

The Common Cause OF HUMANITY.

The Organ of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

LAW-ABIDING.] **Societies and Branches in the Union 561.** [NON-PARTY.]

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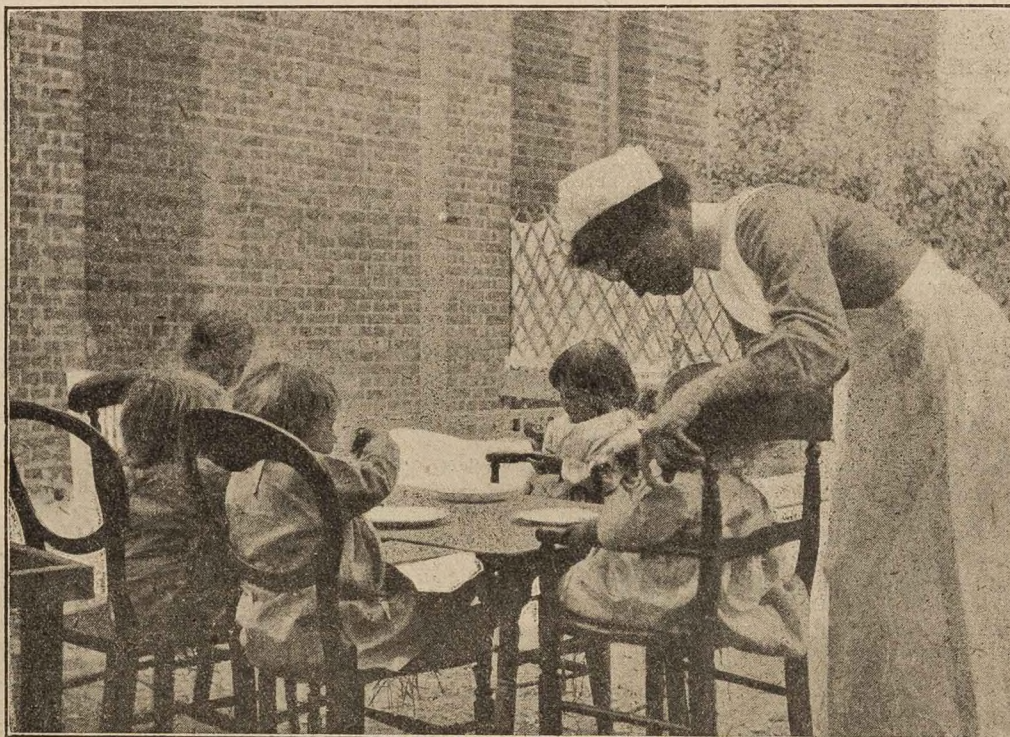
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[The National Union does not hold itself responsible for opinions expressed in signed articles.]



A SUFFRAGIST DAY NURSERY.

Babies having breakfast at the Day Nursery for Children of Mothers going out to work, organised by the Reading Society of the N.U.W.S.S.

Notes and News.

The Bill and the Babies.

Last week THE COMMON CAUSE was mostly about the Representation of the People Bill; this week it is mostly about babies. Every Suffragist knows that the two subjects are not remote from each other. Babies used to be looked on as a private concern, now they are admitted to be one of the first concerns of the State. But it is a concern which will not be properly attended to till that section of the population which is most interested in babies has votes. Tens of thousands of babies die every year from preventable causes; the fact is a disgrace to our civilisation. All those who will soon obtain their full citizenship ought to take every opportunity they can get of studying the question. "Baby Week," which begins next Sunday, is a great opportunity. Notices of some of the meetings to be held will be found on page 145.

On page 146 we publish an article by Alderman Benjamin Broadbent, one of the pioneers of municipal work for mothers and babies, tracing the progress of organised effort during the last fifteen years. Mrs. Barnes, of the Child Welfare Enquiry Office, writes (page 148) on the present and future of work for maternity and infant welfare, and on the need for co-ordination; Miss A. Maude Royden, on "Mother's Pensions"; and a Certified Midwife, in an article on the "Notification of Pregnancy," maintains the mother's right to privacy as well as help. An article by Miss Ferguson, on page 151, shows what has been achieved for children in countries where women are already enfranchised, and on pages 149 and 153 will be found particulars of some of the work undertaken by the N.U.W.S.S. for babies at home and in Russia.

The Cry of the Children.

The long delay in getting anything like proper conditions for the vast majority of the children of the nation is one of those griefs over which the hearts of men and women who care for their country may well turn sick at times. Several generations of social reformers have worn themselves out in the struggle. Great things have been achieved, but far more remains to be done. It is more than half a century since Elizabeth Barrett Browning wrote *The Cry of the Children*. That terrible poem was a cry raised to Heaven against the cruel labours of children under the factory system. Many years before that, Anthony Ashley Cooper (afterwards Lord Shaftesbury), called on to choose between ease, promotion, influence, and a troop of friends on the one hand, and unceasing labour for an unpopular cause on the other, had heard the cry of the children, and taken up his life's work. The details of the long struggle by which the factory and mine children were released, and the "climbing children" rescued, should be studied by all those who find in the history of past battles a help to their own work.

Those battles have been won. We do not stand now where we did when Lord Shaftesbury began his labours, nor when the Poet "before Congress" felt that evermore her heart was sore—

"For little feet
Of children bleeding along the street."

The cause of the children is no longer an unpopular one. The State has taken some thought not only for popular education, but for the care of infants and school children. Year by year, as teachers, as nurses, as doctors, as health visitors, as members of Care Committees, as workers at maternity centres and day nurseries, and in hundreds of other ways—more and more individuals give up their lives to working for infancy and childhood. But the amount still to be done is appalling. If there are no longer children working underground, there are still the children in the sweated homes. The individual workers are not nearly enough; the public does not take nearly enough interest; the State does not show nearly enough concern; many thousands of children are born in conditions which do not permit them to live; many thousands grow up in surroundings which make health and happiness almost impossible. The cry of the children still goes up to Heaven. Let those about to be Citizens take thought!

Teachers in the Air Raid.

It is sometimes assumed that the courage which cheerfully faces a violent death for the sake of other people or of an ideal is different in kind from the courage which, for the same objects, embraces a distasteful life and carries it out faithfully in every detail. Some experiences of the war, however, seem destined to teach us that the disciplined devotion which sustains men and women in the obscure and tedious tasks of

civil life is not essentially different from that which has borne fruit of heroic deeds on the battlefields of France and the East.

Everybody knows that our elementary school-teachers are a devoted class. Those who have come into contact with them bear witness to the sacrifices of health and pleasure and legitimate ambition which many of them make for the sake of the children. Not many of them are called on to face a violent death in the course of their duties, but it ought not to surprise us that those who did have this experience in the course of the air raid on East London stood the test with perfect success. They thought of nothing but the children, and turned from picking up the dying babies to soothing and distracting the attention of the living ones, with the naturalness of a strong love.

The Press and Women's Suffrage.

The decision of the House of Commons about Women's Suffrage has been very generally acclaimed by the Press.

"Women may now count their votes as won," says *The Nation*, and it goes on to rejoice that this measure of Justice has been adopted by the country "by a spontaneous and almost unanimous impulse." The giving of the vote in the House of Commons "follows the conversion of the immense majority of male opinion." . . . "The Commons have rarely given a more representative vote."

On another page *The Nation* comments on the generations of toil and struggle which lie behind "this pleasant ending."

"Speakers, debaters, managers, organisers, thinkers, workers—what a Commonwealth of energy the women's movement has been! The war did not make these capacities: it merely revealed them by imposing a sudden strain on the nation which only the disappearance of the male State, and the creation instead of something like a real man-woman community, could meet."

It is satisfactory to know that some of our friends believe the struggle is over. *The Manchester Guardian*, in an admirable article on "The Larger Democracy," does, indeed, speak of "touching wood" before we think of the critical stage of Women's Suffrage as past, but there and in less friendly quarters it is very generally taken for granted that only an accident can delay the voting of women. The London paper that devoted the largest space to our cause in the critical days of last week was *The Daily Telegraph*. It has treated several different aspects of the question with sympathy and knowledge, and its judgment is all the more valuable because it represents a section of public opinion which has not supported our claim from the beginning.

Too Late for the Fair.

The names of the remaining Anti-Suffragists may be read in an advertisement in *The Times* of June 23rd. They should be cut out and kept as an interesting historical relic. One wonders a little why, if they were going to publish their names, it was not done sooner. It was pathetic to hear Mr. Arnold Ward announce, in the course of the debate on Clause 4, that he and his friends would "soon be in a position to publish a very important manifesto." However, one expects Anti-Suffragists to be a little behind the times, and it is interesting to know that now that the House of Commons has passed Women's Suffrage by a majority of seven to one, they "do not take their stand on any blind opposition" to it, but only make the modest request that consideration of the question should be deferred till after the war, and then submitted to two referendums, the first consisting of the women who would be enfranchised by the present Bill, and the second of the male electorate. Comment is needless.

More Food Control.

The outline of Lord Rhondda's proposals for controlling the prices of the more important foodstuffs published last Wednesday, should bring about much stricter supervision of the stages through which these commodities pass from producer to consumer. The new Costings Department will have power to examine books and take all steps necessary to arrive at accurate figures as to the cost of production, and prices are to be fixed by reference to these figures, plus a normal pre-war rate of profit.

We hope that steps will be taken to eliminate the intermediate profits taken by speculators in foodstuffs who are neither producers nor genuine distributors, and that there will be an improvement in methods of distribution. There is not much gain in fixed prices for foodstuffs which are not procurable.

Political Notes.

How We Stand.

The success of Women's Suffrage is now certain. The House of Commons has affirmed it by overwhelming majorities. These majorities, and the almost unanimous acclamation of the Press, make it nearly inconceivable that the House of Lords should reject what is so obviously the will of the people, and quite inconceivable that either the present House of Commons, or any which may be elected in the future, should draw back. We are therefore certain that in no very long time women will be voting for Members of Parliament. Our only anxiety now is to know how short we can reasonably hope that the time will be.

Our chance of being enfranchised this year, or early next year, depends, of course, on the fate of the Representation of the People Bill. That Bill, as readers of THE COMMON CAUSE probably know, has in all thirty-three clauses. At time of going to press seven have been passed. Most of the remaining twenty-six appear far less controversial than those that have been dealt with, but it is to be feared that there are few of them which will not give some scope for the kind of obstruction, for the sake of obstruction, in which some members of the small minority who oppose the Bill are experts.

The Government will probably continue to give one or two days a week to the Bill through the present Session. This week it is giving more, but this may be difficult to continue, because it has in hand other important measures, as, for example, the Corn Production Bill, which will be valueless for this year unless it is passed before the autumn. We do not, therefore, know whether the Bill is likely to be sent up to the Lords in time for them to discuss it before the August recess. The House of Lords does not usually sit in the autumn, so that unless they have discussed the Bill before the middle of August there is little chance of their sending it back to the Commons till next December. When it returns to the Commons there may be amendments put in by the Lords to discuss, so that its final passing into law may be even further delayed.

