

Not to be taken away.

# The Common Cause

The Organ of the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship.

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## Notes and News.

### Dead or Alive?

The surprise felt by the women's organisations at the fact that the Gladstone Committee's Report, which the Lord Chancellor and Mr. Bonar Law had repudiated in August, was so freely quoted by the Solicitor-General had evidently been brought to the notice of the latter Minister between the two days of the debate. Sir Ernest Pollock took some pains to explain that he had only quoted the Report as supporting the view "that the employment of women was in a fluid or experimental state." He added: "I desire to say that I had no intention of indicating that the Gladstone Report was to be put into operation, or that it was to be taken as a final Report on which the proposals or intentions of the Government were to be based. I used it simply for the purposes which are indicated in my speech. I have made enquiries and I am quite clear that at the present time the Gladstone Report has not been adopted, and does not represent the final word in the matter." As the Gladstone Committee's Report represents all the conclusions about the conditions of the employment of women in the Civil Service which the women's organisations do not approve, it is of course some relief to hear that the Government do not regard it as the "final word in the matter"; though this is a little different from saying (as Mr. Bonar Law was understood to have said in August) that the Report was dead. We cannot help wondering how it is that the Ministers never refer to the Machinery of Government Committee's Report, which gave such a very different and (from the women's point of view) such a very much more satisfactory estimate of what was possible and desirable in the way of admitting women freely to posts in the Civil Service. Readers who wish to compare the different voices that have come from Government Committees on this subject, should look back to our issue of July 18th, in which a comparative summary of Reports on Women in the Civil Service was given.

### "Desired to Remove."

We fear that the Solicitor-General is still very far indeed from understanding what women want in the way of equality. In moving the third reading of the Bill, he described it as "a Bill which, I hope, has removed, as far as possible, all the bars which previously existed, and which it is desired to remove, and which has now freed women from the disqualifications on

grounds of sex to the fullest extent it was the intention of the Committee to do. I have been very glad indeed to lend such services as I can to that end." The words "it is desired to remove," are a little vague. Desired by whom? By the Government?—Very probably. By the House of Commons? Perhaps; but in that case, what were they thinking of when they passed the Women's Emancipation Bill through all its stages last summer? By the Women?—No! Women desire to remove disqualifications to a far greater extent than is done by this Bill. They intend to work for nothing less than full equality. Till they get it, no Government need expect gratitude—nor even a quiet life.

### Juries of One Sex Only.

The Sex Disqualification (Removal) Bill has now passed the House of Commons. In the Clause on Jurors the words "having regard to the nature of the case" have been taken out, so that as the Bill stands at present the Judge will be able to order that the jury shall be of one sex only in any kind of case. It will be a misfortune if this clause passes into law, as it will enable judges of a reactionary frame of mind (and we fear that they are far from being unknown) to order that the jury shall be of men only, in those very cases of wrongs to women and children on which it is most important that women's opinion should be taken.

### The New World.

The result of the Borough Council elections in London and a great part of the country, is the sweeping triumph of Labour candidates. Thirteen of the London boroughs are now completely controlled by the Labour party, and the Municipal Reformers, who had over a thousand members on the councils which have just retired, have now only six hundred. Well over half the women candidates have been returned, a considerable number without opposition. In most of the boroughs won by Labour, their majority is so large—in Poplar the opposition is only three in a council of forty-two—that the youngest of the political parties will have virtually a free hand. It comes into power at a time when the nation is, willingly or unwillingly, compelled to abandon its ancient ways and to make fresh precedents. The opportunity is great; the risks to be taken are enormous. The new councils are many of them composed, as to the majority of their members, of persons without administrative experience, but with very definite views as to what they want, and a strong determination to obtain it. They are in the position of a young man suddenly heir to the life-interest in a vast estate, and they can experiment on a gigantic scale unhampered by tradition or interference. "La carrière" is "ouverte aux talents," and the great battle between experience and *a priori* reasoning will be fought out on a new ground. The Labour Party has got its peaceful revolution, at any rate in twelve London Boroughs; if it succeeds in making a new world in them, well and good. If it does not, it will have had a valuable political and economic education at a great cost. The bill will not be paid by the pupil, but that is true of education in general, and neither those who voted for the new councillors nor those who abstained from voting and let the matter drift, have a right to complain if they have a good deal to pay. Apparently less than twenty-five per cent. of the voters troubled to record their votes, and the Labour victory is the success of those who care as opposed to the failure of those who do not care. It is for the Labour Party now to justify itself, and to show that it can possess great power without using it like a tyrant. In the twelve boroughs it is the trustee of the seventy-five per cent. who did not vote for it as well as for its own adherents, and on its remembrance of this fact will depend the future of the Party in Parliament as in the municipalities.



### Women on the Councils.

About two hundred women stood for the London Boroughs, and of these more than half were successful; that is, more than half the women nominated will sit, while only one in three of the general body of candidates obtained seats. In the provinces some women had signal successes. Mrs. Alderton was returned for Colchester as an advanced Liberal, obtaining four hundred votes more than her colleague, and as many as both the unsuccessful candidates put together. This was the first time that a woman had stood for the Town Council, and Mrs. Alderton was opposed by the local secretary of the A.S.E., a very formidable rival in a ward containing large engineering works. At Winchester the three Women Citizens' Association candidates all obtained very large majorities, Miss B. du Boulay nearly doubling the votes obtained by a councillor of long standing and a Labour candidate who opposed her. At Winchester nearly half the electorate is said to have voted. The success of Mrs. Hooley, Miss Finistone and Miss du Boulay is very popular, and they were called upon to speak from the Guildhall steps at the declaration of the poll. At Cambridge the women on the Council are still four, Mrs. Keynes, a sitting member, having been defeated, and Mrs. Rackham having been elected for another Ward in the Labour interest. In London, Chelsea has now ten women councillors (though no woman has previously sat), St. Marylebone has eight, Westminster and Lambeth seven, and Hampstead, Southwark, and Paddington six each. This is a great advance upon the position, when it was considered sufficient to have one or at most two women upon a council, with the result that the woman councillor, if efficient, was appointed a member of almost every committee, and was quite unable to cope with all the work thrust upon her. Everyone will recall instances of very able women in these circumstances somewhat disappointing their constituents. Birmingham has now six women councillors—two of whom are new. Bradford has sent Mrs. Clayton (Lab.) to join Mrs. Arnold. Ashton elected, in Mrs. Wild, its first woman councillor, who headed the poll, while her husband was defeated. Bolton has six women; Mrs. Helme has again obtained a seat at Lancaster, and at Hull the only woman candidate, Mrs. Hatfield, the wife of a railwayman, is the first woman on the council. At Canterbury three women are returned, at Hastings one, at Oxford Miss Thackeray headed the poll in her ward. It is curious that a town like Manchester, long supposed to be in the van of progress, should have returned only two new women members, while southern haunts of Conservatism should have been so much more enterprising. Its women representatives are now Miss Ashton, Miss Herford, Miss Lee, and Mrs. Smith.

### Party Politics in Local Government.

The return of many women members to Borough Councils will probably increase the tendency to change the meaning of party labels which is already marked, at any rate in the North of England. *The Manchester Guardian* remarks that the Municipal Progressive Union includes in its ranks many advanced Liberals, and that the co-operative programme is hardly distinguishable from that of the Labour Party. It is very easy to have too much "politics" in a town council, and many of the most able and experienced women have worked so long for Women's Suffrage that they care little for the party label. It is, at all events, less important now that great administrative schemes are to be carried out, than when the Ministry of Health and the Housing questions were at their Parliamentary stage, and it is probable that women councillors of all parties will find it possible, in three-fourths at least of their duties, to co-operate rather than to oppose one another. A striking instance of a woman candidate's war work as a recommendation to the electorate comes from Cheltenham, where Miss Geddes, who had for three years done magnificent service as commandant of the Naunton Park Hospital, was chosen instead of a rival who was the champion of demobilised men. Her qualifications as a soldiers' friend were as obvious as his, and more convincing.

### Lady Astor's Candidature.

On the close of the municipal elections last Saturday, the Parliamentary candidates at the Plymouth by-election took the field. The possible fourth candidate has decided not to stand, which leaves Lady Astor (Co.-U.), Mr. Isaac Foot (L.), and Mr. W. T. Gay (Lab.) to contest the election. Both Lady Astor's opponents are local men, and well-known to the electors, and in view of the marked success of Labour at the municipal elections, the contest seems likely to be a close one. Lady Astor's popularity in the constituency is not denied, even by her opponents, but they try to discount it by suggesting that the qualities which

make a candidate's wife are not necessarily the qualities which make a candidate. At her opening meeting on Monday, Lady Astor had a rousing reception. She said she did not enter the contest light-heartedly, nor was she there as a sex candidate, but as a citizen honoured beyond measure by the invitation to stand for the town. She stood for real progress and partnership. She was a general supporter of the Coalition, but would not go to the House of Commons bound hand and foot.

### Turning Out the Women.

To read some newspapers to-day, and to hear some people talk, one would imagine that they wanted all women, no matter how experienced, to be turned out of professions and industries so long as one man remained unemployed. Sweeping assertions are made without instancing any particular cases of women actually taking the positions of demobilised soldiers. Educated women who have done excellent work in Government offices are termed "flappers," and are jeered at and boycotted. Many new departments have necessarily started during the war, and women should have their share of the clerical work needed. Women yield to none in acknowledging that ex-soldiers have the first claim to consideration, but there is plenty of work to be done, and there is also a woman's side to the question. Many of the women in Government offices were already earning their living before the war, and took up this work as a means of putting their experience at the disposal of the country. It is only fair that the services of these women should be retained as long as they are needed. Again, a large number who before the war were not obliged to work, are now forced by economic conditions into the labour market. It is extraordinary that at a time like the present the services of every experienced man and woman should not be considered of value to the country. A bank manager said, in answer to an enquiry a few days ago: "My women clerks are excellent. I shall keep them as long as I am allowed to." Is it not strange that an employer should not be "allowed" to employ the workers whom he considers the most efficient? *The Daily News* gave a leader to this problem last week, and summed it up by saying: "What is plain in the meanwhile is that it is not possible to 'turn the women out,' if turning them out is a synonym for starving them."

### Women in Engineering Trades.

From the clerks we turn to the position of women in engineering and other trades, and in this connection a Report just issued by the Women's Industrial League is of interest. This report covers information received from 1,422 firms, and we learn that of 245,300 women employed during the war, 79,700 only were retained at the end of May, 1919—this in the face of letters from the firms stating their high satisfaction with the work of women and their willingness to retain or reinstate them if allowed to do so. "Since the Armistice, the A.S.E. has insisted upon our dismissing the women working on armature work, because we were not employing women in the same room or department as formerly. We don't think the decision was a fair one, and we made our protest accordingly, but without avail. . . . We venture to express the opinion that women's work is infinitely better than men's for many branches of our work." This is a fair specimen of the letters received, yet, in spite of the critical financial position of the country and the necessity for increased output, women are not allowed to make use of their skill, and are forced instead to take the out-of-work donation. We fail to see any argument against absolute equality of treatment for men and women in industry. Some occupations are doubtless unsuitable to women, but whether the unsuitability is based on inferior physical strength, or on lack of experience, it is evident on economic grounds that no employer would put women on such work; so that there is nothing to fear on this score.

### A Woman Magistrate.

Mrs. Jean Norris, assistant secretary of Tammany Hall, and President of the National Women Lawyers Association, has been appointed as the first woman Police Magistrate of New York City. The appointment is for thirty days, during the illness of one of the male magistrates, and is understood to be an experimental one to determine the fitness of women for the judicial office. Mrs. Norris will sit for a week with Magistrate Marsh in the women's court, to familiarise herself with the routine, after which she will occupy the bench alone in the women's court or in the Court of Domestic Relations. We wonder when England will follow this lead.

