *Edinburgh Evening News* that at a recent farewell service in connexion with the retirement of the Rev. W. L. Hannan from the Central Hall Mission, a speaker urged that the progress of Methodism would be greatly hastened if women as well as men were preachers. Our contemporary adds the information that Sister Edith Trotter, of Nicolson Square, has been taking service each Sunday in the absence of the ministers, and that "many Wesley Deaconesses are preaching regularly." We cannot help mixing with our gratification at such happenings a little regret that it all comes so slowly and tentatively. And the recent recommendation to the Wesleyan Methodist Conference to permit the ministry of women with the obnoxious reservation that they must resign on marriage, leaves an unpleasant taste in the mouth. But after all doors have a way of opening slowly where women are concerned—or if they open fast, they have a way of slamming shut again with the first puff of a contrary wind. Perhaps we are inclined to judge the Churches, and more especially the Free Churches, by too high a standard. It is the inevitable penalty for institutions which hitch their waggon to so high a star, and profess allegiance to a man who was wholly

oblivious to the dictates of public opinion or the traditions of official orthodoxy, and who had such a disproportionate belief in the importance of the divine spark, that he remained undisturbed when it chose for its dwelling place the material body of a tax gatherer, an undesirable alien, or a woman.

Economy at Other People's Expense.

Last week a letter went out from the Association of British Chambers of Commerce to chambers of commerce throughout the country urging their members to press every where the need for reduction in local government expenditure. They are further urged to "take the initiative in securing a larger representation of industrial interests on city and town councils and boards of guardians in order to check all extravagances and introduce the necessary economies in administration." We must confess to viewing with some concern the growth of local representation of this type. We have in mind the conditions of a large, and we believe, typical industrial town. Its centre is a congested area of shops, offices, warehouses, factories, and workshops. Interspersed among these are pockets of unsalubrious residential dwellings of a poor type. The better class residential areas form an inner, the still better class an outer, circle round the centre. The richest among those individuals who draw their incomes from the centre elude altogether the administrative sphere of the city. Their children are not dependent upon its education, parks, swimming-baths, and sanitation. Their noses are not (apart from working hours) offended by its aromas, nor their eyes continually afflicted by its squalor. We should not view with any sympathy the efforts of such gentlemen to reduce the burden of rates upon their business premises at the expense of the whole material environment of those who are compelled by force of circumstance to spend their lives and rear their children in the administrative area of the city.

By-election at Oxford.

At a recent municipal by-election at Oxford, there were three candidates, all women, chosen from the three political parties, Mrs. A. G. Collier, who was the successful Liberal candidate, is the wife of Dr. William Collier, who was the President of the British Medical Association in 1904. Mrs. Collier, who has given years of study to the problem of the feeble-minded, was in 1913, when the Mental Deficiency Bill passed into law, co-opted a member of the Oxford Statutory Committee in recognition of her special knowledge of the subject.

Mr. Keynes and the Position of Women.

Mr. Keynes, writing in the *Nation* of 15th August, under the heading "Am I a Liberal?" divides the questions of to-day into five headings. One of the five is entitled "Sex Questions." He considers that "Sex Questions are about to enter the political arena," and that "the very crude beginnings represented by the Suffrage Movement were only symptoms of deeper and more important issues below the surface." By sex questions he means problems connected with birth control, marriage laws, the treatment of sexual offences, the position of the wage-earning woman and the economic position of the family. These questions, he considers, "interlock with economic issues which cannot be evaded. Birth control touches on one side the liberties of women, and on the other side the duty of the State to concern itself with the size of the population . . . The position of wage-earning women and the prospect of the family wage affect not only the status of women, the first in the performance of paid work, and the second in the performance of unpaid work, but also raise the whole question whether wages should be fixed by the forces of supply and demand . . . or whether we should begin to limit the freedom of those forces by reference to what is 'fair and reasonable.'" Finally he believes that "A party which would discuss these things openly and wisely at its meetings would discover a new and living interest in the electorate—because politics would be dealing once more with matters about which everyone wants to know and which deeply affect everyone's own life." We heartily agree with what Mr. Keynes says; and we are proud to remember that we said it first!

POLICY.—The sole policy of THE WOMAN'S LEADER is to advocate a real equality of liberties, status and opportunities between men and women. So far as space permits, however, it will offer an impartial platform for topics not directly included in the objects of the women's movement, but of special interest to women. Articles on these subjects will always be signed, at least by initials or a pseudonym, and for the opinions expressed in them the Editor accepts no responsibility.

AN IRISH EXAMPLE.

EQUAL PAY AND CHILDREN'S ALLOWANCES FOR THE CIVIL SERVICE.

