

THE
WOMAN'S LEADER

IN POLITICS IN INDUSTRY IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT
IN THE HOME IN LITERATURE AND ART IN THE PROFESSIONS

AND
THE COMMON CAUSE

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NOTES AND NEWS

Woman Suffrage in Bombay.

Bombay has followed the excellent example set by Madras in May, and has, after a lengthy debate in the Legislative Council, passed a resolution by fifty-two votes to twenty-five in favour of the enfranchisement of women. This event will be welcomed by the progressive women of India as a great step forward in the fight for freedom, though matters may conceivably move forward less rapidly in the purdah districts, where the pressure from women themselves is not strong.

Women Governors of Women's Prisons.

As we anticipated last week, the Home Secretary's reply to Lady Astor's question about the appointment of women governors to women's prisons was extremely unsatisfactory. Mr. Shortt said that a medical officer, already in the Service, has been appointed to be governor of Holloway Prison. Two lady superintendents have lately been appointed, who will serve under him, in charge of the discipline and hospital side, respectively. A lady has just been selected, the Home Secretary added, to be Governor of the Female Borstal Institution at Aylesbury. Well, we should hope so!

Police Pensions.

The House of Commons, reconsidering the Lords' amendments to the Police Pensions Bill, have restored the option of a policeman's widow eligible for a pension exceeding fifty pounds a year to choose instead a "gratuity" paid down in a lump sum. Mr. Chamberlain pointed out that a gratuity can be invested for the benefit of children, whereas the pension dies with the recipient. Mr. Hogg put the opposite danger, that the gratuity may be invested and lost, or unwisely spent, and the beneficiary left penniless. Gratuities are given nominally at the discretion of the police authority, and for special reasons. One would be glad to know that especial pains are taken to explain to police widows the alternative advantages of a certain income and a lump sum; people accustomed to a weekly wage of twenty shillings often look on a thousand pounds as inexhaustible riches.

Women Jurors in Germany.

A correspondent from Germany tells us that the question of women jurors has not been finally decided upon, since the matter has not yet been brought up for discussion in the Reichstag. We can still hope, therefore, that women in Germany will not be debarred from the exercise of a right, and the fulfilment of a duty, which experience in this country has proved to be of the utmost social value to the community.

Voluntary Workers.

There is an inexhaustible need for voluntary workers for all kinds of political and social reform and reconstruction work, and the supply is very small in these days of high prices and domestic troubles. The Consultative Committee has sent out broadcast an appeal to women war workers in the hope that there may be women who want to be useful but are not yet in touch with any of the many organisations they could help. This letter, which asks for members and helpers for about fifty different societies, makes so broad an appeal that no one can fail to be interested in some one of the causes which it mentions. We know that our readers are all already full of work; but we publish the appeal because they may know of others to whom it may be useful.

To Women War Workers.

YOU DID YOUR BIT IN THE WAR.
ARE YOU FREE TO DO YOUR BIT IN THE PEACE?
THERE IS PLENTY OF WORK TO BE DONE.

Fifty-seven Women's Organisations are calling out for new members and voluntary helpers for their reconstruction work.

HELP is needed for Societies dealing with social problems affecting Women and Children, with political work, with education and recreation for town and country women.

HELP is needed for improving health and housing, for moral and social progress, for getting better conditions in industry and the professions, and for every other good cause.

This work is all interesting. You would find in it scope for your energies, mental and physical, and since it makes for harmony and peace it should provide an even greater stimulus and satisfaction than war work.

All these women's organisations have recently joined together for consultation and co-operation, and now unite in appealing for new recruits for voluntary work and membership.

Apply in the first place to the Secretary,
CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE OF WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS,
62, Oxford Street, W. 1,

who will give you further particulars of each Society dealing with the different kinds of work.

YOUR COUNTRY STILL NEEDS YOU.
WILL YOU NOT JOIN UP?

NANCY ASTOR, Chairman.
E. PICTON-TURBERVILL, Vice-Chairman.

The Doctorate of Paris.

A newspaper correspondent has said in his haste that all the women who are doctors of the University of Paris are Americans. It is true that since the war American women have discovered the University, but it is a good many years since the first Englishwoman took her doctorate, an achievement which entails writing a thesis in French and "sustaining" it in conversation or debate with the examiners. Miss Pope and Miss Jourdain of Oxford University had this distinction before their own country gave them any official recognition. Miss C. F. E. Spurgeon, of the University of London, Miss Mary Burns, of Edinburgh, Miss E. C. Jones (now Madame Fawtier), Miss Soman, Miss Ramsay, and others, have the right to call themselves Doctors of Paris, but they seem to have hidden their light under a bushel. Women doctors of medicine are rapidly increasing in numbers in our own country, nearly a quarter of the students obtaining the diploma of the Royal College of Surgeons last week being women. There is still a large unsatisfied demand for women doctors in the East, notably in the Malay States, and this being so, it seems a pity that women neither learn nor teach at the London School of Tropical Medicine.

Women at Swansea.