### Women Police in Scotland.

The Scottish Training School for Women Police and Patrols has recently published a very interesting report of its first year's work. The Training School has endeavoured to arouse public opinion in Scotland to the need of policewomen, to show the services women police could render in helping in the prevention of crime, in the maintenance of public order, and the decent and humane conduct of police offices and police courts. "The Training School has pressed that policewomen should be appointed as the official point of contact between the law and women when they are under arrest in the police offices, and when brought before the Court, whether as accused persons or as witnesses; also that the policewoman should take her part in the conduct of the Juvenile Courts by preliminary investigation of the accused children, and the preparation of reports to enable the magistrate to deal effectively with the child brought before him." The Secretary for Scotland has recently approved the appointment of ten women constables as auxiliaries of the Glasgow Police Force, their pay to be 35s. per week with a war bonus of 12s. for the present time. The Scottish Training School naturally welcomes this recognition of the place for policewomen in the civic life of Glasgow; but the Director, Miss Edith Tancred, states that she and her Committee do not feel justified in recruiting or training policewomen to be auxiliaries in the police force. They feel that the women should be legally recognised and "sworn in" as members of the police force, in order that their conditions of service may be regularised, their future secured, and the same protection given to them as that accorded to a male constable in the performance of his duties. The view that the police themselves hold is expressed in a quotation from *The Police Chronicle* of September 26th, which says: "If the women police are to succeed they must be engaged for general police work in all its branches, in the same way as the male constables. This point of view cannot be too strongly impressed on friends of the movement. The Secretary for Scotland seems to hold the opinion that women constables cannot be sworn in, but before they can work efficiently they must be sworn in." It is very strongly felt by the leaders of this movement that the policewoman should be given the full authority and protection of the Law whose representative she is.

### A Woman Envoy to Britain.

An Assyrian Princess has come to England, as the chosen of her people, to plead for the restoration of lands lost by them when they took arms on the Allies' behalf against the Turks and Kurds. The Lady Surma di Bith Mar Shimun, who is the sister of the ruling Patriarch of the Assyrians, has come from a town five hundred miles beyond Bagdad, and has journeyed some eight thousand miles to plead the cause of her people. "I came to England much against my will," she said in an interview with a representative of *The Daily News*, "for I have never been to Europe before. But there was no one else to come. My brother, the late ruling Patriarch, was killed by Kurd treachery; my younger brother, who succeeded him, is ill, and another brother is serving. The people would trust nobody else." There is only a remnant remaining to-day of these once-powerful nomadic tribes. The surviving 22,000 are gathered together at Bakuba, where they are living under the protection of the British civil and military authorities. "Our villages were razed behind us," said the Lady Surma, "all our flocks have been driven away, our money stolen and exhausted, our books and documents burnt. We are a people without a country." It is indeed a sign of the times that this important and difficult mission has been entrusted to a woman by an Eastern people.

### Ex-W.A.A.C.s and the Servant Problem.

A recent letter in *The Daily News* from Mr. John Murray, M.P., is one of the few attempts to draw attention to the great loss it will be to the nation if no effort is made to keep alive the co-ordinate spirit of the W.A.A.C. domestic workers. Domestic work as performed by women in the Services has ceased to be a mere drudgery, and has become a dignified and interesting labour, with limited hours of work and stated times for rest and recreation. To the worker her officer appeared to be mainly there to protect her interests and ameliorate her working conditions. It is not surprising, therefore, that the domestic experiment essayed by the Knutsford Theological College has been successful, and it is to be hoped that the scheme will be widely followed. Hospitals, Poor Law Infirmaries, and other institutions are often in difficulties through shortage of domestic staff. Let the governing bodies of these places mobilise a unit of ex-W.A.A.C.s and put an ex-Administrator at their head, and a very different atmosphere will shortly prevail. True, a new standard

of work will be set and the domestics will not be found on duty from 6.30 a.m. to 9.30 p.m.; but this change may be looked forward to with equanimity.

### An East End Repertory Theatre.

At "Excelsior Hall," in the district of Bethnal Green, an East-End Repertory Theatre is to be opened. Miss Lena Ashwell and her committee of artists have decided to carry on the entertainment work which they organised during the war, and which was so much appreciated by the British Expeditionary Forces. The six hundred musical and dramatic artists who did this work in France are only too willing to continue their efforts. Bethnal Green has been chosen as so many ex-service men live in the district, the local Branch of the Discharged Soldiers' and Sailors' Federation having a membership of 4,000. The Repertory season will begin November 12th. There will be nightly performances and occasional matinees, the prices of the seats ranging from sixpence to half-a-crown. In addition to the dramatic work which will consist chiefly of modern plays, free concerts will be given every Sunday night.

### The "Englishwoman."

We wish to call attention to the ninth annual *Englishwoman* Exhibition, a notice of which appears on another page. We believe that most of our readers are also readers of our contemporary, whose pleasant red covers always enclose so much material that is invaluable in the struggle for equal opportunities for women and so much that is pleasant to read. Most of them, too, if they live in London, have already acquired the habit of visiting the Exhibition, which brightens the dark days of November with a feast of colour and beautiful things. We are glad to think that the gallant organisers of this delightful show succeeded in keeping it up all through the years of war, and we wish them good fortune now that the days of peace have returned. May our contemporary have a long life and a happy one, and be in with us at the final victory of our cause.

### In Memory of Alexander Coote.

The death of Mr. W. A. Coote will be mourned by women wherever his name is known, and that is in every country in Europe. His work for the suppression of the White Slave Traffic first came into public notice in 1885, when he became secretary of the National Vigilance Association, and at the meeting of the International Bureau for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, which took place just before the war, he was easily the most distinguished and most respected figure. His was a remarkable and attractive personality. He attempted the impossible and succeeded, but he never despised the day of small things. No concession was too trivial for his welcome, no "case" too doubtfully meritorious for his interest. He founded a great and successful international organisation without knowing any foreign language; he began his work in obedience to a vision, and carried it on with meticulous attention to business details; he spent his life in fighting evil without bitterness or discouragement; he continually befriended sinners, without for a moment allowing anyone to think that yielding, even in the face of heavy temptation, was venial. He was one of those fortunate beings whose outward seeming truly represents the soul within. Though he began life as a working printer, he had the presence and manner of those who treat on an equality with princes—as indeed he did—and a quite royal power of setting other people at their ease.

### Florence Davenport Hill.

The death of Miss Florence Davenport Hill at Headington, Oxford, on November 2nd has taken from us another of the pioneers whose example has been an inspiration to suffragists of this generation. Miss Hill was ninety years of age, and she had done sixty years work for the Cause of Women's Suffrage. She was the younger of two sisters, daughters of Matthew Davenport Hill, once Recorder of Birmingham, and a promoter of industrial schools for juvenile offenders. Both sisters cared deeply for the cause of children as well as for that of women. Miss Rosamund Davenport Hill was an enlightened member of the London School Board, while Florence wrote in 1868 a book called "Children of the State," in which she urged that work-house children should not be herded together in the "House," but boarded out in cottage homes. In 1908 she drafted the Bill for the installation of Children's Courts, which has had such remarkable results. She continued to take a share in the effort for equal opportunities for women until the end, and her house at Headington was a centre for friends of the movement. She will be much missed.



## SEX DISQUALIFICATION AT THE UNIVERSITIES.

WOMANHOOD is still regarded by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge as a barrier to full participation in educational work. The Sex Disqualification (Removal) Bill has not removed that barrier, but, by the amendment recently carried, it has definitely left the two Universities to remove it upon their own responsibility. Oxford and Cambridge are deprived of the delaying plea that they can do nothing without a special Act of Parliament. They know now that they can move in the matter at once. They can place themselves right with the nation by making the two oldest Universities the Universities of the nation, and not (as they now are) the Universities of a privileged sex and (as they still are in some measure) the Universities of fortune-favoured classes. The democratic movement and the movement for the complete enfranchisement of women meet here and mingle their rushing streams.

The discussion at Cambridge last week was clearly influenced by the knowledge that the University will shortly be brought before the judgment-seat of a University Commission. Even the men who in the past have talked most loudly about retaining the University as a men's University, are sounding a different note at present. In the Cambridge discussion not one of the "Antis" boldly said that he was opposed to any proposal for the removal of artificial inequalities. Professor Ridgeway did, it is true, commend any instances of sex separation which he could cull from American Universities, but when he was definitely asked by another speaker whether he was arguing against both the schemes which were under discussion, he asserted that he was "positively, absolutely" in favour of one of these proposals, which is that Cambridge should, as it is phrased, "co-operate with the women's colleges or other bodies in the conferment of degrees on women students," while still excluding women from University membership. So that even Professor Ridgeway now finds himself in favour of giving women University degrees as was proposed, though rejected, in 1897. We all move—though our progress is sometimes more passive than active.

The truth is that the Council of the Senate in Cambridge has thought itself obliged to offer a choice of two dishes. The one is the simple, wholesome fare of equality, the other a really hopeless mess, made up of incompatible ingredients. Everybody knows that the second alternative is a hopeless mess, and probably none know it better than those who have written the recipe and will, if they are appointed to serve on the special Syndicate, have to send the hash to table. If the business of Cambridge University were conducted on the lines of modern deliberative assemblies, so that discussions concentrated themselves upon resolutions and amendments, the preposterous character of the alternative to equality would at once have been revealed. Even in the peculiar conditions of a Senate House talk, it was plain enough that a mongrel scheme is unworkable now, whatever might have been the case thirty years ago. We have gone too far towards equality to be side-tracked now. As Mr. T. R. Glover, in an able speech, reminded his hearers, Parliament has recognised the position of women in Cambridge, and has given them the vote for the University members of Parliament. It is absolutely impossible now to create "an imaginary body" which might use Cambridge University examinations, which would give degrees that no one would understand—and degrees which would be equivalent to the degrees of men so far as their vote-carrying rights for Parliament were concerned, but inferior to the degrees of men for all other University purposes.

There is also the financial question, which has distinct importance. The University is starved for want of money; yet, Mr. Balfour, as the new Chancellor, has told Cambridge, she must look to her own resources for help, and not lay claim to vast Government grants. Mr. Balfour knows Cambridge conditions well. He knows that some of the colleges are the owners

of great estates and are the not infrequent recipients of great benefactions. How is it, then, that the University is so poorly off? Are the University and the component colleges not the same? Are their pecuniary interests different? These are a few of the questions to be considered by the coming Commission, which will certainly ask whether the Universities have resources near at hand which they have left untapped. The Universities are not in a position to decline even a small accession of income. But for many years they have refused to take fees from women because they have not wished women to claim degrees or a share in University teaching and University government. Mr. Fay, the economist, of Christ's College, took a powerful grasp of one side of the problem when he spoke of the exclusion of women from the various Boards and Syndicates which plan out the courses of lectures and arrange the lines that examinations shall follow. He showed that it is a loss to his own University and his own subject that able women are so much ignored. He considered that in economics there are women teachers who are first-class experts in their subject. The reading of books by these women is enjoined on men students; yet the women who wrote these books are not included among University lecturers. What Mr. Fay said concerning economics is no less true in many other Cambridge University departments, such as modern languages, history, classical archaeology, and natural science. The separation which is maintained by the University between its men and women investigators and teachers is not, of course, complete; and so far as it goes, it is injurious to all and to the nation at large.

Cambridge Senate House discussions have outwardly no result. That is to say, there is no voting, and no decision is taken. Members of the Senate have, in effect, a preliminary talk about a "grace." If several of the more notable speakers are hostile, the Council may let a grace drop. On the present occasion, each half of the grace—what one may call the "equality" half and the "inequality" half—had its own supporters. The Council is therefore expected to go forward by taking a vote of the Senate on the grace "that a syndicate be appointed" to consider these equality and inequality schemes. On the composition of this syndicate much turns. Its *personnel* will be almost as closely scanned as was that of the Speaker's Conference on the franchise.

At Oxford, Convocation was to have discussed, on November 4th, a decree proposing "that the Burgesses of the University be requested to promote such Parliamentary legislation as may be necessary in order to ensure that the University has power to provide, if it shall think fit, by means of a statute made by itself, for the matriculation of women, their admission to degrees, and to other rights and privileges in the University." The passing of the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Bill, however, made it unnecessary to move the decree. It is to be hoped that the University will lose no time in providing for the matter by "a statute made by itself." The steps by which the question has reached this stage at Oxford were summarised in last week's issue of THE COMMON CAUSE.

Meanwhile, and first and last, the essential point is this. These old Universities are the Universities of the nation. They are Universities which take a leading part in directing the whole education of the nation. They influence the schools for both sexes, they handle and shape a great system of examinations and school inspection for both sexes. They fill many of the leading Government offices, and they send their members to govern or administer laws in all parts of the Empire. They are expected to give a lead in discovery and in the pioneering labours of the mind. They cannot afford to sit tight upon their accumulated powers and to say that they will not share them equitably with the whole nation. The nation will not permit it, nor will the noblest of the Universities' own members.