In all these stages of the Bill there are, of course, pitfalls, though the majorities by which it has so far been upheld seem to show that it can hardly be in much danger, unless some quite unforeseen event shakes the present strong position of the Government.

All members of National Union Societies are urged to follow the debates on the different clauses of the Bill with attention, and form their own opinion of how things are going.

We shall, of course, give summaries from week to week in THE COMMON CAUSE.

Who Will Have Votes, and Why.

Now that the Women's Suffrage Clause of the Representation of the People Bill has passed the House of Commons, it may not be amiss to restate the reasons that the supporters of "votes for women on the same terms as they are or may be granted to men" will have had for accepting it.

Everybody now knows that if the present Women's Suffrage proposals pass into law they will give votes to all women over thirty who are on the Local Government Register, or who are the wives of men on the Local Government Register. That is to say, that the vote is to be given to about six million women of thirty or over, about five millions of whom (it is calculated) will be married women.

It is not all we asked for; it is not, perhaps, a very logical choice from among would-be voters; but it is a measure of great practical utility, and one which establishes the basis of the women's claim. As such it is receiving the support, not only of those who wish to remove sex disqualification, but are confessedly anxious about the growing numbers of the electorate, but also of Adult Suffragists like Mr. Dickinson and Mr. Philip Snowden. Mr. Dickinson pointed out in his speech on Clause 4 that Adult Suffrage would mean an addition to the present electorate of from 2,000,000 to 4,000,000 men, and from 12,000,000 to 14,000,000 women. The immediate result would be that the present electorate (which is about 8,000,000) would be swamped by new voters, and that the number of women would very largely outnumber the number of men. "Personally," said Mr. Dickinson, "I am not afraid of that. I see no reason, if there are more women in the country than men, and if we agree that women have a right to

the Suffrage as well as men, why we should hesitate in giving the vote to more women than men." Every member of the N.U.W.S.S. will, of course, agree with him, but though nearly everyone is now in favour of Women's Suffrage, not everyone is quite such a wholehearted Suffragist as we are ourselves, or as the right hon. member for North St. Pancras. As Mr. Dickinson went on to point out, there are naturally many who feel that such an addition to the electorate would be "a sudden change and a great upheaval." . . . "It would be giving women the Suffrage much more rapidly than it has been given to men. Men have gradually grown into their present rights of enfranchisement, and I can quite appreciate the weight of the argument of those who say that women should also go step by step before they obtain absolutely what we may think are their full rights."

All those who have followed the history of Parliamentary reform in Great Britain will realise how true it is that men have won their votes by degrees, and how much the present limited proposals are in accordance with our whole constitutional tradition. Mr. Dickinson went on to state why, after it had been agreed that the number of women voters must be limited, the precise forms of limitation defined in the Speaker's Conference and in Clause 4 of the Bill had been chosen. We will quote from him verbatim:—

"If we accept the position that it is not wise to enfranchise all women at once, we have to find some system by which they can be enfranchised slowly and partially. It is very difficult, of course, to differentiate. It is almost impossible to find a really logical system upon which you can lay down a rule under which one woman could be enfranchised and another could be refused the vote. But one can arrive at two fundamental principles—first, that whatever representation you give to women must be adequate in point of numbers, and, secondly, that it must be representative, so far as all classes of the community are concerned. As regards numbers, there are 14,000,000 women above the age of twenty-one years. Suppose that we think it is a fair measure of enfranchisement at once to enfranchise about one-half that number. That is practically what the supporters of Women's Suffrage agreed upon at the Conference. They were prepared to enfranchise from 5,000,000 to 6,000,000 women. How can that be done? There are 14,000,000 women over twenty-one, 12,000,000 women over twenty-five, 10,000,000 women over thirty, and there are 7,000,000 women over forty. If we take age alone, which is the simplest test—although there is not much logic about it—and are not prepared to enfranchise any more than 7,000,000 women, we must put the age at forty. No one thought that forty was a reasonable age to allow woman to begin her political life and enjoy, for the first time, political privileges. If we choose an age like thirty—we discussed the various ages, as the Committee knows—there again we find 10,000,000 adult women above that age. Therefore, although many of us would have liked to have laid down the simple rule that every woman over thirty should have the vote, which, of course, would include wives, spinsters, widows, and everybody else, we found ourselves faced with the position that we should be enfranchising more women than a good many of our more prudent colleagues were willing to accept."

"There is the other consideration—namely, that we must find a system which is representative of the different classes. The present female municipal vote is by no means representative of the various classes, for the reason that the vote is restricted to the class of woman who occupies a house in her own right—that is to say, the spinster or the woman who is carrying on her own business or something of that kind. The great mass of married women will be absolutely unenfranchised by a system like that. No other country that has given Woman Suffrage has ever hesitated to give the vote to the married woman in the same way as to the single woman. There is no reason why we should deprive the married woman of the vote. In fact, there is every reason why you should give her the vote even before the younger and unmarried woman. The married woman is the woman who, in my opinion, has the most experience of life, and has perhaps the most stable views as to the ordinary economics of life. She is the woman who represents, if she is going to have the vote in right of her husband's qualification, all classes of the community, from the highest to the lowest. By giving the woman a vote because of the occupation rights of her husband you thereby bring about a system under which the man belonging to the great mass of the working classes—indeed, the very poorest person—can get a vote for his wife. By

introducing that device—it is really not much more—of bringing to the Parliamentary vote not only the woman who is entitled to occupation qualification in her own right, but also the woman entitled to an occupation qualification in the right of her husband, you are bringing in 5,000,000 or 6,000,000 women, who represent fully the different classes of the community. By that means, short of giving the vote to every woman in the country, I believe you will get a very fair system of representation of women. You practically give to women what the men were first of all given in former years; you give them a household franchise. The head of the house, the mother of the family in every family, rich and poor, will have the vote."

It is, of course, a matter of deep regret that this Household Suffrage for women does not take in all the young munition workers and other women under thirty, whose votes would, we believe, be of great use to the country. We also regret that it does not fulfil the terms of our demand and give votes to women on the same basis as to men; but we have, at any rate, the great satisfaction of knowing that when it goes through every woman will be a potential voter. The girls who are working in factories, on railway lines, on trams and buses, or in hospitals will not all get votes at once, but nearly all of them will get them in time, and meanwhile they will have that hold on the Parliament of the country, which belongs not only to the actual electors, but also, in a hardly lesser degree, to "those about to vote." The National Union, of course, continues to stand for its object, which will not be achieved till women have got votes on the same terms as men.

Representation of the People Bill in Committee.

MONDAY, JUNE 25TH.

In answer to a question from MR. FELL (*Yarmouth*), THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD, MR. HAYES FISHER, said that the latest date at which an estimate of the number of married women over thirty years of age could be made up was the middle of 1916. The numbers at that time were estimated to be: England and Wales, 5,597,000; Scotland, 621,000; and Ireland, 502,000; total, 6,720,000. The Representation of the People Bill would add about 2,000,000 of male electors to the registers. As the existing number of electors, according to a Home Office return of 1915, was 8,357,000, the total number of male electors under the Bill would be rather more than 10,000,000. It was estimated that the number of women enfranchised by the Bill would be about 6,000,000, of whom 5,000,000 would be married women, the remainder being women who were themselves in separate occupation and premises.

CLAUSE 5. VOTES FOR SAILORS AND SOLDIERS.

Clause 5 of the Bill provides that any person serving abroad in the naval or military forces, or in connection with them, or under the Red Cross or St. John's Ambulance Association, or any body with similar objects, shall be entitled to be registered as an elector during the present war, or twelve months after it, for any constituency from which he would have had the necessary qualification but for the war.

The discussion of it was begun Wednesday, June 20th, and continued on Monday, June 25th. COLONEL LESLIE WILSON (*Reading*) moved an amendment with the object of allowing the persons mentioned in the Clause to have votes even if they had only attained the age of nineteen instead of twenty-one years. This he withdrew in favour of another amendment moved by CAPTAIN O'NEILL (*Mid Antrim*), and providing that the voters under this clause must be persons of nineteen years or over, who had been on active service in any war in which His Majesty might be engaged.

The amendment had a good deal of support. In the course of the debate MR. GOLDSTONE (*Sunderland*) pointed out that if the amendment were passed, the Clause would be difficult to administer without injustice. "For example, we must remember that there are women serving the country in one capacity or another, and as the amendment stands, women up to the age of thirty-one, and men who have been doing splendid work under circumstances of great difficulty and danger, will not have recognition."

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT

BOARD, MR. HAYES FISHER, said there were great difficulties amongst them that if the age of nineteen was taken it would be an accentuation of "the case of the women who are not allowed to vote." He admitted, however, that the feeling in the House was strongly in favour of giving votes to as many as possible of the men who had actually fought in the present war—at any rate, for one election. While not accepting the amendment as it stood, he promised that the Government would endeavour to meet the feeling in the Report stage of the Bill. This undertaking was afterwards confirmed by the HOME SECRETARY, SIR GEORGE CAVE.

After some further discussion Clause 5 was passed without a division.

TUESDAY, JUNE 26TH.

CLAUSE 6. QUALIFYING PERIOD.

This Clause, which provides that the qualifying period for registration as a voter shall be six months, was passed without a division.

CLAUSE 7. PLURAL VOTING.

The House went on to consider Clause 7, which provides that every registered Parliamentary elector for any constituency (in the case of a woman notwithstanding sex or marriage) shall be entitled to vote for an election in that constituency, but a man shall not vote at a General Election for more than one constituency for which he is registered by virtue of a residence qualification, or for more than one constituency for which he is registered by virtue of other qualifications, and a woman shall not vote at a General Election for more than two constituencies.

MR. P. A. HARRIS (*Harborough*) moved an amendment providing that a person should not vote at more than one division of a Parliamentary Borough divided into separate constituencies. After some discussion, MR. HAYES FISHER, on behalf of the Government, said the amendment raised the whole question of the amount of plural voting which, by general consent, the Committee were willing to allow. Had Proportional Representation been adopted, the question whether plural voting should be allowed in divisions of the same Parliamentary borough would never have arisen. It was hardly fair to ask the Committee to come to a decision on the question until they had taken a final decision regarding Proportional Representation, which they would do on Clause 15.

The amendment was by leave withdrawn.

The House then agreed to an amendment brought forward by THE HOME SECRETARY, SIR GEORGE CAVE, providing that a woman should not vote at a General Election "for more than one constituency for which she is registered by virtue of her own or her husband's Local Government qualification, or for more than one constituency for which she is registered by virtue of any other qualification."

CLAUSE 8. DISQUALIFICATIONS.