The University College of Swansea, which has recently been established and incorporated as one of the Constituent Colleges of the University of Wales, has made a good beginning by appointing two women to the headship of departments. Dr. Mary Williams has been appointed Professor of French and head of the department of modern languages, and Dr. Florence Mockeridge Lecturer in Botany and head of the Department of Biology. The College has appointed Miss Olive M. Busby, M.A., to be the College Librarian.

Newnham College Jubilee.

The Garden Party and Old Students' Dinner with which Newnham College celebrated the fiftieth year of its existence were an unqualified success. Many distinguished guests were present, including Mr. Balfour, the Chancellor of the University (who spoke in the College Hall), Miss Gladstone, Miss Lawrence, Miss Fawcett, Miss Gardner, Miss Stephen, and old students from every part of the world, who came flocking back to join in the celebration. Students were there representing every year since the college began, from Mrs. Wright, who was one of the first five, and Mrs. Brooke, who sat for the first Tripos examination, right down through all the fifty years to the present first year students (who waited upon the guests at the dinner with conspicuous success, and whose representative made the best speech of the evening). A telegram of congratulation and good wishes from H.M. the Queen was received with great applause, and the very full notices and reports which appeared in the Press of Friday and Saturday were felt to be an indication of the great strides which university education for women has taken. The degree question was frequently referred to directly and indirectly in the speeches, and it could not but be in the minds of all that the University to which this college belongs was still unwilling to recognise it. However, no one has any doubt of the ultimate outcome of the controversy: and the jubilee day was spent in looking backwards and not forwards. In one respect, however, the old students insisted on looking forward. A Meeting of the College Roll was held before the party, to discuss a possible jubilee appeal for money to help the college, and before any arrangements could even be discussed the meeting insisted on collecting promises there and then, with the result that £1,408 was immediately produced. With a past to be proud of and a present so vigorous, Newnhamites can be content. They still need the University membership which will presently come to them; they still need more money (which must also come). But they have already gained the essential things, which are a fine tradition and a vivid life. A recently published book by Alice Gardner* tells the plain unvarnished tale of a great enterprise. It gives in a lucid and straightforward form the story of the founding of Newnham College and its history up to the present day. The early days are faithfully described, and the romance and excitement of the struggle show through the quiet pages, as do the high purpose and the fine spirit of the founders. No Newnhamite should be without this book; and every woman who is interested in the progress of her own emancipation should read it.

* A History of Newnham College. By Alice Gardner, M.A. (Bowes & Bowes. 7s. 6d. net.)

Back-to-Back Houses.

While debate rages round the question of scullery-bathrooms versus upstairs bathrooms, and spends itself on the comparison between parlour and non-parlour cottages, it seems to be taken for granted that the deadly back-to-back house was swept away after the monograph by a medical officer to the Local Government Board had shown that to live in it in health was almost an impossibility, though grown-up persons, away at work during the day, might sleep in it with comparative impunity. Yet a Scottish city to-day owns to having back-to-back houses in its central districts in proportions varying between 51 and 75 per cent. Here, rather than in war-mortality, is the secret of the Scottish census figures, with their story of an infinitesimal increase during a decade which has given little opportunity for emigration. It is a wise policy to build some new houses before dealing with slum areas, but the latter task ought not to be further delayed.

Children's Walks.

During the heat wave considerate parents were to be seen taking their small children for walks in "the cool of the evening," happily unobservant of the fact that by that time the pavements were giving off a maximum of stored-up heat, and that the heads of two and three-year-olds were being grilled while taller persons enjoyed the breezes of the upper air. The early morning is the time in really hot weather for all but perambulator-borne infancy, and if a garden is impossible, a breezy window seat is better than pavements in the evening. Old-fashioned persons knew this, though their talk about early rising and beauty sleep concealed their wisdom; to return to their hours may not ensure beauty in the nursery, but it will lessen the risk of meningitis.

Mental Hospitals.

Readers of THE WOMAN'S LEADER will recognise in the recent Press discussion of the shortcomings of the Asylum system the corroboration of much of the recent series of articles called "The Institute." What can be more dreadful to the man or woman who is mentally unstable than to be crowded together with violent incurable cases? Obviously, mental disease more than any other calls for classification, variety of treatment, and freedom so far as may be from the Asylum atmosphere for patients still curable. But unless this change is accompanied by better training of Asylum doctors, and more and more adequate inspection, the position of the "curable" person wrongly classified as "incurable" will be more hideous than that of any mental invalid under present arrangements. He will not be herded with every kind of case, but will be alone among "incurables." This danger must be kept in mind, for the natural trend of circumstances will concentrate medical and nursing skill on the "curable" side, and the "incurables" are likely to come under the control of the less alert and original minds, and to miss any chance of being re-classified.

Women Church Messengers.

The Bishop of Lichfield has appointed four women messengers and seven helpers in his diocese. He proposes to send these women out to visit and teach in any parish in the diocese to which they are invited by the incumbent; they are to be honorary workers, and all the women have proved themselves capable of devoted and unflagging service. It is to be hoped that women's work will soon be rewarded by equality of opportunity and status in the Church.