The new regulations sanctioned by the Minister of Finance of the Irish Free State, governing the next open competitive examination for the clerical grades of the Civil Service, contain a couple of ordinary looking paragraphs, which nevertheless embody a new and deeply interesting experiment in the payment of State employees.

The paragraph runs as follows:—

"(1) The scale of pay for these posts will be:

Men (Unmarried) and Women.—£60 (on entry), rising to £70 at 18 years of age, and thence by annual increments of £5 to £150 per annum, with an efficiency bar at £120.

Married Men.—Men on marriage after they have attained the age of 25 years will be placed at the appropriate point on the scale—£120 at 25 years of age, and thence by annual increments of £10—£140, £7 10s.—£200 per annum, with an efficiency bar at £155, and will receive a lump sum payment on marriage equivalent to twelve months' back pay of the difference between the salaries on the old and the new scales. In addition, allowance (subject to a total maximum of £60) will be payable in respect of each dependent child up to 16 years, or in the case of invalid children and children still at school after 16 years up to 21 years of age.

Cost of Living Bonus will be payable in addition to the scales and allowances shown above.

(9) Retirement on marriage is compulsory for successful female candidates, but officers so retiring after not less than six years' service may receive a gratuity of one month's pensionable emoluments for each year of established service up to a maximum of twelve months' pensionable emoluments."

From the point of view of this journal these regulations are not absolutely ideal; but they show a very great advance in the right direction. It is true that even with the bonus an additional increment of £5 (and later £2 10s.) a year is not really enough to keep a wife; but then everybody knows that a wife is a saving to a man as well as an expense! It is true, too, that (even with a present) the compulsory retirement of women on marriage is objectionable in itself and contrary to liberty and efficiency; but with these two criticisms stated, we can turn to praise with an open mind. For the thing is a very excellent arrangement indeed. Equal pay, with extra allowances for dependents, commends itself to natural justice. A single man and single woman civil servant are worth to the State just what their work is worth, and nothing more: and when the men get more, by virtue of the families they haven't got, the taxpayer is being fleeced. And when the women get less, by virtue of this bad old tradition, the women are being underpaid. And neither

thing is good national finance.

The Irish Free State, therefore, is setting an example in statesmanlike salary scales, and is setting it at a moment when the English Chancellor seems to be searching in vain for available economies. He might do much worse than look across the Irish Channel.

At present, as our readers know, the British Civil Service is in a state of suspended animation with regard to the Equal Pay question. A resolution was passed in the House of Commons under which equal entry for men and women was assured, and it is under this resolution that women are, this month, for the first time sitting for the Administrative Class competitive examination. This resolution admitted equal pay as the ruling principle, but owing to the "condition of national finances" it did not forthwith institute it, but instead laid down that an inquiry should be held "within three years." The resolution was passed on 5th August, 1921, and the inquiry was thus due to have been held a year ago. Although Mr. Snowden, the then Chancellor, and Mr. Churchill, his present successor, have been questioned and "badgered" again and again, no trace of that inquiry can be found. Their official answers state that it was held—exhaustively; but it all went on within the Treasury walls, without evidence, without minutes, and with no findings in terms of L.s.d. which have ever been made known. So unsatisfactory has this been to the men and women employed by the State that a joint Civil Service Equal Pay Committee has been set up, representing all the men and all the women civil servants; and their force is just beginning to make itself felt. The women's societies, which have for over seven years acted jointly in this cause, are continuing their activities, and the demand for a concession of equal pay, or at least an authoritative, impartial, and public inquiry is gaining great force. And now comes this good example. As we said before, Mr. Churchill might do worse than look across the Irish Channel. It will, however, be some little time before it is possible for him or for us to see how it actually works out. The Irish examinations are to be held on December 1, 1925. Candidates (male) must be between 16 and 19, and (female) between 17 and 19. And none of the endowed marriages can take place till the new clerical officers are 25. Thus it will be 1931 at the earliest before it begins to work. If Mr. Churchill hurries up, therefore, he can get going before then, and so wrest back from Ireland the credit of having the first British Finance Minister to combine just dealing, economy, and good sense in his dealings with the vexed question of the pay of men and women civil servants.

THE APPROACH TO SANITY?

In these days even the most obvious signs of the growth of international common sense must be greeted with a certain reserve. We have been so often disappointed that the bird in the bush has lost its power to move us; we wait for the bird in the hand. Yet the official communiqué published last Thursday and the obviously inspired explanations of it which filled the Press, though far from bringing the bird into our hands, must have brought genuine relief and delight to everyone who wishes for European peace. If the reports of the Press are correct; if the note upon which Messrs. Briand and Chamberlain agreed is really on all fours with the forecast, there is no doubt whatever that European peace is a long step nearer realization than it has been at any time since the Armistice of 1918. Within a few months, with any luck, we ought to see the bogy of "Security" laid by a pact of mutual guarantee between the victors and the vanquished of the late War, the League of Nations rectified and strengthened by the accession of Germany, and the way opened to a frank treatment of the question of disarmament. These three points, as Mr. Baldwin said with excellent judgment on receipt of Germany's July Note, fall naturally and logically into this order. The first two may be achieved simultaneously, and it appears to be the hope of the two Foreign Ministers to achieve them together. The third must clearly be postponed, but not, we hope, for long.