The Government agreed to put into the Bill a provision that "a person shall not be disqualified from being registered or from voting as a Parliamentary elector by reason that he or some person for whom he is responsible, has received poor relief or other alms." (In view of the present lack of maintenance for many widowed mothers, except by poor relief, these words are of interest to women.)

An interesting debate followed on a proposal to disfranchise conscientious objectors made by MR. RONALD M'NEILL (*St. Augustine's*). LORD HUGH CECIL made a fine speech in defence of the freedom of conscience. THE HOME SECRETARY showed some sympathy with the movers of the amendment, but pointed out that the present was an enfranchising, and not a disfranchising, measure, and that Parliament could not well impose a penalty now on those whom a short time ago it had exempted from military service by its own Act.

SIR GEORGE YOUNGER (*Ayr Burghs*) wished to disfranchise not only objectors whose objection had been admitted as conscientious, but all who had for any reason refused military service or work of national importance.

A very thin house divided, and 71 voted for the disfranchising proposal, and 141 against. Government majority, 70.

An Amendment by THE HOME SECRETARY, providing that no one should vote who was not a British subject, was agreed to, and Clause 8 was added to the Bill.

The discussion of the Representation of the People Bill was continued on Wednesday and Thursday.

NATIONAL BABY WEEK.

THE WEEK'S PROGRAMME IN LONDON.

There will be a public meeting at the Guildhall on Monday, July 2nd, at 3 p.m., in connection with National Baby Week.

A programme of events taking place at the Central Hall, Westminster, during the week appeared in our last issue.

The National Baby Week Exhibition at Central Hall, Westminster, is to be opened by Her Majesty the Queen on Monday, July 2nd. Admittance will, of necessity, be by invitation only, and among those invited will be a certain proportion of the mothers who have been attending Infant Welfare Centres in London, chosen by the votes of all the mothers regularly visiting the centres.

One of the subjects on which Judge Henry Neil, of Chicago, will specially touch in his address on "The Problem of Illegitimacy," at the Central Hall, Westminster, on July 5th, is that of the recent German dealings with this matter, as revealed by their Press.

In connection with National Baby Week, an Exhibition and Baby Show will be opened by Lady Jellicoe at Guildford on July 10th, when various interesting prizes will be offered for healthy and beautiful infants of various ages from under three months up to five years. One prize that is being offered by Lady Bray is of unusual interest. She offers in each class of babies an extra prize of 3s. if the winning baby has been vaccinated. But the vaccination will in no way be considered when judging the babies for the original prize.

A PURE MILK SUPPLY.

One of the objects of "Baby Week" is to secure a purer milk supply. Two reports on milk have been issued lately, one by our own National Clean Milk Society, and the other by the United States Public Health Service. The report dealing with our own supply gives a very unsatisfactory character to the milk supplied by dealers to mothers attending various London Schools for Mothers. Every sample contained *bacillus coli*, a micro-organism derived from manure, and 10 per cent. contained living tubercle.

The American report recommends that milk should be graded, and that the highest grade should come from herds where every cow passes the tuberculin test at stated intervals, and which are regularly examined by qualified veterinary surgeons. There are dairies in England which supply milk complying with this standard to those who can afford to pay for it, but it would require the intervention of the State to bring it within reach of mothers in general. Clean milk costs more to produce than dirty milk; but the lives of babies are worth the extra expense.

OUR SPECIAL BABY NUMBER.

We hope that all our readers will do their best to promote the sale of this week's number. It will be very useful for propaganda purposes, showing, as it will, how closely the Woman's Movement is connected with every effort to safeguard the children of the nation.

SELLERS WANTED.

Volunteers are wanted to sell this number of THE COMMON CAUSE at the meetings held during Baby Week in London and the provinces.

THE WELFARE AND ECONOMY EXHIBITION.

The National Welfare and Economy Exhibition was opened yesterday in the unfinished buildings of the new County Hall, Westminster Bridge. The speeches at the opening ceremony dealt with various aspects of the campaign in favour of a sound system of national economy.

The Marquis of Crewe spoke of the one war service which was within the reach of everybody—those of large means and those of small—so long as they had any means at all—the service of not spending, and emphasised the need for continued personal economy, not merely throughout the war, but for a long time afterwards.

Mr. Holman, Premier of New South Wales, dealt with the question of imported foodstuffs, and deplored the weak point in our system by which food which had been brought to this country by the Government with much care and foresight, and protected in transit by the skill and valour of the Navy, was then, apparently, dumped down on our shores and left to competition determined by the trade, as organised before the war. Lieut.-General Sir Francis Lloyd defined the new word "profiteering" as the getting of immoral gain from their fellow-citizens to the detriment of those citizens and, above all, of the poor, and expressed his confidence that Lord Rhondda, an astute and far-seeing man of business, would see that this so-called "profiteering," principally to the advantage of the middleman, should cease.

There is a great deal in the exhibition which will be of special interest to women. A large section is devoted to "Children's Welfare"; many aspects of work in this connection are shown by various societies and institutions. The Woman's Section of "National Service" has a stall displaying the results of the "collection of waste" scheme in the shape of numerous articles used for munitions made from waste-paper, photos of the Women's Land Army at work, &c., and anyone wanting information on any point connected with national service for women can obtain it from the voluntary workers in charge of the stall.

In the same room there is a display of "windproof waist-coats" and seamen's gloves, very ingeniously made from scraps of leather and fur and old gloves by women unable to go into workrooms. The Women's Institutes of the Agricultural Organisation Society exhibit many specimens of their members' work, such as economical clothing for children, labour-saving devices, bottled fruit and vegetables, and war-cookery recipes. There is also a section furnished by the Ministry of Munitions, which includes models of munition workers' canteen, hostel, ambulance-room, and *crèche*.

WOMEN'S NATIONAL SERVICE.

It has been already emphasised in THE COMMON CAUSE that women are needed to act as clerks with the Army in France. The need is as great as ever; 200 to 300 women are wanted each week, and nothing like that number are enrolling at present.

With the coming of hay-time and harvest, more women workers are required also on the land. Those already so employed appear to be very satisfied with their special form of war-work.

"THE COMMON CAUSE" FUND.

We are very grateful to the many kind friends who have given donations to the C.C. Fund.

The cost of running a newspaper has very greatly increased since we made our appeal last July. Any financial assistance is therefore very welcome in the present crisis, as we are anxious to keep up the standard of the paper and also not to cut down our pages further. Another way that Societies can materially assist THE COMMON CAUSE, apart from donations, is for them to put all their announcements to members in our advertisement columns. This is a source of revenue to the paper, and in these days of dearer postage should be an advantage to Societies. Remember, also, IF YOU HAVE A WANT, MAKE IT KNOWN THROUGH THE COMMON CAUSE.

Already acknowledged	£	s.	d.
Mrs. Matthews	573	8	6
			2
	£573	11	0

WOMEN WELDERS' ORGANISATION FUND.

The members of the Society of Women Welders appeal to the readers of THE COMMON CAUSE for subscriptions to help the expenses of their organisation. They are confident that their Society will shortly become self-supporting, but at first their organisation expenses must be heavy, and they trust that those who believe with them that the only protection for women workers is organisation, will help them in their venture.

Subscriptions should be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Miss M. M. Longley, c/o THE COMMON CAUSE, 14, Great Smith Street, London, S.W. 1.

Already acknowledged	£	s.	d.
Anonymous, per Miss Creamer	93	7	6
			1
	£94	7	6

SAFEGUARDING THE BABIES.

The notes on this subject which appear in this issue will, it is hoped, be of use to teachers, social workers, and others who realise the intimate connection between the wastage of child life and bad housing conditions. The solution of the housing problem would automatically increase the chance of health and happiness for mother and child alike, and the judicious use of modern gas apparatus can help to palliate difficulties, pending more drastic action by local and other authorities, in the houses of the much-handicapped poor. The President of the Board of Education lately pointed out at Newcastle the enormous benefit that would accrue to public health and public education if in every home there was an adequate supply of hot water and a gas-stove.

Copies of "Safeguarding the Babies" will be sent free of charge, in any quantity, on request to the British Commercial Gas Association, 47, Victoria Street, S.W. 1.

The Care of Mothers and Babies.

PROGRESS OF MUNICIPAL WORK DURING THE LAST FIFTEEN YEARS.

It is no easy task to attempt to compress into a short article any intelligible account of the development of municipal work for Maternal and Infant Welfare during the past fifteen years. It would require intimate research and prolonged examination of a huge series of medical officers' reports to find the first beginnings of the awakening to the value of infant life which is now at last becoming well-nigh universal. A stream has many sources, and often there are tributaries with their springs hidden far back whose names are lost in that of the main stream, as Archiano is cancelled by Arno.

So is it with what is now a broad and wide river of public thought and achievement—the movement for the preservation of mother and child. There can be no doubt the municipalities have by themselves been a most powerful contributory to this movement. Indeed, it would hardly seem too much to claim for them as a whole that they have done more than any other single cause to give force and practical expression to the growing public appreciation of the true place of motherhood. It is when an attempt is made to differentiate between the various public health authorities that the great difficulty comes in of assigning definite initiative and definite developments to separate municipalities. It would be interesting, and perhaps really useful, and might settle some small jealousies if someone would investigate and compare what was being done, or, more accurately, what was being talked of, by the several Medical Officers of Health and Health Committees previous to the year 1902, fifteen years ago. Probably it would require a prolonged examination of records and reports before anything but the barest statistics could be found anywhere, and it may be taken as fairly established that nothing in the way of direct practical effort was in existence.

THE CLAIM OF THE BABIES BEGINS TO TAKE THE FIELD.

Within the next five years, between 1902 and 1907, a very great change had come over the scene of municipal activities. No Medical Officer's report was without its more elaborated statistical tables, and few without comments and recommendations, and many had records of useful action already taken or contemplated. Just what had happened can only be barely stated, and again it would probably be unjust to single out a name here and there if specific action were described. Certain phases of the general change are intimately known to those who had taken part in bringing them about; and to the actors in any special developments these naturally seem the most interesting and the most important. The hidden springs of the change between 1902 and 1907 were doubtless similar in many cases. The Medical Officer of Health, in the course of his duty, wants to find out where and how there may be brought about improvements in the health of his district. Perhaps he has as his Chairman a man of some intelligence and zeal. They talk of the work they have in common, how it can be improved, what methods will "pay," what methods will have the best chance of passing the keen purse-keepers of the ratepayers' money. Some Medical Officers fixed their attention on tuberculosis; some, on the other hand, turned their minds to the babies. Probably it was a matter of temperament as to which line was taken. The appeal of the babies was perhaps the more direct; for, after all, a good many Councillors and Aldermen are human enough to be fathers, and once stated, the pitifulness of the death of helpless infants has a penetrating quality in it which goes far. When it was demonstrated, too, that nearly half the deaths were manifestly preventable, then the claim of the babies began to take the field, and the civic fathers in a very real fashion set themselves to take something of a fatherly interest in their civic offspring.