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.

SURPLUS WOMEN.

The daily papers have been full lately of the Surplus Women Stunt, sometimes called the "Matchless Maidens' Lament," and evidently intended for the silly season. It would be ungrateful of us to complain of this, however, for there has been a reasonable tone almost everywhere, and many of the articles which have been published have been exceedingly valuable. They are in marked contrast with the tone of the silly season of 1919, when "Whitehall flappers" came in for such unmerited abuse, and were designated alternately as limpets and parasites! Now, in this year of grace, 1921, we are reminded that surplus women must live: that they have valuable contributions to make to the national life, and that they need to be trained for usefulness and not left to hopeless dependence upon the men who do not exist to support them. If the census does nothing else but bring this lesson home, it will be well justified.

In these columns we have, of course, always advocated the thorough preparation of girls for wage-earning. Whether a woman marries, or does not marry, she ought to be in a position to support herself, and the general recognition of this fact has been one of the most solid of the feminist advances which has accompanied the granting of the vote.

Setting aside the employment question—which is a vast subject, deserving closer analysis than we can give in the space of one column—there are undoubtedly real problems raised by the present preponderance of women over men in the British Isles. The normal course of a woman's life includes marriage and child-bearing, but in this country and in this generation a considerable percentage of women must forgo the normal course. It is obvious that their energies must find some satisfactory outlet, and that if they do not a great amount of human suffering and waste will occur.

We do not believe that a woman's only chance of happiness lies in marriage, or even in motherhood, any more than does a man's. For both men and women the question of mating is of great importance, but for neither of them is it the only thing in life. For a long time it has been supposed to be woman's only preoccupation, but that pretence has gone at last. The economic dependence of women on men has fostered it, and although it is true that this system has not yet been changed, the idea that women can think of nothing else than marriage has taken flight. We know now that women need other things in their lives as well, and marriage and motherhood are themselves the better for the change. But for all that, it is true that to be obliged to miss that great human experience is a deprivation, and that it is better for women as well as for men when the normal human functions and the normal human desires can be fulfilled.

It is no good, however, to wish for another state of things. We must take what there is and do what we can with it, and, after all, it is not so bad. When George Gissing wrote "The Odd Women" the lot of the single woman was pitiable, but to-day there is more to be said for it. There is a choice of occupation which increases every year, a freedom of movement and of behaviour unknown fifty years ago. Women can, and do, live their own lives, making homes and choosing friends for themselves even if they do not marry, and finding and enjoying those human interests which are the very centre of individual life. They can, too, find plenty of channels for all the pent-up mother instincts they may possess, and they can and do find satisfaction as well as usefulness in their lives. We are not going to pity the surplus woman after all.

So far are we from pitying her that sometimes we think she has the best of it. A married woman's lot is often a terribly strenuous one, especially if her means be small. The romance of love and the joy of children are real enough; but the daily grind of cooking and washing up, of nursing, scolding, mending, economising and struggling, day in and day out, with never a holiday and never a change of company, is a different story. The domestic service problem, which is apparently devastating so many middle-class homes to-day, is one phase of this story, and throws a strange side light upon it. Surplus women will not, it seems, do the work, even for good wages, which married ones have to do for nothing. There is something wrong; but we suspect, after all, that it is more than numerical disproportion which is troubling us. The fact of the matter is that the position of women, whether married or single, is not right yet: for the single women it is improving month by month amid popular approval. For the married it is still some distance behind, and there is plenty of room for improvement.

NEWS FROM WESTMINSTER.

By OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT.

The week opened with the last stage of the Repeal of the Corn Production Act. It was carried by 193 votes to 66. The measure of its unpopularity. Many members abstained from measure of its unpopularity. Many Members abstained from voting; indeed, the fact that less than 200 supported it speaks for itself. Thus the Government policy is scrapped, and with it go all the high hopes of agricultural regeneration. That such a reversal should have taken place within eleven months of the initiation of the policy is strange. It is stranger still that the same Minister should have been capable of finding arguments in support of the Bill and equally good arguments for its destruction. Strangest of all, however, is the apathy with which the public and Parliament have received the greatest piece of political inconsistency of modern times.

This happened on Monday, July 25th. On July 26th there was a long and unsatisfactory discussion on the salaries of Civil Servants. Out of a welter of conflicting statements two facts emerged. The first is that, speaking generally, before the war the Civil Service was underpaid. This is admitted in most quarters, and is particularly true of the higher branches. Therefore, to this extent, the Government are justified in spending more. The other fact which emerged, is that money is still being wasted, for the staffs of many Departments are redundant; for example, no explanation has ever been offered why the Admiralty should employ 7,000 persons more when the German Fleet is at the bottom of the North Sea than they did when it was afloat. There are many similar cases, and Ministers have never produced any explanation which has satisfied the House. There was a division, but the Government obtained a substantial majority.