## A State of Transition.

BY CLEMENTINA BLACK.

From the earliest dawn of civilization all communities at all times (except possibly once in China) have been in a state of transition. But sometimes there has been such slowness in the transition, or in the brains of its observers, that people have failed to notice any movement in their world. It must, one would suppose, have been during such periods that the marked tendency grew up to regard as immutable any social system into which one happened to be born. Curiously enough, however, it is not at such times, but rather when the heels of the older system are visibly trodden upon by the advancing toes of the newer, that this belief becomes passionate and even violent. Educated persons of mature years may to-day be heard declaring that human society cannot possibly exist except on a basis of competitive industrialism. Yet many of these receive their gas or electric light from a municipality which they help to elect; all of them employ, and help to pay for, the national Post Office, and many of them have good enough memories and sufficient candour to admit that, bad as the present telephone service is, it was really not any better under private control. Many of them, too, must be aware of an Industrial Co-operative Movement which has carried on part of the nation's trade for many years, and is now very rapidly extending its successful operations.

Clearly, society can be carried on otherwise than by competition for profit between individuals or associations; nay, there are departments of human service which have already admittedly outgrown the system of competitive industrialism. It may be doubted whether so many as a hundred persons in the United Kingdom would vote for putting the Post Office or the British Museum into the hands of private capitalists, or so many as ten for a recurrence to the old practice of allowing prisons to be run for profit by a private speculator.

Surely, since this is so, the really fruitful basis for discussion is not so much which system is in general the more desirable—although each of us will have a personal bias—but which industries are, and which are not, ready to pass from the competitive to the co-operative stage, or—in the Socialist phrase—from the stage of production for profit to that of production for use. But such discussion will not be very fruitful if it is confined to persons engaged in the particular trades discussed—persons, that is, who believe their individual and collective prosperity to be bound up with the continuance or the alteration of existing conditions. Under any system whatever the winners will be people whose predominant qualities best adapt them to it and to whom it, therefore, appears satisfactory. Moreover, the longer the system persists the more specialised becomes the successful type and the more do qualities not necessary for success tend to die out among the ruling class. Now the competitive commercial system, whatever its material merits, fails to foster, in those whom it elevates, a fine sense of altruism or a delicate impartiality. To expect these qualities from men who have spent their best years, their best energies, and their keenest hopes in the commercial struggle is hardly fair; to assume the existence of them is folly. On the other hand, only a minority of wage-earners—an increasing minority, indeed, but not yet a large one—has ever had a chance of attaining wide views or understanding fully the complexities of modern life. It is almost inevitable that to the rank and file of labour the task of changing the general basis of industry should seem much simpler and easier than it really is. Thus the divergence of economic faith between conservators and innovators is aggravated and embittered by human weaknesses of thought and feeling on both sides and the danger of actual civil war grows apparent to all thoughtful people who have read history to any purpose.

Happily, however, there is, in the British nation, a great weight of good temper, good feeling and unwillingness to resort to extreme measures. There is also a great body of fresh electors whose point of view is in some respects new. We women have stood, for the most part, somewhat outside the commercial—although not outside the economic—struggle. We are not involved in precisely the same way as thousands of men are; and we ought to be free from the animosities so ungracefully displayed by some of them. Moreover, our course of life—some people think even our very nature—inclines us to regard human welfare as more important than any money profit. It should be comparatively easy for us, therefore, putting aside as irrelevant all recrimination, to keep before ourselves and others the practical question: "Which industries have outgrown competitive conditions?" and to acquire that impartial knowledge of facts which will enable us to answer it.

And since generalities (as politicians, who constantly employ them, so well know) are liable to various interpretations, let me say definitely that I think we should do well to study, immediately, two particular industries:—

(a) The coal industry, both because the struggle over it has already begun and because the whole body of evidence given before the Coal Commission will probably be published and purchasable by the time these words are in print.

(b) The milk industry, because an ample supply of good milk is necessary to the health of young children, as well as most desirable for delicate and invalid adults, and because, by defect both of quantity and cheapness, such a supply is at present unobtainable.

## Women's Economic Status and Outlook.

II.—WOMEN'S WORK IN THE HOME.

BY MARY WARD.

The many barriers in legislation, in civic and social institutions, in custom and sentiment which stand in the way of women's attainment of a fair share of the world's wealth—with all that it means in personal freedom and possibilities of desirable life—are mainly grounded upon the natural, physical burdens and limitations which child-bearing and rearing, ordinarily imposes upon them for a term of years. In all ages and societies these disabilities of mothers have been exploited to women's disadvantage; they have been exaggerated and artificially increased until in many communities women have become practically a serf sex. And the position of unendowed married women in England to-day, and of women generally who work in the home, presents many features of this serfdom. Naturally it is in the working classes that women's economic subjection is the most complete and has the worst consequences. In the monied classes its evil results are found chiefly in the existence of a considerable number of idle, luxurious, spoiled, and pampered women, often with lives as unsatisfactory to themselves as they are useless to the State.

Now, no very great improvement in women's general economic status is possible so long as their position in the home remains what it is. Until women get their economic due as wives, mothers and home-makers, all efforts to procure for them at all generally such improved conditions as "equal pay for equal work," as a completely "open market" for their services, industrial, commercial or professional, together with equal opportunities with men to fit themselves by education and training for any occupation they choose, are bound to fail largely of effect. The foundations of any sound and permanent social reconstruction for women's economic elevation must be laid in the home.

No problem, however, is more bristling with difficulties than this of the economic emancipation of the mother. The difficulties are moral as well as practical. The relationships of husbands and wives, parents and children, are ill things to meddle with; but they are worse things to leave alone when they are on a false basis. Any proposals which strike at the root of the wife's subordination are certain, at first, to stir up opposition and animus; it is only when it is seen that they tend to the general good that they will get a hearing.

Practically, the dangers besetting most schemes for securing proper maintenance for the woman and her children are:—(1) that she will be pauperized, (2) that the man's wages will be subsidized by the State and will then fall to a lower level, (3) that he may be so penalised as to be deterred from marriage, (4) that the sense of marital and parental responsibilities may be weakened.

A subject of such complexity cannot of course be even cursorily dealt with in a short article, and I only propose here to call attention to certain facts in regard to women's work in the home which seem to be practically ignored by economists, politicians, and social reformers alike; yet they greatly enhance the justice of the mother's claim to proper maintenance, and which it is of the utmost importance that the men primarily concerned in the present great revolutionary labour movement for a fairer distribution of wealth should understand and acknowledge them.

The point I wish to insist on is that the work of the woman in the home is "productive" work in the same sense that the man's is or as her own is when she "goes out to work." She is a producer of wealth, a *virtual* earner, and has an unquestionable right to have undisputed command of the due rewards of her labour. She actually contributes all the time to the support of the family, and not only when she wage-earns, as so very many working women do to some extent even when their home work



is already pretty arduous. Where the husband fails to give his wife, in kind and in cash, a fair *quid pro quo* for her home labour, he is partly living upon her. Indirectly she has virtually earned part of those wages. Little as they may realise it a considerable number of working men are in this way living upon their wives. The common notion, however, is that however important to the community the services of women as mothers and home-makers are, it is, after all, the man only who produces the wealth of the country—except, that is, in so far as women go out to work in mills, shops, &c. And it is this egregiously false assumption which seems to many people—women themselves included—to justify the position of wives and mothers as helpless pensioners on their husband's bounty. The man, it is said, must have absolute control of his own earnings; of course his family must not be left to go on the rates, but up to the point of actually starving them (though as the law, or rather its administration, operates, even starvation is practically within his power) he is held to have an unquestionable right to give to or to withhold from them the means of decent subsistence and any of the comforts and enjoyments of civilised life that it may be within his competence to provide. The position of wife and mother, in so far as her motherhood functions prevent her from earning her own—and maybe her children's living—is one of abject dependence. The great majority of men may be good husbands and fathers, according to their lights; many are doubtless extraordinarily unselfish and generous; but this does not alter the fact that the position of the wife is not only technically unjust but is morally bad for both parties. However benevolently the despotic power of one human being over another may be exercised, the existence of it is a dangerous thing; it is bound to breed tyranny in one form or another and to lessen the self respect and thwart the development of the subject individual.

As a matter of fact this complete economic subjection of the wife has resulted in vast numbers of the mothers of the nation being overworked, overstrained, undernourished and under-vitalized, just at the time when it is of first importance to the race that they should be a their best.\*

#### THE HOMEWORKER AS WEALTH PRODUCER.

But now for the argument:—The things in which wealth consists are not finished commodities until they are actually ready for consumption; and the complexity of modern production is such that multitudes of workers have generally contributed in their several degrees to the production of the simplest articles. Now, the woman in cleaning, washing, cooking, mending, fetching and carrying, does the "finishing" of the commodities consumed in the home. Men's labour does not usually complete them. Raw meat and potatoes are not human food—not at least in civilised countries; it is only when the woman, say, has bought them, carried them home, cooked them and served them—on clean plates and table and in a comfortable room—that they attain their full and actual food value. In doing this work the woman has contributed quite as much to the creation of the commodities as the man who planted and dug the potatoes or drove the bullock to the butcher's. So it is throughout every department of women's home work. Their work is daily creating and adding to the material values of the things which constitute wealth. A house does not attain its full value as a dwelling unless it is kept clean, wholesome, tidy, comfortable—made a suitable place to live in. In so keeping it the woman contributes to its value—its utility—exactly in the same way that the painter, glazier, tiler, paperer, white-washer does, or anyone else who helps to make it and preserve it. Washing down the stairs is quite as productive a labour as mending a leaky tap. Even fuel is not fuel until the fire is laid and lighted. Every time the woman mends and washes clothes she creates new values. The clean and mended shirt is worth more than the torn and dirty one, as would soon be seen if an attempt were made to sell it.

All this may seem too obvious to insist upon; yet in the economic status of the woman home-worker little or no account is taken of it. The man pocketing his wages on a Saturday believes that he, himself, has earned every penny of it; and he considers that out of these wages he is actually providing in its entirety the home with all its accessories. But he has only nominally, not really, done so. Apart from his wife's daily labour his wages (or the part of them which he spends on the home) would not have procured him its material comforts. His

\* For substantiation of this assertion the reader is referred to the pamphlet, "Mothers in Mean Streets," by Anna Martin (published, 27, Chancery Lane), and to three more recent articles by the same writer which have appeared in the *Nineteenth Century*, entitled "The Irresponsibility of the Father"; also, to the pamphlet "Maternity," issued by the Women's Co-operative Guild. All these contain indisputable facts carefully investigated and obtained first hand.

real wages, that is, as distinct from his cash wages, have been greatly added to by his wife's labour. He soon finds this out if the wife dies and there is no mother, sister, or other woman to fill her place unpaid. If he had to hire labour the home would cost him a great deal more; his wages would not go so far; and his real wages would be less by the whole amount that his wife previously virtually earned. So true is this that it is often an economy for the working man to marry.

To put it in another way:—If it chanced that no woman could be found to do the home work and the man himself undertook it, he would either have to work from sixteen to twenty hours a day, or he would be able to undertake paid work only for comparatively few hours in the week. The difference between what he earned in these short hours and what he previously earned would roughly represent the wife's previous contribution to the family income.

This work of the women in the home has been commonly disparaged; it is regarded as "not work at all" in the true sense, or as low-grade work not on a par with that of even the most unskilled workman. And women have largely accepted this valuation. Social conditions have enabled their work to be "sweated," both in the home and out of it; and they and their employers conclude that therefore it is of little worth.

But the opportunities which war conditions have afforded women of selling their services in a good market must have revealed to them—and to most thinking men also—the true state of the case.

A woman who has been earning anything from, say 30s. to £2, or even £3, for a nine hours' day will not, when she marries, contentedly toil from early morning to late at night for a mere roof over her head and her children's, and the barest means of subsistence.

