

Wanting to be taken away.

The Common Cause

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
A Great Day, by Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D.	72
Women as Justices of the Peace, by J. Theodore Dodd, M.A., J.P.	72
Co-operation as an International Force, by Leonard Woolf	73
Reviews	74
Correspondence	74
Reports, Notices	75

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Notes and News.

The Civil Service Committee.

The Committee appointed by the Treasury on the Recruitment of the Civil Service after the war, has just issued its final Report. The members of the Committee were the Right Hon. Viscount Gladstone, G.C.B., G.C.M.G. (Chairman); Sir Thomas Heath, K.C.B., K.C.V.O., representing the Treasury; Mr. Stanley Leathes, C.B., representing the Civil Service Commission; Mr. G. E. P. Murray, C.B., representing the Post Office; Mr. H. B. Butler, C.B., representing the Ministry of Labour; Mr. R. H. Carr, of the Board of Education; Mr. W. R. Fraser, of the Treasury (Secretary). In the course of their enquiry they examined about forty-seven witnesses, among whom were fifteen women. The Report has been awaited with keen interest by all who care for the position and employment of women, as well as by women Civil Servants themselves. The latter cannot, indeed, fail to scrutinise it with painful eagerness, since their whole future is at stake. The most important question the Committee was called on to consider was "the possibility of retaining in the Service a proportion of the best qualified of the women who have been temporarily employed in the place of men released for Naval or Military Service, subject to the prior claim to re-installation of the men returning to their Departments on demobilisation; and the particular directions in which the experience gained by the several Departments in the employment of women during the War suggests that the employment of women could be extended, with advantage to the Service, after the War." The result of their considerations is a deep disappointment, for although the Report recommends that the employment of women should be extended, the conditions under which it is suggested that this should be done seem to us to be entirely wrong. As compared with the Report of the last Royal Commission on the Civil Service, the present Report may be looked on as a falling off; certainly it does not represent that advance which we should have expected as a consequence of the general progress of opinion during the last five years: as compared with the Report of the Machinery of Government Committee, summarised in our issue of January 17th, it is a miserable reaction indeed. The whole question of the employment of women seems to us to have been considered by the Committee from the wrong point of view. We do not say this because they endeavoured to look at it in regard to the interests of the State, rather than in regard to the interests of women. That was right, of course; the State, as a whole,

must come before any special section of those who serve it. But we think that the Committee have not been far-sighted enough in considering the interests of the State. They have thought of the immediate present rather than the future, and even if we agreed (which we do not) that the course they propose is the one most likely to conduce to the efficiency of the Civil Service at this moment, we should not feel that it is the one most likely to strengthen the nation in the future.

No Trial without Previous Success.

The Committee state that they have based their conclusions "on the experience of Departments during the war"; but in the next paragraph of the Report they admit that "the conditions under which women have served temporarily have been neither satisfactory in themselves, nor sufficiently stabilised to warrant any positive conclusions." They write, "In the first place, the staffs were not selected either medically or educationally, but recruited hastily from persons of varying suitability for clerical work. Secondly, it was impossible to secure after entry either adequate training or supervision." This being so, it would have seemed natural that the course recommended should be one which would make it possible to acquire further experience of the capabilities of women under conditions fairer in themselves, and more comparable with those under which the men Civil Servants are appointed and work. But instead of this, the Committee recommend that "the employment of women should be extended, but should remain on special lines at least until further experience has been gained." Women Civil Servants are when possible to be "segregated"—it is the Committee's own word—and they are not to be admitted to any of the higher posts except those which entail only work "specially appropriate to women." The Report says that "there is not sufficient proof that women are at present capable of performing with equal efficiency the most responsible duties assigned to men except in certain branches for which they are specially qualified." But how is this experience ever to be obtained, if women are to continue to be segregated and to do only "special" work, and is it really in the interest of the State that no attempt should be made to go further into this question? The excuse for not doing so immediately is that "Class I. examinations cannot be resumed for some years to come, and the question of opening Class I. competitions to men and women on equal terms does not at present arise. Moreover, the State is under an obligation to give ex-Service men the first opportunity of competing for vacant posts, and consistently with this obligation they cannot be offered to women unless the supply of qualified Service candidates is insufficient. Present indications are that there is a larger supply of qualified ex-Army candidates than can be absorbed in the relatively small number of posts of this kind available." But the question *does* arise, and even if we admit the superior claims of men who have served in the war over other men and women candidates at this time, it ought not to be used as an argument against the employment of women for ever! The next sentence is a surprise: "Even when the supply of ex-Service men has been exhausted and recruitment for Class I. under normal conditions can be resumed, it will not be practicable to admit women generally to junior administrative posts throughout the service as interchangeable with men until experience has demonstrated not only that they can fill these posts satisfactorily, but that in the same proportions as men they will be competent to carry out the higher administrative duties for which junior administrative work constitutes the regular and necessary training." That is to say that not only are women not to try to carry out the higher kinds of work until they have proved (without trying!) that they can do them; but that women may not hold the higher posts till they have been trained for them in the junior posts

