

The Common Cause

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Notes and News.

The Royal Garden Party.

On Friday, July 25, their Majesties received at Buckingham Palace ten thousand representative women war workers, drawn from every part of the kingdom and representing every kind of work. The garden was filled with uniforms, from the scarlet and grey of the Territorial nurses to the severe dark blue of the new women police. The Q.M.A.A.C.s, W.R.N.S., and W.R.A.F.S. were all there with the V.A.D.s, the nurses both British and Colonial, the Scottish Women's Hospitals, the land workers and the munition workers. All the multitudinous forms of women's war activity were represented together, perhaps for the last time, in the bright green setting of the palace garden, and among the uniformed workers moved the host of titled and smart ladies, whose war work has been no less genuine for its fashionable dress. There were many women there whose war doings have been one long round of dreary committees, and it is these ununiformed women who have raised and given the money that has been the basis of so much of the voluntary effort of civilians, and who have carried on the disagreeable but necessary business of organisation. To all these people the King and Queen gave a welcome, and to as many of them as was physically possible they gave their personal thanks. A function such as this is, after all, of little intrinsic importance, but it remains a useful symbol. For we are, all of us, glad and proud of our country's efforts, and it is satisfactory to be able to show it. There was a time when the newspapers said that the country was grateful to its women. To-day we all know that the country is in part its women, and that they need not be set aside and separately thanked. Nevertheless, it is quite fitting that the heads of the State should publicly give expression to the feeling that we all share that we have endured a long tough job together and have pulled through.

The Fate of the Emancipation Bill.

The Women's Emancipation Bill, which so triumphantly survived the opposition of the Government in the House of Commons, met with a chilling reception in the Lords, where its second reading was refused on Thursday last. The Bill was brought forward by Lord Kimberley, supported, somewhat

grudgingly, by Lord Russell, and opposed by the Lord Chancellor, and with no further discussion negatived. Nothing of any interest transpired in the debate, which followed closely on the lines of the debate on the Government Bill, the only new matter being the question of the franchise. Speaking on this point, Lord Kimberley said:—"I have been told that if the Bill is passed we shall have more women on the register than men. I cannot help that; neither can you. If you are to have real democracy, then you cannot help women being in the majority. I am not one of those who is the least bit afraid of that. If you refuse it will only be because you are afraid you will be swamped by women." The Lord Chancellor however, did not accept this challenge. He did not defend himself from the accusation, but killed the Bill with a mild yet Governmental phrase. "I cannot see," he said, "the convenience of the course suggested by the noble Earl . . . It is completely inappropriate that we should add five million women at the present time, when, I believe, that no considerable body in the State desires that that addition should be followed, as it ought to be followed, by an appeal to the constituencies." So much for the young women: inconvenient and inappropriate, they walk off the stage of the House of Lords—to reappear, where?

The Peeresses Again.

Once more, as on the other Bill, their Lordships woke to attention over the matter of the Peeresses. The Lord Chancellor took it up in the grand manner. "I do not know," he said, "how many of your Lordships were impressed by the argument on this subject that was addressed to the House, I thought with great force, by more than one speaker on the Second Reading of the Government Bill. In my view it would be foolish to choose this time of all others to introduce so great a breach of historical continuity in the history of this House. Your Lordships must reach a conclusion upon that matter, and it is a grave one which requires argument and decision, but the point is that that conclusion is just as much open to your Lordships on the clause in the Government Bill as it is open to your Lordships in the further clause in the noble Earl's Bill." So it is, and we shall see what happens. Meanwhile, Lord Kimberley pointed out that the arguments for delay brought forward by Lord Bryce had been demolished by Lord Curzon. Lord Bryce had argued that since their Lordships were about to be reformed, their Ladyships must wait, but the Leader of the House had since announced that the Government had not promised to deal with the constitution of the Second Chamber in the next session of Parliament. And so they will be face to face with these alarming ladies when the Bill goes into Committee, as it does this Thursday, and we shall be able to see whether they are or are not "afraid of the women." We hope and trust, however, that this little matter of their own constitution will not continue to overshadow in the minds of the Peers of the Realm the other important points in the Government Bill. Although the Franchise Bill has not survived the Lords, the other one has, and there is now more need than ever to improve it. The amendment standing in the names of Lord Haldane and Lord Buckmaster on the Civil Service Clause are most important, and we hope they will receive the serious consideration that is due to their real importance and undoubted effect upon national efficiency.

Success.

The Restoration of Pre-War Practices Bill came back from Committee and passed through the Report Stage on Friday, July 25. In Committee an amendment was defeated which excluded from the scope of the Bill new industries and new parts of old industries (in which no pre-war practice can have existed). On the Report Stage, however, the Government definitely announced that the Bill did not apply to new industries or new parts of old industries, and the amendments were therefore ruled out of order as unnecessary. This announcement is as good as the carrying of the amendment. It secures the legal right of women to seek and to hold jobs of any sort or kind in the industries not already established and organised before the war. We believe that it secures their legal right to be employed as welders, on all aircraft work, optical, glass, drawing, and some other scientific instrument making, and in all the other long list of new processes and new branches of the engineering trade set out in the Report of the Ministry of Reconstruction on this subject. The news is as good as we could possibly have hoped for. We did not expect, and did not want, the breaking of the Treasury agreement. We wanted, but hardly dared to hope for, the passing of the amendment, especially after its defeat in Committee. And now we have got a clear and definite statement which will enable us to know where we are. On this basis negotiations will be much easier, and employers who wish to employ women on new work will now be able to do so, and women who wish to carry on a new trade will find no legal obstacle in their path.

The Two Interpretations.

In moving the amendment Col. Guinness said:—"The subsection is intended to deal with pre-war industries, whether they are carried out in pre-war establishments or in specially adapted establishments. The object of my amendment is to make the intention of the subsection perfectly clear . . . that is, to limit it to pre-war industries. . . . The amendment does not deal only with the question of women. Its object is to make certain that the Bill will in no way affect the employment of dilutees in these new industries, and especially the employment of discharged and demobilised soldiers and sailors. . . . In the Committee discussion we were told that this Bill was practically verbally inspired, that it was the result of seven months' delicate negotiations between employers and trade unions under the close watch of the Government. But the debate rather showed that the Government and the trade unions may perhaps not attach exactly the same sense to the language of the Bill because, in spite of the Parliamentary Secretary having said that no such limitation was necessary, the Member for Preston, speaking from the Labour point of view, said . . . it would be provocative of legislation in the future to remove it. The only meaning of this is that in the mind of the hon. member there was the idea that this Bill is not limited to pre-war practices, and that it will not be satisfactory to one party if it is so limited. . . ."

The View of the Ministry of Labour.

The Labour Party itself raised the question of whether the amendment was in order, thereby bringing upon their own heads the official declaration which the amendment was designed to lay down. Sir Robert Horne, when appealed to by the Speaker, gave a very positive and unambiguous explanation. "The intention of the Bill," he said, "is to deal only with pre-war practices . . . the intention of this subsection is not to deal in any way with any industry that is new, but only with industries which were being carried on prior to the war. The Bill does nothing whatsoever to interfere with any conditions that may arise in any new industries." This, at any rate, is clear so far as it goes. But what is an industry? Mr. Young claimed that every conceivable branch of engineering work was part of an old industry and covered by the Bill. The amendment, on the other hand, dealt with new industries and new branches of old industries, and the Government held it to be unnecessary. We are clearly not out of the wood yet, but at least we now have a declared ally in the Ministry of Labour.

The View of the Trade Unions.

The dropping of the amendment involved, as Major Hills pointed out, the omission of any safeguarding clause about wages. We trust that his appeal to the Minister of Labour to see to it that, since women are to be admitted to post-war trades, there shall be some regulation of the wages under which they are admitted will not be neglected. For in this, and in this

alone, is there any justification for the attitude of the trade unions on this question. Mr. Jack Jones, speaking on behalf of the semi-skilled, showed up very clearly indeed the confusions and even contradictions of thought which their position implies. "Speaking from the standpoint of the unskilled and general workers," he said, "we are prepared to take care of ourselves and to trust our fellow-workers in the skilled trades." That is all right. If you trust people, you trust them; but apparently Mr. Jones does not think so. "May I be allowed to say," he went on, "that the general workers are not going to allow themselves to be squeezed out of industry at the dictation of what might be called the skilled workman. We have rights as well as duties, and we are prepared to defend our rights." Mr. Jones is in a difficult place, and he knows it. But his difficulty is as nothing to that of the women for whom he says he speaks. "We are not going to allow ourselves to be used as tools to defeat the principles of trade unionism," he said, and he spoke the truth. He will not, nor will his fellows. But the women, though they have the same intention, have not the same power. Let Mr. Jones look to it that he really helps them.

Woman's Place.

The attention paid to the problem of women in industry by the House of Commons was not altogether pleasing to the Labour Party. They viewed with suspicion some of the hon. members, and Mr. Jones accused them of being like "that animal in the Zoo which slobbers over you before it finally devours you." They did not want, it seemed, the help of the State, or anyone else, in settling the problems of employment. "Labour itself," Mr. Jones said, "skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled, will look after the interests of our men and of our wives, and of the women in industry. We do not want our women to be used to cut down the standard of wages for labour. If a man is good enough to work he is good enough to maintain a family, and his wife and daughter ought not to be introduced into industry in order to reduce the general standard of living in that industry." There is truth in this, and honesty. But there is narrow-mindedness too, and the attitude that women ought not to be allowed to work at all lurks suspiciously near the surface. Labour will not solve its women problem on these lines, and we trust that it will not be much longer before they recognise this fact.