AN EFFORT TO PREVENT NEEDLESS DEATHS.

So the first tentative efforts were timidly made to do something to prevent these needless deaths. It required a mixture of cajolery and zeal—mere tact was of no use—to get anything done in this new sphere of work. Legal difficulties as to the expenditure of rates had to be dodged. The stupid indifference of most, and the wicked hostility of many, had to be overcome. To the plea that the babies need not die, and ought not to be allowed to die, the reply was, "Let 'em die!" or, "They are better dead!" or no reply at all, only turning the back, "None of that tommy-rot for me."

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In spite of everything, the town councils were little by little won over just to try to see what the results would be; half of half a farthing on the rates was in some cases actually voted. No doubt the first International Congress on Infantile Mortality, held in Paris in 1905, gave an important impetus to the municipal movement in this country, though only a very few British municipalities were represented. This was enormously extended and intensified by the first National Conference of Great Britain held in London in 1906. Anyone who cares to look at the report of this Conference will easily discover which of the great and small municipalities were at that time taking the lead, and what they were actually doing. It was no bad beginning to have over 170 authorities represented, and over 360 representatives present.

THE NOTIFICATION OF BIRTHS.

By the year 1907 many Health Authorities had appointed Health Visitors expressly for the purpose of dealing with Infant Mortality, though they called these visitors Sanitary Inspectors, so as to get round the law. One town had compulsory notification of births, and others were trying various plans of obtaining notification. But it was the passing of the Notification of Births Act (1907) that marks that year as an epoch-making one in the development of municipal action. The Act as then passed was only adoptive—that is to say, it was of no validity in any given area unless the local authority for the area expressly adopted it. The gradual adoption of the Act with its responsibilities towards infancy during the eight years from 1907 to 1915 successively by one Town or City Council after another, may roughly be taken as symptomatic of the gradually increasing interest manifested by the Municipalities. At the same time the powers of the local bodies were being extended partly by legislation and partly by orders of the Local Government Board and of the Board of Education, and partly by a much more liberal interpretation of powers already legislatively in being.

By the year 1915, all the greater Municipalities and County Authorities had adopted Compulsory Notification with its following obligations. Parliament then considered that the time was ripe for its general application to the whole of the United Kingdom and Ireland, and the Notification of Births (Extension) Act, 1915, was passed. By this Act all that the more advanced Municipalities were already doing was fully legalised, and far wider powers were given. Many Municipalities have begun to realise these larger opportunities, and are preparing to discharge their increased responsibilities and duties; but it may safely be said that not one is as yet doing anything like all that it has the privilege and duty of doing. In this respect Scotland, with its great Municipalities, seems, for the moment, to be taking the lead, and a Northern Borough (Gateshead) and a London Borough (Camberwell) have the common distinction of doing the least.

What the English and Welsh communities have now on hand to do is utterly beyond the space of such an article as this. It takes the 600 pages of the Carnegie Report, and the 230 pages of the latest Local Government Report, to state even in brief outline what is being done. The contrast between these rather ponderous tomes and the meagre line or two into which the municipal work of 1902 could have easily been compressed, and the page or two that would have sufficed in 1907, is perhaps the best illustration of the enormous enlargement of this great movement. The Baby Week celebrations will fittingly crown the work hitherto accomplished, and will start with a new impetus the completion of what has been so well begun.

BENJAMIN BROADBENT.

BEDFORD COLLEGE FOR WOMEN (UNIVERSITY OF LONDON)

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June 30th.	"Fight for the Right"—Garden Party	4-8 p.m.
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July 3rd.	College Day—Garden Fete	6-10 p.m.
July 4th.	End of Session	
July 5th.	Marylebone Schools for Mothers Summer Meeting	4.30 p.m.
July 6th.	Parents National Educational Union Summer Meeting	10 a.m.

For full particulars apply to the Secretary

Mothers' Pensions.

The pioneer of constructive schemes for the protection of motherhood is in England, in spite of the U-boats. Judge Neil, who has made "Mothers' Pensions" an established fact in thirty of the United States, ought, I think, to be able to help us to get something of the same kind—perhaps even something better—in this country.

Roughly described, the mothers who get pensions in those thirty States are women whose husbands are dead or disabled, and who have families of young children to support. An allowance is made for each child up to school-leaving age, and the mother is put into a position to look after them herself, instead of sending them to an institution and going out to work. If she has the reputation of being a "bad" mother, she is given the pension all the same, in most cases, and told that she will be "looked up" later, to see how the children are. Almost invariably, Judge Neil tells us, the "bad" mother is found to have turned into a good one, when she is given a really workable chance of being so; while in the States where the scheme has been in operation for some time, it is found that the Children's Courts and Reformatories are nearly empty! Nine times out of ten, the "delinquent child" is the child whose mother has no time or strength to look after it.

It is inspiring to hear of a scheme of this kind, which is imagined on a really big scale, and actually in operation already. In this country, nothing has ever been done for motherhood on a great scale, and no one seems able to believe that anything more magnificent than an extension of maternity benefit, or a row of new inspectors, could even be contemplated. Schools for mothers had to be begun by individuals, often in the face of much rather captious criticism, and even the 30s. maternity benefit was only handed to the mothers after a considerable amount of opposition on the part of the fathers, who, for some inexplicable reason, conceived it to be theirs. Now Judge Neil comes along with his plan for lifting a great number of mothers right out of the slough of difficulty, overwork, and perpetual anxiety, in which they have been struggling so long.

This is the time for great schemes. People are ready to hear about them, and even to believe them possible. And the nation's need of children is so great that surely mothers may come in for some further attention than is conveyed even in the most complete kind of scolding. It ought even to be possible to get the whole question of the endowment of motherhood considered with a view to action. The "pensions" are given in recognition of service. They are in no sense "relief," and have no connection whatever with the Poor Law. The widow gets her cheque, says Judge Neil, just as the judge who assigned it to her gets his. It is no more—it is not so much—as the State would have to pay for the support of her children in any institution or home. Only, instead of paying someone else to look after children, the State now pays the mother herself. This is how things stand at present in America. But why not now and here establish the right of all mothers to "recognition of service done"? Is even that too big an idea for the present time? Let us lift from all mothers the ever-pressing load of anxiety, work, and strain, and set their minds free for their children. Let us do the thing generously, finely, confidently, relying not on compulsion, but on the real wish of the average human being to do his or her duty if given a decent chance to do it. I would have all mothers endowed, whether rich or poor, that the money given may have no taint of charity or poor-relief about it, and that it may be administered with the minimum of inquisitorial inspection—as it certainly would be, if rich and poor came into the scheme! The State wants children, and to give them is a service both dangerous and honourable. Like the soldier, the mother takes a risk and gives a devotion for which no money can pay; but, like the soldier, she should not, therefore, be made "economically dependent," and treated as though she were economically valueless. The State demanding soldiers pays to all alike, whether rich or poor, the pay that belongs to their rank in the army, for the payment is for service, not for charity. Motherhood should be raised to the level of a great State service—or, rather, recognised to be so—and I believe that nothing would do this half so effectually as State endowment for all.

A. MAUDE ROYDEN.

JUDGE NEIL will explain the scheme of "Mothers' Pensions" in operation in the U.S.A. at a meeting organised by the Women's International League, which will be held on Thursday, July 5th, at 8 p.m., at the Central Hall, Westminster, in connection with the National Baby Week Exhibition.

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The Present and the Future.

On the eve of England's first National Baby Week it may be well to pause for a moment to review where we now stand and to what we are looking forward.

It is inevitable that workers for such a cause as the Prevention of Infant Mortality should be chiefly conscious of how much remains to be achieved, and have little time to consider the progress already attained. But it will hearten us for our efforts in Baby Week if we look back and mark some of the great steps forward that have been taken. For this progression was not "sudden." It had its origin in humble work, begun in faith and hope by individuals within the last few years. They saw great visions—so great that it seemed almost foolish to speak of them—and, like all well-balanced visionaries, they utilised the enthusiasm engendered by their ideals for the furthering of the work which lay to their hand.

"For tasks in hours of insight will'd
Can be thro' hours of gloom fulfill'd."

So we who to-day garner the fruits of their faith and perseverance, may learn that the aims we cherish—which seem so vast in their extent that we sometimes despair of their fulfilment—will assuredly be attained, provided we, also, patiently build, stone by stone, the edifice we long to see complete.

It is a strange fact that on July 30th, 1914—when nations were preparing for the destruction of human life on a vaster scale than the world had ever known—one of the most decisive steps recorded in the struggle for the saving of human life in this country should have been taken. On that date the Local Government Board sent out its Circular on Maternity and Child Welfare to County Councils and Sanitary Authorities throughout England and Wales, with an accompanying Memorandum to assist in the formulation of schemes or the extension of work already undertaken. This, and the subsequent circulars are now so well known to the general public that it is unnecessary to recapitulate their contents. Our familiarity must not, however, blind us to their epoch-making character. A skeleton scheme was put before every Public Health Authority in the Kingdom, accompanied, not only by representations as to the urgent necessity of care for mothers and infants, but also by the offer of a grant towards the expenditure of approved schemes. Considered together with the Notification of Births (Extension) Act, this full recognition by a Government Department, not only of the pressing need, but also of the best method of meeting it, may be regarded both as the fruit of past labours and the seed of a harvest yet to come.

Hopeful Signs.

What, then, is the present position of work for Maternity and Infant Welfare?

1. Public opinion is awakened now, as never before, to the necessity of the preservation of infant life.
2. Voluntary work, which in this as so many other domains of social effort, led the way for officialdom, is more vigorous than ever, and "Schools for Mothers," Day Nurseries, &c., often assisted by Government grants, have been multiplied.
3. The number of Health Authorities undertaking schemes for Maternity and Infant Welfare is increasing almost daily. These schemes, which are assisted by Government grants, include:—

Ante-natal visiting in the home, and medical advice at a Centre.

Provision of midwife or doctor at confinement.

Provision of hospital accommodation for complicated labour.

Post-natal advice and care for mother and child, both by visiting in the home and at Centres.

4. The Infant Mortality Rate for 1916 was the lowest ever recorded.

Perhaps only those who remember the up-hill work of fifteen or twenty years ago, when public interest slept peacefully, voluntary workers were few and far between, and Government Departments maintained a masterly inactivity, can fully appreciate the changes Time has already brought.

And yet:—

Something like 90,000 babies die each year before attaining twelve months of age.

Something like 100,000 babies die each year before they are born.

The Need for Redoubled Effort.

So, while our thankfulness for all that has been won is great, we cannot doubt that the battle still before us is of vast dimensions, and we enter "National Baby Week" strengthened with the faith that what has come to pass is but a foreshadowing of all that shall yet be.

What remains to be done? At what are we aiming in Baby Week?

First. First in importance, although not generally so considered by the trained worker, comes that for which Baby Week has been specifically organised: the rousing of public interest.