Wednesday, July 27th, was the first of the five days allotted for Report and Third Reading of the Railways Bill. Progress was a good deal faster than the time allowed, and the Bill went on its way without much trouble.

On the following day Thursday, July 28th, the House turned its attention to Scottish Housing. The Debate, which was largely technical, was relieved by an impassioned speech from Mr. Robertson, Member for Bothwell, which would have been more effective had he paid more attention to the details which a successful House of Commons speech requires. He spoke too loud, and with too little modulation; but in spite of these faults it was no mean performance.

A stranger who had been away from politics for seven years, and who might have chanced to come into the Chamber on Friday, July 29th, would have been considerably surprised. When told that the Third Reading of a Finance Bill was being discussed, he would no doubt have expected to see that strict party allegiance which Finance above all other subjects entails. What he would actually have seen was something very different. He would have seen the Government attacked from all quarters, not the least vigorously from their own Benches. For example, Lord Winterton made a speech which might have been made by Captain Wedgwood Benn, and what was more remarkable, it was cheered not only by the Opposition but by many on the Coalition side. He was followed by Mr. Thomas, who directed his speech to the Government Benches and received from them a large measure of assent. The Government, in fact, found mighty few supporters. No doubt the House is fatigued, and consequently somewhat petulant. This may explain in part its critical attitude. But there is something deeper. There is a general distrust of the Government's professions of economy, and this distrust falls heaviest on Mr. Lloyd George. Longings for a purely Conservative administration, which up to now have been confined to a few extremists, are receiving a more general expression. The political situation is fluid to an extent which it has not been since the Armistice. If once the Irish difficulty is got out of the way, anything is possible.

On Tuesday, July 26th, Mr. Chamberlain told the House what was to be the business for the rest of the Session. Of the big Bills, the Railway and the Safeguarding of Industries Bills are to be passed, and so is the Repeal of the Corn Production Act. The Criminal Law Amendment Bill and the Licensing Bill are in a middle state of blessedness, and may get through or may not; they probably will, but it is not certain. The day promised for a debate on women in the Civil Service has not yet been given.

[The views expressed in this column are those of our Parliamentary correspondent, and are not our editorial opinion. Like so many other things in this paper they are expressly controversial, and comment upon them will be welcomed.—ED.]

THE LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS.—III.

11. In the matter of the belligerent use of poison gas, and other novel means of applying scientific knowledge to the destruction of life and property, the Committee consider that war is by nature inhuman, and the immediate purpose of warfare is such exercise of destructive and coercive force as will bring about the object for which fighting has been resorted to.

It is plain to the Committee that it is impracticable to restrict the progress of scientific thought and discovery which might be applied to warfare, or be diverted to warlike purposes.

International prohibition would not prevent a nation determined to go to war from securing the initial advantages of surprise, which might be won by some concealed or secret process of manufacture. To be effective international agreement would seem to require International Commissions of Control armed with powers of inspection and prohibition which, under present conditions, self-governing States would probably decline to tolerate. International agreement, apart from such Commissions of Control, would only achieve results where concealment or rapid construction is not possible, e.g., in such cases as the limitation of number of battleships or other units of size or importance, or in the prohibition of their construction. It also appears to the Committee that experience has shown that it is not possible, while war is actually raging, to ensure the observance of regulations tending to minimise the horrors of war.

12. The Committee do not mean to imply that the endeavour to maintain any so-called "laws of war" need be thrown to the winds. Since the days of Grotius attempts have been successfully made to abolish needless brutalities, e.g., the use of wanton cruelties that do not serve to promote effectively the attainment of the ends of war. It is true that under modern methods of warfare the distinction between non-combatants and organised fighting forces is far less clear than in the days of professional armies. War is to-day a struggle between the total populations of the countries engaged; and customs of war based on the supposed distinction between combatants and non-combatants broke down in great measure during the Great War. But there are some obvious limitations on the cruelties of war, which clearly ought still to be maintained. The poisoning of wells, the use of explosive or expanding bullets, of torture or gross cruelty towards prisoners, the sinking at sight of neutral vessels, and the like, ought to be barred out by custom or agreement.

A more effective means of prohibition appears to the Committee to be the institution by the League of Nations of a Code prohibiting the employment of certain methods of destruction and regulating the conduct to be observed towards prisoners, sick and wounded, and non-combatants. It should be the duty of the League to declare a nation uncivilised when infractions of this Code are proved, and to ensure also that individuals guilty of breaches of this Code are brought to trial as soon as hostilities cease. This procedure would, in the opinion of the Committee, have the effect of making nations careful to observe the Code, in view of the effect which breaches of the Code, certified by the League, would have upon neutrals, and also because of their effect in deterring individuals from incurring the penalties which such breaches might entail.

MORE EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF A WOMAN IN THE HOME

July 29th.

If there is one subject about which we have made progress in civilisation during the last fifty years it is surely in an increased sense of responsibility about the education of children, and especially about the education of girls. The tragedy of the present stress for the woman in the home is that it may force her to lower her standard in the field in which she has won most.