and may not hold the junior posts till they have proved their success in the higher ones! Of all the vicious circles in which women workers have ever been imprisoned this seems the most difficult to get out of it; it will take a very brilliant Civil Servant indeed to square it!

The Trail of the Serpent.

The Report admits that most of the women witnesses held "that so far as general work was concerned, women should be appointed as interchangeable with men to all grades of the Service, and should receive equal pay and equal opportunities of promotion with men. If women were, in fact, not so capable as men to qualify for higher posts, this fact would be reflected in the relative number of promotions of either sex; but so long as opportunities of promotion were equal they felt that this risk, if it was one, should be faced." The Committee were not prepared to face it, although the women were. They state that "the time has not yet come for throwing open Class I, to women, but that the experiment should be tried on a liberal scale of employing women in posts of a Class I. type where the work is specially suited to them." This is no experiment at all. We want something more, and the State wants something more, if it is really to have the full strength which comes from service on a broad basis. We must return to our original complaint; namely, that the Committee have not been influenced by a far-sighted view of the good of the State, but have considered mainly present convenience. It is impossible to forget that this Report emanates from the Treasury, and the fact that the Committee should have thought it worth while to suggest that "equal pay for equal work does not necessarily mean paying the men's rate to the women, but might mean paying the women's rate to the men," gives rise to a good deal of thought. We think we shall be safe in saying that the phrase "equal pay for equal work" could not be interpreted as meaning this by anyone unconnected with the Treasury. It certainly is not the meaning that Trade Unionists or women attach to the phrase! The Government will be seriously misled if it thinks it is. The whole Report shows an official point of view which is far removed from realities, but ought to be studied because it has to be faced and overcome.

Pre-War Position of Women's Labour in Skilled Trades

The extent to which women workers have suffered from opposition to their labour in skilled trades is not realised by everyone, and we think it may be useful to put together some instances of it for the enlightenment of our readers. Of course, it began long before the war. A glaring example of it was to be found in the bookbinding trade, where an effort was made to close the channels of technical education against women. In the printing trade, also, the men workers from the beginning opposed the entry of women into well-paid work, and were at first very successful in keeping women out of the trade. Later, with the improvement of machines, women's labour was again developed in this trade, but there was still opposition, which persists to the present day. In the chain-making trade a great struggle was waged on behalf of the terribly underpaid women workers, but it was carried on almost entirely by women, and the final inclusion of the women chain-makers in the Wages Board Act, cannot be said to have been due to the encouragement given by the men in the trade. They thought that the women ought to be excluded altogether. It is interesting to notice that at the time they took this attitude, the women were making chains on the old skilled handicraft basis, while the men were working on machines at a higher rate of pay. The conditions of work, therefore, were the exact opposite of those that prevailed in the printing trade, but in both cases the men were paid higher wages.

Pit-Brow Women.

Another pre-war instance of opposition to women's work by the men in the trade will already be in the minds of our readers. It was that of the miners to the pitbrow women. In 1912 and 1913 the Miners' Association sought to get their opposition embodied in legislation by the Miners' Act. Strong agitation was raised by the women concerned. They sent a deputation to the Home Office, and, at the same time, they appealed to the miners to accept the responsibility of organising them. The miners heard reason, and we know from their own lips that they have seen no cause to regret it. At the present moment they are proud of having organised the pitbrow women, and they have taken the lead in opposing international limitation of the labour of women.

Opposition to Women's Labour during the War.