The idea of a Pact between the nations concerned, guaranteeing Germany's western frontiers, as established by the Treaty of Versailles, originated in Germany, and was communicated to M. Herriot by the German ambassador in Paris in a memor-

andum of 9th February last. It was offered as a means of settling the problem of security, which for many years had been found to block every avenue to peace. The idea has met with much opposition in all the countries involved, and not only from extremists, and it is in fact a proposal which none of the three Governments can accept without some sacrifice of principle, or at least of what passes in politics for principle. But it was a bold and definite proposal, and it was well received, because the world saw in it clear evidence, if the German people was behind the offer, of important advance in what may be called the pacification of German public opinion. Since February, in Germany, as in other countries, post-war disillusionment and ill-will, assisted by genuine doubts and scruples and to some extent also by the rather exacting tone of the French reply, have done their best to prejudice the chances of acceptance. But Mr. Stresemann fortunately was able to resist the demands of his more foolish supporters, and with a short and reasonable Note last July, he resumed what he described—in a phrase which caused rather comic scandal among French and English pacifists—as his "Peace Offensive."

Putting on one side certain difficulties about the place of the League of Nations in the scheme—difficulties which should yield to treatment if the wild men on each side can be restrained—the keynote of the German offer is reciprocity. The tentative February memorandum made it perfectly clear that the parties to the Pact were to be conceived as giving and receiving the same guarantees, accepting and imposing the same obligations. This point has been since repeatedly emphasized. It is the

kernal of Stresemann's July Note, and it has been prominent in the speeches of all the German political leaders. It is, therefore, particularly welcome to hear on the authority of *The Times* that the Note upon which Messrs. Briand and Chamberlain have just agreed "emphasizes the fact that in the view of both the British and the French Governments the proposed Pact should be in every respect bilateral." If that decision is truly and honestly maintained, the Pact will be concluded, and we go so far as to say that its conclusion will be an immense advance whatever its terms may be. If it is not rigorously maintained, the Pact will probably not be concluded, and will in any case lose most of its value and significance.

The reasons for the fundamental importance of reciprocity are very simple. In the first place, it is obvious that Germany as well as France has a Security problem, which will become more acute as Germany recovers her strength. Those who fear a war of revenge are always tempted to undertake a "preventive" war against the potential avenger. And in general, secondly, if you wish an agreement to be kept, it is as well to see that each party to it has an interest which is served by its being kept. These are presumably the points which the French and English ministers had chiefly in mind when they agreed that the Pact must be bilateral. But there is a more fundamental point at issue than this. What rankles in the German mind is the persistent refusal of the victor nations to admit Germany to that formed equality which is the normal and necessary basis of international negotiation. What has more than anything else prejudiced every approach to peace has been the resolute determination of the victors to dictate terms to the vanquished. The notion of reciprocity carries the wider implication that this attitude is abandoned; a reciprocal pact is nothing if it is not a pact between equals. The whole spirit and meaning of the German offer would have fatally evaporated, if the French and English ministers had formulated an agreed draft and forwarded it to Germany for acceptance or rejection. The spirit of Versailles would have been asserted once more, and, whatever the issue, all Germany would have been in instinctive revolt against it. It is a crowning mercy that Briand and Chamberlain have chosen a better course. They have apparently decided to meet the Germans in conference on equal terms, and work out the details in consultation. Thus at long last the German offer of February is likely to do us the service of raising the international problem to a new plane, the only plane on which fruitful solutions are ever found, the plane of equality and reciprocity. J. L. S.

SUMMARY OF MAIN PROVISIONS OF WIDOWS', ORPHANS', AND OLD AGE CONTRIBUTORY PENSIONS ACT.

I. PERSONS TO WHOM CONTRIBUTORY PENSIONS ARE PAYABLE FROM JULY, 1926.

- (1) *The Widow* of an insured man who dies after January, 1926.
- (2) *The Children* of an insured man. These "additional allowances" are paid up to 14½ years, or up to 16 in cases in which the children are in full-time attendance at a day-school.
- (3) *The Orphan Children* (i.e. those who have lost both parents) of an insured man or of an insured widow.
- (4) *An Insured Man or Woman* who becomes 65 after 2nd January, 1926, or the wives over 65 of such men. (N.B.—These old-age pensions are not payable until January, 1928.) Unrestricted old age pensions to insured persons over 70 are payable in July, 1926.