A good education is a very expensive thing, not in itself, but because of the conditions it imposes. The actual lessons cost ridiculously little. It is almost shocking to compare the small sum we pay for Greek with the large sum we pay for the weekly joint: but the joint and its accompaniments can be got almost anywhere, while to get Greek in proper combination with other instruction one must go where the lessons are. That is the crux of the whole matter. In old days widows who wanted to

13. The Committee would further point out that while, as has been said, it would be impracticable to attempt to restrict the progress of scientific thought and discovery applicable to war, the purpose in view would best be served by the promotion of free intercourse of scientific thought among all nations, and by so interpreting Article VIII. of the Covenant as to require every Member of the League to register with the League of Nations all new discoveries and processes applicable to warfare. The utility of such measures would be twofold; for, in the first place, they would tend to prevent a number of scientific men from concentrating their energies upon preparations for war; and, in the second place, they would tend to prevent nations from possessing a large number of war secrets, for which antidotes had not yet been devised, and the benefits of which the nations would be apt to exaggerate in their own minds and wish to realise in actual warfare.

14. It is the view of the Committee that there are grave objections to the continuance of private enterprise in the manufacture of armaments—because, *inter alia*, private enterprise stimulates competition in producing and obtaining engines of war; tends to cause war in order to increase demand; benefits financially from war scares; and must tend to obstruct the League of Nations, whose success would mean its ruin. The Committee recommend that the Council of the League be urged to ask the temporary Commission appointed by them on February 25th, 1921, to investigate as quickly as possible, first, the possibility of the total prohibition of the private manufacture of armaments, and, secondly, the necessities of those Members of the League who do not manufacture any armaments for themselves, but depend for their whole supply upon private or foreign enterprise.

15. The Committee regard the question of foreign trade in munitions of war, including all firearms and ammunition, as intimately related to that discussed in the preceding paragraph. They were aware that certain abortive steps have been taken in regard to this question, and they strongly urge that the Council of the League should be invited to ask for an early report upon this further question from the Temporary Commission appointed on February 25th, 1921.

16. The Committee have also considered the possibility of fixing the measure of each State's trained man power for sea, for land, and for air, and have decided that in view of the complications of this question they cannot usefully add to the proposals formulated in the beginning of this Report.

17. On the question of an international force and its relation to national forces, the Committee are of the opinion:—

(a) That the creation of an International Army at the disposal of the League is not practicable at the present time.

(b) That the Council of the League should have the authority and the resources necessary to enable it to create the police force or forces by land, sea, and air, required for the control and protection of specific territories or districts, should the need arise.

(c) That an International Police Force by land, sea, and air for general purposes would be of great value to the League; such a force should, however, be allowed to develop gradually out of the police force indicated in the preceding paragraph.

THE END.

economise took their daughters to live in a country cottage; such a cottage as that occupied by Mrs. Dashwood in "Sense and Sensibility," or by the mother of "Amy Herbert." If there were girls under sixteen (the age at which daughters grew up at that period), they had a governess, if means allowed, or were taught by the mother or elder sisters. Beyond this the needs of the mind were supplied by piano practice and water-colour sketching, and by a great deal of reading aloud. One can hardly help an envious sigh when one thinks how delightful life might be with children in such a cottage covered with roses and honeysuckle (though Mrs. Dashwood's, by-the-by, had "no honeysuckles") and surrounded by quiet woods and skies. But our present views, combined with our present circumstances, make it impossible to live in the country except childlessly or with babies, unless, indeed, one is rich enough to have two

houses, or one's children are all grown up and have taken to agricultural work. That is to live childlessly, too, however; the dreary fact is that our modern ideas of education do not, as a rule, allow us to keep children between eleven and eighteen in the country except for holidays or at boarding-schools. We want them taught by experts, not one expert, but many experts; and the experts are to be found in quantities only in certain places, mostly towns.

Some of the big public schools for girls and some of the most expensive (and, no doubt, excellent) private schools are in lovely country surroundings, but they are no help from the point of view of economising in a cottage. This is not the moment to weigh the respective merits of day-schools and boarding-schools; the point I am dwelling on now is merely expense—good boarding-schools are generally very dear and good day-schools are often extraordinarily cheap. That weekly joint costs a great deal when it is carved away from home, and most school-masters agree that only boarders pay. How the day-schools that are only day-schools contrive to exist and to be so good, I cannot think. I hope that not many of them do it by economising in staff; those that take that course cannot hope to keep up a high standard for long. I think, however, that the economy is more often in what one may call the apparatus and amenities of school-life, school buildings and decorations, size and position of playgrounds, and so on. All these things are not unimportant, but they are less important than the expert teaching, if only because they can be to some extent made up for at home. "Making up at home" is the task of every woman who decides to send her children to day-schools and not to let them lose by it, the fact is, that though we no longer think, as women did fifty years ago, that we can give expert instruction in every subject ourselves, we still think, and perhaps think more than ever, that we can undertake a great deal of the important part of education, which is not

instruction only, ourselves; and at this time of stress it is more necessary than ever that we should try. On our success in this the success of all our effort at economy depends. For is not the object of it to preserve our substance for our children till they are old enough to support themselves, and to give them such an equipment that they will be capable of every kind of self-support?