A curious instance of the way in which short-sighted opposition to women's work on the part of men workers may result in damage to themselves was that of the Bradford woodworkers. About two years ago there was a strike in a furnishing trade in Bradford, which attained its object of excluding women from certain skilled sections of work. The discharged women were, however, taken on afterwards by the Government for aircraft work, and the furnishing trade was restricted. Then the women, having been installed in the aircraft works, and working for less money, were kept on in preference to such of the men as were not drawn into the Army by conscription. Had the men, instead of excluding the women, organised them in their own Union, this could not have happened.

Railway Working Women.

On the railways, thanks to the far-seeing attitude adopted by the National Union of Railwaymen, under the leadership of Mr. J. H. Thomas, the women have, on the whole, been in a good position, but there have been local exceptions; for instance, the Bury Railway Workers' Union recently decided that women ticket collectors should not have the opportunity of becoming guards, which is allowed to the men, though in other parts of the country they perform this duty with conspicuous success.

Then and Now.

All these instances are of opposition occurring before or during the war. Since the Armistice conditions have developed very rapidly and the situation of women workers in everything approaching a skilled trade is serious in the extreme. We cannot overestimate the gravity of the movements now going on to restrict the liberty of women to do well-paid work. It is a movement that menaces not only women but all workers; a movement that, if it succeeds, will re-enforce the condition of sweated labour, and the miserable practice by which women are driven to undercut and spoil the market. It will carry with it the certainty of continuing "industrial unrest," and every far-seeing man and woman should strive against it. Unfortunately, a tendency of this sort is very difficult to attack. It has not yet taken the shape of legislative action, and it is only from within the Trade Union movement itself that real resistance can be made. But public opinion can, and must, back up the progressive spirit that now exists in the Trade Union world with regard to these things; and the widest publicity should be secured to every instance of this tendency that can be proved. We shall welcome information and correspondence on this subject.

Women Engineers.

The position of women workers in the engineering trades is a specially anxious one at this time. In several parts of the country an effort is being made by the men workers to exclude the women altogether. The reason for this effort is, we believe, not sex prejudice, but a real fear that women will accept low wages, and be used by the employers to undercut the men. Trade Unionists have had to struggle so hard and so long before they could obtain even their present standard of wages and conditions that it is not surprising that they should view the incursion of anything that they regard as cheap labour with anxiety. But we firmly believe that the attempt to exclude women altogether, now being made in some localities, is a disastrous mistake on the part of the men workers from the point of view of their own future and of the future of Trade Unionism. It is also terribly hard on women to be excluded, as women, from work that they can do and want to do, and which the whole nation has united in urging them to take up. There are some places where a local industry has been practically built up by the labour of women. At this moment we have in our hands particulars of a case of this kind. At Hapton in Lancashire a magneto industry has recently been established, entirely by the labour of women. It has been very successful; the women like the work, and the local firm which has employed them wishes to go on doing so. But recently there was a mass meeting of the Allied Engineering Trades of the district, and it was decided that on May 24th all females must cease work. The reasons given for this decision were that there was a large amount of unemployment in the engineering trades in the district, and that there was also great general unemployment among the men. Of the women employed, some were doing highly skilled work, which the meeting considered ought to be done by the skilled men, some were doing semi-skilled work on small machines which the meeting thought ought to be given to unemployed semi-skilled men. We understand that a representative of the local

Gas Workers' Union, to which many of the women belonged, tried to put their case to the meeting, but could not get a hearing. Representatives of the engineering trades, which are mainly responsible for the exclusion of the women, state that the real reason for it is the fear that they will do the work for less wages, and that the only remedy for the present situation is equal pay for equal work.

Women Spinners.

Another industry in which a struggle is now going on is the spinning section of the cotton trade. When the war began there was an agreement between masters and men that women should be taken on as temporary hands, and that they should be paid equal wages for work of equal value. Although we understand that this equal pay has been given, many of the men workers now contend that women should not be allowed to remain in the trade. Before the war, the spinning section was a monopoly of the men, and it is one of the best paid sections. Fifteen thousand spinners joined the colours, and of these it is stated that thirteen hundred have been killed in action, and many more have returned disabled and unable to follow their former occupation. It would seem, therefore, that the number of men who are returning is not large enough to justify the total exclusion of the women who wish to continue the work.