Although much has already been done in this direction, far more must be achieved. For, in the end, the wherewithal for those measures which are essential for the saving of mothers and children can only be obtained by the feeling of the country as a whole. When we realise that not merely grants in aid of schemes directly concerned with Maternity and Child Welfare, but such problems as housing, drainage, milk supply, water supply, research work in infectious diseases, and so on, depend for their adequate solution upon votes, and that votes entailing vast expenditure will not be accorded unless there is a tremendous force of public opinion demanding such measures, we shall not be inclined to underestimate the importance of stirring that opinion. Nor must we underrate the urgency of these large "Public Health" questions in connection with Maternity and infant Welfare. It is true that environment is

not everything. But while we may well abjure the teaching of those who, ignoring the personal element, make the whole question turn on material environment, we should no less avoid the equally untrue and less humane extreme which suggests that the main cause of the infant death rate is the poor mother's ignorance or wilful neglect. In order to give to her children an equal chance, we must not confine our efforts to home visiting, or even to provision of medical care; we must rouse the ratepayers of England to vote for those who will see that fresh-air, good water, well-built houses, and other necessities of healthy life are provided for the poor as well as for the rich.

Second. The "direct" work for Maternity and Infant Welfare needs to be increased and multiplied almost indefinitely. More midwives, more health visitors, a greater number of Centres for the care of mother and child (for the latter until it reaches school age), and, perhaps above all at the moment, provision of maternity homes for unmarried mothers in all districts, and proper provision for, and supervision of, illegitimate children, are some of the needs which the knowledge and enthusiasm given in Baby Week may help to meet.

Co-ordination of Voluntary and Official Work.

Third. Co-ordination of all work, whether voluntary or official, undertaken for the benefit of mothers and children.

The need that one Government Department only shall be concerned in work for mothers and young children throughout the country has been urged by many workers for years. The confusion, over-lapping, and, in some instances, deliberate competition resulting from the present system of dual control is deplorable. We may, however, pass it over with this glance



IDEAL CONDITIONS.

of recognition, trusting, as we do, that this, with many other anomalies, will cease on the formation of a Ministry of Health.

But when that Ministry is established, it will still have to work through mere human beings, men and women, prone, because of their humanity, to professional jealousies, class prejudices, religious bias, and the like. If the new co-ordination at the head be not carried further by co-operation between the members, little practical good will be achieved. Local difficulties vary with varying localities, but the spirit of unity, once engendered, will cope successfully with everything that threatens it.

The writer has recently urged that a Central Advisory Committee on Maternity and Child Welfare should be set up under the direction of the Local Government Board. Such a body should include representatives of all concerned—whether officially or voluntarily—with work among mothers and infants—e.g., the Local Government Board, the Insurance Commission, medical officers of health, medical practitioners, midwives, health visitors, voluntary societies, working women's associations, and religious societies (where such have taken up health work). It was felt that a committee thus constituted, sufficiently detached to see the problems as a whole, and yet so closely in touch with the actual work as to arrive at practical and practicable conclusions, should be able to bring about that co-ordination which is so often lacking in local efforts, and is yet so essential to success. Its members would grasp, and make plain to the bodies they represented, the absolute necessity of a coherent plan, united effort, and a definite aim. It would be more fully realised that, while individuals and specialised societies may well restrict their actual labours to some one aspect of Child Welfare, their sympathetic co-operation with all branches must be secured in order that their work may be welded into its place in that general scheme for Maternity and Infant Welfare which the Committee would have in view.

It is not the moment—while the question of the establishment of a Ministry of Health is under consideration—to press for the appointment of this Committee. It may, however, be borne in mind as desirable later on; and, in the meanwhile, we may all endeavour to bring about that spirit of unity, which signifies something deeper than co-operation.

ANNIE E. BARNES.

THE NATIONAL UNION'S WORK FOR MOTHERS AND BABIES.

At the beginning of the war the N.U.W.S.S. recognised the need for providing greater care of maternity, and joined with the Women's Co-operative Guild in promoting fresh maternity centres and extending the work of those already in existence. It placed one of its best organisers at the head of this side of its work, and urged its local societies to devote a large part of their activities to the same enterprise. Many societies of the Union have undertaken work of various kinds for the benefit of mothers and babies, but as our space is limited, we can mention only two.

The Nursery (READING WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY DAY NURSERY), which opened in September, 1914, takes in the children of mothers who go to work, or who are too ill to be able to give them proper care.

The report for the year ending March 31st, 1917, shows an average daily attendance of thirteen children, but as eighteen to twenty children are now coming daily, the average next year will be much higher. A room has just been opened, where the toddlers who have reached the advanced age of three do an hour's "lessons" daily—to their great and undisguised joy. The Nursery costs about £400 a year, and of this £200 is given in donations and subscriptions. More children could be taken if the staff could be added to. The Nursery is affiliated to the National Society of Day Nurseries, is recognised by the Board of Education, from which it receives an annual grant, and is registered under the War Charities Act (1916). The following sums have been sent recently in answer to appeals in THE COMMON CAUSE, and further help is most earnestly appealed for.

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The MATERNITY AND CHILD WELFARE CENTRE, which was established at St. George's Hall, Campden Hill, in March, 1916, under the auspices of the South Kensington Independent Branch of the London Society for Women's Suffrage, is making satisfactory progress. The Centre has now over 133 children's names on its books, and an average attendance of thirty. Dr. Mabel Paine attends one afternoon a week for the infant consultations, and the children are visited in their homes by a trained nurse and by voluntary visitors. The municipal health visitor attends for the purpose of weighing the babies, and a weighing machine has been provided by the Kensington Borough Council. Health talks are given to the mothers once a week. When advised by the doctor, milk is provided daily for the babies of some of the neediest mothers, who refund part of the cost when they can. The Centre is now a recognised institution in the neighbourhood, and it is hoped when sufficient funds can be obtained, to extend its sphere of usefulness.

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Speakers—

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Baby Week.

It is very significant that Baby Week should follow so closely the women's great victory in the House of Commons, and that large numbers of women all over the country should be demonstrating in this way their sense of collective responsibility for the future citizens. Before there was a question of enfranchising women, notwithstanding the sentimental reverence paid to the figure of the mother and child, it was not realised that mothers and babies mattered at all to the nation, or that they were anything more than a section of that private life of the male citizen with which the State must not concern itself. Treaties and taxation, company laws and the tenure of land, were the work of Statecraft, but the nursery lay outside its purview.

Statesmen knew that infant mortality was high, but apparently thought it was inevitable, and never realised that the mothers of the country could not save their babies unless conditions more favourable to child life were provided by the community. But gradually, as women struggled for, and acquired, more freedom to help in the State, this question, which is essentially a woman's question, has come to the front, and it is slowly being recognised that these little citizens, the wealth of the nation, can be saved by united effort, and that a baby dying needlessly in infancy is an outrage on Society more serious than theft or arson. But does the average citizen yet realise that this outrage is committed every five minutes, when a baby dies somewhere in the United Kingdom, and that a newly-born infant has less chance of living till this time next year than his soldier-father who is fighting in France?

Undoubtedly, this comparison with the terrible toll of life exacted by the war is bringing home to the average citizen the needless waste of child life, and the necessity for safeguarding it. But much education is still needed, education which will be given in Baby Week, to teach him that because of ignorance which is curable, because of improper conditions which are remediable, we are losing these babies who ought to grow up strong and healthy citizens, ready to work for their country, and we are allowing their brothers and sisters who survive to grow up as weaklings, handicapped in mind and body, and unfitted to take their place as useful citizens. Baby Week will teach that half of these lives might be saved, and that the simple hygienic measures which prevent death in babyhood are also the measures which lay the foundations in strong and healthy minds and in sound bodies for those who survive to be our future men and women.

But though next week is called "Baby Week," women must not forget that it is equally "Mothers' Week." The welfare of the child is inseparable from that of the mother, and it is vitally necessary that an enlightened and generous care of maternity should replace the present indifference and neglect. The vast majority of women have to bear and rear children under conditions which are most unfavourable to the mother and child. Out of the ordinary workman's wage there is no margin to provide for the expenses necessary to secure healthy conditions of child-birth, while, if the husband is ill or out of work, the fate of the mother is tragic. Overwork, unsuitable housing, and insufficient nourishment lead to conditions of mental worry and physical depression which react on the child, and constantly leave to both mother and child a legacy of serious ill-health. The care of the mother, therefore, must have equal consideration with that of the infant. Her welfare must be secured so that she may be capable of meeting with intelligence and energy the various responsibilities of motherhood and home life. A beginning has been made, but there is a crying need now for more adequate and more universal maternity services, open to all women, and administered with the help of working women, so that the circumstances of their own home life may be

suitably met and provided for. In addition, we need for the babies at least 1,000 more whole-time health visitors in England and Wales, and ten times as many Infant Welfare Centres, and it is in order to bring home to the average man and woman these pressing needs that Baby Week has been instituted. There must be greater recognition of our collective responsibility. Because it is fractional, it is none the less real. It only differs in degree and not in kind from our ordinary individual moral responsibility.

The nation is being daily punished for the failure of men citizens to accept their collective responsibility in the care of infant life, but now will be the opportunity for women with their new power to remedy this terrible and unnecessary loss of life. Every woman must help to set the national machine to work to care for all the mothers, and to make secure for every baby born into the United Kingdom a birthright of mental and bodily health.
A. R.

What the Women's Vote has Done for Children.

With curious frequency this objection is opposed to Women's Suffrage: "If women have the vote they will lose interest in the affairs of the home." The truth of the prognostication can be tested by reviewing the effects of the vote in countries where it has already been given to women. It receives no substantiation. In every country where Women's Suffrage has been adopted, and where sufficient time has elapsed to show its effect, no domestic upheaval has followed the enfranchisement of women, but in every case there has been a marked advance in social legislation, especially in that affecting women and children.

The statement is not inspired by prejudice. It is a conclusion reached by all countries which have ventured to convert Women's Suffrage from a party-cri to a political actuality. Australia gave women the federal franchise in 1902; in 1910 the Australian Senate passed a unanimous resolution to the effect that Women's Suffrage "has given a greater prominence to legislation particularly affecting women and children, although the women have not taken up such questions to the exclusion of those of wider significance." The ex-Minister of Defence and Lands in New Zealand gave it as his opinion that "giving votes to women has given a political power to the home . . . which goes for all that is best in political life." Instances of similar expressions of approval might be indefinitely multiplied. It is sufficient to summarise their content by stating that the practical result of Women's Suffrage is not to destroy women's interest in their homes, but to make that interest effective.

IMPROVING PRE-NATAL CONDITIONS.

Legislation affecting children, passed as the result of the enfranchisement of women, is of two kinds. There is that which benefits children indirectly by benefiting their parents—e.g., regulations affecting pre-natal conditions, and provisions for maintenance during early childhood. Such laws as that for the registration of midwives passed in 1914 by the New Zealand Parliament, the Norwegian Maternity Insurance Act of 1909, the Australian Maternity Allowance Act of 1912, the New Zealand Act of 1911, which raises old age and widows' pensions in cases where young children are dependent upon the pensioner, &c., &c., come under this heading.