And here I must pause for a moment to try and get things into proportion. From one point of view the battle can, at best, only be partially successful—the odds are too heavy—and we, the chief combatants, feel ourselves too inadequate; we cannot, in any case, do a thousandth part of what we would do for our children, and we cannot pretend that our present case is in all respects a good one. Some degree of inevitable failure stares us in the face. We must not be discouraged from going forward and winning what we can. I know how much one longs to give every opportunity to the child of one's heart. I know the heartache that comes when one has to refuse, or one is afraid one may have to refuse in the future. But, after all, these opportunities of ours are only means to an end. If we really want our children to grow up self-supporting in every sense, we must desire for them that strength of soul without which all equipment is a mere shell. How that comes we do not know, but my own conviction is that it may, and often does, come from denial, as well as from fulfilment. Poverty, which is all denial, may be one road to it for children, as well as for grown-up people. But I do not think it can be obtained by denial only, or that poverty will do our children any good unless we struggle very hard to keep it in the right place. It is in that struggle our economy consists. We must carry it on with a good heart and win for our children every opportunity we can. Then, and then only, we can take rest in the thought that God's opportunities are not as ours.

MARGARET CLARE.

REVIEWS.

Credit-Power and Democracy. By C. H. Douglas. With a Commentary by A. R. Orage. (Cecil Palmer. 7s. 6d.)

To the student of economics this book, with its clear and lucid analysis of the evils which beset the world and its original and comprehensive scheme for eliminating the evil effects of the present capitalist system, will be the source of absorbing interest; and coming, as it does, at a time when the industrial system, not only of this country, but of the whole world, is in a state of chaos, it merits the close attention of every serious-minded man or woman, and not only of the limited class that usually takes an academic interest in the subject.

The fact that all is not well with the industrial world is so self-evident that it needs no amplification, and the very fact that the remedies proposed are as numerous and as contradictory as the various schools of thought, suggests that the true solution of the problem has yet to be discovered.

The author starts, therefore, from the basis of the known phenomena of the existing industrial system—on the one hand, an unsatisfied demand for the products of industry without the means to make that demand effective, and on the other hand, a surplus production which, owing to the absence of that effective demand, cannot be absorbed at its economic value. He shows clearly that this must have certain undesirable results (irrespective of whether the executive authority is vested in private individuals or in the State). Either the capitalist must press down wages to below subsistence level, in order to reduce costs and thereby stimulate distribution, or else he must leave the needs of the community unsatisfied, and seek, with the assistance of the State, some unexploited foreign market, in which to dispose of the product. Either alternative is anti-social in character, and results in unrest, misery, and eventually in revolution. But inasmuch as the same causes are driving other producing nations to search for unexploited markets, a state of economic warfare must inevitably exist which will again precipitate civilisation into actual warfare at no very distant date.

In the opening chapters of the book, Major Douglas shatters the fallacies that labour creates all wealth, and that capital and capitalism are one and the same thing, and points out that these misconceptions have exerted a "tragic influence on the strategy of the Labour movement" by placing that strategy in a position of antagonism to the interests of society. He attacks the policy of the "Right to Work," and shows that the object of industry

is not work for its own sake, but the satisfaction of the needs of Society for goods and services. He rightly claims that the industrial machine is a common heritage, entailing the right of Society as a whole (not the operatives only) to the enjoyment of the product, and points out that there is an unearned increment-value in "association for industrial purposes" which is the creation of the community and should be credited to it.

It is impossible in the space of a review to give a detailed explanation of the scheme in all its aspects. We will mention only the basic arguments on which the author founds his thesis, in the hope that our readers will be sufficiently interested to seek further elucidation from the book itself. These arguments reduced to their simplest forms are as follows: From its purely financial aspect, a productive organisation, on the one hand, is a device for the distribution of purchasing power to the community, by means of wages, salaries, profits, and dividends; and, on the other hand, is a manufactory of financial values, i.e., the total price value of the product. The cost price, however, must always be greater than the amount of purchasing power distributed in the process, because the cost includes not only all those wages, salaries, profits, &c., but also all costs of raw material, overhead charges, &c.

There are, however, two forms of production: (a) ultimate products, or articles capable of immediate consumption; and (b) capital products, or articles such as tools, machinery, &c., which have value only as a means of further production.

Now, whereas our present system of credit-issue and price-making distributes purchasing power in respect of both classes of production, it takes back from the community the whole of that purchasing power in the prices of ultimate products only; so that the community, having paid for the plant and the product, receives delivery of the latter only.

But real credit is the correct estimate of the ability of the community to produce and deliver goods as, and when, and where required; and inasmuch as an effective demand for the product is as necessary to the creation of real credit as the ability to produce, real credit is inherent in, and belongs to, the community. On the other hand, financial credit, which is issued by the banks, is the means by which real credit is set in motion and directed. By seizing, through the use of financial credit, the control of communal credit, and by a system of price-fixing which deprives Society of the ability to secure either a share of the increased production, or a reduction in the hours of labour

(which improved machinery and scientific knowledge are capable of conferring), all the profit arising from the association of the community for industrial purposes has passed into the hands of a limited class which uses it to increase its own wealth and power.