Women Tram Conductors.

We are sorry to hear that at its meeting on May 27th the London County Council decided that the twelve hundred and fifty women tram conductors now in its service should not be allowed to continue in their employment. This can only be regarded as just if they are to give place to men who were formerly doing this job, and who left it to join the Army.

Pre-War Practices Bill.

Unless we are gravely mistaken, the Pre-War Practices Bill, introduced by the Minister of Labour in the House of Commons this week, will provoke some of the most important discussions of the Session. The conflict between skilled and semi-skilled labour raises issues which effect the whole future of industry and of the country. We shall deal with this matter next week.

The State Registration of Nurses.

The State Registration of Nurses is a reform which has been too long delayed. It seems unfortunate that now that it is being seriously discussed in Parliament the issue should be complicated by the fact that there are two separate Bills which, in the view of their promoters, seriously conflict with each other. The Central Committee for the State Registration of Nurses, an organisation which represents the British Medical Association and the chief Nursing Associations of the country, has succeeded in passing its Bill through the Committee stage in the House of Commons. The Bill embodies the principles which nurses have been working for for many years, and which first took definite Parliamentary shape in a measure brought forward by Lord Amthill in 1908. In the natural course of things, it would seem reasonable that Parliament should proceed with this Bill. Another measure promoted by the College of Nurses has, however, been introduced into the House of Lords by Lord Goschen, and on May 27th their Lordships decided by sixty-one votes to twenty to give it a Second Reading. This did not happen until after a vigorous debate, in which the rejection of the College of Nursing Bill was moved by Lord Amthill. Lord Sandhurst, however, speaking for the Government, supported the Bill on the ground that it embodied the principle of registration. It was suggested, in the course of the debate, that the two Bills should be considered by a joint committee, and though Lord Sandhurst did not give any undertaking about this, he promised to convey the suggestion to the President of the Local Government Board. We sincerely hope that all this will not result in a further delay of a measure which nurses, doctors, and the general public unite in believing to be urgent. We also sincerely hope that if the two Bills are considered together by a Parliamentary Committee the measure that emerges will be one that secures real representation of the working nurse. She, after all, is the person who ought to be heard. In our opinion the Bill promoted by the Central Committee, and which has been amended and approved by the Commons, is, on the whole, a satisfactory measure, and it is very unfortunate that its progress has been blocked by the introduction of the second Bill.

The Nursing Sisters of the Royal Navy.

A Senior Medical Officer of the Royal Navy writes to the *Times* to bring to notice the state of affairs in the Royal Naval Nursing Service, which, as he says, has reached "a disgraceful

state." "Nursing sisters," he writes, "have experienced all the dangers of sea warfare at the hands of an unscrupulous enemy, as well as all the risks from floating and other mines, whether our own or the enemy's. Naval pay has at long last been increased, but not for nursing sisters. War gratuities have been and will be granted to officers and men, but not to sisters. Prize money will be awarded, but not to sisters. Bonus additions to pay have already been received, but not by sisters. They alone continue to receive their miserable monthly dole of £5 to £6 while the men who work under them will now get as much as £10 to £13 a month. And now we see military nurses awarded large war gratuities and ranking with lieutenants, captains, and lieutenant-colonels for this purpose, and all civilian nurses having their pay increased. And the reason for this disgraceful injustice? Naval sisters are a small body of seventy odd ladies, comparatively voiceless and helpless, and there are said to be about fifty reserve sisters willing to join the permanent Service. It is a question of supply and demand again, and justice does not enter into it. A sick berth rating will get far more pay than a sister, but, of course, he is a man and belongs to a powerful union. But a Medical Director-General who will suffer this thing to go on is not worth his salt. The writer has no axe to grind, but does not believe in the bullying of women." We very much hope that this attempt to awaken the public mind on the subject of a glaring injustice will succeed.

Women as J.P.s.

The Bill for Women as Justices of the Peace has passed its Committee stage in the House of Lords; it was reported to the House on May 27th. The Women's Local Government Society, which had for the last two years been urging this reform, drafted and revised the Bill last November. It was delayed owing to the General Election, but the Society has now been successful in getting it carried through the House of Lords. The Women's Local Government Society has been in constant communication with Mr. Theodore Dodd, who writes an article on this subject in our columns this week. Sir Willoughby Dickinson, whose absence from the House of Commons is a constant cause for regret to Suffragists, was also consulted in the drafting of the Bill, which was introduced in the Upper House by Lord Beauchamp and has received very general support.