Secondly, there is legislation which deals directly with children. This, again, can be subdivided into laws regulating the conditions of infancy, and those regulating the conditions of later childhood:—

SAFEGUARDING INFANCY.

(a) *Infancy*.—Immediately upon receiving the franchise women have always directed their efforts towards effecting a decrease in the rate of infant mortality. At the outset they have been arrested by the difficulty of providing for illegitimate children. This is a problem which every country has to face, and one with which women have peculiar sympathy. New Zealand enfranchised its women in 1893; in 1894 a law passed legitimatising a child whose parents married after its birth. In the Australian states women's action has been similar.

It has, perhaps, been most successful in South Australia. There Women's Suffrage was adopted in 1894. A series of laws, beginning with the State Children Act of 1895, have since been enacted securing status and maintenance to illegitimate children, and ensuring the father's making part provision for the support of the child. In Norway, where the franchise was not given until 1907, legitimate and illegitimate children have now equal rights.

Closely connected with legitimation laws are those regulating adoption. A girl on whom the burden of motherhood has fallen, but who, being unmarried, has no assistance in supporting her child, cannot be over particular into whose hands she entrusts it. Women are naturally especially alive to the dangers of neglect during babyhood and the need for regulation

of boarding-out conditions. One of the earliest results of Women's Suffrage in New Zealand was the law of 1895, which lays restrictions on the adoption of children and prohibits baby-farming.

A third set of measures, also aimed at reducing the infant mortality rate, are those laws which regulate the purity of food, and penalise the sale of any milk for infant consumption which is not clearly labelled to that effect. In New Zealand, all the Australian states, and Wyoming, such laws are the direct result of the active representations of the woman electors.

WATCHING OVER CHILDHOOD.

(b) *Childhood*.—The advance in education which has followed the enfranchisement of women has been most marked. In New Zealand, where before 1893 there was no compulsory education there is now compulsory education up to fourteen. There are State schools for the mentally defective, and State industrial continuation schools. There are free kindergartens, organised entirely by women, which receive a Government subsidy.

The same holds good in Australia and in the American States which have adopted Women's Suffrage. In Wyoming the State provides free kindergartens, and education is compulsory until sixteen. In Colorado, after the enfranchisement of women, the school population gained 25 per cent. in five years. The Colorado Bill providing a State industrial home for girl delinquents was defeated in 1892; Women's Suffrage was granted in 1893; and in 1895 the Bill passed.

Women's Suffrage has done much to improve labour conditions. In New Zealand no boy or girl under sixteen may now work more than forty-five hours a week, whereas in this country a child of fourteen may be worked about fifty-seven hours a week. In Australia a minimum age of fourteen has been fixed for factory work, and hours, wages, and night-work are regulated by the different States. In Colorado the Child Labour Law is one of the most comprehensive and satisfactory in existence. A legislative sphere in which women's influence has had particular effect is the protection of young girls in New Zealand, mainly through the political influence of women. The Criminal Code has been twice considered, so as to raise the age of consent from fourteen, first to fifteen, then to sixteen. In several Australian States it is seventeen, and in Victoria it was raised to eighteen in 1913.

Consideration of the reforms which Women's Suffrage has advanced leads to estimation of their cumulative effect. This can best be reached by considering the birth and death rates of countries which have enfranchised their women. In New Zealand, although the tendency of civilisation has been towards a decrease in the birth-rate, yet, as the result of social legislation, it is steadily rising. In 1881, its death-rate per 1,000 births of children under a year was 92 per cent.; in 1912, it had been reduced to 62 per cent. In Australia the rate of infant mortality in 1901 was 103½ per cent.; in 1902 women were enfranchised, and by 1910 it had fallen to 74½ per cent., while the birth-rate was rising. Now in England and Wales there is a steady fall in the birth-rate. Increase in the birth-rate alone would only go to show that women have succeeded in improving conditions of birth. Decrease in infant mortality proves more. It shows that women have not only enabled children to be born but to live. They have not only lighted the torch, but they have set it where the wind cannot blow it out. In place of the creation of life they have given the creation of healthy life.

This is an achievement not merely of domestic, but of national importance. It is to the interest of every country to have its children grow into healthy citizens capable of performing the full duties of citizenship. Women's Suffrage in practice has proved beyond question that what is necessary for a nation's proper expansion is to have the interests of the home represented and provided for from a double point of view.

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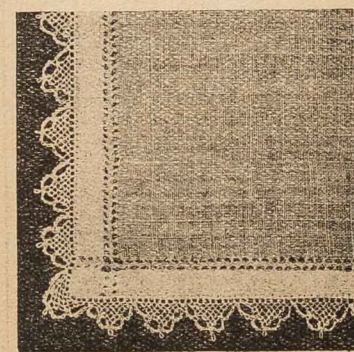
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The Feeding of School Children.

At a Conference, held on June 14th in the Fabian Hall, Tothill Street, it was urged that national provision should be made for the feeding of school children.

Miss SUSAN LAWRENCE took the Chair, and in her opening address explained that the object of the Conference was to get something done immediately by existing laws and existing machinery. Children should have the first claim upon certain foodstuffs, such as milk and sugar, and it was urgent that proper supplies should be provided for them. Sugar and other commodities which form the chief food of the working classes, were hardest to get in the poorest districts, and children were already suffering. Working women were told to use substitutes, but it was very difficult for them to arrange a meal of substitutes, especially when they went out to work. But this could easily be done by the Education Authority. The machinery already existed for providing meals in the elementary schools, and it was the duty of the Education Authority to do so for all children who were not being properly fed. The Board of Education should bring pressure to bear upon the Local Authorities to provide meals, and public opinion must be brought to bear upon this question also.

The feeding of children in school (not necessarily free of charge) would have several advantages:—

1. It would secure that suitable food should be within reach of any child.
2. It would popularise the use of substitutes.
3. It would be more economical and, above all, would check the waste of bread, large quantities of which are at present thrown away by little children to whom it has been given for lunch.

Mrs. DRAKE moved a resolution, the gist of which was that in the event of real shortage children must have the first claim on the national food supply. Under-feeding, she said was more harmful to children than to adults, yet in the event of a serious shortage of food children would be the first affected, unless steps were taken to guard against this. The fighting men and the munition workers would have arrangements made for them first; it was urgent that arrangements should be made also for the children. There were already definite signs of underfeeding among children, especially among those between ten and fourteen years of age, who were beginning to need more food. Working class mothers were having extraordinary difficulties in feeding their children. Even if the mother had knowledge enough to use substitutes, the children would not always eat them.

All the machinery for feeding school children was there, and could be used and expanded. Feeding the children in this way would help those families who were in the most urgent need, and would help also many people who would not avail themselves of assistance so long as it was regarded in any way as charitable relief.

Mr. BRAMLEY (a member of the National Amalgamated Association of Furnishing Trades) said that the necessity for Government action was already fully proved. If the children were to be properly fed, the Government must control the milk supply, and not allow milk and other foods to be wasted. All possible influence must be brought to bear on Government Departments to secure the provision of food for the children.

With regard to housing, Lord Rhondda had told a deputation the other day that he hoped to save 1,000 babies a week during his tenure of office. This was an official admission that 52,000 a year died from preventable causes. It was a disgrace to the country that the money had been grudged for saving the lives of children.

During the war it was not possible to do much in the way of saving lives through housing reform, but everything possible must be done to save the children from want of food.

Mr. KELLY, of the Workers' Union, said that there was need for raising such strong public feeling that the authorities would be bound to act.

People were themselves largely to blame if they could not obtain their fair share of supplies. In many districts they submitted to bad conditions far too meekly. In Woolwich the Co-operative Society had made a stand and got their supply of sugar; and this was an example of what could be done.

The following resolution was passed:—

"In view of a possible shortage of foodstuffs this meeting calls upon Local Education Authorities and Public Health Authorities to set in motion at once the machinery for the feeding of school children, and provide machinery for the feeding of nursing mothers and children under school age, and further calls upon the Board of Education and the Local Government Board to commandeer, if necessary, a sufficient supply of suitable kinds of food, making the children a first charge on the national food supply."

Work of the N.U.W.S.S. for Babies in Russia.

OUR MATERNITY UNIT IN PETROGRAD.

Of all the countries of Europe it is undoubtedly in Russia that the problem of child welfare is most acute: Petrograd has the unenviable distinction of the highest infant mortality of any city in the world, except Bombay, and the almost incredible death-rate of 40 per cent. of the children under three is attributed to Russia as a whole. To this many causes are contributory. The climate, with its short hot summer bringing dysentery and gastric troubles, and its prolonged, intensely cold, winter, when the children are, of necessity, shut up in highly-warmed houses, sometimes for weeks at a time (frost below a certain temperature directly affecting their breathing), makes them very sensitive to all lung and bronchial diseases, deprives them of appetite, and lowers their whole vitality. Sanitary conditions are deplorable even in the big towns, and housing, especially since the war, could hardly be worse. Moreover, the sex immorality, which is rampant all through the country, and which constitutes one of Russia's worst problems, is stamped very plainly on many of her babies and children in a terrible heritage of disease and imbecility. There are huge foundling hospitals in Moscow and Petrograd, where infants may be left and no questions are asked, nor are the parents ever obliged to claim them again or contribute to their support. The mortality in these, as might be expected, is appallingly high—one of the institutions contains nearly 1,000 children. Throughout Russia the babies of every class are breast-fed, either by the mother or by a wet nurse: undoubtedly this makes for health as a rule, but, in a large institution for instance, it has also obvious drawbacks.

Dirt and ignorance are, of course, the worst foes of child welfare in every country, but in Russia the depths of them are horrifying, and superstition and fatalism complete their sinister work. Epidemics of small-pox, malignant scarlet fever, diphtheria, measles, &c., are apt to rage the whole winter through in towns and villages, and in Moscow, the best organised and most advanced town in Russia, they told me that 75 per cent. of the children died of measles in the autumn of 1915, following on the great retreat of the refugees from the war-zone. This retreat has also left Russia a difficult heritage in many hundreds of thousands of orphaned or lost babies and

children, large numbers of whom have been unscrupulously exploited and corrupted.

It is a black picture, but educated Russians are alive to its seriousness, and excellent beginnings have been made to improve matters. There is a network of municipal maternity hospitals in the big towns, which are much above the level of the ordinary hospitals, and are served by the best doctors, both men and women. All that I saw were beautifully clean, with good equipment, and all midwives have to pass through a two years' training. The patients are received free (or in some cases for a very small sum), and the people make use of these hospitals as a matter of course. There is also a wonderful baby clinic in Moscow, with a free dispensary and consulting-room attached; and they dispense admirable picture post-cards and educational pamphlets to the mothers.