Women Government Clerks.

A competitive examination for woman clerkships in certain public departments will be held in London and the provinces, beginning on October 16th. The examination is open only to persons who have served six months before July 1st in one or more of the Civil departments in an established post as typist, shorthand typist, writing assistant, clerical assistant, or sorting assistant, or as temporary woman clerk or typist, or as an enrolled member of the clerical sections of the Q.M.A.A.C., W.R.N.S., or W.R.A.F., or in a temporary clerical post in the War Department establishments. The limits of age are eighteen to thirty on July 1st. Regulations and forms of application will be sent on request by the Secretary, Civil Service Commission, Burlington Gardens, London, W.1, on or after August 1st.

Women and Business.

One of the most hopeful openings for women's activity in the immediate future seems to be in the business world. Both as managers and as directors there seems to be less determined opposition to the exercise of their abilities than in other lines of work, and the chief thing that limits their progress is lack of experience and lack of capital. We are interested in this connection in a letter which has reached us from the English Railway Stockholders' Protection Association, Ltd., 5, The Sanctuary, Westminster, a non-political body which is seeking to band together all holders of the stocks or securities of English or Welsh railways for the protection of their own interests. This is, we believe, one of many similar movements in the business world to-day, but it seems worth noticing that combinations, whether of employers, employed, or the holders of capital, are now realising the need of extending to the women among them an active participation in their plans. We believe that every woman who has an interest of this sort would do well to abandon the Victorian method of leaving her affairs in "safe" hands, and to take up her own share, whatever it may be, in the business interests of the world.

Teachers as a National Problem.

When the L.C.C. recently adopted the Report of its Education Committee, it did so, as we stated last week, with the condition that "its provisions are to be regarded as an emergency measure, pending a national settlement of teachers' salaries and of sex differentiation in payment." A Conference has since been held at the Board of Education, convened by the President, to which were summoned representatives of the County Councils Association, the Association of Municipal Corporations, the Association of Education Committees, and the National Union of Teachers. This Conference agreed that it is desirable to provide a central organisation, representative of local education authorities and teachers, to secure the orderly and progressive solution of the salary problem in public elementary schools by agreement, on a national basis, and its correlation with a solution of the salary problem in secondary schools. That for this purpose a Standing Joint Committee of representatives of local education authorities on the one side, and the National Union of Teachers on the other, in equal numbers, should be constituted, if possible, by September 12th, 1919. That for any resolution of the Committee the consent of both sides of the Committee should be required. And, further, that as a preliminary, a constituent committee of ten from each side should meet on August 12th.

What Women Teachers Think about it.

In regard to these proposals, the National Federation of Women Teachers has addressed a letter to the Right Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, of which the main contention is, briefly, that if they are adhered to there is "little hope that an equitable settlement as between the sexes will be secured by negotiation and agreement," because "so conspicuous has been the failure" of the N.U.T. "to interpret the views of progressive women teachers," "that thousands of women have been forced to sever their connection with the N.U.T. and to organise themselves in the National Federation of Women Teachers." The letter proceeds to point out how great the gain to education will be when the question of the teachers' conditions is settled. "Since women teach every sort of child in the schools—girls, boys, and infants, juniors and seniors, and children in the special schools, they have a tremendous fund of knowledge and experience which if set free, would undoubtedly advance the cause of education in the country very considerably. Consequently, they regret this long struggle for equal pay and equal opportunities, but they feel that the securing of a right place for women in the profession and in the State must be a first charge upon their energies in their professional organisation." In conclusion, the N.F.W.T. addresses a direct appeal to Mr. Fisher to obtain representation for that body upon the new central organisation.

What We Think.

The author of a recent article, "By a Male Teacher," in the *Daily Herald*, states that "the great mass of the men [teachers] are strongly opposed to the prosecution at the present time of the claim for equal pay," because in their campaign for an immediate substantial increase of salary they are carrying a deadweight in the form of a claim which no education authority is at present prepared to admit," and he naively remarks also, "in the ranks of most other workers equal pay for men and women has the support of the men. There it is a means of self-protection to ensure that men shall not be ousted by the cheaper labour of women," while in the teaching profession, as men and women do not compete for the same jobs, the men have nothing to gain and something to lose by allowing the women's claim. For these reasons, says the "Male Teacher," he and his fellows are setting up men's professional organisations to push their own cause. All this is very interesting to the outsider. The moral seems to be that the authorities should take some trouble to find out what organisations are in fact and not only in theory, those which really express professional opinion at this time, and give them representation on the new body. In the meanwhile, we most heartily support the contention of the N.F.W.T. that they should be granted such representation.

"Suppose no Emily Davies had ever Existed,"

Such was one of the hypotheses put forward for the consideration of his audience by the Minister of Education when he delivered his Girton College Jubilee address in the College garden. "Suppose," he went on, "that Girton College had never been founded, and that there had been no Newnham, no Lady Margaret Hall. Suppose that the two ancient universities had been bolted and barred to women—suppose. . . ." Mr. Fisher drew a vivid picture of all that the country would have lost,—supposing. But happily it did not happen, so we hope that by the time tea was served, these suppositions had so fired the imagination that the hostesses and guests began to think about the future. Centenaries and tercentenaries and jubilees should be festive occasions, and doubtless the Girton Jubilee celebration was a time of rejoicing, but sometimes people employ themselves at a jubilee as at a funeral in uttering polite platitudes about the past. Yet the truest loyalty to the founder of a great movement or institution is to prove that those men and women of to-day have within them the same divine fire that inspired them of old. Girton has had a splendid past, but the future, with a thousand new avenues opening to women, should be more glorious still. The days when the women's colleges were founded were days of respect for convention and tradition. To-day, "after fifty years of Europe," we yearn for something new. There are even crude reformers who would wipe the slate clean. Such foolishness is a reaction from the crime of those who have used education as a means of keeping eager youths in bondage to some dead truth which has become a lie. The true student is not the slave of the past, but its master. The problems of to-day need strong, bold thinkers. Certain commissions are being mooted to consider many matters, financial and otherwise, affecting the ancient universities and their colleges. We claim that women should sit upon all these commissions. We claim that the universities should have men's and women's colleges. We claim that the universities should seek a close co-operation with the men and women wage-earners. We claim that in things of the mind there should be no longer class or sex, or rather that there should be these bringing to the search for truth its own contribution as a fully responsible unit, so that the truth may be of full measure. If Girton leads the way along such paths as these, the wisdom which brought this college into being will indeed be justified of her child. We drink in spirit to Girton's good health, and with the toast we couple the name of that most single-hearted and far-sighted and courageous of pioneers, Emily Davies.

Are Indian Women "People" ?

The deputation of distinguished Indian women which waited upon Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu on December 18, 1917, demanded that "when the franchise (for India) is being drawn up, women may be recognised as 'people,' and this demand has been supported by a large number of witnesses, who have since appeared before Lord Southborough's Indian Franchise Committee. But when, on July 23, the Joint Committee of the Lords and Commons which is considering the Government of India Bill, called Lord Southborough to give evidence on the question of Indian Women and the Franchise, it appeared that he had learnt nothing of what the last five years might have taught him. He testified as follows: "Many of the people who came before the Committee were in favour of women's suffrage. He was very much astonished at the evidence, but he could not help feeling that their object was to do something to improve the political position of women by marking the fact in the Act which might be passed, that women were being advanced in India by getting the vote. . . ." When they came to discuss with the witnesses the practical use of the vote—how they were to start, and whether the women would break their purdah—they were told that a great many women would not vote but that it was considered a good educational thing for them to have the vote. His colleagues on the Committee sympathised in the abstract with the desire to help the women by giving them the vote, but they did not "come up to the scratch"—(laughter)—except Mr. Hogge." Will our rulers—and the rulers of Indian men and women—never learn that to "improve the political position" of men and women is "a good educational thing for them," and that government by consent of the governed is the supreme purpose of all government—or, as Lord Acton had it, "the true end of all politics is freedom." We say to the Indian Women's Suffrage Society and to all Indian women who have the interests of their country at heart, go on and win. If you go on in faith and courage you must win.

THE INDUSTRIAL OUTLOOK.

WITHIN the last week the coal difficulty has been at least partly and temporarily solved, and the general industrial outlook has slightly cleared. We are not out of the wood yet, however, by any means, and it is an obvious thing that the winter we have before us will be one of grave crises. We shall undoubtedly have strikes and stoppages, unemployment and discontent, grievances, agitations, bitterness, profiteering, and general disturbance both of trade and of social conditions. Most people view the prospect with apprehension. No one likes to be short of coal or of cash, to be uncertain of food supplies and train service, and to feel everything usual and accustomed crumbling under their feet. Nevertheless, many people welcome the coming troubles as they do a thunderstorm, believing that they will clear the air, and hoping that from a winter of difficulty we shall sail forth into a summer of new life.

We trust that this view is correct; we hope, and must strive, to make it prove so in the event. But there is one aspect of our coming labour troubles that gives us serious pause, and that is the industrial outlook of women. So long as that remains as it is to-day, we believe that it will hold back the victories that labour may win in its war upon capitalism, and that the rotten spot this problem represents will vitiate and even perhaps destroy the great settlement we are now fumbling and striving to reach.