Note.—An insured man or woman means one who was insured under the National Health Insurance Act and has paid 104 contributions (after January, 1926, contributions will in addition have to be paid under this Act). In the case of (4) a man or woman must have been insured for 5 years, the average number of contributions required per year being reduced for the 3 years before he or she becomes 65. Persons over 70 at the commencement of the Act shall receive an old age pension without having to satisfy conditions under the Old Age Pensions Act provided that he or she has been insured since April, 1925.

A child includes a step-child or the illegitimate child of a man or of his wife who was living with him at the time of his death; or the illegitimate child of an insured widow who was living with her at the time of her death.

II. NON-CONTRIBUTORY PENSIONS.

Non-contributory Pensions are payable to "existing" widows, children, and orphans of men or widows who die before the

commencement of the Act, but who would have been insured persons if this Act had been in force.

Note.—Such a widow's pension is only paid until the youngest child becomes 14½, but an "additional allowance" on behalf of a child is paid up to 16 years if the child is in full-time attendance at a day-school.

III. AMOUNTS OF PENSIONS PAID.

- (1) 10s. per week for widows and for persons over 65.
- (2) 5s. for the eldest child of a widow and 3s. for subsequent children.
- (3) 7s. 6d. for orphans or for children who are removed from the custody of their mother.

IV. RATES OF CONTRIBUTIONS.

(1) *Ordinary Rates* are 9d. for a man (4½d. paid by the employer and 4½d. by the employee) and 4½d. for a woman (2½d. paid by the employer and 2d. by the employee). Owing to a reduction in the health insurance age on account of pensions over 65 no longer being eligible for sickness and disablement benefit, the net increase over present rates will amount to 8d. for a man and 4d. for a woman, divided equally between employer and employee.

(2) Lower rates are applicable to "exempt" and "exempted" persons.

(a) *Exempt Persons.* Men who hold exemption certificates under the National Health Insurance Act will be required to be insured for widows' and orphans' pensions but not for old age pensions, as they normally possess a private income at least equal to the old age pensions under the Act. The rate of contribution payable in respect of an exempt man is 7d. a week, of which 4½d. is payable by the employer and 2½d. by the employee. In the case of a woman 2½d. is required, which is paid by the employer.

(b) *Persons engaged in Exempted Employment.* If the terms of their employment are such as to secure old age pensions not less than those provided in the Act, men will be required to insure for widows' and orphans' pensions only and women for orphans' pensions; the contributions in the case of men are 7d. (3½d. per employer and employee) and 3½d. in the case of women (2d. per employer and 1½d. per employee). If all the benefits under the Act are provided by the terms of the employment no contributions need be paid by or on behalf of those employed.

V. REGULATIONS RELATING TO WIDOWS' PENSIONS AND CHILDREN'S ALLOWANCES.

- (1) A widow shall not receive a pension if she—
 - (a) Remarries;
 - (b) Co-habits.
- (2) *The Widow of a man over 60* shall not be entitled to a pension if the marriage takes place after April, 1923, unless—
 - (1) There are or have been children.
 - (2) The marriage has lasted at least 3 years.
 - (3) Before marriage she had a widows' pension.

(3) *Children's Allowances* may be administered by a Local Authority for the benefit of the child if the mother had deserted or ceased to support it.

Note.—In such cases the widow shall have the opportunity of defending herself either personally or through someone else on her behalf.

VI. DISQUALIFICATIONS FROM PENSIONS (GENERAL).

No pension is given to persons in:—

- (1) Any poor law institution (save those who are for less than three months in an institution providing medical treatment).
- (2) A lunatic asylum.
- (3) A Prison (without the option of a fine).

Note.—A child's allowance is not withdrawn because its mother loses her pension.

VII. CONTRIBUTIONS BY THE STATE.

A sum of 4 million pounds is to be paid for 10 years annually by the State and thereafter as shall be determined.

VIII. VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS.

(1) Anyone (except a married woman) who has paid 104 contributions may become a voluntary contributor within a year of leaving off employment.

(2) Where an uninsured man marries an insured woman, in respect of whom 104 contributions have been paid, he may, if he complies with the conditions, become a voluntary contributor.

(3) A voluntary contributor must pay 39 contributions in any one year or not less than 45 contributions in any two consecutive years. In the case of a man over 60—or of a woman

over 55 who has been insured for 10 years, these number of contributions may be reduced to 20 and 26 respectively.

IX. RESIDENCE.

Pensions shall not be paid while any person is absent from Great Britain or has not lived in Great Britain for 2 years before his death or before he is 65. If the Dominions should pass similar legislation provision is made for reciprocal arrangements.

X. PROVISION AGAINST DOUBLE PENSIONS.

No person may receive two pensions from the State except where—

(1) A pension is payable in respect of the service of the pensioner's son in the late war.