Surely the more honest and intelligent working men must soon come to realise that the economic elevation of their class for which they are struggling must include that of their wives, mothers, and sisters as independent individuals—must be alive to the injustice of denying women a right to the full and free enjoyment of the fruits of their own labours—must see that every argument which they use in support of their own claims as a wage-earning class to be freed from helpless dependence on the capitalist class applies to the far greater and more helpless dependence of the female sex upon the male. But, as has already been said, the practical difficulties of "reconstruction" here are immense. Half the battle, however, will be won when peoples' eyes are opened to the actual facts. And already an interesting, carefully thought-out scheme for improving the position of married women has been propounded in a booklet entitled, "Equal Pay and the Family," published by Headley Bros., 72, Oxford Street, W. 1. Everyone should study it who takes an interest in the problem.

### Shakespeare's Children.

By R. F. CHOLMELEY.

It has been well said that the most recent and most important of our discoveries is the discovery of the child; indeed there are people whom this discovery so intoxicates that they forget that in practice what we have to deal with is not the child in general but a particular child; still the main thing is that it is getting to be generally understood that children are not what we imperfectly and inaccurately remember ourselves to have been, but the beginnings of what the next generation will be, and that they are to be respected accordingly. We have at least learnt that to consider a child as a criminal is not only cruel but ridiculous; for to be a criminal one must be responsible for one's actions, and the essence of childhood is irresponsibility. Childhood, in fact, is not an age, but a stage in development; it may be short or long; some never get out of it, some appear even to have missed it altogether, but these are monsters, like Richard the Third, of whom his enemies declared that he was born with all his teeth and could gnaw a crust at two hours old. But if children cannot be criminals, can they be dramatic? Obviously they cannot be tragic, since tragedy depends upon a deliberate choice of a course of action that gets us into trouble, and the decisions of children, though they may get them into trouble, are not really to be considered deliberate. To bring children into tragedy seems to be simply unfair to the spectators by confusing tragedy with pathos; and though this is done every day in the newspapers, where a man falling off an omnibus is invariably labelled as tragic, it ought not to be done by those who know better. In "A Man's Shadow," which had a considerable success some thirty years ago, a little girl imagines that she has seen her father do a murder which was really done by his double. Her father is tried for his life and she is put

into the witness-box, where she repeats, "I heard nothing. I saw nothing," over and over until the audience is reduced to the proper state of misery, after which the play is allowed to go on.

Thinking of any kind of dramatic possibilities leads naturally to Shakespeare: and in spite of the fact that the child had not been discovered in his time, there may be some entertainment to be got out of him in the matter. Probably he took neither more nor less interest in children as such than his contemporaries; and his own domestic life is not likely to have helped him much, for the Queen's players came to Stratford when his twins were only two years old, and from that moment at any rate I fear that he was an indifferent parent. Still, there are children in Shakespeare—eleven, all told, not counting young Lucius in "Titus Andronicus," which nobody can bear to attribute to him. A difficulty is that we do not know how old he meant any of them to be; Mamillius ("Winter's Tale"), young Marcius ("Coriolanus"), and the unnamed son of Macduff, may have been quite young—Mamillius not more than five, Marcius a little older, and Macduff's boy, perhaps nine. William Page ("Merry Wives"), who is merely brought in as a foil to Sir Hugh Evans, the schoolmaster, may have been ten. The real age of the children in the historical plays is no help, for Shakespeare was quite unscrupulous in a thing of that kind. Arthur of Brittany, for instance, was really about sixteen, and a rather tiresome young man, but for Shakespeare's purposes he had to be not more than twelve; the Little Princes would be considered children nowadays, for Edward V. was thirteen and Richard of York eleven; Clarence's children sit on their grandmother's knees, but are a sophisticated pair; Rutland in Henry VI., Part III., comes on the field of battle with his tutor, but utters some very grown-up rhetoric when about to be murdered by Clifford, and dies with a Latin verse on his lips—a credit to his tutor, who however was not there to hear it, having been dragged away by the soldiers; as for Prince Edward, though the King addresses him as a boy—"What! can so young a thorn begin to prick?"—and Gloucester calls him a brat, he was really eighteen, two years older than the Black Prince at Crecy, and there is nothing in his language to suggest that Shakespeare really meant him to be younger.

Shakespeare's pages were no doubt precocious cockneys of any age from twelve upwards; but only one of them matters—Moth, page to the fantastical Spaniard Armado in "Love's Labour's Lost." Now "Love's Labour's Lost" is almost certainly Shakespeare's earliest play, written when London and London fun were comparatively new to him: and Moth, that "well-educated infant," as Armado calls him, is just as amusing as a sharp-witted London boy of twelve can be, which is saying a good deal for him. Moth and Prince Arthur are in fact the only children in Shakespeare—if either can properly be called a child—that can be said to have characters; young Marcius is described as a chip of the old block by his mother's friend, on the ground that he "mammock'd" a butterfly with his teeth because he had found some difficulty in catching it, but his mother dismisses him as a "crack," or as we might say, an urchin; and the only thing he says:—"A' shall not tread on me: I'll run away till I am bigger, and then I'll fight," just shows that urchin-like he had been listening to the speeches and waiting for his chance to show off without troubling about anybody's feelings. Of the other real children, Macduff's son is a good spirited child with a taste for argument with his mother, and his last remark to the murderer—"Thou liest, thou shag-hair'd villain" is very natural and proper: Mamillius, with his interrupted "Winter's Tale" of a man who dwelt by a churchyard, is the most naturally pathetic of the whole lot; and nobody really believes that he died, like any child in Dickens, out of shame at his mother's supposed dishonour. Sir Walter Raleigh, by the by, maintains that whereas Dickens, who had a miserable boyhood, looks at grown-up people with the eyes of a child that has suffered from them, Shakespeare looks at children from the grown-up point of view because his childhood was happy. Shakespeare certainly adopts the middle-aged view that children hate going to school; but then he left school at thirteen and had probably had eight years of it by then, so perhaps he did dislike that; and the Elizabethan boy had a pretty hard time at school, and for the matter of that at home, when his elders could catch him—which in Shakespeare's case is not likely to have been often.

There is an interesting question concerning the Macbeths: had they any children? Macduff, in one passage, is thought by some to have settled it, when on being exhorted to turn his thoughts to revenge for the murder of his family, he says: "He has no children"; but this almost certainly refers to Malcolm,

who could not realise the horror of Macduff's position. Two other passages bear upon the question. Macbeth in an ecstasy of admiration for his wife as the complete criminal shouts at her:—

"Bring forth men children only!  
For thy undaunted mettle should compose  
Nothing but males."

Does this imply that there was a fine family of daughters? It might; but it is equally reasonable to suppose that he was encouraging her to go on as she had begun, and that there was already a "crack" in the nursery: if there was, he certainly "mammock'd" butterflies when he got the chance, and probably his nurse too. But the Macbeth nursery—it is difficult to imagine; I have always believed that Shakespeare knew what most of his characters were doing off the stage, but I cannot believe that he ever thought of Lady Macbeth in the nursery. Besides, when Banquo was told that his children should be kings, although Macbeth was annoyed about it he never said a word about his own son being cut out of the succession. Nor do his enemies appear to know anything of any children; if they had they would surely have made away with them, and Shakespeare would have had no objection to telling us all about it. Well, but then, what about the famous speech of Lady Macbeth beginning:—

"I have given suck,  
And know what 'tis to love the babe that milks me?"

Of course we may explain it by saying that there was a little Macbeth who died young: all I can say is that if there was, we ought to have been told about it. History does not help us; Macbeth is said to have left a nephew who was known as the Idiot, and was eventually ambushed and killed by Malcolm, and neither Macbeth nor Lady Macbeth can have been talking of him. The fact is that Shakespeare was in some moods wholly unscrupulous about what he allowed his characters to say: at these times he had only to think of something particularly impressive and poetical and down it went to be spoken by whoever happened to be talking at the time. Lady Macbeth might have been a mother; Prince Arthur might have been an amiable child of twelve; if they were not these things, so much the worse for them: "let the gall'd jade wince; our withers are unwrung." But it does add to the difficulty of coming to conclusions about Shakespeare's children.

### Patent Fire Lighters.

By CONSTANCE WYNNE.

She was a middle-aged woman, mother of ten. She had appointed to meet me at the house of her daughter, mother of four.

I had been asked to make some enquiries about her, because she was supposed to have been unjustly dismissed from her employment. She took me into the living room at the back.

"You sit down there," she said, indicating a sofa full of mysterious humps and hollows, "and I'll tell you all about it."

"I don't live here," she went on. She had never seen me before, but her manner was confidential from the first. "I lives in lodgings. But I never sees anybody there. She wants to know too much. And I never has letters there. She reads 'em."

A pause, during which she extracted documents from a well-worn bag.

"That's him!" slapping down a summons on my knee. "I've got to sign he, Monday, before the magistrates."

The paper related to a prosecution of her employer for one week's wages in lieu of notice.

"I was working dinner-hour one day," she went on. "I mostly works dinner-time. I was chopping—chopping wood, you know, for these 'ere patent fire-lighters. There's fifteen of us, and I'm the fastest worker of the lot (proudly), and, what with working odd times, and dinner hour, and beginning early, I has got £1 a week. But not always, sometimes no more than fourteen shillings. It's just according. Some only gets seven shillings, some eleven, and some thirteen."

"Well, I was working dinner-hour, and the lady inspector comes in. I didn't know who she was. I'd never seen her before."

"I'm the lady inspector," she says. "Do you always work dinner-time?"

"Mostly," I says.

"There were others working too, but I was nearest the door."

"How long is your week?" she says, and I tells her fifty-seven hours.

"Have you got the rules up in the factory?" she says, and I says, "No."

"Have you ever had them up?"



" 'I ain't never seen 'em,' I says. 'No fear.'  
Then the forewoman, Mrs. Smith, comes along. Well! Forewoman! Ragpicker, I calls her, but (still more confidentially) she's afraid of the boss. I showed the lady which she was, and she went and talked to her, and then she went away.

" And when the boss came back, Mrs. Smith went and told him as I had been talking to the lady inspector in the dinner-hour, and I had caused her to come.

" That was Wednesday.

" Friday, Mrs. Smith told me as I was to go to the office, and see the boss. Well, I went.

" I knocked at the door, and he says, 'Come in.' And I went in.

" 'What's the meaning of these d—d women coming here?' he says.

" I said, 'I'm sure I don't know.'

" 'These are private premises,' he says. 'I'll have none of this. Clear off!' And he waved his hand at me as if to tell me to get out of the place.

" I told him to give me my money if I was to go.

" He raved and he bounced. 'Clear out,' he says.

" I says, 'Give me my money.'

" 'If you don't clear out, I'll d— well kick you out,' he says.

" 'If you put so much as a finger on me, I'll have you arrested for assault,' I says, and then he went for me with the office table, pushing it in front of him, and trying to pin me against the wall, and I was glad to get out, but I didn't go away, and by and by Mrs. Smith brought me thirteen-and-six, and I went home.

" I was out of work for a fortnight, and now I've got a job again. It's an hour by tram to get there, but I gets £1 2 week, and he pays the fares.

" You ask me why I went so far? Well, you see, it's chopping again, and I was set on the wood. I don't seem to care for nothing else."

During the whole of this recital the daughter had kept bustling about, constantly going to answer the door.

" There's another customer," said the mother at a fresh rap. "No peace for the wicked, Sis," as the untiring woman again obeyed the summons. "She sells bags of cakes to the youngsters, she do," explained the mother turning again to me. "She makes 'em up into bags, three ha'pence and tuppence, and some threepence ha'penny. Her husband gives her £2 a week, there's six of 'em, and it helps her. She is good," she added.

Then she went back to her own story.

" I went to the Union about it, and they helped me with this," picking up the summons. "'We'll get a week's wages out of 'im anyhow,' they says, so the case is coming on next week, and the inspectors has got one against him too, and the 'stamp company,' because he ain't got the cards stamped right, you know. Most of 'em is short. I'm five stamps short myself. So he's going to catch it hot this time. Time too!

" I was about got down to the bottom when I got in work again. There was two days when I went to work with a piece of bread and a drop of water, and nothing else all day, before my wages was paid the first week. And then I began saying things I didn't ought to have said. I began asking if God was good. Things being so hard for a poor soul like me.

" And I never ought to be at work at all. I've got four sons all home from the war. They gives me a bit, but it seems like robbing the lads. They'd all come and live with me, and we could be ever so comfortable, if we could get a house."

## The New State.

By B. L. HUTCHINS.