Women's labour is a rotten spot in our civilization in no academic or theoretic sense. It is so in sober truth, and has been so for decades past. It is rotten in the sordid brutal way that disease is rotten, or that poverty or cruelty are rotten, and it is only by cleansing this evil at the source that we can hope to stop the spread of evil influences that come from it.

Let us examine the problem of women's labour as it was before the war and as it is to-day. In 1914 we had nearly four and a-half million women in industry and in 1918 nearly six million. This is no small matter to be brushed aside as negligible; it is six million human beings with all their lives and interests, and they cannot be abolished at a word. We may say, if our theories run that way, that women ought not to work. It is an old-fashioned thing to-day, and quite opposed to the rest of women's recent development, but it is still an academic argument. But what is the use of saying it? The six million women are working and society provides no other means of subsistence for them, and whether we think women ought or ought not to earn wages, these six millions have got to do it. The necessities of the case become clearer if we examine who these six millions are. Leaving aside all the young unmarried girls whose parents cannot support them, and who "fend for themselves" until marriage, there are six hundred and six thousand women made up of widows, deserted wives, wives of invalids and drunkards, and married women, whose earnings are required to keep up the standard of life for their families; there are two hundred thousand war widows with insufficient pensions, and for the most part with small children; there are four hundred and fifty thousand women whose husbands have been disabled during the war and who are insufficiently pensioned, making in all twelve hundred and fifty-two thousand women who are the breadwinners of their families. In addition to this there were before the war a million and a-half women who could not marry, being "superfluous" in the population, and to this must be added the four hundred thousand women who would have married the four hundred thousand unmarried men killed in the war. That is a total of one million nine hundred thousand women who must be their own breadwinners through life.

These figures are hard to realize, but when realized they are appalling. To take the war disablement figures alone, we have nine thousand five hundred women who must support blind husbands; five thousand women whose husbands have lost an arm; seven thousand who are deaf; thirty-three thousand with heart disease. It is a list that will hardly bear understanding, but it is the stuff of which women's industrial problem is made to-day, and in the face of it we cannot continue to say that women ought not to work thinking that by so saying we have disposed of the problem.

What then is to be done in the matter? Some people (generally the same who say women ought not to work) see its solution in domestic service, and they are so far right that if its conditions were improved it would afford, for the unmarried women, some slight outlet and alleviation. But domestic service

is not, properly speaking, an industrial occupation. So long as it is continued on the living-in system, it can only absorb a very special and limited type of worker and, at the best, it will only remove some fifty thousand workers from the ordinary industrial market. It is an acute problem for the middle-class household to-day, but it is no quick remedy for our real difficulties.

What then are we to do? Before the war we closed our eyes and did little or nothing. Women were driven down into all the ill-paid and sweated occupations, and, with the exception of the women in the textile trades, they were almost entirely unorganised. Even with the inclusion of the better-paid cotton operatives the average wage of a working woman before the war was 13s. 6d. or 3d. an hour, the average wage of a working man at the same period being about double. During the war, with the aid of State regulation of wages, and with the new avenues of employment opened up by war dilution, women's wages rose to an average of 30s. to 35s. a week (the equivalent in spending power of a pre-war 15s. or 17s. 6d.) and men's to 68s.-73s. This was the condition at the end of last year. At the end of this year it cannot fail to be infinitely worse. Prices, as we know, will stay up. Work, as we know, is not plentiful, and what fighting power Labour has got will be spent upon protecting the men. If the average wage of the six million women workers is higher than £1 (pre-war 10s.), by Christmas time we shall be most completely surprised. For everything is closing up; not only do women have to contend against the depression and disorganisation of trade that is causing unemployment, but they have also to face a violent and deliberate attempt on the part of men workers to prevent their continued employment, each man and each union trying to protect his own trade and being generous (if at all) with someone else's. The Pre-war Practices Bill, which has just passed through the House of Commons, gives a very clear illustration of this tendency, and the attempt of the trade unions, fortunately unavailing, to interpret that Bill so as to cover all new branches of engineering is very plain evidence of this fact.

Wage-earning women, then, have special and peculiar hostilities to contend against, in addition to the ordinary difficulties of the working classes. They have against them, in the first place, a history of traditional underpayment, in the second, they have to face a hostile public opinion which keeps on imagining in a sentimental manner that they ought not to work at all. They have besides the active hostility of the skilled men if they try to enter any new job, and they are aware of the uneasy dislike of the semi-skilled if they stay where they are. They have the open and undisguised fury of the discharged soldier, who accuses them of "taking his job," and the miserable certainty that if anyone is to go to the wall it must be them. Nothing but the pre-war women's trades is open to them and these are miserably overcrowded and dismally paid in consequence. And to face this situation they have—what? No efficient organisation, no industrial experience, no trade union history, no traditional comradeship, no customary meeting places; not one single aid from all the forces that have helped the growth of collective bargaining among men. They have only the forces that have hindered it—poverty, ignorance, overwork, and suspicion, and, in addition, they carry the incredibly hard burden of their children. To the well-to-do, family life is a comfort and a repose. To the working mother family life means illness upon illness and toil upon toil. It means endless and unceasing worry and work that can never be done. It means a round of manual labour that never stops, increased from year to year by the nervous strain of child-bearing amid such conditions. And, armed only with these drawbacks, and with the small and dirty fingers of their children plucking at their skirts, the industrial women of to-day face a future that is dark with storms. They cannot weather it unaided. They cannot, if labour will still neglect them, do anything but fall back into a state worse even than the one that was their's before the war. And when their wages are down to 10s. a week, and their misery has grown beyond all computation, then, we believe, the rottenness of their condition will poison the whole of our life.

There remains but one remedy, and it is one that will be hard to accomplish. We must somehow, and by such adjustments as are necessary put men and women upon an equal footing. We must open our minds and change our hearts before we can settle this tangled problem. And until we have taken this road in all sincerity our industrial women will remain a danger and a menace to the State.

Policewomen.

The need for women's work as members of police forces has become insistent. Though this need was recognized by advanced social reformers long before the War, the work of the Voluntary Patrols during the War has given prominence to this side of social reform, and the policewoman, the woman magistrate, and the woman juror will be the practical outcome, on the administrative side, of the legal profession being opened to women. The advent of the woman lawyer, through the passing of one or other of the Enfranchisement Bills, will make it advisable that the women police should regularize their services and come into line with the male police.

The status of policewomen can only be established by their being "sworn in" and having the power of arrest. Administration by the Home Secretary and Secretary for Scotland can authoritatively lay down that the pay of the women may be met out of the Police Grant, and Chief Constables employing women may arrange their duties, but only by Act of Parliament can women be legally "sworn in" and given the power of arrest. Before passing to the steps that are being taken to obtain this legal sanction, I should like briefly to put before the readers of the COMMON CAUSE the reasons for which the policewoman requires to have this power. It has been argued that the power of arrest hampers the policewoman in the performance of the special preventive work amongst women and girls, undertaken and successfully demonstrated through the work of the Voluntary Patrols during the war. But this misapprehension arises from the confusion in the public mind between the work of the Women Patrols and the work of the policewoman.

The work of the woman patrol—the *outside work*—is only one part of a policewoman's duty, and it has become clear to those doing this work that the *inside work* in the police-stations and police-courts is equally important, and, indeed, in many respects, more vital to the decent and humane procedure we desire to establish in our police-stations and courts of law.

Neither the voluntary nor the paid patrol has access to a police station, and neither have any official standing in a police-court. The Metropolitan Policewomen Patrols occupy a middle place between the "sworn in" policewoman and the women "employed" and paid by police forces with no status, rank, or conditions of service laid down for her. The "mixed multitude" of pseudo-policewomen, self-authorized or paid by committees and philanthropic societies, mostly working as paid patrols, adds still further to the general confusion.

The only thing that can straighten out this tangle is to legalize by Act of Parliament those women already sworn in as constables, and so establish a firm foundation upon which a policewoman's future work can be built.

Experience has shown that in those town and country forces where the women are "sworn in" and accepted members of the police forces, they are gradually being placed on an equal footing with the men as regards rank, pay, and conditions of service; it is only in those police forces where the women are "employed" but not "sworn in" that the chaotic conditions I have referred to obtain. It is, I think, obvious therefore, that the legalizing of policewomen has become imperative, whether it is from the point of view of the police force as a whole, which desire that the women shall be equally responsible with the men, or of the public, which increasingly demands the service policewomen render; or that of the policewomen themselves, who are becoming increasingly conscious of the disabilities under which they are working.

The last figures relating to the employment of policewomen published by the Home Office were as follows:—

267 women employed in Town and County Forces,
112 " " " the Metropolitan Force,
also a certain number of Munition Police on street duty and a number of paid women working as patrols.

The duties performed by these women vary somewhat according to the wishes of Chief Constables, or to meet local conditions, but, roughly speaking, they can be classified as follows:—

1. *Police-court.* Charging female prisoners, children, and young persons, guarding them in the dock. Escorting them to gaol, to detention homes, reformatories, &c.
2. *Investigation.* Interviewing women and girls seeking help or advice from the police. Domiciliary visits *re* soldiers' and sailors' families. Domiciliary visits for various other purposes. Visits to lodging houses. Visits to places of public amusement. Visits to public houses. Visits under Shops Acts.

Taking part in visits under search warrants, where women are likely to be implicated.

Taking statements from women or children in such cases as indecent assault, concealment of birth, &c.