In Petrograd the work was begun—I think some forty years ago—by a heroic doctor, who with very small funds and much difficulty, established a "goutte-de-lait," and did wonderful work. On his death the Emperor, as a tribute to his memory, endowed the Society with a million roubles. It has a first-rate "School for Mothers," where the women may stay for three weeks previous to their confinement (for which they are sent to the neighbouring maternity hospital), and up to six weeks subsequently. A resident lady doctor is in charge, there is free consultation and advice for all. Careful records and statistics are kept, and it is a pity that as yet full use is apparently not made of this institution. The Society has gradually expanded until it has branches in towns all over Russia, which are managed by local committees, and receive financial help and advice from headquarters. This Society was most anxious that the Millicent Fawcett Hospitals should co-operate with it and start some schools for mothers on English lines, and we much regretted that the scheme, for various reasons, proved impracticable. For eight months, however, we had a maternity hospital in Petrograd for the masses of refugee women, chiefly Poles, who were pouring into the city. It was charmingly furnished and equipped, and was much admired, while the women were extremely happy, and the babies, for the most part, flourished exceedingly. Each woman, when she left, was given a complete baby outfit (including a square wadded quilt) by our Ambassador, who throughout took the greatest interest in the hospital and worked indefatigably for its welfare.



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Notification of Pregnancy.

At a time when so much is being done, and rightly so, to ameliorate the lot of the expectant mother, it is necessary occasionally to remind the authorities of her separate existence as a normal human being, with opinions, tastes, fancies, and rights of her own. A speaker at a recent meeting reminded the health workers present that a pregnant woman was neither a drain nor a dairy, and could not be inspected as such. And any attempt to ignore this elemental fact by official coercion, however cunningly masked, is sure in the end to defeat its own object.

There is a profound truth in the statement of a great writer that "It is a Long Worm that has no Turning," and signs are not wanting that that long-suffering worm, the British working class mother, is turning at last. She is quite resigned to the fact that she has no voice whatever in her children's education, and very little in the matter of their health. She submits with silent fury to being threatened with a summons by the ex-policeman who so frequently officiates as attendance officer, for having three times in one term kept her thirteen-year-old daughter at home for a day without a "sistifkit"; she endures with innate courtesy (tempered perchance by a sense of gratitude for possible favours to come) the invasion of her home by official, semi-official, and voluntary visitors, each with some regulation to enforce, some piece of advice to offer, or some information to extract, though, in the last case, her talent for answering questions by telling everything but the fact enquired for preserves privacy to a certain extent. But hitherto one matter has been considered entirely her own affair till she chose to reveal her condition to the confidant of her choice—namely, the fact of her pregnancy.

And it will surprise many to hear that strenuous efforts are being made in certain quarters to enforce notification of pregnancy to the local health authorities by bribing or bullying the midwives into handing over a list of their patients in order that a health visitor may be sent to instruct the latter in ante-natal hygiene or recommend medical advice, duties which the syllabus and rules of the Central Midwives' Board rightly place in the hands of the midwife. If, therefore, the latter is keeping her rules, the unfortunate mother is subjected to a double cross-examination, and, as few health visitors have as much experience as a practising midwife, it is simply a waste of her time.

The most aggressive of these efforts have been balked by the energetic resistance of trained midwives and district nurses, but the policy is being none the less pursued, nominally with the consent of the mother, but with no means of insuring that she really knows what is involved, and that she has a perfect right to refuse to answer any questions.

As an example of the unscrupulous way in which the campaign has been carried on, one medical officer of health sent out a form headed "Local Government Board Maternity Regulations, 1915," with orders that the midwives were to make a weekly return of all cases booked. A few timid old *bonâ fide* midwives, alarmed by this official bluff, obeyed the order, but the trained ones, including those working for the local district nursing association, absolutely refused to do so on the grounds that there were no such regulations, that it would

be a breach of professional confidence, that as the ante-natal visiting was part of their work it was unnecessary, and, finally, that the worry of official visits would deter the mothers from early booking, which all midwives encourage to the utmost, and so increase the number of emergency cases, to the great disadvantage both of mother and child.

In another place the forms demanded a complete obstetrical history of the case, the husband's occupation and earnings, and a list of the underclothing, &c., in the woman's possession, the document to be sent through the halfpenny post and filed at the Town Hall, at the mercy of any busybody who chose to unfold it. In another, a bribe of half-a-crown is offered—a sum which few midwives are in a position to disregard.

Some of these forms are now headed "Voluntary Notification," in deference to the statement in the L.G.B. Circular of 1915, that the "formal and intelligent consent" of the mother must be given. But there is no space for her signature or her husband's, and the attitude of the victims of this blundering intrusion into the privacy of home life is best known to those midwives who are bravely fighting for the woman's right to keep her secret to herself if she chooses. "I didn't have none of this bother when I engaged with a doctor the first time, nor last time when I had you. If I'd known I'd have left it to the last, and chanced it," said one, who had even received postcards referring to her condition.

In his "Milroy" Lecture of 1916, Dr. Moore, of Huddersfield, urged that the universal notification of pregnancy should be required at once, and at a meeting of the Royal Society of Medicine in the same year, he read a paper on the subject, after which Professor Munro Kerr, of Glasgow, suggested that the penalty inflicted on the mother for failing to do so should be a reduction of the maternity benefit. We wonder how he would propose to enforce it in a court of law! We can readily imagine a canny mother of twelve replying to an interrogating magistrate: "Weel, sir; whiles I thoct it micht be, and whiles I thoct it michtn't. And ma gude man said: 'Better be on the safe side and say naught aboot it; there's mony a wumman been mista'en and ony gate, A canna thole they busybodies frae the Toon Ha' speirin' aboot oor affairs. And sae I juist ganged ma ain gate till the nicht we had oor first green grosart tert, and I said aboot three o'clock to Sandy, wud he no gang for auld Luckie Scairbairn the howdie, and see if she thinks it's a case for the doctor. And juist as she passed the yett, the bairn cam' to toon."

It is peculiarly undesirable in the case of the single girl. Is she likely to seek the help and advice she needs if it involves bringing a brisk young health visitor from the Town Hall, armed with forms, to enquire into the details she has already given to the motherly friend and confidant who perhaps brought her and all her brothers and sisters into the world?

This hatred of publicity will no doubt militate against the success of the municipal midwife, whose appointment is thought by some to solve the problem of proper attendance on the lying-in woman. Already a marked preference is often shown for a private midwife (who will keep to herself what she knows about a family) over one working for an association, who is obliged to report to a superintendent, and she, in her turn, to her committee, composed of the wives of the local residents, including clergy, doctors, and tradespeople. And as the municipal midwife will be entirely under the thumb of the health authorities and all her books open to their inspection, notification of pregnancy will be obtained automatically where she is appointed.

Fortunately, public opinion is still sufficiently strong against it to prevent any Act being passed to that effect. Sir Francis Champneys, Chairman of the Central Midwives' Board, has denounced it unsparingly, and the societies best qualified to give an opinion on the matter, the Queen Victoria's Jubilee Institute for Nurses and the Incorporated Midwives' Institute, unhesitatingly declare their disapproval of it.

It is not by such methods that the women of this country will be taught to realise the importance of placing themselves early in pregnancy under the care of a doctor or midwife. Rather will it, as Dr. Amand Routh says in a letter to *The British Medical Journal* of July 29th, 1916, cause them "to delay engaging their doctor or consulting him when ill." No, the remedy lies, as Dr. Donald says, "not in statistics and notification, but in education and research." And one of the most important factors in the former is the encouragement of the well-educated, highly-trained, and enthusiastic midwife to practise her calling free from harassing interference, instead of driving her from it to engage in less arduous, difficult, and responsible work at a higher rate of pay, as is only too often the case at present.

CERTIFIED MIDWIFE BY EXAMINATION.



Safeguarding the Babies

Healthy children are a nation's most profitable form of wealth, and to look back over the statistics of child mortality in this country is to behold an appalling record of spendthrift waste of precious human material.

Tragic Truths

In times such as these there should be a universal revolt against conditions which destroy 90,000 children under the age of one year and 90,000 unborn babies in twelve months in England and Wales alone. Between 1911 and 1914 more than a quarter of the total number of deaths were those of children under five—and in its children lies the Nation's hope. Failing them, victory will prove but Dead Sea fruit.

Half, at least, of the losses could be prevented. What the men and women of the United Kingdom have to realise to-day is that false economy in this matter, cheeseparing on account of the war or any other excuse, will prove fatal in the long run. A depopulated, diseased Britain will mean in the years to come that the blood so freely poured out in her defence will have been spilt in vain. And that is a thought which cannot be endured.

The War Against Ignorance

The National Baby Week Committees tell us that our high infant mortality is "the result of bad housing, unsuitable home conditions, and ignorance." These are man-made causes, and therefore can be removed. The campaign against them during this century has already succeeded in considerably curtailing the death-roll of infants, but much more remains to be done. There is still, for instance, an astonishing amount of ignorance prevalent among mothers of every rank, but especially among the poorer classes, who have everything against them from the very start. Thence the necessity for an increase in the quantity and quality of the domestic economy teaching in the schools, for more infant welfare centres, nursery schools, and schools for mothers.

There are about 800,000 babies born annually in England and Wales; there are about 600 salaried Health Visitors to be responsible for them—that is to say, one visitor for about every 1,300 babies. There should be at least three times that number. Similarly with infant welfare centres, of which between 800 and 900 exist, while between 8,000 and 9,000 are needed.

The Cost to the Community

A competent Health Visitor can be secured for £150 per annum; an infant welfare centre costs yearly about £375. It may be roughly estimated that the necessary health visitors and welfare centres could be provided at a cost of £1 per birth per year. Half of this would be

provided by Government grants; the rest could be covered by the product of a 3d. rate.

An extra halfpenny, then, added to the rates would be the price of adequate care for the country's children; but what may be the cost to the community if the necessary measures are neglected who can calculate?

More Lions in the Path

In addition to ignorance there are material handicaps, such as bad housing and unsuitable conditions, to fight against; and here too a winning battle is possible, because science has evolved the practical apparatus necessary for hygienic and comfortable living. It only remains to bring this apparatus within the reach of all, and here again public opinion must be enlightened.

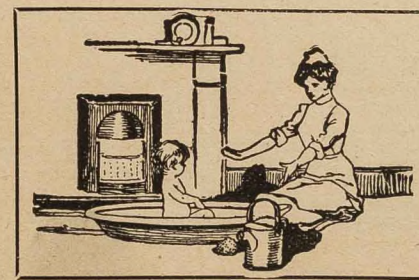
All these vast and important questions of public health and domestic and social science in their varied aspects and different branches have been carefully studied by the Gas Industry through its representative public service organisation, the British Commercial Gas Association; and it has, in its particular province and on a sound business basis, steadily aimed at helping to improve the conditions of human life and advance the cause of progress in every sphere where this can be attained by the use of modern methods of lighting, cooking, heating, water-heating, power generation and refuse destruction.