It was to be expected that the tremendous upheaval of the war and the political changes brought about through the war would evoke new thought on politics, with considerable criticism and re-statement of political ideals. It is especially interesting to THE COMMON CAUSE and its readers that one of the freshest and most original contributions to political science that has appeared lately is the work of a woman—Miss Mary Follett, an American. Her book, "The New State,"\* is a searching criticism of democracy and democratic methods, but its gospel is not reaction—on the contrary. "We have not yet tried democracy," writes the author. "Party or 'interests' govern us, with some fiction of the 'consent of the governed' which we say means democracy." "Political life is stagnating, capital and labour are virtually at war, the nations of Europe are at

\* Longmans, New York. 12s. 6d. net.

one another's throats—because we have not yet learnt how to live together." We need a new principle of association.

Instead of representative government, party organisation, majority rule, we must have "the organisation of non-partisan groups for the begetting, the bringing into being, of common ideas, a common purpose and a collective will." Democracy is not to be attained by counting heads; it must be a genuine union of individuals who can work together. The true man is to be found only through group organisation, and the potentialities of the individual remain potentialities until they are released by group life. Man discovers his true nature, gains his true freedom, only through the group. Neighbourhood, or small local groups are Miss Follett's main idea, but we are not to be absorbed in one group only. One joins with one group at work, another at play, another in a civic committee, another in an art club, a football club, a trade union, or one's church. "I find my expression of the whole idea, the whole will, through my group life" (p. 6-7). It is in the intermingling of groups that the individual is to be sought.

Group organisation will enable us to do what we are all craving—*viz.*, to substitute "intention for accident, organised purpose for scattered desire." The present system grievously hampers the achievement of social and economic changes which the change in economic conditions has rendered imperatively necessary. The task of politics is to create. No state can endure unless the political bond is being for ever forged anew. "We do not follow right merely, we create right" (p. 52). "Progress implies respect for the creative force, not for the created thing; the created thing is for ever and for ever being left behind us" (p. 98).

The group process can be studied in a committee meeting. Canon Barnett, by the way, used to say "I believe in committee meetings," and one feels he would have rejoiced in Miss Follett's analysis of the committee process. The object is to create a common idea. It is not enough that each member should have an idea, and that all the ideas should be added together. The true inwardness of the process is that A. says something, B. reflects on it, the idea becomes a mingling of A.'s and B.'s thought, identical with neither but influenced by both; the same happens with C., D., and the rest. In the end, "the course of action decided upon is what we altogether want, and I see that it is better than what I wanted alone." This may be optimistic, and of course committees do split into parties, or relapse into apathy and let the one energetic member do as he likens, murmuring a perfunctory "Agreed"; yet probably we can all testify to the truth of Miss Follett's idea in favourable circumstances; there are times when the committee does quite surprisingly acquire a soul and think in common. In the jury, again, where the unanimous vote has always been required for a verdict, we have an example of the integrated group (p. 110). Other instances are to be found in the actual working of business methods. In many boards and committees there is now a growing reluctance to take action unless all concur, the feeling being that somehow, by keeping on at it, unification can be effected, and, if achieved, will be more effective than a mere majority decision.

In the case of the warring interests of capital and labour, again, the solution is, we are told, to unify, not to compromise. There is, indeed, an increasing tendency for employers to take employees into their councils. In one (American) firm things have gone so far that the employees have the right by a two-thirds vote to change, initiate, or amend any rule that affects the discipline or working conditions of the factory. Miss Follett pours scorn on the commonplace that conflict is a necessity of the human soul and that the disappearance of conflict would mean deterioration and social decay; on the contrary. "We have war as the line of least resistance. We have war when the mind gives up its job of agreeing as too difficult. . . . The effort of agreeing is so much more strenuous than the comparatively easy stunt of fighting that we can harden our spiritual muscles much more effectively on the former than the latter."

It is interesting to find that Miss Follett, unlike some modern thinkers with whom she otherwise has much affinity, clings to the idea of the unifying State. The group, however, is not to be the political unit. It is through group life that man finds himself, and the individual self is born, but nevertheless, membership of the State is the portion of the individual (p. 292), the individual functioning through groups, the groups forming the ground work of the State, and eventually the many States forming the ground work of the World State, or League of Nations. It must be owned this part of the book is difficult and obscure, and we do not feel we have quite grasped Miss Follett's idea of the relations of groups to one another and to the State. This may possibly be due to the fact that Americans are more familiar

with the federal idea than we are. But the author expressly disclaims any attempt to construct a State on paper; her object is to offer suggestions and stimulate the study of man's behaviour in association. The last thing she would desire, if we read her aright, is to propound a cut-and-dried scheme. We need to think out group relations, because only through group relations can the individual man rise to an integrated social life (p. 294), but we must do it as we go along. The unifying State must be plastic, not static. "We, organised as the State, may issue certain commands to ourselves to-day, but . . . these commands may change to-morrow with our changing needs and changing ideals, and they will change through our initiative" (p. 314). How different the history of England in the nineteenth century might have been, we reflect, had there been more elasticity in our institutions to meet our "changing needs."

We need new forms. The life is there, but is hemmed in and impeded. The social will has to be created. And Miss Follett's abounding faith in the possibility of creation, of bringing the new world to birth, is a priceless tonic in the gloom and disillusion that now overhangs Europe. It is worth noting here from our special point of view that while "The New State" does not deal specifically with women's questions, it is full of matter of interest to women. The whole study of group life reminds us frequently that the strength of women has been in the family, especially in the days of domestic industry (which was a form of group organisation); and that their weakness has been that they have otherwise, up to a generation or so ago, been profoundly isolated and unable to combine for mutual help. Miss Follett's insistence on social life as movement, creation, is also of interest to women, who have so long been the prisoners of tradition and dead formulae. "What we must get away from is the hell of rigid things. There is a living life of the people. And it must flow directly through our Government and our institutions, expressing itself anew at every moment. We are not fossils petrified in our social strata. We are alive" (p. 99).

It is of course possible to make many criticisms on matters of detail, as that Miss Follett gives us no index, no summary, no bibliography; not what we are accustomed to expect, as properly constituted students. This is very sad, especially as from her own remarks on page 12 she appears to have sinned knowingly. We regret more seriously that she should have fallen into using the old misleading and fallacious phrase, "capital and labour," as if these were corresponding terms. Labour is not a *thing* at all; there is no labour, only human beings who labour. Capital, on the contrary, *does* consist of things; money, machines, credit, &c. We could wish that Miss Follett, who sees that so many phrases are but "dead-wood," had shown more consciousness that this one is really meaningless. The real question is as to the control of industry, which is by no means a mere matter of owning capital, as numbers of capitalists have no control.

Miss Follett's introduction also is a somewhat disorderly affair, beginning with a brilliant overture or prelude to the book itself, and suddenly turning into the usual kind of preface with acknowledgments to friends and helpers.

But what does all that matter?  
"New surges of life are pounding at circumference and centre; we must open the way for their entrance and outflow." Miss Follett's book is so intensely alive, its appeal so moving and inspired, that it seems to be part of that very "surge of life" itself.

## "The Christian in the Street."

Musings of a Laywoman. By E. Picton-Turbervill. (John Murray. 3s. 6d. net.)

Miss Picton-Turbervill has dedicated her recently published book on Church reform to "The Christian in the Street." It is, therefore, quite fitting that a member of that teeming tribe should have the honour of reviewing it. The task is not so formidable as it might seem, partly because the author's tentative, conversational style of writing straightway undermines the reader's native sense of aloofness from the subject, partly because at times one is almost persuaded that Miss Picton-Turbervill herself sometimes sets foot in "the street." When, for instance, Miss Picton-Turbervill questions the whole basis of Church teaching on the subject of bishops and ordination the reviewer has the joyful momentary sensation that she and the author are a pair of street-boys mocking below the shut windows of an Episcopal Palace.

But the sensation is only momentary. In spite of her dedication Miss Picton-Turbervill is not really speaking to "the Christian in the Street." She is speaking to convinced Church-

men; to bishops, priests, and deacons. If we may sum up her thesis in language more drastic than perhaps she would approve, she is pointing out to these persons that their organisation is inefficient, their dogma narrow and illogical, their practices out of date. She asks them how they can expect to play their proper part in national life so long as they narrow down their own following by the imposition of unreasonable and unessential tests, or so long as they stand aloof from fellowship with bodies whose spiritual life is as rich as their own.

But all this does not really touch "the Christian in the Street," though Church reformers usually assume that it does. Persons who believe in the necessity for an organised Church whose function shall be, in Miss Picton-Turbervill's words, "to interpret the mind of Christ to men and women" are not going to be deterred by the shortcomings of that Church from entering into its life. Suffragists who believed in the efficacy of representative government were not dissuaded from wanting the vote by the absurd behaviour of the people who already possessed it or by the imperfections of the political system to which it gave them entry. The reason why so many of us remain in "the street" is that we do not really believe in the possible realisation of Miss Picton-Turbervill's Church ideal. The data to be interpreted seem to us too remote; we dare not attempt to interpret; we dare not trust anyone else's interpretation of that elusive revolutionary mind which flashes through the obscure and meagre pages of the four Gospels. It seems to us too slender a basis for a body of doctrine and a philosophy of life. The Mind arrests us, haunts us, gives us all the external moral standard that we have—indeed, this is our only claim to the title "Christians in the Street"—but it does not give us, as it gives Miss Picton-Turbervill, a faith apart from which there is no life. It does not explain for us the cross currents of this existence and the possibilities of the next. When Miss Picton-Turbervill argues that "words of any language are inadequate to express Divine Truths" we agree—but we go further. What man can think man can say. It is human thought that seems to us inadequate, not human language.

But though Miss Picton-Turbervill's book is not really meant for us, we are grateful for it, because it shows us that she can speak our language. When she *does* write us a book we shall understand it. Meanwhile, if she is excommunicated by outraged bishops we shall be delighted to build her a tabernacle "in the Street."  
MARY STOCKS.

## A Play for Children.

Goodwill: A Little Pageant of the Past and Future. By Margaret Macnamara. Music and Dances by Arnold Dolmetsch and C. M. Reed. (Evans Bros. Ltd., Montague House, Russell Square, W.C. 1. 2s. net.)

"Goodwill" is a delightful, and didactic, play for children—the children's part is mostly dumb show, with songs, and the story is expounded by a Reader, "impressively robed in draperies of a neutral tint." Miss Macnamara evidently knows something about children—and about art—for this is what she says about grace in dancing. "No stress need be laid on grace in dancing. Generally speaking, if no attention be drawn to awkward movements, a certain rough grace will come of itself, from the absence of self-consciousness." The chief characters are Goodwill, Greed, War, Famine, Death, Pestilence, Peace, and as the plot develops the Tribes are seen exchanging goods in happiness with Goodwill presiding, then, getting greedy over the exchanges, and War, Famine, Death, and Pestilence resulting, till at last (only this last thing has not yet quite happened) Peace comes upon the scene, and Peace is to be, according to the producer's idea, "the smallest, chubby, jolly little boy or girl who can be trusted with the part." To work up this little pageant for Christmas would be a first-rate way of amusing a group of children this autumn.  
A. H. W.

## The Englishwoman.

(NOVEMBER, 1919. 1s.)

The November *Englishwoman*, which celebrates the George Eliot Centenary, contains an interesting article by Rhoda Power on the famous author's treatment of the novel and a symposium of appreciations from distinguished men writers of to-day. One of these, of course, takes the opportunity of referring to George Eliot's "truly masculine brain." The most prominent article is Cicely Hamilton's "The Labour State," which goes deeply into the results and significance of the recent railway strike, and other features of this month are a contribution by E. G. Somerville to the spiritualist controversy, and a delightful country article on "Apples for Cider" by Olive Hockin.



## Correspondence.

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

## WOMEN PATROLS.

MADAM.—Our attention has been drawn to an article in your issue of October 24th, by Miss Damer Dawson entitled "The Work of the Women Police." In justice to the Metropolitan Police Women Patrols, who being an official body can take no cognisance of any aspersions on them and their work, it is necessary to ask you to correct some mis-statements in the article alluded to.

The Metropolitan Police Women Patrols are an officially appointed body of policewomen. They are not at present sworn as constables, but they are quite definitely a part of the Police Force. They are worked as a separate Division of Police under their own (female) officers, with a woman Superintendent having direct access to the Commissioner of Police.