Women Suffrage in Sweden.

Following close on the Suffrage victories in France, America, and Holland, comes yet another piece of good news: both Chambers of the Swedish Parliament have adopted Women's Suffrage without a division. Women were already eligible for election to the Landsting (or Provincial Council) at the age of twenty-seven, and to the town councils at twenty-three. Elections for these bodies have recently taken place, but official figures of the actual number of women elected are not yet available, except as regards Stockholm Town Council, on which there are fifteen women. We send our heartiest congratulations to the women of France, America, Sweden, and also of Holland, where total enfranchisement is already an accomplished fact.

Women's Suffrage in America.

It was announced on May 23rd that the American House of Representatives had passed the Federal Suffrage Amendment by 304 votes to 88. This joyful event was not altogether unexpected; the success of the Amendment during the May session was predicted at the St. Louis Convention, and American suffragists have been extremely sanguine during the past few months, owing to the obvious trend of public opinion, of which there was a good deal of evidence, as, for instance, Maine, Minnesota, and Missouri State Legislatures giving Presidential Suffrage during the week of the Convention. This raised the number of States where women have the "vote for President" to eleven; there are fifteen full Suffrage States; and therefore less than half the total of States still keep their women completely unenfranchised. It was happily inevitable that the House of Representatives should reflect in some degree this advance, and there is reason to hope that the Senate will shortly follow the example of the House of Representatives. The Amendment is not yet, however, quite safe: readers know that ratification by three-fourths of the State Legislatures is necessary to make it part of the Constitution. We congratulate American women with all our hearts on their magnificent fight for enfranchisement, and on this splendid result; and we shall watch anxiously the final stages of their struggle, in which so many men have stood by them, as some Englishmen stood by us when our cause was unpopular, despised, and rejected.

A GREAT DAY.

By MRS. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

MAY 20th, 1919, must ever be considered one of the great days in the history of Women's Suffrage. For on this day France, which up to then had withheld every shred of representation from its women, whether municipal or parliamentary, resolved upon a new way of life, and by the vote of its Chamber of Deputies, in the proportion of three hundred and forty-four to ninety-seven, gave to the women of France and Algeria all the electoral rights possessed by Frenchmen. By this immense majority, roughly three and a half to one, Frenchmen confessed themselves in the wrong in their previous exclusion of women from the safeguards and protection of representative government. The Bill awaits confirmation by the Senate, but it is hardly possible to suppose that the upper Chamber could set aside the vote of such an overwhelming majority of those who directly represent the existing constituencies of their country. Monsieur Clemenceau told us in February that every argument used on behalf of political freedom for men was equally applicable to women.

On the same day, May 20th, a new session of the Congress of the United States met in Washington, and listened to an address by President Wilson, which had been cabled from Paris. An important part of this address dealt with the Rights of Labour and with Women's Suffrage. Referring to labour, President Wilson said: "By the question of labour . . . I mean that much greater and more vital question, how are the men and women who do the daily labour of the world to obtain progressive improvement in the conditions of their labour, to be made happier, and to be served better by the communities and the industries which their labour sustains and advances? How are they to be given their right advantage as human beings?" The bearing of this upon Women's Suffrage is obvious; and after dealing with such matters as industrial conciliation, shipping, taxation, &c., the President turned again to the question of women's political enfranchisement, and said: "Will you now permit me . . . to speak once more, and very earnestly, of the proposed amendment to the Constitution which would extend the suffrage to women, and which passed the House of Representatives at the last session of Congress? It seems to me that every consideration of justice and public advantage calls for the immediate adoption of that amendment, and submission forthwith to the Legislatures of the several States. Throughout the whole world this long-delayed extension of the Suffrage is looked for. . . . The necessity for it, and the immense advantage of it to the national life, have been debated and urged by women and men . . . and I for one covet for our country the distinction of being among the first to act in this great reform."