Major Douglas' solution of the problem is two-fold. First, the control of credit must be restored to the community by means of Producers' Banks, which shall control the policy (but not the administration) of production. And, secondly, all ultimate products shall be sold at a just price, this price to bear the same ratio to cost as the cost-value of consumption bears to the money value of total production; the difference between this selling price and cost price to be refunded to the manufacturer out of a National Credit Account standing to the credit of the industry at the Producer's Bank.

That is to say, if, over a given period, total consumption is found to stand in the ratio to the value of total production as one is to four, then the price of the ultimate product to the consumer shall be a quarter of its cost price.

By means of the first proviso the control of industrial policy reverts to the community, who can direct it in the interests of Society. The second ensures that all increase of the community's real credit becomes a benefit to Society in general, and every issue of goods is balanced by an equivalent issue of purchasing power.

To prove how the scheme would work in practice the latter part of the book is devoted to the development in detail of the scheme as applied to the mining industry. The Commentary on this by Mr. A. R. Orage, who has done so much in "The New Age" to bring Major Douglas' scheme before the public, leaves nothing to be desired. The soundness of the scheme, from the theoretical standpoint, is undoubted. What is not so obvious is the writer's contention that it could be adopted

without encountering overwhelming opposition from the financial powers; but in addition to this, the active intervention of the Government is an essential to the carrying out of the scheme, and how under existing conditions of Society, this co-operation is to be obtained is not adequately dealt with.

In his commentary, Mr. Orage anticipates two obvious lines of criticism, and deals convincingly with the objection that the scheme is too complex to be understood by the public, by pointing out that the modern machinery used in course of production, or the intricacies of our present financial system are both much too complex to be understood by the rank and file employed in their operation. The objection that the refunding of the difference between cost and selling price is merely a form of State-dole, he meets by the argument that the community simply pays out through the National Credit Account the credit balance already created by the industry, and no one is taxed to make up this difference. It is regrettable that neither he nor Major Douglas devote much space to proving what is not clear, namely, by what means Capital could be induced to co-operate with Labour in setting up the necessary machinery for the working of the scheme, and how the intervention of the Government is to be obtained.

If these obvious difficulties could be surmounted it is certain that the adoption of the scheme would result in the complete socialisation of industry with its attendant benefits of meeting all the requirements of society for goods and services by the expenditure of a small and ever-decreasing amount of manpower, together with the total abolition of the wage system, and the elimination of international friction. A scheme that offers such results deserves and requires full and impartial investigation, and this is all the author claims for them.

G. H. D.

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(b) Equal Guardianship of Children.
6. The League of Nations and the practical application of the principle of Equal Opportunity for men and women within it.

THE FATE OF THE BILLS.

At the time of writing there is just a glimmer of hope with regard to the Guardianship, Maintenance and Custody of Infants Bill.

Our friends in the House are making splendid efforts on its behalf, and our own Societies and a large number of sister societies have worked strenuously. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, in reply to a question from Sir Donald Maclean, said it was impossible to spare time, and further questions elicited the same response. There is still, however, an element of hope, as sometimes the unexpected happens, and no opportunity will be lost. It is still not too late to send in memorials signed by Members of Parliament to Headquarters. The Children of Unmarried Mothers Bill is in precisely the same position.

The Bishop of London's Criminal Law Amendment Bill may possibly be more fortunate, and there are still good hopes that it may be successful and finish triumphantly a perilous career both in the House of Lords and in the House of Commons.

HELP FOR HEADQUARTERS.

We have to acknowledge with very warm feelings of gratitude the following generous gifts to Headquarters funds within the last few weeks:—

A thank-offering for work accomplished	£100 0 0
E.C.B.	100 0 0
Mrs. Margoliouth (in memory of Mrs. Rudge, Camberley, Surrey, a strong supporter of women's suffrage)	25 0 0
Donation from Kensington Society for Equal Citizenship	5 0 0

PLANS FOR AUGUST.

Owing to temporary reduction in the size of THE WOMAN'S LEADER during August, Headquarters Notes must be condensed in a column. During the next few weeks paragraphs will appear dealing with proposals for work to be undertaken during the autumn and winter, which it is expected will be of unusual interest in view of the possible approach of a general election. Short bibliographies on different subjects will also be given.

VISITORS AT HEADQUARTERS.

We have already had the pleasure of visits at Headquarters from well-known visitors from other countries, including Mademoiselle Gourd of Geneva, Prsident de l'Association Suisse pour le Suffrage Fminin, and Mrs. Schoenmaker from New York. The presence of Mademoiselle Gourd recalled the delightful week of the International Congress last year, and we only wish she had come at a season of the year when our Societies could have had an opportunity of meeting her. Mrs. Schoenmaker is engaged in the teaching of Citizenship to women voters, and, though she came to cross-examine us as to our work, we reversed the process and gained much useful information about recent developments in the United States.