3. *Street duty.* Supervision of children, with special regard to protecting them from indecent assault, regulating street trading, and preventing juvenile offences.

Supervision of young persons and juvenile adults during their hours of recreation in public places.

Patrol duty in parks, &c., with a view to preventing misconduct and undesirable behaviour.

Suppression of solicitation by persons of either sex.

Dealing with intoxicated women or girls.

Dealing with cases of disorder in the streets where women and girls are concerned.

STATUS OF WOMEN IN POLICE FORCES.

At present three grades of women are employed.

Paid Patrols, (sometimes called Super-Patrols, or Police Patrols).

Policewomen, (also sometimes called Police Patrols).

Women Constables ("sworn in").

Of these three grades, No. 2 is the least successful. She has neither the freedom of action of a patrol, nor the power of the constable. The following are examples:—

In the town of A two paid patrols worked for one year. The police gave them a certain amount of preventive work as did also the N.S.P.C.C., the military, and health authorities, &c. The town, realising the value of these women, put them on the rates, thus promoting them to grade 2, and bringing them entirely under the police. They shed, automatically, their work in relation to military and health authorities, &c., but, owing to their indefinite position and to lack of any generally accepted custom as to employment of policewomen, were given but little work in its place. Result: the two women were of distinctly more use as Patrols.

In the town of B two policewomen were employed. They performed a certain amount of escort duty and a large amount of street patrol duty. Owing to their indefinite position they had but little opportunity of proving their worth, and eventually resigned because they could get no increase on their pay of 30s. a week, the Watch Committee saying that their work did not justify a larger sum.

One of these women, Miss C., went into a County Force; she was sworn in and given the rank of sergeant with a woman under her. Here she did so well that the Standing Joint Committee, at the end of eight months, sanctioned the appointment of twelve more women. The other woman from B., Miss D., went into a Borough Force, was sworn in, and has done equally well.

There is no complete list of towns employing policewomen, but the following are some of the most important:—

Metropolitan: Police Women Patrols. 112 women.

Birkenhead: About 6 policewomen.

Bristol: Do. Also several women in Criminal Investigation Department; also 3 paid patrols in charge of training school.

Clevedon: 1 paid patrol.

Gloucester: (3 towns), 12 women constables, 1 sergeant.

Grantham: 3 women constables.

Liverpool: 6 paid patrols and a training school.

Hull: 2 women constables, 1 sergeant.

Leeds: 1 policewoman.

Reading: 2 policewomen.

Oxford: 2 women constables (county and town).

Salisbury: 1 woman constable.

Sheffield: 2 policewomen.

Taunton: 2 policewomen.

Middlesbro': 50 women specials "sworn in" for period of the war.

Policewomen are about to be appointed in Scotland, and Ireland has already appointed women in Dublin and Belfast.

At the present moment a Police Bill is passing through the House of Commons, and in the Committee stage an amendment is being proposed to follow Clause 9. It stands in the name of Major William Murray:—*

"For the purposes of this Act, unless the contrary intention appears, words importing the masculine shall include the feminine gender and in particular 'widow' shall include 'widower.'"

If this amendment is carried it will ensure the status of women who have made the "statutory declaration" (been "sworn in") and have the power of arrest, and it will legalize

* As we go to press we hear that the Government opposed this amendment and it was defeated.

all women adopting in the future police work as their profession. We think it is safe to affirm that unless women are "sworn in," and their pay, rank, status, &c., secured, the right type of women will not come forward to perform the very arduous and responsible work the policewoman is called upon to do.

The history of the drafting of the above amending Clause is interesting. At the end of May the Federated Training Schools for Policewomen and Patrols of Bristol, Scotland, and Liverpool, approached the Home Secretary, asking that, in view of future legislation, evidence on behalf of policewomen might be heard by the Committee then sitting to consider police pay and conditions.

The Home Secretary replied that such evidence was not within the terms of reference of the Committee, but that a Commission to consider the pay and conditions of policewomen might, if necessary, be appointed later. The Secretary for Scotland advised formal application for the appointment of such a Commission if the women concerned thought it desirable. The Central Patrols Committee and the Federated Schools Committee next requested Lord Desborough's Committee to minute their "approval of the appointment of women to police forces," feeling that if the Commission came and went without the policewomen appearing at all, it would prejudice any future action. This request was not granted.

On July 3rd, the Federated Training Schools made application to the Home Secretary for a Commission to be appointed to consider such questions as legal status, pay, rank, and conditions of service of policewomen and Mr. Gideon Murray gave notice of a question in the House of Commons to the same effect on July 14th. However, on July 8th, the Police Bill was introduced and read for the first time. Mr. Gideon Murray's question received the written reply:—"Mr. Shortt. I have already introduced a Bill which will enable the Government to give effect to the recommendations of Lord Desborough's Committee so far as legislation is necessary for that purpose. The employment of women on police duties is not within the scope of Lord Desborough's Committee, and I think it will be well to defer till later the appointment of a Committee on this subject. The matter is still in an experimental stage—it has achieved some measure of success under war conditions—but we have had as yet very little experience of how it will work in peace conditions." And on July 17th the Bill was read for the second time.

The only course now left was to get an amendment moved in Committee and the above amendment was drafted for the Federated Schools by Colonel C. D. Murray, K.C., M.P.

It is earnestly to be hoped that a Commission on Policewomen may follow in the autumn, but if, meanwhile, they are given the same legal status as the men, their conditions of service can be regulated and controlled by administrative action on the part of the Home Secretary and the Secretary for Scotland, as provided for in the Police Bill, 1919.

E. TANCRED.

Crowds.

"Oh, how detestable the streets are just now, with those horrid crowds!" So say some. But to others even the "many twinkling smile of ocean" does not give quite that sense of variety and vitality given by a crowd. Geoffrey Chaucer and Charles Lamb and Robert Browning knew a great deal about non-human nature, and loved her, but they loved people more. I believe that Chaucer loved his "sondry folke in felawship—pilgrims alle" better even than his daisy, and that though Browning wrote "Oh to be in England now that April's there," he was laughing at himself quite as much as at his neighbours in the tender humour of "Up in a villa, down in the city." As for Charles Lamb, he told us straight that he did like people and streets better than trees.

The astonishing thing to me, living as I do in 1919, is that these superior persons were not afraid to say such things. To-day, the superior person calls heaven to witness how he or she languishes lonely in a town, and only really lives on a potato-patch three and a-half miles from a side-line station in Bucks. or Beds. or Lincs. For myself, I have never been able to learn why this preference for a potato-patch is as "infallible" a sign of the real superior person as was the placing of a letter in the bosom of the gown that (in the judgment of the hero of "A Kiss for Cinderella") of a real lady. The reason why I have never been able to learn is that I have never (lest I become suspect and a pariah) dared to ask. Of course, I knew that simple-lifeness is part of the idea, and that to be simple-lifey is not, as one might suppose, merely to be simple, but to be, on the contrary, in a highly complicated and laborious way, fearfully and

wonderfully wise. My simple idea of simplicity is to see the sights and observe and chat to my fellows till I am hungry, and then—not, oh not to don an overall (don I think is the correct word) and cloggish boots and go and dig, and when I have dug to leave the sunlight and go to cleanse the produce in a squalid scullery and cut it up, and then into a dark, close kitchen to boil it, and then into a dank larder (does a patch cottage have all three?) to "take the remains of yesterday's rabbit" and "put it through a sieve," and then—and then—and then; but space and ignorance happily forbid an enumeration of all the processes—and finally, if still hungry, to eat—and finally of all, "to wash up." No! for me the simple life and the happy and wise life is, after seeing your sights, to slip into the adjacent "Express Dairy," and read from poetry book or your COMMON CAUSE till, glancing up at a comma, you note a black raven with a white apron placing before you new-laid eggs and a pat of real butter and a crisp roll and a cup of coffee. Then, with unblemished innocence about the crabbed thing called "washing up," out again to the sun and the crowds. For there are crowds and crowds of crowds. Is your mood international? Then stroll about the Oxford Street end of Tottenham Court Road, and in Soho, or take the top of a bus to Whitechapel, and so to China Town and the docks. The olives, the blacks, the yellows, the browns in complexion will convince you England is but an atom. If you don't like the "atom" idea, flee back to Trafalgar Square and Victoria Street where congregate the young Greek gods alive again in Anzac khaki, and the Empire at once seems the hub of things and yourself a fine fellow. If money and brains are your fancy, then, at luncheon time, to Fleet Street and the City. The black ants swarming around the Mansion House mean some brains and money. They and the big 'buses and vans mix up together as if the 'buses were mere perambulators, only that the ants and 'buses understand each other, whereas no one can understand a perambulator and its propeller. As easily understand how the stars are poised in space. Talking of perambulators, the thoughts turn from high things to the tidy suburban houses whence emerge the black ants in the morning and to which they return at night. If you read Callisthenes you will shrewdly surmise how the parti-coloured female ants spend their days, and, surmising correctly, you will away to the "reach" between Oxford Circus and the Marble Arch or to Westbourne Grove, or to Kensington High Street or Brixton Hill. And if you travel by Tube you will sorrowfully learn that as each rose has its thorn, so each crowd knows its own bitterness; for pressed together in a lift you will feel an unaccustomed momentary yearning for that Lincolnshire patch where the potatoes grow only to a height of fourteen inches, and the rest is air.