(2) A pension is payable under the Blind Persons Act to persons over 70.

(3) A "need" pension is paid by the Ministry of Pensions.

XI. APPEALS.

Appeals against awards or decisions shall be made to one or more referees appointed from a panel set up by the Ministry; in the case of a woman who is appealing on other than a purely legal point a woman must sit with the referees as assessor.

XII. PAYMENT OF PENSIONS.

Pensions shall be paid through the Post Office, and contributions shall be paid as under the Insurance Act, a stamp combining health and pension contributions being provided.

XIII. LOCAL AUTHORITIES.

The Local Authorities who are to administer the Act shall be the county borough, borough council, or county council, or any non-county borough or urban district, which is both a local education authority or authority under the Maternity and Child Welfare Act, 1918. A county council may delegate its powers to a sanitary authority. A local authority or sanitary authority may delegate its powers and duties under this Act to the education committee or to the maternity and child welfare committee of the authority, or partly to one and partly to the other. In Scotland the local authority shall be that under the Public Health (Scotland) Act, 1897.

XIV. CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION.

The Central Authority is the Ministry of Health in England and Wales and the Scottish Board of Health in Scotland.

Note.—The above summary is too short to take into account any but the more important provisions of the Act. Those of our readers who wish to study it further are advised to buy a copy of the Act (1s.) or of the Memorandum or the Bill issued by the Ministry of Health (3d.).

THE CHILDLESS WIDOW—A QUERY.

We have received an inquiry as to whether a certain childless widow of 65, who supported an invalid husband for years by her work, is eligible for a pension under the Act. The answer is that she is not eligible for a widow's pension, but she may be eligible for an old age pension if she is, or was up till attaining the age of 65, herself insured under the Health Insurance Acts. Whether she will be counted as being so insured for the purpose of a pension depends on a number of conditions which it would take too much space to explain here, but if she has been employed at all during the past five years, she should consult her Approved Society as to whether she will be or can make herself eligible.

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THE NEWEST MACHIAVELLI.

Mr. Frank Gray, late Liberal M.P. for Oxford City, has set forth in a little book the true and inward history of his own political career,¹ together with some account of his motives, ideals, and judgments in political affairs. He tells us how he fought a lost hope at Watford in 1918 and was beaten; how he secured adoption as Liberal candidate in his native city of Oxford; how he dry-nursed (we use the term with full recognition of its profound significance) that unpromising constituency for nearly four years, and won it in 1922; how he held it in 1923 against a rabid onslaught of political intimidation by a local employer who happened to be personally interested in the retention of the McKenna Duties; how he sat in Parliament and rose to moderate eminence in the counsels of his attenuated party; and how in the end he lost his hard won seat on an election petition whose memory still brings a thrill of excitement combined with bitter disappointment or malicious delight as the case may be, to the inhabitants of this venerable and high-browed city. It is an extraordinarily interesting human document and, in a deliberately unlitigious manner, remarkably well told. So much so, that we will venture to retail to our readers a little of it at second-hand.

Mr. Gray conceived the idea of a political career while serving in the Great War. He had no strong incentive to make money, having already a sufficiency. He had, so he shyly confesses, "a human desire to do good." Moreover he cherished an ambition to "stand before his fellowmen distinguished from other men in the public eye." Let us add to all this a quality of which he makes no boast, but which we believe him to possess: an unquestionable and restless mental energy. That done, we see, unveiled, the springs of his political activity. Which brings us to the next question: why did he attach himself to the Liberal party in defiance of parental traditions and (as far as the 1918 election was concerned) the flow of the political tide? The obvious reply is, of course: because he believed in Liberal principles, and this is the reply that he himself would doubtless give. Nevertheless there were, as he subsequently points out, certain solid advantages to be derived by an ambitious politician from membership of the Liberal Party. If you belong to a "faction of sixty" you are more likely to count as an individual. There are fewer competitors. Better to be a middle-sized politician in a small party than a nonentity in a big one. "If you enter as one of 400 Conservatives, only as an F. E. Smith can you succeed—with great ability coupled with the self-confidence and persistency needed to push, and to push constantly, your competitors, and if need be your leaders, out of the way." But before you are in a position to "push your leaders out of the way," you must cultivate their approval. And the methods by which this is accomplished in a small party are most lucidly and convincingly set forth by Mr. Gray.