This was as far as May 20th carried us; but on May 22nd the House of Representatives passed the Women's Suffrage Amendment to the Federal Constitution by three hundred and four votes to eighty-eight, or rather more than seventy

to spare over the two-thirds majority required by the Constitution. It will be remembered that when last the House of Representatives carried the Women's Suffrage Federal Amendment, on February 10th, 1918, they only had one vote to spare over and above the necessary two-thirds. This narrow majority was a great source of weakness, and doubtless encouraged the Anti-Suffrage Die-Hards in the Senate to defeat the amendment. Do we not all remember what happened in our own House of Lords and how the enormous suffrage majorities in the House of Commons were the final cause of our victory in the Lords? Lord Curzon said when he analysed those majorities that they showed no mere party majority, but a majority in each of the parties into which British politics were divided; and then he added significantly, "including that to which most of your Lordships belong." Notwithstanding, however, the different and much weaker position of the Federal amendment in the United States Legislature, the Suffragists only failed by one vote of the necessary two-thirds majority when last the Senate voted in February of this year. The greatly enhanced strength of the suffrage vote in the House of Representatives on May 22nd makes the Suffragist leaders in the U.S.A. very confident that success in the Senate will this time reward their efforts.

But let all our young friends who have not read Lord Bryce's book on the American Constitution take warning that, however large the majority in the Senate may be, the amendment does not become operative until it has been ratified by three-fourths of the States in the Union; that there are now forty-eight States, and consequently ratification by thirty-six of them is necessary. No American suffragist feels daunted by this elaborately planned obstacle race. For out of the necessary thirty-six States, twenty-nine may be considered dead certainties, because they have Women's Suffrage in some form already. We have, therefore, every cause for joyful anticipation of the final and speedy triumph of the Suffrage cause in both France and America, and we can afford to smile when we remember the old catchwords that were used against it only a few years ago "that voting would trespass upon the delicacy, the refinement, the purity, and the elevation of women"; "that women's suffrage would work havoc in the home and domestic life"; "that for once and in order to save the quiet of home life from total disappearance" women should come out of their seclusion to testify against their own enfranchisement; and finally that the "political ignorance of women was irreparable and was imposed by nature," and therefore—a splendid non sequitur—women were invited to pronounce such a judgment upon it as would condemn it to final "defeat and extinction."

Our heartiest congratulations go forth to Mme. Schlumberger and L'Union Française pour le Suffrage des Femmes, and also to Mrs. Chapman Catt and the National American Society for Woman Suffrage. They have struggled greatly for the great cause of human freedom.

Women as Justices of the Peace.

By J. THEODORE DODD, M.A., J.P.

It has been stated with confidence that there have already been, in England, instances of women holding office as Justices of the Peace, but, so far, I have been unable to find any well-authenticated case. The authorities generally quoted in favour of the statement do not appear to me to be at all convincing. It is true that in *Olive v. Ingram* (7 Modern Reports, p. 267) an energetic advocate for women's rights says that in the *Mirror of Justices* a woman is stated to have been a Justice of the Peace, but he fails to give any reference, and in such search as I have made in the *Mirror* I failed to find any such statement. Indeed, in one place that work declares that women cannot be judges. I should be glad to know if anyone else can discover the statement in any of the numerous and varying editions of the *Mirror* that have been published, though, after all, the *Mirror* is not a work of great authority. It has also been said that Lady Margaret and the Lady of Berkeley and Nichola de la Haye held office as Justices of the Peace, but here again I can find no satisfactory evidence. 'Callis on Sewers,' who seems to be the authority for the statement as to the Countess of Richmond, says that Lady Margaret was "put in commission," but does not say in the Commission of the Peace, and, moreover, says that "women seem to be excluded from being Justices." Nor can I find authentic information as

to the other ladies mentioned, though Nichola undoubtedly was Sheriff. However, whether any woman in England was ever a J.P. is now of little more than antiquarian interest, as if the Women's Emancipation Bill becomes law there will soon be many women occupants of the Magisterial Bench. There have, of course, been women Justices of the Peace both in America and within the British Empire. Some instances are mentioned in an article of mine which appeared in *The Contemporary Review* for September, 1917. Even in England, Home Secretaries have recognised that women could help the Magistrates in some of their most difficult duties. Thus, in 1909 it was declared that it was very desirable that when a girl appeared as a witness in certain cases, she should not be examined except in the presence of a woman.*

In 1916 the Home Secretary said that experience showed that in dealing with children and young persons a woman is often more successful than a man; and so he suggested that Magistrates should invite women to aid the regular Probation Officer in his difficult work.† It will be far better for the women to act in their own right as Justices than to have to wait for an

* Circular, "Juvenile Courts," March 9th, 1909.