But the real crowds were on Peace Day. The shows provided for them were gallant shows but none so gallant as themselves. To see the courage, the patience, the gentleness of these crowds was to learn how happy and good human beings can and ought to be if only "things" would let them. The cool freshness of the morning, the air buoyant with expectancy, the sultriness of the long, long wait at midday, the anticlimax and untidy gustiness of the afternoon, the drizzling rain at night, found each little unprivileged group determined only to find delight in it all. One woman is typical of thousands. "Father starts work at three in the morning, you see he's a dairyman, so he'll get home at six, and change his clothes and have a bit of tea, and join us by the park gates about nine for the fireworks. I set off early because I knew I should have to walk probably, and it's a long way from Hoxton with three of them. Yes, the one in my arms is over two, and the little chap is eight, and Emily there—she's not my own—you see she don't like her step-mother, she'd rather be with her auntie (wouldn't you) so I've adopted her. Yes; I live in one of the roughest streets in Hoxton to be near dad's work. I didn't like it at first, but I keep my door shut and they don't interfere, and they are real good people though they are rough; they wouldn't hurt a little one and what they do for each other in sickness passes belief. If I hadn't had the children I'd have been a policewoman. You see it runs in the family; my father was a Thames policeman and his father afore him, and I see what a lot of good the policewomen do helping the young girls and keeping people out of mischief, and all that. Yes, it's my dream; if I hadn't the children, I'd have gone in the police." This was by Hyde Park. But there was South London, too. Thousands couldn't see the tip of a pennon go by, but they held up the children for hours, and they showed a tender care that the wounded soldiers should catch a glimpse and not get over tired.

And these are only one or two of the crowds, and there are crowds and crowds of crowds. Little ones at church, big ones in the football fields and in the theatres and at the races.

And whatever they pretend, the suffragists, the feminists, are

kin to these crowds. They, too, know what it is to be unprivileged, to suffer hope deferred. As they preached their little gospel of freedom at each street corner in the old days, so they must go forth again to the crowds—just to the simple, kindly, everyday people—and talk to them of what is just and right, and the various sorts of people will learn to know and love and help each other. A person is worth more than a potato anyway, so think what a crowd of people is worth.

A. HELEN WARD.

The Closing Gate.

A little boy and girl once lived together in a fine large nursery. The little boy had lots of toys: bricks for building houses, model engines and motors, toy farms, armies and fleets, live animals too, guinea pigs, white mice, and rabbits. But the little girl had only her dolls. Beautiful dolls they were, but they sometimes got a little monotonous as she sat in the corner with them on her lap and watched her brother playing with all his wonderful toys. But she did not often complain, except when she was in "a real contrary mood" as her nurse called it, for she had always been told—her nurse told her, her mother told her, her father told her, her grown-up sisters told her, her aunts, uncles, and cousins told her—that all little girls ought to play with dolls, and that those other thrilling toys were quite unsuitable for her and were only meant for little boys. At last one day the little brother went away to school. He was seen off by the whole family, and many were the injunctions he gave to his little sister to look after all his things whilst he was away.

So it happened that the little girl had the fine large nursery all to herself, and she came out of her corner and played with all the wonderful toys at which she had looked and longed ever since she could remember. She wound up the model engines and the motors, she played with the soldiers and sailors, she revelled in the toy farm, and she fed the guinea pigs, the white mice and the rabbits. She was greatly praised for looking after her brother's things so well, her nurse praised her, her mother praised her, her father praised her, her grown-up sisters praised her, her uncles, aunts and cousins praised her, and she basked in the sunshine of this unaccustomed and universal approval. She did not neglect her old friends the dolls in the midst of these new occupations, indeed, she prized them rather more than before since she was no longer bored by having to spend her whole playtime with them.

At last there came a day when the little brother returned from school. Joyfully and proudly he came and was given a royal welcome by the whole family, the little sister included. When he found how well she had looked after his toys and animals, he praised her, too, and then sent her back to her corner to play with her dolls again. In vain she begged to be allowed to share in his games, but he told her and her nurse told her, her mother told her, her father told her, her uncles, aunts, and cousins told her, that now her brother was at home again she must stick to her dolls as before, and leave all the other things to him. Then she began to cry bitterly, but no one heeded her. So she grew calm again and waited until her brother was out of the way, then she crept quietly out of the house and fetched two other little girls whose brothers had also come back from school, and together they smashed the model engines and the motors, they destroyed the farmyards and roasted the oxen whole at the nursery fire, they threw away the soldiers and sailors, and they let out the guinea-pigs and the white mice and the rabbits into the garden.

Reviews.

History of British Socialism. M. Beer. (G. Bell & Sons. Price 12s. 6d.)

The "History of British Socialism" by Mr. Beer, recently published in English, represents the first instalment of a complete historical survey beginning with the communistic teachings of the primitive Christian Church, and ending with the Socialist and Labour movement of the early twentieth century. The present volume carries us through the Industrial Revolution and lands us in the revolutionary syndicalism of the trades union movement of the early thirties. It will be seen, therefore, that a vital and turbulent period of working class history has been covered by Mr. Beer. The coming of industrial capitalism and the evolutions of a large permanent wage-earning class. A no less vital, though perhaps a less turbulent period lies before him—the emergence of that effective non-political craft unionism

which was the wonder of industrial Europe during the mid-Victorian age, and the remarriage of socialism and trade unionism which gave birth to the twentieth century Labour Movement. We shall heartily welcome the appearance of volume two, publication of which was unfortunately delayed by the war; meanwhile, however, the phase of socialism with which volume one deals in its later chapters, has a peculiar significance for students of the movement as it stands to-day. Mr. Beer himself, in his preface, recognises "some striking parallels" between the early years of the twentieth century and the second quarter of the nineteenth. "All this stupendous mental ferment in the years from 1825 to 1850," he writes, "appears to be repeating itself now on a larger and higher scale." Since these words were written, the growing insistence of powerful wage-earning groups upon the need for "direct action" and their dissolving faith in the complex representative machinery of a newly reformed parliament make the parallel an even more striking one.

But let the general reader be warned. Mr. Beer's book is essentially a history of socialist *thought*. He analyses and traces from age to age those political and economic ideas which may claim the modern title of "Socialism" simply because they have one common quality: they represent what our mediæval schoolmen, our Tudor Utopians, our Cromwellian "Diggers," our Luddites, our Chartists, our Owenite co-operators, as the case may be, regard as an alternative to an unjust contemporary system of social privilege or economic distribution. It is this which constitutes their claim to treatment at Mr. Beer's hands—whether they have their roots in early Christian theology, in natural law, in the social contract, in utilitarianism, or in Ricardian economics.

As a history of thought, needless to say Mr. Beer's book demands of its reader as background, some general knowledge of English economic history. It demands also a fair measure of close and concentrated thought, for it is a very learned work, and one which opens out a newly explored field of scholarship to students of English political ideas. But the general reader will be well repaid for his effort, thanks to Mr. Beer's clear exposition of tangled ideas. And incidentally it is great fun to trace the emergence of mid-Victorian socialist fallacies as logical deductions from the fallacies of early nineteenth century orthodox political economy.

MARY STOCKS.

The Women's Trade Union Review, July, 1919; being the half-yearly Report of the Women's Trade Union League, 32 pp., Dilke House, Malet Street, London, W.C. 1. Price 6d.

For ten years or more I have been a regular subscriber to, and a regular reader of, *The Women's Trade Union Review*. It is with great regret that I record the impression which this prolonged study has left upon my mind—namely, that it is a disappointing publication. The root of the trouble seems that the editor has not yet succeeded in making clear to me, although I suppose she knows quite well herself, for what kind of reader it is intended. Its shape and general appearance, the absence of illustrations, asterisks, and exclamation marks, show as clearly as its contents that it is not intended to have a wide circulation among the members of the trade unions affiliated to the League. The fact that it was published only quarterly, and since July, 1917, has appeared only half-yearly, makes it quite unsuitable for the use of Members of Parliament and others engaged in day-to-day politics. The technical nature of its contents and the scholarly tone of its articles deters the general public accustomed to more popular forms of literature; yet considerations of space, and, I suspect, smallness of circulation, make it impossible to cater adequately for the student of sociology. A third to one-half of each number is filled with a verbatim report of Parliamentary questions and answers dealing with industrial women. These form a valuable record; yet they appear too long after the event to be of use for practical purposes, and we have Hansard as the official text. Another standing feature is a brief summary of the prosecutions by the women factory inspectors, and, since April, 1915, of prosecutions under the Trade Boards Act, matter surely more suitable for an official publication; in fact all the prosecutions of the factory department are reported in a somewhat condensed form in its annual report, and the Trade Boards office ought to be stimulated to publish its activities in a similar fashion. Each number contains also a few pages of short notes on current questions, which, as they cover a period of six months, cannot all be up-to-date. One or two leading articles complete the *Review*. In the current number the only article is a review of two official reports on Women in Industry namely those of the War Cabinet Committee and of the Women's Employment Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction. Within the limit of two

thousand words very little more can be attempted than a brief summary of the contents. Yet those who are sufficiently interested in these questions to read the *Review* will surely at least glance at the Reports themselves. But enough of carping. There are so few periodicals telling us the things we ought to know about industrial women that I value each one; and there is obviously so much ability behind this particular one that I wish it every success. If only the editor will inform me who she wants her readers to be I will do all I can to get them for her.

DOROTHEA M. BARTON.

Advance in Co-Education: Articles by Various Authors. (Sidgwick & Jackson Ltd. Price 3s. 6d. net.)