But we are setting the cart before the horse. Before you can make your way in Parliament it is necessary to get there, and it is in connection with the business of getting there that our author displays his shrewdest wit. In the first place—the foremost place—you must "acquaint the constituency with yourself." If you are a millionaire this is a comparatively easy business. You can spend money in the constituency on a scale which must be "wholesale and of ever increasing intensity." If you are not a millionaire, however, you must pursue other methods. Small subscriptions will not carry you very far, for whose votes are they likely to win? Certainly not the votes of those who read the subscription list and find that you have given more than they! They are in fact only of value in so far as they give you "the entrée into the organization to which you subscribe," apart of course from the fact that "every non-political document and every gathering or committee into which a candidate can bring his name is good as an advertisement." But it is the more strenuous methods which count: the methods by which, having tapped the fraction of your constituency, which reads papers, attends meetings, and runs clubs, you then address yourself to the "great still and silent crowd." These you must visit individually and continually at their work and in their homes; to these you must talk not necessarily of politics; in these you must "create the absolute belief that you have their welfare at heart"; for these you must cook haddocks and unravel matrimonial tangles. For these—we would add, with the memory of Frank Gray's Oxford campaign fresh in mind—you must dress in season and out of season in check trousers which once seen shall never be forgotten, according to the philosophy

¹ *Confessions of a Candidate.* By Frank Gray. (Hopkinson, 6s. net).

of Mr. Graham Wallas as set forth in his *Human Nature in Politics*.

All this you must do when you are nursing a constituency. All this—and more—you must do in addition to your parliamentary duties when you are holding a constituency. All this you must do in a minor degree outside your constituency in order to convince your critics that you are not merely playing for votes. And all this Mr. Frank Gray did until that unhappy turn of his career which, as he describes in his last chapter, resulted in his untimely withdrawal from the House of Commons. "Sordid business!" our hypersensitive readers may exclaim—"and one more argument for the more impersonal list system of Proportional Representation." Perhaps. Yet if political methods are to be judged by their immediate fruits, it must be owned that the fruits of Mr. Gray's method were not wholly bad. For he was a singularly accessible and hardworking representative, never too busy to give his time and intelligence to the details of the Guardianship of Infants Bill, the Separation and Maintenance Orders Bill, or any other tedious interest that an organised group among his constituents might happen to have at heart.

And now we are left with the interesting speculation of why Mr. Gray has thus laid bare his motives to the gibes of idealists, his methods to the imitation of political competitors? In future Mr. Gray's opponents will refuse to play into his hands by locking up their active supporters in a mass meeting on the eve of the poll while Mr. Gray's scour the district from street to street in a last supreme and unchallenged effort of canvassing. Nor will the disinterestedness of his party team-work be above suspicion. Well—by his own confessed standards let us surmise that his exceptionally honest self-revelation is an effective piece of political advertisement: an invitation to some local association in a promising constituency to pick a candidate who knows how to win. And so, strong in that surmise and in the memory of that consistent support which he has given to the causes which we have at heart, we help his cause by the added advertisement of this abnormally long review.

"Honest Self-revelation." Has Mr. Gray infected us with his cynicism? For now, having taken it all so seriously, we are beginning to doubt whether he has been quite so honest with us after all. "It is in vain we grow the best orchids if we don't know where to sell them" says Mr. Gray. But does he really think it is? Perhaps. Yet doubtful still, we turn back to the frontispiece and contemplate the portrait of our author, check trousers and all, as it gazes at us. Well—there is nothing here to suggest that the book is not an honest piece of self-revelation, nothing in the contour of this face to suggest that its tongue is anywhere but in the middle of its mouth. Perhaps it is just that we are haunted by a recent re-reading of Shaw's "Showing up of Blanc Posnet." Is there no incident in this Machiavellian career which might involve the showing up of Frank Gray?

TWO MARYS.¹

The authoress of "Our Village" was a copious and delightful letter writer, and this recent selection of her letters gives a good picture of the life she led. That this was spoilt and ruined as a career by her devotion to her good-for-nothing father she would probably have denied, and perhaps rightly. Yet it is undeniable that the outward events of her life were conditioned by his extravagance, his debts, and his illnesses, and that the bright cheerfulness which came so naturally to her pen was a contrast to the circumstances about her. Mary Russell Mitford was undoubtedly a most gifted creature with a solid active brain and a naturally vivacious imagination, and it is tempting to speculate which she might have produced had her life not been overshadowed by the dutiful Victorian meekness of her day. The chronicles of small beer she has left are delightful: but perhaps she might have done more. At any rate we can be grateful for what we have, and there is unalloyed pleasure, even if of a mild flavour in these pages.