† Circular, May 11th, 1916.

invitation from the masculine Bench—which sometimes never comes.

There are a few salient points in which "Justices' justice" still needs improvement, where it may be hoped that the presence of a sufficient number of intelligent and humane women may effect:—

(1) The even yet too deeply-rooted principle of considering offences against property more important than those against persons.

(2) A consistent ignoring—or it may be ignorance of—the Circulars of Home Secretaries. These have been issued during the last twenty or thirty years advising more humane and considerate administration of the laws.

(3) Neglect to use many of the Magistrates' great powers, under the Licensing Acts and otherwise, for preventing drunkenness and excessive or undesirable drinking.

There are also two points of great importance in connection with the appointment of women Justices which I should like to mention. They should be appointed in sufficient numbers to every Bench. It is useless to put in the Commission a stray woman here and there. Secondly, they should be appointed from all ranks of society, and from all political parties alike. The wretched system of packing the County Benches with the members of one political party was, to some extent, exposed in the Report of and evidence before the "Royal Commission on the Selection of Justices of the Peace," which was appointed in 1909.

I trust that the women appointed will represent the Labour and Liberal parties and the workshops and co-operative stores as well as the Primrose League, and that the hand-worker who maintains herself by her own might will take her place on the Justices' Bench with the lady in her own right.

Co-Operation as an International Force.

By LEONARD WOOLF.

When one talks of an international force, one must be careful to distinguish between forces which are centrifugal and those which are centripetal. In the past international forces of any efficiency and respectability have nearly all been centrifugal; those which tended to hold the international world together have for the most part been weak and disreputable. War, patriotism, imperialism, militarism, protectionism, capitalism, have been the really effective international forces; they are all centrifugal. Pacifism, international socialism, international feminism, and internationalism generally, including that of Labour, have been the centripetal forces, all of them ineffectual and some of them disreputable. The only centripetal international force which, in the past, has been both efficient and respectable has been a certain variety of international finance, and the trial of M. Caillaux in France makes it doubtful whether even this mighty force will in the future escape the disrepute which attaches to pacifism.

Among those international forces which have been weak and respectable has been co-operation. Perhaps its ineffectiveness was the cause of its respectability, but in any case it is hardly fair to blame co-operators themselves for either. The world has hitherto not wanted international forces which make for union. But for the moment, a majority of ordinary people seem to have decided that a world war is accompanied by certain disadvantages; it may ruin, starve, or kill us as well as foreigners. We are accordingly looking about for something which will hold the world together. Hence the League of Nations, which, when I first met it four years ago, was weak and disreputable, is now at any rate respectable. I suggest that if we are really looking for forces which, like the League, make for peace and union, we might with advantage give a little consideration to the claims of co-operation.

Most of the countries of Europe which were, or were recognised as, civilised countries before the war had strong and growing co-operative movements. (I am referring in this article only to consumer's co-operation and societies on the model of the Rochdale Society of 1844.) The two strongest were those of Britain and Germany, each of which had several million members and several hundred societies all over the respective countries. Everywhere co-operation has been mainly a working-class movement, though it has usually attracted a fair number of the lower middle and a small number of the "intellectual" classes. In Britain and Germany, and to a lesser degree in France and Russia, it had already shown that it could compete successfully in many branches with large-scale capitalist industry. The individual societies, federated in wholesale societies, opened mills and factories and produced annually many millions of

pounds worth of commodities which were distributed to the members through the distributive societies.

The co-operative system of industry which has thus in some seventy years grown up and shown itself to be a possible alternative to the ordinary capitalist system is distinguished by certain important features. In the first place it is democratic. The whole of production and distribution is subject to the control not of an autocracy or a single capitalist employer, nor of an oligarchy of capitalist shareholders, but of the whole body of consumers organised in the societies. In the second place, by the system of dividend on purchase, it eliminates the capitalist profit and the profiteer. Production and distribution under the co-operative system is carried on, not for profit, but for use or consumption.