The crux of the question of co-education lies, of course, in secondary education carried on in boarding-schools. Whether boys or girls up to fourteen should go to the same day school is surely not worth disputing about; nor could one be really excited in a discussion as to the advantages of boys and girls of that age attending the same boarding-school, or as to their remaining together at a day-school till eighteen. But over the question of adolescents of both sexes sleeping under the same roof, and that the roof which covers their class rooms, all our ardour for reform, instinct of inertia, and forensic gifts, fly suddenly to boiling point. The crusted reactionary openly prophesies national decadence in the shape of athletic and classical failure, and hints darkly at moral ruin in a shape he dares not mention but leaves to your imagination. The wild revolutionary proclaims the approach of the millennium—co-operation, pacifism, and happy marriages—if co-education is established amongst us. In this volume we have for the most part a paean in favour of the venture. All the teachers who write seem in an ecstasy over the whole business.

"The boys are given ample opportunities," write Mr. and Mrs. Platt, "to see the girls swim, and *vice versa*. We consider that few things make more clearly for natural purity of outlook than this; there is, in the aspect of the supple, easy figures, the graceful exercise, the bright sunlight, the splashing, dancing water, a poetry and a rhythm that makes for bodily health, and at the same time for clean and beautiful thought. It is a moral tonic to see our girls swim."

"Co-education," writes Mr. Russell, from a more generalized view of the question, "co-education, indeed, like co-legislation, is but an extension of one side of democracy—at its best the co-spiritualization of life, the recognition of universal individual well-being as the highest purpose, of universal individual service as the surest foundation of co-operative human effort."

"Make England white" Mr. O'Neill tells us is his school motto; while the Rev. Cecil Grant declares that England can only be made pure by "English girls growing up side by side in a clean, healthy, natural atmosphere, with English boys."

The only discordant note is struck by Miss Maude Royden, who, as a feminist, finds the present form of co-education conflicting with her principles of the proper attitude towards women. She argues that in co-educational schools the head is always a man, that the women teachers are paid less than the men for the same work, and that the interests of the girls are sacrificed to the interests of the boys. Mr. Badley, who answers her paper, denies the fact of her first and third arguments, and attempts to justify the second. It is, in any case, as he truly remarks, unfair to bring as a charge against co-education an arrangement which at present prevails in all education.

The calmest and most effective presentations of the case are, however, undoubtedly given by the Parent, the Former Schoolboy, and the Former Schoolgirl. The two latter give us very interesting, level-headed views of the method from the inside, and arouse unavailing regrets in the mind of one whose own education was blighted by "segregation." Mrs. Wedgwood's paper is an unexaggerated and reasoned statement of the argument for co-education, which makes it seem neither a bogey nor a sentimentality, but as simple and natural a principle as possible. "Co-education," she says, "is to be welcomed, not because it introduces a new panacea, but because it ends an artificial separation that was bad, and finally lays to rest a mischievous social conception."

Liverpool and District Women Patrols' Centre and Training School for Women Police. (Pub. March.)

The Fourth Annual Report of the Liverpool Women Patrol and Police Centre is of special interest just now when many women are preparing to embark in the Autumn upon some post war vocation. Some of these women have gained a rich experience of human nature during the war and have become people of broader sympathies, more trained imagination and stronger will than before. To such we would commend this report, for we believe that the policewoman has her part to play as much as the woman lawyer and doctor, and Member of Parliament. The

demand for penal reform grows insistent, and the policewoman, if she is of the right stuff, will be, with a saving sense of humour and humility, something of a crusader. The Liverpool scheme is worked in co-operation with the centres at Bristol and Glasgow. Its promoters are far from being merely theorists, and even for the sake of sex equality, they are not tempted to advocate the granting of powers of arrest to policewomen. In regard to this point there is obviously room for considerable difference of opinion, but no one who impartially studies the report can fail to be struck with its bias in favour of preventive and remedial rather than penal methods.

The Liverpool Committee hold that the best work of the policewoman lies in the following branches:—

1. For patrol work in the streets, parks, and public places, in the interests of women and young people.
2. For home visiting, and the investigation of cases connected with women and girls.
3. For inspection of common lodging houses, dancing halls, &c.
4. To have complete charge of women and girls in all indecency cases, and to stand beside them in the dock.
5. To have charge of women and girl prisoners when they are being taken from one place to another.

In addition to the police, the Committee believe that there is still a place for the woman patrol, both paid and unpaid, and they appeal for more volunteer workers, including those only able to give one evening a week, also for money for salaries and rent, and, above all, for the right kind of women between the age of twenty-five and forty-five to take up the work as a profession. Among those who are associated with the Centre are Mrs. Alfred Booth (President), Miss Eleanor Rathbone (a Vice-President), Miss M. C. Royden of Frankby (Hon. Treasurer), Miss Matravers, Mrs. Allan Bright, Miss Jessie Beaven (representing the Liverpool N.U.S.E.C.), and Mrs. John Gordon, Merelands, Blundellsands (Hon. Sec.).

The Future of Women in Industry. By Miss Maude Royden.

This pamphlet, issued by the Christian Commonwealth, is one which intending speakers will find valuable; whilst there is nothing in it which is actually new to feminists, or at all events to those who have made some study of the present industrial situation as it affects women, it is useful to have in pamphlet form the clear-cut restatement of the facts. Moreover, Miss Royden has the rare gift of seeing clearly the underlying principles involved and of stating them in a form which is easy to remember. She never allows herself, however technical her subject, to get lost in a mist of detail.

We receive from the S.P.C.K. notice that a book of outstanding interest—"The Ministry of Women"—is in the Press. It traces, with a thoroughness never before attempted, the history of women's ministrations in the Church. The subject is a burning one, and the book is likely to attract great attention.

Correspondence.

(Letters intended for publication should reach the Editor by first post on Monday.)

PROSTITUTION.

MADAM.—The article on "Prostitution" in last week's COMMON CAUSE is admirable in its plain statement of the wrongs suffered by women at the hands of society and of the law, and in its denunciation of the "double standard" which is at the root of these wrongs. And the article signed L. Hay-Cooper following it voices much true and wise thought. Both articles, however, do injustice to a large class of women. I mean the women who devote themselves, their time and health, to the work of rescuing their sisters from degradation. They live lives of perpetual overstrain and overwork. If paid, their salaries are of the smallest. They realise far more than outsiders the changes needed in our existing Homes. They would love to start all kinds of new Homes. They would love to try all manner of experiments. They would love to give their girls every uplifting recreation. But these things cost money, and while the Home dares not buy a book or a picture, and has to count every tram-fare penny, for fear the rent or the baker's bill should remain unpaid, they have to stifle their longings and do the best work they can, conscious of utter deficiency in tools to do it with. Treble the incomes of the existing Homes, and it would soon be seen that the most ardent reformers are the "respectable women" denounced by "Iveigh Clyde."

The charges brought in both articles against Homes may be correct in some cases, but when you look into it there is often much to be said for the rules as well as against. But be this as it may, a quite wrong idea is given of the atmosphere of the majority of Rescue Homes, and I hope the writers will look further into the subject. I could show them more than one that are very unlike prisons.

Homes, alas, are a necessity. The ideal method of restoration for a damaged life, whether of fallen man, woman, or child, would be, not a Home, but a home where the one inmate would be absorbed in a healthy family life. But till society in general mounts many steps higher no large effort can be organised on this line.

A. E. GRIGNON.

THE PLUMAGE TRADE.

MADAM.—An effort is being made to secure the prohibition in this country of the trade in wild birds' plumage, which is already prohibited in the United States, in India, and Australia. The signatures of many well-known men have been obtained to a letter which is expected to be shortly published; and the following letter is now being sent out to well-known women:—

"Many thousands of skins and plumes from dead wild birds are at this moment being sold and worn in this country for trimming women's hats. The annual import before the war consisted of over thirty-five millions of birds.

"Of these many belonged to some of the most beautiful of existing species. Already some species are, or are on the point of becoming, extinct. Others are threatened with extermination in the near future. Moreover, such plumes as those of the egret (called in the trade 'ospreys')

are nuptial adornments; the slaughter of the birds to which they belong is therefore made in the breeding season, and their young are left to die of starvation.

"The trade in such plumes will, in fact, sooner or later destroy itself; but not until it has first destroyed some of the world's most beautiful forms of life, and so left posterity the poorer.

"In the United States a great wave of popular feeling, especially among women, demanded the abolition of this traffic; and it is now illegal, there either to import or to offer for sale any wild bird's plumage for purposes of ornament, and in this country Bills to enforce a similar prohibition have several times passed their second reading.

"Now, in July, 1919, a letter has been signed by a number of well-known men, demanding the reintroduction without delay of the Bill introduced in the House of Commons by the Rt. Hon. C. E. Hobhouse on February 13th, 1914, read for the second time on March 9th, and voted for by 297 members to 15.

"With that request we, the undersigned women, desire to associate ourselves. We regard with abhorrence the slaughter of birds for personal profit and personal decoration; and we feel it a stain upon our country and upon our sex that the sale, purchase, or display of these murderous ornaments should be allowed to continue in Great Britain."

I believe that suffragists in all parts of the country would like to associate themselves with this movement, and venture to suggest that members of local societies should, during the next fortnight, collect the signatures of fellow members and forward the list to Mrs. H. J. Massingham, 22, Westmoreland Road, Barnes, S.W. 13.