Mary Hamilton's claims on the interest of posterity are of a rather more mixed character. She was a kind of subordinate blue-stocking, knew Dr. Johnson, Horace Walpole, Hannah More, and the rest; she was an early love of George IV., and she was the niece-in-law of Nelson's Emma. After the last two items

¹ *The Letters of Mary Russell Mitford (1787-1855)*, selected with an introduction by R. Brinsley Johnson. John Lane, The Bodley Head, 6s. net. *Mary Hamilton at Court and at Home*. From Letters and Diaries, 1756-1816. Edited by her great-granddaughters, Elizabeth and Florence Anson. Published John Murray, 16s. net.

we must hasten to add that she herself was a most respectable lady, a devoted daughter, and an admirable wife and mother. George IV's passion occurred when he was only sixteen, and was certainly not reciprocated, though no doubt she felt a little flattered when he wrote to her as "My dearest, dearest, dearest Sister Friend," and gave her a full description of all his qualities and defects, as they appeared to himself, including his good and tender heart and his "uggly ears." She was most concerned about his "too ingenuous temper" which she feared would make him "a dupe to designing, interested, artful people of both sexes," and about his "vile vulgar shocking vice" of swearing. At the time of this correspondence, Miss Hamilton was governess to some of the Prince's sisters and was finding life at Court almost as trying as Fanny Burney did a few years later. Like Fanny, she admired Queen Charlotte. She was impressed with the improvements at Windsor where "The Queen has seven or eight Rooms furnished in a Stile of elegant simplicity, beautiful Paper Hangings, light carved gilt Frames for Looking Glasses, worked Chairs and painted Frames, every room different. Curtains of fine white Dimity with white Cotton Fringe, one set of Chairs are knotted Floss Silk of different Shades, sewn on to imitate natural Flowers," etc., etc. The little princesses were almost as much attached to her as their brother was though they expressed their feelings with more formality, e.g. "The Princess Royal (aged 11) presents her compliments to Miss Hamilton, and begs to know why she would not kiss her last night."

In 1782, when she was twenty-six Miss Hamilton escaped from Court and led a more congenial life in a house in Clarges Street which she shared with two friends, Miss Clarkes. She saw many fashionable and intellectual friends, and went to the *Bas Bleu* parties and read at night or while she was having her hair dressed. In 1785 she married a Mr. Dickenson who had been a friend of her childhood. They were very happy, and their one child, Louisa, was taken about to visit all the friends, and at one year and eight months old "gained great credit for her dutiful, good and pleasant behaviour." Louisa became the absorbing interest of her mother's life. There are many references to the education of girls in the letters, but though she wrote so much Mary Hamilton had not an expressive pen, and it is difficult to gather what she thought, except that learning in a woman should be kept in the background and that even French verbs might be taught in a "judicious and pleasant manner." R. S.

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SUMMER SCHOOL—25th AUGUST to 8th SEPTEMBER.

The following is a time-table of lectures to be held at the Summer School at St. Hilda's Hall, Oxford. We should like to draw the attention of our readers to the exceptionally interesting subjects to be discussed. Application should be made to the Secretary, 15 Dean's Yard, S.W. 1.

FIRST WEEK.

- 26th Aug.—Legal Aid for Poor Persons, Mrs. Rackham, J.P. Abolition of the Solicitation Laws, Mrs. Bethune-Baker, J.P. Liquor (Popular Control) Bill, Viscount Astor.
27th Aug.—Treatment, Classification, and Psychology of Criminals, Mrs. L. Mesurier, R. Roper, Esq., Dr. Hamblin Smith. The Work of the International Labour Office, H. B. Butler, Esq., C.B.
28th Aug.—Recent Legislation on the Maintenance of Wives and Children, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, J.P. The Criminal Justice Bill, W. Clarke Hall, Esq., J.P. The Right of Private War, Major W. Hills.
29th Aug.—Smoke Abatement, Miss Marion Fitzgerald. The Licensing Laws, G. A. Bryson, Esq., J.P. Family Allowances, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, J.P.
30th Aug.—Women and the Ministry, Miss Picton-Turbervill. Capital Punishment, Miss Margery Fry, J.P.
31st Aug.—The Reform of the Poor Law. Women and Police Administration, Miss Tancred. Penal Reform and Experiments in other Countries, Mrs. Barrow Cadbury, J.P., Miss Margery Fry, J.P.

SECOND WEEK.

- 1st Sept.—Les Tribunaux pour Enfants Français, Mlle. Bertillon. Moneylending, Miss Caton. Women in Industry, Miss Constance Smith.
2nd Sept.—Restrictive Legislation of Women in Industry, Miss Helen Ward. The Function of Parties under Representative Government, Professor J. L. Stocks.

- 3rd Sept.—Birth Control, Dr. Marie Stopes (in favour), Dr. Isabel Pullteney (against). The Ideals of the Conservative Party, Dame Helen Gwynne-Vaughan, D.B.E.
4th Sept.—The Problem of Population, Professor Carr-Saunders. Widows', Orphans', and Old Age Contributory Pensions Bill, Mrs. Hubbard. The Ideals of the Liberal Party, W. T. Layton, Esq.
5th Sept.—The Dawes Report and International Finance, W. T. Layton, Esq. Training for Social Work, Miss Macadam. The Ideals of the Labour Party, H. N. Brailsford, Esq.
6th Sept.—Security and the Pact, Mrs. W. T. Layton.
7th Sept.—The Carlisle Scheme of State Management of the Liquor Trade, Captain Reiss. Housing, Captain Reiss.