The Metropolitan Police Women Patrols are a development of the Women Patrols organised by the National Council of Women in 1914, who did excellent work both in the Metropolitan and the Provinces. In proof of this may I quote the words of the Commissioner:—

"The Commissioner wishes to take this opportunity of expressing his thanks for the cordial co-operation and assistance that he and his predecessor have received from the N.U.W.W. in the matter of Women Patrols.

"It is largely due to the excellent work done by the Patrols of the Society that it has been thought advisable to make the experiment now to be inaugurated, and he hopes that the cordial relationship which has existed between the Police and the Society will continue under the new arrangement. . . . I need hardly say that we owe your Committee a very deep debt of gratitude for the work you have carried on during the war, from which has sprung the officially recognised Women Police, which I hope will in the future do full justice to the voluntary Association which preceded it."

The women employed are most carefully chosen and come before a Selection Board of which Mrs. Carden is Chairman. They are drawn from all classes, and many are late members of Miss Damer Dawson's Force, "Women Police Service." All receive a thorough training at Peel House (the Metropolitan Police Training School), on the same lines as the male constables and by the same instructors, and no previous training is recognised. Their work is mainly preventive in character, and deals with everything relating to the public welfare of women and children. In no sense are they "filling the prisons," but, on the contrary, their records show that while Police Court cases are comparatively few, the number of girls passed to the Rescue Workers' Homes, &c., is very large.

(Signed) LOUISE CREIGHTON, Chairman, Women Patrols Committee, National Council of Women.  
M. G. CARDEN, Hon. Secretary, Women Patrols Committee.  
AGNES GARRETT, Hon. Treasurer, Women Patrols Committee.

## THE N.U.S.E.C. APPEAL.

MADAM.—Lately I have been noticing appeals for monetary help for the N.U.S.E.C. in THE COMMON CAUSE.

What the result has been I do not know. May I, however, as a comparatively new worker in the Union, say how deeply impressed I am with the importance of the work that lies before it—a work it can only accomplish if funds are forthcoming. Women have the vote, but that is only one step in the path of their progress. They are anxious to know and understand the measures that are before Parliament, and which will make for the welfare of their children and so for the nation.

A little while ago I addressed an audience of women voters on the Ministry of Health and was touched by their intense desire to understand the scheme. I wish all readers could realise that though the vote is won in a sense the work for the welfare of women, has only begun.

The N.U.S.E.C. wants money for its programme, and the programme is a splendid one! I am not the treasurer, so perhaps it is a work of supererogation for me to write this letter. I do so because I believe the Union has a big future, and money is necessary for its realisation. I do so because I know COMMON CAUSE readers can give. As Vice-President of the National Y.W.C.A. I have often appeared in its columns, I have appealed widely in many papers, and no paper has responded with such generosity as THE COMMON CAUSE. I am therefore confident our Treasurer's anxieties will be short-lived, and readers will give to her as generously as in the recent past they have given to me.

EDITH PICTON-TURBERVILLE.

## MORTALITY AMONG ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN.

MADAM.—I. At the Assizes, held in Oxford a few days ago, in a case where a girl was convicted of concealment of birth of an illegitimate child, the learned Judge said:—

He was not going to exhibit want of consideration for a poor girl who got into trouble, but it must be impressed upon girls that if they were going to have children they must communicate the fact and prepare for the child being received into the world. If girls took the responsibility of having children, then they must protect the child's life.

2. There is something tragic in the high mortality of illegitimate children during the first year of their lives. Usually it is about double that of children born in wedlock. Loss of lives of infants before birth is not reckoned in the infant mortality; so really the loss of lives is far greater than even those figures show. In this letter I am dealing with both.

3. To make the Judge's suggestion effective to the saving of infant life, it will be necessary to let the expectant mothers know that if they make their condition known, they will receive sympathy, and, if necessary, help. Much could be done by a change of the public attitude; and much might be done by changes in the law. Even under the present law, expectant unmarried mothers have a right—a legal right—on application to the Board of Guardians of their district to necessary relief, if they are unable themselves to make due provision. And it is very undesirable for

many reasons to postpone the application until the child is just about to be born. The Guardians, however, may and probably will in most cases refuse relief except in the workhouse.

4. Of course, often the expectant mother is extremely reluctant to make her condition known, and especially to apply to a Relieving Officer of the male sex. Is there any Society that would help the girl in such a case to take whatever may be the necessary steps to safeguard her own and her child's lives, applying to the Poor Law if needful?

5. There is one amendment of the law proposed by the "National Council of the Unmarried Mother and her Child" to which most people will agree, viz: that the law should be altered so as to allow a woman to take paternity proceedings before the birth of the child. This would be a great security for the lives of both. The reader will notice that the Judge of Assize quoted above said nothing about the father having a responsibility as to the child; this is not surprising as at present men—not women—both make the laws and administer them.

J. THEODORE DODD.

## TRADE UNIONISM FOR NURSES.

MADAM.—Of the value of Trade Unions few of your readers will have any doubt. If this particular form of combination is suited to the very special needs and aspirations of the nursing profession the nurses themselves must decide, and time will show.

In no sense could the Mortimer Hall meeting be held to be representative, it was conducted in a highly controversial manner and no opportunity was given for discussion.

The resolution, however, mentioned a Professional Union, and when its objects were set forth they were found to be practically identical with those of the College of Nursing. The printed Register of the College shows the names of 16,000 trained nurses.

Any inquirer may satisfy himself as to the good results of the untiring labours of the Council for the nurses it represents and its fine future prospects.

Can the promoters of the new Union seriously imagine that they can achieve more? If not, they incur grave responsibility, for the multiplication of societies brings loss of power and confusion of mind greatly to be deplored.

F. A. SHELDON.

Guy's Trained Nurses' Inst., S.E. 1.

## THE PLUMAGE TRADE.

MADAM.—I am greatly concerned to see in the current number of THE COMMON CAUSE the writer of "Letters from a Town to a Country Woman" recommending hats which are rendered "bewilderingly becoming" by "cunningly inserted little wisps of paradise and osprey."

This letter appears just at the time when Mr. H. J. Massingham, in the *Spectator* (Oct. 25th), the *Daily News* (Oct. 28th), and doubtless in other papers, is again calling public attention to the unspeakable cruelties inflicted on birds, which are being literally exterminated in many regions by plume-hunters, who find their most lucrative market in London. Surely readers of THE COMMON CAUSE should be the very people to support with all the strength and enthusiasm of which they are capable Mr. Massingham's efforts to bring in a Plumage Bill which should end these cruelties and spare to the world these most lovely of its creatures. I write in the hope that you will bring the matter to their notice, and rouse them to do their utmost before it be too late.

L. M. LIDGETT.

Appleton, Blackheath, S.E.

MADAM.—My attention has been called to paragraphs in your issue of October 24th, which occur in "Letters from a Town to a Country Woman," and suggest the wearing of paradise feathers and of ospreys in the most delightful hats.

The "Royal Society for the Protection of Birds" has sought for years to make women realise the cruelty involved by the wearing of egret plumes, called ospreys, and that the "imitation theory" invented by milliners and drapers to overcome the scruples of some of their more humane customers is a fiction.

In the "Story of the Egret," published by the above-mentioned Society, it is stated that the photographs of the birds shown were taken from life by Mr. A. H. E. Mattingley, of the Australian Ornithologists' Union. He visited an egret colony in the Riverina, N.S.W., in order to obtain a picture of the white egret feeding her young, but the plume hunters had been there before him.

The bodies of the parent birds lay strewn on the water or on floating logs, the young were dead or dying of starvation in the nests, or falling helpless to the ground.

Hoping you will find room to insert this letter in the interest of these beautiful and defenceless members of God's creation.

MARIAN TREGELLES.

THE CLOISTERS, N<sup>R</sup>. NEWBURY, BERKS

(The House of the Order of Silence.)

Guests are received in the House at the winter rate or 3½ guineas weekly. The house has electric light and central heating.

Lessons are given in weaving, spinning, glove and sandal making, sketching, dairy work etc.

All particulars may be had from the Secretary.

## Reports, Notices, etc.

## 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.

Hon. Treasurer:

MISS ROSAMOND SMITH.

Secretaries:

MISS INEZ M. FERGUSON, MRS.

HUBBACK (Information and Parli-

amentary).

Offices—Evelyn House, 82, Oxford Street, London, W. 1.  
Telegraphic Address—Voiceless, Ox, London. Telephone—Museum 2668.

## Headquarters Notes.

## ELECTION CLASSES.

Miss Philippa Strachey, of London Society for Women's Service, has kindly consented to speak on Friday, November 7th, on the "Legal Aspects of Parliamentary Elections."

Miss Berry will speak on the "Legal Aspects of Local Government Elections."

The remaining classes in the course are as follows:—

November 14th.

3. General Campaign. Opener: Mrs. Corbett Ashby.

November 21st.

4. Canvassing. Opener: Miss Macadam.

November 28th.

5. "Should Women Follow Ordinary Election Methods?" Opener: Mrs. How Martyn.

The classes will last 1½ hours, of which half an hour will be devoted to questions and discussion.

Lectures will be held at 5.30 p.m. at the offices of the N.U.S.E.C., 62, Oxford Street, W. 1.

Price: 5s. for Course. Single lectures, 1s. 6d.

Tickets to be obtained from the N.U.S.E.C.

## News from Societies.

## THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMME OF THE LIVERPOOL COUNCIL OF WOMEN CITIZENS.

The Liverpool Council of Women Citizens has planned a particularly interesting educational programme for this autumn. The Council is the federating body for the majority of women's organisations in Liverpool, and as one of its professed objects is to strengthen the existing Women Citizens' Association, the Council and the Association work in close co-operation and the autumn educational programme is jointly planned by the two organisations.

Monthly conferences on such subjects as the Pre-War Practices Act, the Ministry of Health, &c., have been arranged to suit the monthly meetings of the W.C.A.; i.e. on the first Monday in each month a social gathering of W.C.A. members; on the second and fourth Mondays discussions of those reforms on the Equality Programme adopted by the Association.

As the Liverpool W.C.A. is affiliated to the N.U.S.E.C. a course of six lectures on the N.U.S.E.C. programme has been arranged, to begin on October 29th, and the University School of Social Studies has, in addition, planned an Elementary Course of six lectures each term on "The Life of the Citizen and the Social Problems concerning him, from Infancy to Old Age." This programme is particularly recommended to the attention of those Societies in the Union which are at a loss to find sufficient work to occupy the energies of their members.

## CARLISLE WOMEN CITIZENS.

The final meeting of the Carlisle Women's Suffrage Society (National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship) was held on Oct. 20th, when it was resolved to merge the Society into the Women Citizens' Association. The opening meeting of the winter programme of the Carlisle Women Citizens' Association followed immediately after and attracted a good audience at the Town Hall.

Mrs. Nigel Buchanan was in the chair and reports were read from sub-committees of the Association. The account of the Housing Sub-Committee dealt with the efforts of the Association to get the use of huts at Gretna as temporary dwellings for Carlisle workmen. The report of the Public Health Sub-Committee, that Mrs. James Carr, Mrs. Creighton, and Mrs. Hallaway were all appointed to the Maternity and Child Welfare Sub-Committee of the Town Council gave great satisfaction.

The meeting also dealt with the candidature of members at the coming Town Council elections. It was stated that Mrs. Nigel Buchanan and Mrs. Reay were both ready to accede to the request of the Association to stand for the municipal elections.

It was proposed by Mrs. Reay, seconded by Mrs. Chance, "that in view of the widespread demand for a Maternity Hospital for normal cases of working women, paying fees according to their ability, this meeting of the Carlisle Women Citizens' Association urges the Town Council to use the powers given to them by the Maternity and Child Welfare Act of 1918 and to provide the necessary accommodation as quickly as possible." This proposal was most warmly approved by the meeting and was carried unanimously.

Miss Hartop, one of the organisers for the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, then addressed the meeting. She said she had been most interested in hearing of the various activities of the Women Citizens' Association in Carlisle. Housing and questions dealing with children, Maternity and Child Welfare work, &c., were bound to have a special appeal to women, and she knew the Carlisle Association was working hard in these directions. She would like to bring before them the programme of the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, as in that programme rather wider questions were dealt with touching legisla-

tion, especially that affecting the interests of women. She mentioned among others the questions of equal guardianship of children, widows' pensions, and an equal moral standard. She pointed out that the Women Citizens' Association could affiliate to the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship and in this way be kept in touch as to what was being done as regards these questions.