These names would be kept in a separate group, and, if numerous, would indicate very usefully the trend of feeling among thoughtful, organised women.

CLEMENTINA BLACK.

Reports, Notices, etc.

THE ASSOCIATION FOR MORAL AND SOCIAL HYGIENE

Proposals are being made in this country, and elsewhere, to make the sale or purchase of promiscuous sex-relations in itself a criminal offence. This Association, founded by Josephine Butler in 1870, and with fifty years' practical study of law in relation to prostitution, desires publicly to dissociate itself from this propaganda.

The reasons for this action may be briefly summarised as follows:—

(1) The personal sex-relations of adult people are a matter for their own conscience, and ought not to constitute a legal offence unless they involve other conduct of a criminal nature.

(2) It would be unfair to proceed only against men and women concerned in cash sale and purchase. Logically all extra-legal sex-relationships should be liable, as practically all are paid for in some way or other. This would be impracticable, and even if practicable an unwarranted interference with private affairs, leading to the maintenance of an army of spies and informers.

(3) Venereal disease is engendered and spread quite as much in unpaid sex-relations as in those with professionally immoral women.

(4) A law which, if it could be enforced, would turn a very considerable proportion of the adult population into criminals would not be supported by public opinion, and would, therefore, lead to every kind of bribery, corruption of the police, and unfair discrimination.

(5) The offence of sale or purchase would be incapable of proof in most cases, except by the use of "agents provocateurs." If purchase could not be proved against men, the law would tend to be worked by attacking women alleged to be immoral on the assumption of sale having taken place. This merely extends and perpetuates the present one-sided and useless method of dealing with prostitution.

Until these fundamental principles are much more generally accepted this Association is of opinion that to make prostitution in itself illegal would not only be futile, but would tend to bring the law into contempt.

FUTURE OF THE DRINK TRADE.

LABOUR CAMPAIGN TO DEMAND STATE PURCHASE AND PUBLIC CONTROL OF THE LIQUOR TRADE.

In view of the announcement that the Government intend to decontrol the Liquor Trade at an early date without pledging themselves to give effect to the recommendations of the Liquor Control Board in favour of public ownership, a number of leading men and women in the trade union and labour world have decided to form an organisation to demand the State Purchase and Public Ownership of the Liquor Trade.

The labour movement has repeatedly affirmed the policy of State Purchase and Public Control as the only means by which the drink trade can properly be carried on in the interests alike of the consumer and the community, and in the opinion of those who are promoting the new organisation there are at present special grounds for urging the proposal.

The resentment of the public on the subject of profiteering in drink is admitted to be extreme, and while the various industrial districts are on the whole for an increased and improved supply of drink, they are understood to be no less insistent on the exclusion from the trade of the interests which are alleged to have exploited the consumer during the war, and to whom decontrol without conditions will mean a further endowment amounting to hundreds of millions of pounds.

The new organisation will carry on active propaganda in London and the Provinces, and will immediately proceed to address questions to all Members of Parliament on their attitude to the principle of national ownership.

National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship

The National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship.

President: MISS ELEANOR F. RATHBONE.

Hon. Secretary:
MRS. A. K. GAMB.

Secretaries:

Hon. Treasurer:

MISS ROSAMOND SMITH.

MISS INEZ M. FERGUSON, MRS.

HUBBACK (Information and Parli-

amentary).

Offices—Evelyn House, 62, Oxford Street, London, W. 1.
Telegraphic Address—Voiceless, Ox, London. Telephone—Museum 2668.

Headquarters Notes.

STATEMENT MADE BY THE NATIONAL UNION of Societies for Equal Citizenship in reply to enquiries about the Future of "THE COMMON CAUSE."

As the National Union considers THE COMMON CAUSE very important to the Women's Movement, it is bringing before the Council schemes for the enlarging of the paper, and for improving its character, in the autumn.

Timetable of N.U.S.E.C. Summer School.

UNIVERSITY ARTS SCHOOL, CAMBRIDGE.

FIRST WEEK.

Sunday, August 3rd.—6 p.m.: Gathering addressed by Miss Rathbone, M.A., C.C., at Mrs. James Ward, 6, Selwyn Gardens.

Monday, August 4th.—9.15 a.m.: Status of Wives and Mothers. I. Rights of Parents over their legitimate children, Miss Chrystal MacMillan. 10.30 a.m.: The Industrial Position of Women. I. Women in Industry before the War, Miss G. Jebb.

Tuesday, August 5th.—9.15 a.m.: Status of Wives and Mothers. II. Rights of Parents over their illegitimate children, Mrs. H. A. L. Fisher. 10.30 a.m.: The Industrial Position of Women. II. Women in Industry during the War, Miss Lynda Grier. 6 p.m.: Seminar. The Organisation of Suffrage Work, Miss Hartop.

Wednesday, August 6th.—9.15 a.m.: Status of Wives and Mothers. III. The Wife's Right to Maintenance by her Husband, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.A., C.C. 10.30 a.m.: The Industrial Position of Women. Women and Trades Unions, Dr. Marion Phillips. 8.30 p.m.: Public Lecture. National Family Endowment, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.A., C.C.

Thursday, August 7th.—9.15 a.m.: Status of Wives and Mothers. IV. National Family Endowment: (a) Its Economic Aspect, Mrs. Stocks. 10.30 a.m.: The Industrial Position of Women. Women and Whitley Councils and Trades Boards, Mrs. Stocks.

Friday, August 8th.—9.15 a.m.: Status of Wives and Mothers. V. National Family Endowment: (b) Its Social Aspect, Miss K. D. Courtney. 10.30 a.m.: Proportional Representation, Major Morrison-Bell, M.P.

Saturday, August 9th.—9.15 a.m.: Status of Wives and Mothers. VI. Widows' Pensions, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.A., C.C. 10.30 a.m.: Women as Members of Parliament, Conference. 8.30 p.m.: Evening Reception, Mrs. Bethune Baker, 23, Cranmer Road.

SECOND WEEK.

Sunday, August 10th.—
Monday, August 11th.—9.15 a.m.: The Equal Moral Standard. I. Mrs. Bethune Baker. 10.30 a.m.: The Industrial Position of Women. I. Equal Pay for Equal Work, Mrs. Oliver Strachey. 6 p.m.: Seminar. The Organisation of Suffrage Work, Miss Hartop.

Tuesday, August 12th.—9.15 a.m.: The Equal Moral Standard. II. Miss Alison Neilans (Secretary of Association of Social and Moral Hygiene). 10.30 a.m.: The Industrial Position of Women. II. Equal Pay for Equal Work, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.A., C.C.

Wednesday, August 13th.—9.15 a.m.: Women and the Administration of the Law. I. The Work of Women Police, Miss Peto. 10.30 a.m.: The Industrial Position of Women. III. Women in Industry after the War, Mrs. Oliver Strachey. Public Meeting. Equal Pay for Equal Work, Mrs. Oliver Strachey.

Thursday, August 14th.—9.15 a.m.: Women and the Administration of the Law. II. The Need for Women Solicitors, Barristers, Magistrates, and Jurors, Miss Chrystal MacMillan. 10.30 a.m.: The Industrial Position of Women. IV. The Position of Women in the Professions.

Friday, August 15th.—9.15 a.m.: Women and the Administration of the Law. III. The Work of a Police-court Rota, Women's Legal Department, Mrs. Bethune Baker. 8.30 p.m.

N.B.—Seminars and Conferences will be arranged in the afternoons on subjects desired by the students.

NOTES.

The Summer School of the N.U.S.E.C. is being held concurrently with the second Summer School of Civics and Eugenics, whose lectures, seminars, etc., will be open to N.U.S.E.C. students.

The fee for the full fortnight's course, including admission to lectures, seminars, etc., of both Schools will be £2 2s. For one week's course it is £1 5s. This fee should be sent to Mrs. Hubback, N.U.S.E.C., as soon as possible.

Facilities for recreation, boating, tennis, etc., will be available (see Time-Table of Summer School of Civics and Eugenics).

Accommodation for students is being arranged at fees varying from £1 15s. to £3 3s.

Ribbon with the N.U.S.E.C. colours will be provided free of charge to students to wear as badges.



Peace —not Plenty

1919 is Peace Year — but for plenty we are again to look in vain so far as fuel is concerned.

Rationing is still to continue, and every householder will have to consider ways and means of getting the fullest possible value from his allowance.

In these circumstances, as in normal times, economy, comfort and convenience all point to the use of gas. If you are in any doubt regarding the fuel question, write for the special "Household Economy" number of "A Thousand and One Uses for Gas" to the Secretary—

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Half-Yearly Council Meeting, 1919.

The Half-Yearly Council Meeting will be held this year at Glasgow by kind invitation of the Glasgow W.S.S. on Tuesday, October 7th, Wednesday, October 8th, and (if necessary) Thursday, October 9th, from 10.30-5.30 each day.

AGENDA

Owing to the fact that the arrangements for the Agenda must be made when the Committees of many Associations are dispersed for the holidays, the Executive Committee have decided to dispense with a Preliminary Agenda and issue one Agenda only. The Committee were of opinion that there was no objection to this arrangement, as the business of the Half-Yearly Council is not likely to be complicated and a certain economy will be effected.

Women's Emancipation Bill.

It was decided at the last meeting of the Executive Committee that a circular should be sent to the House of Commons protesting against the action of the Government with regard to the Women's Emancipation Bill, and pointing out that the Government ought to resign if it will not carry out the wishes of the House of Commons.