THE U.S.A. AND THE WORLD COURT.

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

The peace forces in the U.S.A. may be said, at present, to be divided into two camps; one of which relies on the outlawry of war as the best road to peace, and the other upon adherence to the Permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague. An interesting statement which will, it is hoped, secure the support of both parties was issued last July over the signatures of a number of influential men and women, including Professor Shotwell, the author of the American plan for security and disarmament submitted to the last Assembly, and Mr. S. O. Levinson, Chairman of the American Committee for the Outlawry of War. It is proposed that the U.S.A. should at once adhere to the World Court, and that within two years all the signatory nations shall formally endorse the principles of the outlawry of war, and shall call a conference of "all civilized nations" to make a general treaty embodying these principles. Should the signatories fail within two years to make this declaration, or to call the Conference, the U.S.A. may withdraw from the World Court, and if the signatories do not within five years make and execute a general treaty on these lines the adherence of the U.S.A. shall be terminated. From the point of view of the Women's International League there is a serious defect in the first principle of the outlawry of war as laid down in this statement.

War between nations is to be outlawed, but it is expressly stated that "the question of self-defence against attack or invasion is not involved or affected." It would be a different matter if this statement were followed—as is the somewhat similar statement in the Geneva Protocol—by a definition of aggression, but as it stands it could be used by both parties in almost every case to excuse their action. The fear of, or the threat of invasion is one of the strongest war motives; to make it an exception is to leave the heart of the difficulty untouched. The proposals present other problems, and it is doubtful how far they will prove to be practical. On the other hand, the agitation, whether successful or not, will probably strengthen the feeling in the States in support of the Court, if not of the League of Nations itself, and this would be a great step in the right direction.

W. G. RINDER.

CORRESPONDENCE.

NOTES ON DRESS.

MADAM.—I beg you will not reconsider your decision re the Dress column for though I appreciated the witty article, yet I was relieved to read your decision at the end. There are numberless papers which give full attention to that subject, and in spite of the owner of the Marie Antoinette necklace, and the "Hope" diamond, I hope you will keep our LEADER, where we have no space to waste, free from such. I do not believe you will get one new subscriber by putting in such articles.

AN OLD SUBSCRIBER.

INTERNATIONAL ABOLITIONIST FEDERATION.

MADAM.—Although somewhat belated, may I supplement the letter in which Miss Neilans called attention to the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the International Abolitionist Federation, to be held at Geneva on September 4th and 5th?

This occasion should have a special interest for us English, since the founder of the Federation was a great Englishwoman, whose name is still spoken with the deepest reverence by Continental Abolitionists—Josephine Butler.

It is fitting that the gathering should be held in Geneva, firstly because it is the seat of the Federation, secondly because it witnessed, in 1876, the first and very remarkable International Abolitionist Congress, and thirdly because the Federation was one of the earliest of those international organizations which have been modest fore-runners of the League of Nations.

Particulars can be obtained from the office of the Federation, 3 Rue du Vieux College, Geneva, or from the Association of Moral and Social Hygiene, 3 Great Smith Street, London, S.W.

HELEN WILSON.

OUR UNEQUAL FRANCHISE.

MADAM.—I shall be very grateful if you can advise me in the following matter. I live with my mother and sister and we have each "managed" to obtain a vote, my sister and I on the grounds that we are part owners of the house and my mother as occupier. We are thinking of selling this house and buying another one and occupying it in the same way, in the same borough, and I want to know whether we shall all three again be able to secure our votes, and if so, how long should we have to occupy the new house before we can be put on the register: if in the meantime a general election or bye-election occurs just after we have moved, should we be entitled to vote on the grounds that we are still on the register under the old address?

Thanking you in anticipation for any advice you may be able to give me.
N. B. A.

[For a full and detailed answer to these questions we refer our correspondent to Miss Chrystal Macmillan's pamphlet "And shall I have a parliamentary vote?" published by the N.U.S.E.C., 15 Dean's Yard, S.W. 1, price 3d. Briefly our own answers to her three questions are as follows:—(1) If she has done it once she may be able to do it again. But the position is made perfectly secure if one of the three persons occupying the house qualifies as a lodger occupying unfurnished rooms at an annual rental of not less than £5. (2) It is necessary to occupy the new premises for a qualifying period of six months which expires on 15th June for inclusion in the Autumn Register, on 15th December for inclusion in the Spring Register. (3) Yes, so long as the Register on which the old address appears is in force.—Ed.]

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