After Miss Hartop's address it was proposed by Mrs. Chance, seconded by Mrs. James Carr and carried, "that this Association affiliates to the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, and that a sub-committee be formed to deal with this part of the work (i.e., legislation affecting women and children)."

A vote of thanks to Miss Hartop and to Mrs. Buchanan closed the meeting.

## GLASGOW SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

The Glasgow Society has had the pleasure of a visit from Miss Eleanor Rathbone, and during Miss Rathbone's visit two very successful conferences were held. On Thursday afternoon, October 23rd, the conference was on Widows' Pensions. Mrs. Albert Gray, Vice-Chairman of the Society, occupied the Chair, and very interesting addresses were given by Miss Rathbone, Miss Helen Fraser, and Miss M. J. Buchanan. The questions asked by the audience instanced the interest aroused in this subject. A conference on the Equal Moral Standard was held on Friday evening when Miss Rathbone occupied the Chair. The opening speaker was Mrs. Dixon, who related her experiences in India and the Far East in her campaign against tolerated houses there. Dr. Mabel Jones dealt with the subject from the spiritual point of view, while Miss Watt, Motherwell, pointed out how adversely inadequate housing affected the moral standard. These addresses were followed by a few remarks from Mrs. Hunter, Secretary to the National Vigilance Association, as to legislation, and one or two other prominent social workers. A resolution condemning the present system of tolerated houses in the British Empire was read by Mrs. Dixon, and unanimously passed.

## CHESTER W.C.A.

A public meeting was held on Tuesday, October 28th, in the Town Hall, to inaugurate in Chester a Women Citizens' Association in succession to the old Chester W.S.S., and in affiliation with the N.U.S.E.C. Lady Frost, the Mayoress, was prevented by sickness from presiding, but her place was taken by Mrs. H. F. Brown (the prospective Mayoress), who, in her opening remarks, stressed the point that the W.C.A. was essentially non-party.

Miss Eleanor Rathbone, C.C., addressed a large and representative audience upon "The Objects of a Women Citizens' Association," and among other excellent points, she drew attention to the importance for women acquiring right opinions and then putting them in force.

There was probably, she said, a great deal more harm done in this country by jerry-built opinions than by jerry-built houses, and it behoved women to form an opinion by the exercise of their highest powers—not to acquire it as carelessly and lightly as they would buy a cheap, ready-made blouse.

The resolution welcoming the formation of this league of citizenship was proposed by Mrs. Paget (wife of the Bishop), who illustrated the importance of women's associations with instances of what had been done by the London C.C. in response to representations by the working women of the Bethnal Green W.C.A. She begged those present not to hold their hand from public service because of inexperience. "Don't be afraid of public service," she added, "if you really know you care for your brothers and sisters." Officers and a general committee were appointed.

## NEWPORT W.C.A.

Newport Women Citizens' Association held their first autumn meeting on Tuesday, October 28th. A resolution was passed on the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Bill, to be sent to the Prime Minister and various Members of Parliament. A report was also read of the answers received from candidates for the Newport Town Council on various questions submitted to them by the Association.

Dr. Howard Jones, Medical Officer of Health for Newport, spoke to the members on "The Purity of Food and Milk, and How to Improve It." He emphasised the importance of educating public opinion in this matter, and thought the Association might render valuable service in doing this, and in calling on Parliament to press forward legislation on the subject. Some startling comparisons were made as to the backwardness of this country in ensuring pure, clean food to the consumer, as compared with America.

After a discussion, the proceedings closed with thanks to the lecturer, and reference to forthcoming meetings of the Association, namely, a debate on "Cinemas for Children," on November 25th, for members only, and a public meeting in the Town Hall Assembly Room on "Housing," by Mr. Ewart Culpin.

## PRESTON WOMEN CITIZENS.

A special meeting of the Preston branch of the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, formerly known as the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, was held recently in the G.F.S. Rooms, Cross Street, presided over by Dr. Mary Lowry. A branch of the N.U.W.S.S. was formed in Preston nine years ago by a body of public-spirited men and women, of whom Mrs. Todd, Miss Stoneman, and Mr. Michael Willan are perhaps the only remaining members.

The special object of the meeting was to discuss the following recommendation from the Executive Committee:—"That, in view of the decision of the N.U.S.E.C., the Preston branch of the latter shall dissolve, and shall strongly urge its members to take up membership of the local W.C.A." After some discussion, the resolution was put and passed unanimously, and the nine-year-old society ceased to exist as a separate branch in Preston.

In moving a vote of thanks to the Honorary Secretary, Mrs. Todd, Miss Stoneman referred to the wonderful way in which Mrs. Todd had acted as an inspiration to the Committee, and her great faith in the ultimate triumph of the Suffrage cause. After the vote had been carried unanimously, a presentation to Mrs. Todd took place.





## We must Economise —Intelligently

IF we are to avoid national bankruptcy we must economise; that is imperative.

We must at the same time build 500,000 new houses; this is equally imperative. The art of economy does not merely consist in avoiding expenditure, it consists in discriminating between productive and non-productive expenditure and in avoiding waste.

By exercising forethought we can, whilst increasing the comfort of the houses we so urgently need, save £30 in building costs on each house erected. This means on the 500,000 houses a saving of £15,000,000 of public money.

Instal from the outset gas fires, which require only a small flue in the wall in place of the chimney, and avoid waste in the floor space of each room occupied by the unnecessary projecting chimney breasts of the coal fire chimney, waste of bricks and mortar used in the erection of unnecessary, ugly chimney stacks, waste in the use of coal and waste of energy in the labour of cleaning chimney flues and coal grates and portage of coal.

For further information apply to the Secretary—

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X97

### THE ENGLISHWOMAN EXHIBITION.

NOVEMBER 12th—NOVEMBER 22nd.

The ninth annual Englishwoman Exhibition will be opened on Wednesday next, November 12th, at the Central Hall, Westminster, by the Countess of Lytton, and the Lady Bertha Dawkins will take the chair on the platform.

This is, in truth, the first Peace Exhibition for the Englishwoman after the long years of war—though, in point of fact, last year's show opened two days after the signing of the Armistice. Only those who have done the organising for a large exhibition during five years of war—five years when you never knew what horrors might be ahead, making all efforts nugatory—years when you had to insure against air attacks, and when country exhibitors fell off in fear at the last moment—years of pitch-darkness in the streets and restriction on all sides: only such people can realise the relief of working in a normal world again.

The 1919 Exhibition is going to be very delightful, and readers of THE COMMON CAUSE must visit it without fail, and consider, before its 130 stalls, the question of Christmas presents.

It will, of course, have one great drawback; we have felt it before at the Englishwoman. When you have bought a Christmas present at one of the fascinating stalls you will want most dreadfully to keep it for yourself. We have known a person go home with five Christmas presents, most successfully chosen, and, after weeks of indecision, keep all but one. But this is a question of character.

Come at the beginning and not at the end, if you want to see Mrs. Houghton's *Roba Italiana*, recently arrived from Florence. Last year she sold out her little Italian antiques in the first day or two. There is to be a stall of beautiful silver work from Denmark, shown by Fru Hansen, which should not be missed, as it strikes an entirely different note to the jewellery of the English craft-workers. Among them, we are glad to say, Jean Campbell is showing again, and a young exhibitor, Miss Croker, who does charming work. Many people will be pleased to find Captain Gibbins' coloured wood-cuts here, and Mr. Aumonier's tiny war-shrines. There are to be wonderful new toys, and a great display of beautiful colour on the stalls of the hand-loom weavers will light up the Exhibition. Then there will be all sorts of beautiful embroideries and fine laces, with new heraldic embroideries by Helen Hall; and among the pottery exhibits delightful faience hunters and piebald horses—quite new products, and now shown for the first time, on stall 35 by Miss Ellis. In fact, there will be far too much to see for one afternoon, and perhaps some COMMON CAUSE readers will feel the need of a season-ticket, tax free, 5s. 6d., to be found at the door.

### THE NATIONAL UNION OF SCIENTIFIC WORKERS.

A London Branch of the National Union of Scientific Workers (19, Tothill Street, Westminster, S.W. 1) was inaugurated at a meeting on October 30th, for members of the Union resident in or near London, who do not belong to the Board of Agriculture Branch, the Imperial College Branch, the London County Council Branch, the National Physical Laboratory Branch, the Woolwich and District Branch. This trade union has from the beginning treated its members, whether men or women, with absolute equality.

The most important objects of the Union are to raise the status and remuneration of the scientific worker, and to bring about conditions which will enable him to work more efficiently. If a man is paid a large salary everything is done by his employer to save his highly prized time. When payment is very little higher than that for slightly skilled labour, the scientific man finds himself working under conditions which do not enable him to make full use of his powers. The output of research is a matter of national importance; all kinds of industrial output depend upon it.

The National Union of Scientific Workers is not the first society to aim at furthering the interests of science. It is rather because the efforts of prominent members of the profession have been unable to accomplish all that they desired that a more democratic method is being tried. The movement which has established a trade union for men and women engaged in work requiring scientific training is a movement of the rank and file of well qualified workers. Its list of members contains names of world-wide fame.

### BRITISH DOMINIONS WOMEN CITIZENS' UNION.

The Union has addressed the following letter to the Chairman, Joint Select Committee, Government of India Bill, House of Lords:—

SIR,  
I am authorised by the constituent societies of this Union to write to you upon the following question:—

With the single exception of South Africa we are all enfranchised women citizens of the Empire. We know by experience as well as by theory that equality between men and women is fundamental to the well-being of every State. The women of South Africa are within measurable distance of securing the recognition of this principle in the case of their own political enfranchisement.

We therefore venture to inform you that in the four great self-governing Dominions of the Empire, women have but one opinion as regards the claim of the women of India to the same electoral rights as the men.

We are well aware that as self-governing Dominions, New Zealand, Australia, South Africa, and Canada have no voice in the internal affairs of any other part of the Empire. But the principle for which we contend has been recognised by the League of Nations. It is impossible that the British Empire, itself a League of Nations within the greater League, can take a lower moral stand.

We therefore beg that in the truest and most far-reaching interests of the Empire, the Joint Select Committee will secure that the Government of India Bill shall include the granting of the franchise to the women of India on the same terms as it is to be granted to men.

Signed on behalf of the constituent societies of the British Dominions Women Citizens' Union.

HARRIET C. NEWCOMB, Hon. Secretary,  
October 21st, 1919.

### WOMEN AND THE LAY MINISTRY OF THE CHURCH.

On October 29th a public meeting, organised by the League of the Church Militant, was held in the large hall of the Church House to consider the question of women and the lay ministry of the Church of England. The meeting was specially designed to appeal to the instructed and "orthodox" in full communion with the English Church. A copy of a petition asking for an equal place with men to be accorded to women in the lay ministries of the Church was printed on each handbill, and also lay for signature on tables in the Hall.

A resolution protesting against the delay on the part of the archbishops and bishops in formulating a judgment respecting the services of women and pledging support to the petition was carried with two dissentients.

In the absence of the Rector of St. Botolph's owing to illness, the chair was taken by the Rev. W. C. Roberts, Vicar of St. George's, Bloomsbury. The speakers were Miss Maude Royden, Miss E. Picton-Turberville, and Rev. F. M. Green. Miss Royden traced the history of the expedients resorted to in the last three years to avoid decisive action in the matter. She told the story of how at the time of the National Mission of Repentance and Hope in 1916-17, when the need of women's help came up not as a matter of academic discussion, but of urgent practical necessity, the Bishops of London and Chelmsford licensed women, but in face of the storm raised by a small group they withdrew their licences, and how since then the matter had been side-tracked by reference to various inoperative committees. She flashed upon her hearers the cheerful thought that they must not judge too hardly the two Bishops who had "run away," as it was because they were the only two with courage to advance that they stood out conspicuous as the two who had retreated. Miss Royden passed on to a graver note when she spoke of irreparable loss to the Church of so many of the leading women of the great modern woman's movement, and of the threatened loss also of the younger generation now coming into possession.