Library.

The following books have recently been added to the Library:— Jesse (F. Tennyson): "The Sword of Deborah." London, 1919. Foster (Mrs. L. Glasier): "The New Needlecraft." London, 1919. Jones (Sir Henry): "The Principles of Citizenship." London, 1919. Hobson (J. A.): "Taxation in the New State." London, 1919. Paterson (Alexander): "Across the Bridges." New Edition. London, 1918. Beer (M.): "A History of British Socialism." Vol. I. London, 1919. Robertson (John): "Housing and the Public Health." London, 1919. Savage (William G.): "Food and Public Health." London, 1919. Scurfield (Harold): "Infant and Young Child Welfare." London, 1919. Morris (Sir Malcolm): "The Story of English Public Health" London, 1919.

ANY SUGGESTIONS FOR NEW BOOKS WOULD BE WELCOMED BY THE LIBRARIAN.

Subscriptions to the General Fund.

DONATIONS.		DONATIONS.	
£ s. d.		£ s. d.	
Carried forward	671 12 1	Winscombe S.E.C.	11 0
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Ealing S.E.C.	10 0	Richmond S.E.C.	6 0
Leicester W.C.A.	2 6	N. Berks W.S.S.	5 15 0
Campan S.E.C.	2 6	Miss M. E. Bridge	10 0
Wolverton W.C.A.	2 6	Miss Whitton	4 7
Louth W.C.A.	10 0	Miss F. M. Beaumont	1 0 0
Women's Industrial League	2 6	Croydon S.E.C.	1 0 0
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Joint Committee of Dunfermline Women's Societies	10 0	Writers' Suffrage League	13 7 6
Oxford Women Students' S.E.C.	2 6		
Gateshead S.E.C.	2 6		
Liverpool W.C.A.	10 0		
	2744 4 1		

VIENNA HOSPITALS.

This appeal on behalf of the Vienna hospitals, and on behalf of Vienna as a world centre of medicine, is addressed to the general public and to the medical profession throughout the world. The promoters of the appeal believe it will not fall upon deaf ears, as both the public and the medical profession have an interest in the continuance of Vienna as a centre of medical study and research.

The Vienna Medical School has behind it a long history. Founded during the reign of the Empress Maria Theresa by Van Swieten, the celebrated pupil of Beerlaave of Leyden, it developed rapidly from comparatively obscure beginnings into a centre of study and research of the first importance. Doctors and medical students from all parts of the world have flocked to Vienna, and among the many great masters of medicine and surgery who taught there were De Hoen, Annenbruggner, Stall, Rebitansky, Skoda, Hebra, Artt, and Billoth. During the past hundred and fifty years successive generations of doctors of all nationalities have received their training in the city hospitals, and the patient and thorough research work which has been conducted there throughout this period has had results the value and importance of which it would be difficult to over-estimate.

The prestige of the Vienna medical school was never higher and the number of its students never greater than was the case in 1914 on the eve of the war. The contrast between its situation then and the situation of the school to-day is both startling and tragic. War was terrible with its wounded and its invalids, its series of epidemics and infectious disease, typhoid, dysentery, spotted fever, and cholera. All of these diseases reduced the population and enfeebled those who remained. Tuberculosis has developed into a deadly and acute disease, particularly in Vienna. Nephritis is present and has taken vast toll. As the result of continuous under-feeding and hunger, dropsy, rickets, scurvy, and Barlow's disease (a disease due to malnutrition) fill the wards of the Vienna hospitals to overflowing. In one clinic alone there were eighteen cases of spontaneous fracture in adults due to continuous starvation.

Now that the war is over vast problems confront the Vienna medical school. Every hospital requisite is wanting. But of even greater importance is the need for nourishing food. A very effective organisation for

the distribution of relief to the hospitals and kindred institutions has been brought into being, the *International Spitalhilfeaktion*, with offices at the Albrecht Palace. It has its own private storerooms. It is independent of other Government departments, and it can distribute to all hospitals according to need. This organisation is controlled by an International Committee. Professor Wenkebach is chairman. Professor Tandler, professor of anatomy and Minister of Health in the present Austrian Government, is a member, and Professor Durig, professor of physiology, is giving his services as well.

(Signed by) DR. BIENE.
HOFRATH LECHER.
C. K. BUTLER (Head of the British Mission).
MR. HALSTEAD (Head of the American Mission).
MR. KARPOLES (Schenker & Co.).
DR. HECTOR MUNRO (Representative of Save the Children Fund).

THE NATIONAL FOOD REFORM ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of members of the National Food Reform Association held at Essex Hall, Strand, a Resolution was adopted endorsing the action of the Committee in taking steps to incorporate it under the title of "THE FOOD EDUCATION SOCIETY, late The National Food Reform Association, founded 1908." The new Committee includes Drs. H. Beckett-Overy, Harry Campbell, H. C. Cameron, T. N. Kelynak, Sim Wallace, Harold Walker, Miss Gladys Clarke (Assocn. Teachers Domestic Subjects), Mr. Waymouth (Brit. Women's Patriotic League), Mrs. Hele-Shaw, Mrs. Walter, and Mr. Oldfield Thomas, F.R.S. Its Hon. Treasurer is Sybil, Viscountess Rhondda, the Assistant Treasurer being Miss Florence Petty, "The Pudding Lady." It seeks to place before the public the best available facts regarding food and diet, gives instruction in scientific and economical cookery, and has undertaken a campaign on the preservation of the teeth. The address of the Society, of which Mr. C. S. Rolls was the first treasurer and Lord Rhondda his successor, is Danes Inn House, 265, Strand, W.C. 2.

Society of Women Welders.

Donations received from July 15th to July 28th, 1919.

£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Mrs. Spriggs	10 6
Miss A. M. D. Teacher	1 0 6
Miss H. Reynard	1 1 0
Miss Helena Martin	2 2 0
Miss Lowndes	10 0
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Miss M. L. Mathieson	1 0 0
Miss Nora Kershaw	1 10 0
Mr. & Mrs. Jackson	1 0 0
Mrs. Sturt	2 0 0
	£31 10 6

In publishing this list the Treasurer of the Society of Women Welders wishes to thank the donors very heartily indeed. In the present state of anxiety regarding the future of women in the engineering trades expressions of sympathy are doubly precious, and the Welders are grateful to their outside friends who are helping them through a bad time. Further donations will be very welcome, and should be sent to the Treasurer, Society of Women Welders, 62, Oxford Street, London, W.1.

Will intending donors please note that £10 has been promised by Mrs. Uniacke if nine others give £10 also. This very generous offer is much too good to be lost. Two sums of £10 have already been received. Please help!

N.U.S.E.C. Scottish Women's Hospitals.

Subscriptions are still urgently needed, and should be sent to Mrs. Laurie, Hon. Treasurer, S.W.H., Red House, Greenock, or to Head quarters, 2, St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh. Peace has now been declared, but the Sick and Wounded are still on our hands, and will require care and attention for some time to come. The Committee therefore urge the necessity of continued and even greater support from the public, to meet the many demands that are constantly coming from Serbia. Cheques and Postal Orders should be crossed "Royal Bank of Scotland."

£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Forward as per list to June 30th, 1919	401,788 11 3
Further donations received to July 17th, 1919:—	
*Newham House School, per Miss Zara L. L. Miller—Proceeds of Entertainment held on June 24th and 25th—to continue upkeep of beds	44 10 0
*Miss Kate M. London, North Berwick	25 0 0
*"A Wellwisher"	5 0 0
*Alex. Cupples (monthly donation)	2 0 0
*Miss Annie E. Rae, Hamilton	10 0
*Anonymous	10 6
*Mrs. Buchanan, Polmont	5 0 0
*Per Miss Gosse, Hon. Treas. London Units, S.W.H., second instalment, London Committee, of money raised by London Committee, and remitted to Headquarters on closing of London Units 23,000	0 0
*Further subscriptions received from America and Canada:—Per Miss Kathleen Burke:—Per Messrs. Morgan, Grenfell & Co., London, £1,000 (per Messrs. J. P. Morgan & Co., New York); per the Manager, The Canadian Bank of Commerce, London (from Toronto Branch) £500	1,500 0 0
*Mrs. Baillie, Glasgow	1 0 0
*Gourock S.E.C., per Mrs. Clatworthy, Hon. Treas., to continue upkeep of "Gourock" beds (3)	75 0 0
*Maidstone Branch, Kentish Federation, per Miss Druce, Hon. Treas.	8 4 0
Mrs. Munro	10 0
Miss Laid	5 0 0
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Anonymous	3 0 0
The Misses Wright	10 0
Students of the Episcopal Training College, Edinburgh, per Alexander Boyd	4 1 7
"Dairy Spaghnum Moss Party"—Balance of Funds—per Miss K. MacCallum	8 18 6
*"S. File"	1 0 0
*Worcester Society for the Extension of the Franchise to Women, per Miss G. M. Randall, Hon. Treas. to continue "Worcester" Bed (£21 and £2 1s.)	22 1 0
Anonymous, per Miss Vera Holme	20 0 0
"Montrose War Dressings Depot," per Mrs. Macpherson Grant—Balance of Funds (Elsie Inglis Memorial Fund)	28 17 2
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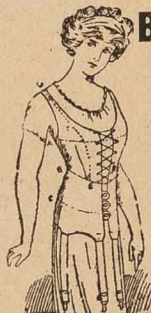
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