There are two ways in which an industrial system like that of the co-operative movements might act as an international force. In 1892 international co-operation may be said to have come into being in the International Co-operative Alliance, an organisation which co-operative societies and associations of all countries can join. By 1908 twenty-three countries had joined the Alliance. Now if the objects of this Alliance be examined, it will be seen that they fall into two well-marked divisions. The Alliance has set itself the general task of promoting friendly relations between the different movements, collecting and unifying co-operative statistics, and promoting co-operation in the several countries. In these general, rather platonic and yet important objects, the Alliance has certainly been successful. But it also has a more precise and practical object, namely, "the promotion of trading relations between the co-operative organisations of the various countries," and I do not think that in the achievement of this object very great progress has been made in the past.

The truth is that co-operation can be an international force in two different ways. It can be platonic and respectable, promoting friendly relations (when the world happens not to be at war) between the movements of the different countries: it can hold conferences and congresses and "fraternal delegates" can make pleasant speeches assuring each other of "international solidarity." Such a "force" and such congresses no doubt have their value, but they do not count for very much when they are weighed against militarism, imperialism, capitalism, and jingoism. Fraternal delegates and international congresses and solidarity have a way of disappearing at the first rumble of the distant drum. On the other hand co-operation can become a real and a strong international force if it proceeds seriously to the work of applying the co-operative system to international trade. This task will be neither platonic nor respectable: it will require hard thinking, energy, imagination, and determination. The great movements of this country and Germany have, of course, in the past engaged in international trade; they imported their raw materials for their industries, and the British movement has even owned its own ships and had its own tea estates in India and Ceylon. But in all such cases there was no attempt to apply the co-operative system itself to international trade. The wholesale societies went into the market and bought their raw materials in the ordinary way. To apply the co-operative system to international trade it is necessary that the co-operative movements of the different countries should deal with one another on the co-operative system. For instance, international co-operation of this kind would mean that the English Co-operative Wholesale Society would be a member of the Swiss and French Wholesale Societies, the Swiss of the French and English, and the French of the English and Swiss. Then when the English C.W.S. imported goods from the Swiss or French C.W.S. it would draw its dividend on purchase, and when the Swiss or French imported from the English, they, too, would draw their dividend on purchase. Before the war there were signs of a growth of such trade: the German Wholesale Society used to export to the Danish, while it imported tea from the English C.W.S. and cheese from the Swiss. But the system had never been developed into real international co-operative trade. If it were, it would immediately become a powerful centripetal international force. The reason is that under the co-operative system the seller is merged in the buyer. The wholesale society when it sells to its customer, whether that customer be a local distributive society or a foreign wholesale society, is not trying to make a profit out of him, because the customer himself is a part of the wholesale society and draws his dividend on purchase, which abolishes "profit." The Free Traders of the early nineteenth century thought that international trade would make for international peace. They were wrong, because they did not see that under the capitalist and individualist system international trade becomes a field for a bitter struggle for profits. If co-operation once entered that field and captured a place in it, it would be a tremendous inter-

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

ADDRESSES BY WOMEN.

S.T. BOTOLPH'S, BISHOPSGATE.—The Thursday Services (1.15-1.45) have been resumed. The Addresses on May 1st, 8th, 15th, will be given by Mrs. Herman; on May 22nd, by Miss P. Walters; and on May 29th, by Miss Picton Turberville.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S FRANCHISE CLUB, 9, Grattan-street, Piccadilly, W. 1. Wednesday, June 4th, at 8 p.m. French Lecture by Mme. Rudler.

MISS A. MAUDE ROYDEN preaches at the City Temple next Sunday (June 1st), at 6.30. Continuation of Sermon Series, "Christianity in the 20th Century.—Can We Believe in It?"

THE BRITISH DRAMA LEAGUE will hold its inaugural meeting at the Haymarket Theatre on Tuesday, June 3rd, at 3.30 p.m. Chairman: Dr. M. E. Sadler (Vice-Chancellor of Leeds University). Speakers: Lena Ashwell, the Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, M.P., John Drinkwater, the Lady Denman, and others. Admission Free. Tickets for reserved seats will be sent to members on application to Sec., British Drama League, Dudley House, Southampton-street, Strand.

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