CORRESPONDENCE.

HOUSING.

MADAM,—With reference to your note on housing in this week's THE WOMAN'S LEADER, is it not time that practical women should try and find a remedy for the great evil of shortage of houses? A great evil it is, as shortage means overcrowding and overcharging. People have to live where they can get rooms, not where it is most convenient. Young couples have to postpone marriage because they cannot find anywhere to live. And the remedy has not been found. State provision of houses has been tried and failed. Can we not find some other help?

It is a hard thing to say, but undoubtedly the shortage is largely due to unwise reformers. Just as the present position of Russia is owing to people who believed in theory rather than in experience, so our dearth of houses is owing to people, excellent people, full of good intentions, who set out to better the condition of the working classes, and were indignant with strong-hearted, practical men and women who persisted in thinking that ordinary trade considerations applied to the trade in houses as surely as they do to any other trade. What the housing trade is suffering from is too much interference and too heavy taxation. These two will kill any trade if they have full play, and they have severely injured, if not killed, the trade in houses.

The remedy, I believe, for the present evil is this: Lessen your interference with the housebuilder and houseowner. Reduce your taxation on small houses. Make the rate on houses let at under £30 a year half that which is levied on larger houses. Abolish inspection of houses unless the tenant complains.

Now there is evil as well as good in both these proposals, but I think for the present difficulty the good outweighs the evil.

It will be objected to the first proposal that we shall be encouraging extravagance in the elected Councils if a large number of ratepayers are partly exempted from the consequences of expenditure. To this I would reply that half the present rate in most places would be adequately felt by a working-class tenant.

My second proposal will meet with disfavour from the opposite camp, and the ardent reformer and health enthusiast will exclaim against any relaxation of public supervision.

To him I would answer that the present conditions are really intolerable from a trade point of view.

The whole profit of houseowning may be swept away by an unreasonable inspector ordering constant repairs re-decoration, &c. If the tenant has a real grievance and complains that the landlord is not providing what he agreed to, by all means give him as easy and accessible a remedy as possible. But out and away the best remedy is plentifulness of houses, so that if he is not comfortable where he is he may easily move elsewhere.

People are far more uncomfortable in the crowded conditions brought about by a scarcity of houses than they are in houses which are unvisited by a Government inspector, if there are plenty in the market so that they can change if they are dissatisfied.

MAUD SELBORNE.

WOMEN POLICE.

MADAM,—In reading your report of the Conference on "Women Police" at the Caxton Hall in your paper, THE WOMAN'S LEADER, I was surprised to notice that no mention was made of the part played in this movement by the members of this Service.

You will remember I said at the Conference that the women police movement started in 1914 and was founded by the late Miss Damer Dawson; that as a Service we have trained 1,500 women and have raised close on £40,000; that forty-seven towns had been supplied with women police from among our trained members, and that a great deal of time and money were being expended on its propaganda work at the present moment.

The other speakers at the Conference, though competent to express opinions on the need for women police and on their general usefulness, were naturally quite unable to state that they had devoted the whole of the last six years to putting this movement on a right basis.

MARY S. ALLEN, Commandant, W.A.S.

WOMEN'S HOLIDAY FUND.

MADAM,—May we once more appeal through your columns for help to carry on the work of the Women's Holiday Fund? This year, with the dark cloud of unemployment hanging over so many homes, the working woman's burden of care and anxiety is heavier than usual. She is the first to suffer, the one to make sacrifices for husband and children to go without the necessities of life, and certainly without such a luxury as a holiday. More help is, therefore, needed if many of these tired women are to get rest and the refreshment of fresh air and sea breezes. They themselves can contribute but little towards the cost of a holiday, and we therefore ask for a very generous response to the appeal from all who are now planning their own holidays, and to whom the thought of passing a year without this change is inconceivable. The Society has just opened at St. Leonards-on-Sea a small Home of its own, with a trained Matron in charge, where some of London's weary and, in many cases, under-nourished mothers may with their babies be given the good food and rest they so badly need.

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Contributions, large and small, towards the upkeep of the Home, and also for the general work of the Fund, are urgently needed, and should be sent to: The Secretary, Women's Holiday Fund, 76, Denison House, 296, Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W. 1.

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COMING EVENTS.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

AUGUST 6.

At Stalnes, Rohnymede, 3 p.m. Speaker: Capt. R. Gee, V.C., M.P.

AUGUST 11.

At Poole, Dorset, Foole Park, 8 p.m. Speaker: Sir Arthur D. Steel Maitland, M.P.

AUGUST 12.

At Hornsey Rise, Training College, 8.30 p.m. Speaker: Capt. Reginald Berkeley.

MODERN CHURCHMEN'S CONFERENCE.

AUGUST 8-15.

At Girton College, Cambridge.

THE MALTHUSIAN LEAGUE FOR RATIONAL BIRTH CONTROL

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