Miss Picton-Turberville's speech had, like Miss Royden's, that ring of fearlessness, that suggestion of a clear vision of one great underlying principle whose triumph is inevitable, which marks the leader of a cause. She paid a fine tribute to the late Bishop of Lincoln, who had sanctioned her ministry at two statutory services in his diocese, and she exposed the weakness of the position of those who profess in this matter of women's ministry alone, the opinion that the whole of Christendom must be found at one and the same moment prepared for action before any step may be taken. Miss Picton-Turberville concluded by claiming that it is not only ecclesiastics, nor even the inner circle of instructed Church people, but also, and perhaps above all, the simple Christian "in the street" who have a right and a duty to concern themselves in the matter of women's position in the Christian Church.

Mr. Green, a member of the Executive Committee of the League of the Church Militant, made a vigorous appeal for support for the work of the League, and for generous contributions to be sent to the Treasurer, 6, York Buildings, Adelphi.

A. H. W.

### 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 Headquarters, 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 of August 17th, 1919	428,703 1 7	Hon. Treas. Glasgow and West of Scotland W.S.H.	
Further donations received to August 31st, 1919:—		*Miss F. M. Robinson	200
"Collecting Box, B. Galashiels"	1 0 0	*In Memory of Walter Matthew and Struthers Findlay	210
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*Employees, Messrs. Matthew Muir & Co., Kilmarnock, per Mrs. Robertson, Morningside, Kilmarnock	1 3 9	*Per Miss Etta Shankland, Organiser, S.W.H., Greenock: *Employees, Kingston Yard, Port-Glasgow, to name "Employees, Kingston Yard, Port-Glasgow" Bed (Belgrade), 230, Subs. Sale, Councillor Scymgeour's Persian Cat, per Miss Kinipple and Miss Jane Clink, for upkeep of "Greenock School for the Deaf" Bed, £14 3s. 3d.; Further Penny-a-Week Collection, per Miss Dolly McMillan and Miss M. Hair, £4 4s. 8d.; *Employees, Messrs. Fleming, Reid & Co., Dairy, per James McCosh, Esq., Local Hon. Treas., £2 2s.; *Per Miss Boyd, £1 10s.; *Per Cissy Lancaster, 18s.; *Per Miss Shaw, Flowers Sold, 10s.; *Per Margaret Cove, 6s. 10d.	73 13 3
*Archibald Watson, Esq., Glasgow (for Serbia's Need)	1 0 0	Gross Total to 31st August, 1919	£428,850 8 6
Miss E. H. Alexander, Edinburgh	1 0 0	Less: Donation received for the "Elsie Inglis Memorial" Committee, and refunded	
*Pupils, Selma House School, Falkirk, per Miss Neena Hamilton, Selma House	1 5 0	Mrs. Toller, Manchester, per Miss May Beard	3 3 0
Proceeds of Sale of Committee Room Carpet, presented by Mrs. Boyd, Perthshire	5 11 6	Nett Total to 31st August, 1919	£428,856 5 6
Proceeds of Sale of Satinwood Work Table, presented by Miss Salvesen, Edinburgh	4 13 0		
Miss Agnes Hutchison, Alloa	5 0 0		
Liverpool, Wirral and District Branch, Conservative and Unionist Women's Association, per Miss Isabel Fletcher, Hon. Treas., Liverpool (for upkeep of Bed)	17 12 6		
Brigadier-General Wauchope, Selkirk	2 2 0		
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*Per Miss M. C. Morrison			

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*Greenock School for the Deaf		Per Miss Etta Shankland, Organiser, S.W.H.	

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1919

WILL BE HELD AT THE  
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From Wednesday, November 12th,  
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LIGHT LUNCHES AND TEAS will be provided in the Hall.  
MISS ADRIENNE SARTI, L.R.A.M., will play the piano every  
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Chair: Mr. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD.  
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Bethnal Green ...	Miss Mary James. (South.)
Camberwell ...	Miss Emily Ricketts. Lab. (Marlborough.) Mrs. Bracey Wright. Lab. (North Peckham.) Mrs. Elizabeth Swales. Lab. (St. Mary's.) Miss Elizabeth Morris. M.R. (St. John's.)
Chelsea ...	Mrs. Walton. Lab. (Stanley.) Miss Crowley. Lab. (Stanley.) Mrs. Smith. Lab. (Stanley.) Miss Lenscombe. Lab. (Stanley.) Mrs. Hubert Walter. M.R. (Cheyne.) Mrs. Phipps. M.R. (Church.) Mrs. Curteis. M.R. (Church.) Hon. Miss Brand. M.R. (Hans Town.) Mrs. Hewitt. M.R. (Hans Town.) Mrs. Samuel. M.R. (Royal Hospital.) Mrs. Squire. Ind. (Central.)
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Hammersmith ...	Returned unopposed.
Hampstead ...	Lady Smith. M.R. (North Bloomsbury.) Returned unopposed.
Holborn ...	Miss Norah March. M.R. (N. St. Giles.) Mrs. Sharp. M.R. (Mildmay.) Miss Price. Lab. (Highbury.) Mrs. Wilks. Lab. (Upper Holloway.) Miss Johnson. M.R. (Canonbury.) Miss Sarah Trafford. Lab. (Lower Holloway.) Miss Fuller. M.R. (Redcliffe.) Miss Haynes. M.R. (Brompton.) Returned unopposed.
Lambeth ...	Mrs. Burtons. M.R. (Earl's Court.) Mrs. Evans. P. (Marsh.) Miss Powell. P. (Prince's.) Miss Reiss. P. (Prince's.) Mrs. Wheeler. M.R. (Angell.) Miss Theresa La Chard. Lab. (Vauxhall.) Mrs. Dukes. Lab. (Bishop's.) Mrs. Wyatt. M.R. (Tulse Hill.)
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Westminster ...	Mrs. Vickers. M.R. (Grosvenor.) Returned unopposed. Mrs. Bradford. M.R. (Knightsbridge.) Returned unopposed. Mrs. Smith. M.R. (Knightsbridge.) Returned unopposed. Mrs. O'Sullivan. M.R. (Regent.) Returned unopposed. Mrs. Dunn. M.R. (St. John.) Miss Gascoigne. M.R. (Victoria.) Miss Hughes. M.R. (Victoria.)
Woolwich ...	Miss Gertrude Walter. Lab. (Central.) Miss Susannah Turnbull. Lab. (River.) Miss Mabel Grout. Lab. (River.) Miss Richardson Evans. Ind. (St. John's.) Mrs. Chalkeley. Lab. (Haydons Park.)

**Coming Events.**

<b>INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S FRANCHISE CLUB.</b> NOVEMBER 12. 9 Grafton Street, Piccadilly. Subject: "Women, the Law, and Lawyers." Speaker: Miss Helena Norman.	
<b>GARDEN CITIES AND TOWN PLANNING ASSOCIATION.</b> NOVEMBER 4 to 30. Whitechapel Art Gallery, High Street, Whitechapel, E.1. Open 12 noon to 9 p.m. Housing and Town Planning Exhibition. Open daily. Lectures. NOVEMBER 11. Speaker: H. R. Aldridge. Subject: "What should be done with London Slums?" 7.45 p.m. NOVEMBER 12. Speaker: G. D. H. Cole, Esq., M.A. Subject: "Industry in Greater London." 7.45 p.m.	
<b>WESTFIELD COLLEGE (UNIVERSITY OF LONDON).</b> Kiddermore Avenue, Hampstead. OCTOBER 3 to DECEMBER 5. A Course of Lectures (followed by discussion). Subjects: "The Person of Christ," "The Nature of God" (with special consideration of the Problem of Suffering), and "The Nature of Man." Speaker: Miss M. West, B.A., B.D. (Tutor appointed by the Board for Promoting the Training of Club Workers). 5 p.m. Fee for 10 Lectures and discussion, £1 1s. First lecture can be attended free. Further details from the Secretary, Westfield College, N.W.3. From OCTOBER 7. Course of Thirty Lectures. Subject: "Elementary Principles of Economics." Speaker: Mrs. Wootton (Girton College, Camb., 1st Class Economics Tripos). 5 p.m. Fee for the course, £1 1s. (Ten lectures). Further details from the Secretary, Westfield College, N.W.3.	
<b>THE WOMEN'S INSTITUTE.</b> 92, Victoria Street, S.W.1. NOVEMBER 8. Debate. Subject: "Equal Pay for Equal Work." Speaker: Mrs. Barton. 4.15 p.m. NOVEMBER 14. Opening of Art Exhibition by Mrs. Jopling Rowe. 2.30 p.m.	
<b>NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE UNMARRIED MOTHER AND HER CHILD.</b> NOVEMBER 13. Subject: "The Unmarried Mother and Her Child." Speaker: Miss D. L. Adler (Highgate Branch of the National Council of Women of Great Britain and Ireland). 3 p.m.	
<b>THE MARY SUMNER HOUSE.</b> 8, Dean's Yard, Westminster. NOVEMBER 12. Subject: "Theosophy: its Origin and Dangers." Speaker: Rev. C. E. Lambert, M.A. Ticket for the whole course, 2s. Single Ticket, 6d. Other Lectures announced later. NOVEMBER 13. Speaker: Mrs. Illingworth. Subject: "The Work of the Women Messengers." 3 p.m.	

<b>PARENTS' NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL UNION.</b> NOVEMBER 19. 8, Kensington Palace Gardens, W.2. (By kind permission of Mrs. van den Berg.) Subject: "The New Spirit in Education." Speaker: Mr. J. M. Mactavish (Workers' Educational Association). 3.15 p.m. Chair: Sir William Beveridge, K.C.B.	
<b>BRITISH WOMEN'S PATRIOTIC LEAGUE.</b> 92, Victoria Street, S.W.1. Subject: "Women and Emigration." NOVEMBER 17. Two Lectures entitled "The Larger Patriotism." 27, Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W.7 (by kind permission of Mrs. Geo. A. Macmillan). Speaker: Mrs. Allan Bright. Subject: "Women and Emigration." Chair: Sir Richard Cooper, Bart., M.P. 3 p.m.	
<b>ST. BOTOLPH'S CHURCH, Bishopsgate.</b> Series of Addresses at the 1.15 Services. Preacher: Miss E. Picton-Turbervill. Subject: "What is the Kingdom of God?" NOVEMBER 13. "The Kingdom of God and Everyman." NOVEMBER 20. "The Kingdom of God and National Life."	
<b>UNIVERSITY OF LONDON.</b> Marble Arch Branch. Two Courses of Lectures on "The State and the Citizen," by Miss E. Macadam (late Director, School of Social Studies, The University, Liverpool), will be held during the Michaelmas and Lent Terms, on Wednesdays, at 6.30, beginning November 19th, in the Club Room of the Social Students' Union, 11, Marble Arch (2nd Floor), W.1. Michaelmas Course consists of five weekly Lectures on "Childhood and Adolescence." Lent Course consists of ten weekly Lectures on "The Adult Citizen." Application for admission should be forwarded not later than November 13th to the Hon. Local Secretary, Miss D. K. Low, Social Students' Union, 11, Marble Arch, W.1. Fee for Michaelmas Term (5 Lectures), 10s. 6d. Lent Term (10 Lectures), £1 1s.	
<b>WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.</b> Minerva Cafe, 144, High Holborn, W.C.1. Admission Free to all these meetings. Reserved Seats for Mr. W. L. George's Discussion Meeting, 1s. each. NOVEMBER 16. Speaker: Mr. W. L. George (novelist and journalist). Subject: "Woman in the Modern Novel." 7.30 p.m. NOVEMBER 17. Speaker: Miss M. I. Ingram (Law Trip., Cantab.). Subject: "Why Women Need Women Lawyers." 3 p.m.	

**Forthcoming Meetings (N.U.S.E.C.).**

NOVEMBER 9. Birmingham—Gooch Street Men's Adult School. Speaker: Mrs. Ring. 8.45 p.m.	
NOVEMBER 11. Birmingham—Selsley Road. Women's Meeting. Speaker: Mrs. Ring. 3 p.m.	
NOVEMBER 14. Birmingham—White Ribbon Offices. Speaker: Mrs. Ring. Subject: "Civics." 7 p.m.	
NOVEMBER 17. Norwich—Friends' Meeting House. Speaker: Dr. Ethel Williams. Subject: "The League of Nations." Chair: Dr. Margaret Bolleau. 8 p.m.	
NOVEMBER 19. Lowestoft—Speaker: Miss Alison-Nellans. Subject: "Equal Moral Standard." DECEMBER 17.	
Lowestoft—Speaker: Miss K. D. Courtney. Subject: "Widows' Pensions."	

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