An Enlightened Industry

The gas industry, believing in good public service as a duty which brings its own reward, has always identified itself with public health work of every kind, and not least with the campaign against infant mortality. It has served infant welfare work directly by the systematic study of the domestic conditions attaching to every type of nursery, private or communal, and indirectly by attempts to improve, through urging the use of smokeless fuel, (a) housing conditions generally; (b) the hygiene of factory and workshop; (c) the equipment of schools; (d) the atmospheric purity in large towns, and (e) the prevailing methods of refuse disposal.

Further information, in addition to the practical points mentioned in the inset panel, on the specific ways in which gas apparatus can be used with advantage in houses and all institutions devoted to the care of children, will be found in a pamphlet entitled "Safeguarding the Babies," which is an illustrated amplification of this page.

Readers who could make use of free copies of this pamphlet are invited to apply to the Secretary, The British Commercial Gas Association, 47, Victoria Street, S.W. 1, who will also be pleased to supply any other necessary information and assistance.



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Staffed by Women Jubilee Year
AN APPEAL
is being made for donations and subscriptions towards endowing some of the beds in commemoration of the Jubilee Year. Contributions to this Fund, or for General Purposes will be gratefully acknowledged.
IMOGEN H. MURPHY, Secretary

The Challenge
The Illustrated Church of England Weekly.
EVERY FRIDAY. ONE PENNY
The wider recognition of Women's Contribution to the Affairs of Church and State is one of the vital problems constantly dealt with.
Among those who contribute are Mrs. Creighton, Mrs. Luke Paget, Miss A. Maude Royden, Miss Ruth Rouse, Miss Gertrude Tuckwell, Mrs. Pember Reeves, &c.
A Specimen Copy will be sent to readers of 'The Common Cause' on application. You should find THE CHALLENGE on sale at all bookstalls, but if you have any difficulty or would prefer it sent direct, a copy will be posted to you for 15 weeks if you send 1s. 6d. to THE MANAGER, THE CHALLENGE, EFFINGHAM HOUSE, ARUNDEL STREET, LONDON, W.C.

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"Now, cannot I buy that from an Advertiser in THE COMMON CAUSE?"
Only the very best firms have been admitted to our columns, as the list will prove, and we are confident that practically all our readers' requirements can be satisfied at one or other of them. Readers must remember that an advertiser does not feel justified in spending money in a paper, however much he may sympathise with its objects, unless he can show a return; and this can only be proved if our readers will bear in mind to mention THE COMMON CAUSE when purchasing and paying bills. A paper depends for its revenue mainly upon the support it receives from advertisers; therefore do your share in helping our paper by buying exclusively from our advertisers and telling them why you are doing so.
The Manager will be glad to receive suggestions with regard to firms who are selling suitable goods for our columns, and a representative will be sent to report on any novelty, labour-saving device, or any articles of dress, &c., which may be of interest to our readers.

- The following well-known firms, among others, are constant advertisers in our columns:
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Notes from Headquarters.

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.
President: MRS. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.
Hon. Secretaries: MISS VIOLET EUSTACE, MRS. OLIVER STRACHEY (Parliamentary), MISS EVELYN ATKINSON (Literature).
Hon. Treasurer: MRS. AUBRECH.
Secretary: MISS EDITH STOPFORD.
Offices: Parliament Chambers, 14, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.1.
Telegraphic Address—Voiceless, London. Telephone—4673 Vic.

This has been a pleasant week for Suffragists, and the different generations have been exchanging congratulations. The present workers have never realised more keenly than they do at this moment that they have only been building on a structure already raised by the devotion of their predecessors. Mrs. Fawcett, of course, belongs to both generations. Among Suffragists of the older generation, with whom she and the present Executive Committee have exchanged letters or messages, are:—Mrs. Bateson, Miss Emily Davies, LL.D., Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmey, Miss Gurney, Mrs. Hallett, Mrs. Haslam, Mr. Merrifield, Mrs. Petrie Mills, Mrs. Pennington, Lady Strachey, and Mrs. H. B. Taylor.

The National Union Office has been working at high pressure in these critical days. There has been a constant coming and going, and great pressure on many departments. On Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday of last week the office was open till "all hours," and refreshments were provided for members who had come from a distance to hear the fate of the Suffrage Cause. Now we have settled down again to waiting and watching and routine work. There is plenty to be done and holidays will not be possible for most members of the Committee and Staff until Parliament has risen.

It has been a pleasure to welcome Mrs. Elborough back from Russia, where she has been acting as administrator to the Millicent Fawcett Unit. With her usual timeliness she arrived just in time for the exciting days last week.

1917 Franchise Fund.

Table with 2 columns: Name and Amount. Includes entries like 'Already acknowledged', 'Miss Susan Clough', 'Riding Federation', etc.

Mrs. Fawcett's Birthday Presents.

Table with 2 columns: Name and Amount. Includes entries like 'Miss F. M. Sterling', 'Mrs. Stewart Jones'.

Contributions to the General Fund.

Table with 2 columns: Name and Amount. Includes entries like 'Already acknowledged since November 1st, 1916', 'Received from June 18th to 23rd, 1917', 'SUBSCRIPTIONS', 'AFFILIATION FEES'.

IMPORTANT.

Postal Orders should be crossed and filled in N.U.W.S.S. Treasury Notes should be treated like coins, and always registered. If any contributions remain more than two days unacknowledged, please write at once to the Secretary, N.U.W.S.S., 14, Great Smith Street, Westminster, S.W. 1. Please address letters containing money either to the Secretary or to Mrs. Auerbach, or Miss Sterling, by name, not to the Treasurer.

The Millicent Fawcett Hospital Units.

Table with 2 columns: Name and Amount. Includes entries like 'Already acknowledged', 'Miss Lucy Mason', 'Brentwood Girls' Social Club', etc.

SUPPORT OUR ADVERTISERS and mention THE COMMON CAUSE when ordering goods.

Correspondence.

CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

MADAM,—May I reply now to Miss Neilans' letter in your issue of May 25th, as unfortunately my copy of that date was not delivered to me at the time?

(1) In reply to her first question, I would say that it is for women to find a way to enforce the equal administration of the law between men and women, but we can never hope to do that until we are willing to regard living on the earnings of prostitution as unlawful for a woman, as living on the earnings of a prostitute is unlawful for a man.

(2) My answers (to Miss Neilans' question whether we want to penalise men who buy sexual intercourse) is Yes, provided the men are over twenty-one years of age.

(3) I shall be grateful if Miss Neilans will refer me to any attempt made in the past to penalise paid fornication as distinct from fornication. If penalties had ever been laid on women on account of their receiving payment for fornication, I do not think one would now meet with the mental attitude one does now meet with among prostitutes, and also among some "highly respectable" women. There is a school of morality which condemns a woman in proportion as she sells herself cheap—they do not condemn her for selling herself. In this school the woman who commits fornication without thought of economic gain is more condemned than she who commits the same offence for gain. It appears to me that this school of morality which penetrates all ranks of society has much to do with making the descent into Avernus easy. There is great need for clear thinking as to why we condemn the prostitute. Until we are clear on this, I doubt whether we can rightly answer the question how to treat her. If paid fornication were recognised as unlawful in law, it would still be practised, doubtless—just as men and women live by whole-time or part-time robbery. But because we cannot eliminate robbery is no reason for making it lawful. It is, however, a reason for revising the treatment we give to convicted robbers.

(4) Clandestine unpaid fornication is scattered through every class of society already. It is a much more subtle and difficult problem. So far as my observation goes, it does not lead the woman into the lowest depths as paid fornication does. I agree that if paid fornication were penalised there would be an increase in the amount of unpaid fornication; but there would, in my opinion, be a distinct decrease in the total number of women guilty of fornication, and a still more marked decrease in the total frequency of fornication. ERIC EVANS.

"THE COMMON CAUSE" HUT.

Books are still wanted for the rest room library, and should be sent direct to Miss Acland Hood, THE COMMON CAUSE HUT (Y.W.C.A.), Park Road, Coventry. Some very nice books have been received with no cards inside, for which Miss Acland Hood is most grateful.

GREETINGS FROM OVERSEAS.

From the West Australian National Council of Women to Mrs. Fawcett:—

DEAR MADAM,—My Council has desired me to convey to you, and your Association, their hearty congratulations on the fact that the British Government at last holds out the hand of fellowship to the women of Great Britain, on the question of granting them the Franchise. We earnestly trust that the efforts of your old and tried supporters in this direction, as well as those of the newly made converts to the justice of your claim, will be crowned with success.

That all parties should unite and endeavour to give to you that privilege which Australian women have exercised for a considerable period, is only the rightful due of Englishwomen who have acquitted themselves so nobly in this terrible time of world trial.

Again congratulating you on the progress made over this most important matter.

EDITH D. COWAN, President.

From the Dutch Women's Suffrage Society:—

Amsterdam 0271 25 20/6 3 18N.
Mrs. Fawcett, 2, Gower Street, London.
The Dutch Woman Suffrage Society send the women of Great Britain hearty congratulations on their Government's decision.

JACOBS MANUS.

OBITUARY.

We regret to announce the death, on June 8th, at Tunbridge Wells, of Dorothy de Jersey de Le Lacheur, daughter of L. J. Le Lacheur, Esq., of the Wilderness, Tunbridge Wells.

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Nainsook NIGHT GOWNS in fine quality embroidered in pretty designs, American style, short sleeves.
Usual price, 8/11. SALE PRICE, 6/11.
Flowered Muslin MORNING WRAPPER, large collar of lace and embroidery, cuffs to match, beading at waist, threaded ribbon, slightly soiled.
Usual price, 21/9. SALE PRICE, 10/11.
Taffeta Silk PETTICOAT, deep gauged flounce, edged narrow frill. Colours: Champagne, Grey, Nigger, Old Rose, Pink, Sky.
Usual price, 14/11. SALE PRICE, 12/11.
Children's Wash FROCKS, American style, various colours and designs: 22, 24, 26, 28 inches.
Usual price, 6/11. SALE PRICE, 4/11.
Girls' PANAMA HATS in various fittings and sizes for ages from 2 to 12 years.
Usual prices, 14/11. SALE PRICE, 10/11.
Girls' White Voile and Muslin FROCKS, trimmed self-embroidery, in several designs and sizes.
Usual prices, 21/9. SALE PRICE, 15/11.
HOSIERY.
Very special offer in Ladies' white all-wool "Pesco" COMBINATIONS, summer weight, in high and low leg, short sleeves, guaranteed unshrinkable. Splendid wearing.
Usual price, 12/11; out size, 13/11. SALE PRICE, 9/11; out size, 10/11.
Bargain in Ladies' Summer Directoire KNICKERS, elastic waist and knee bands, in white and black, large range of colours; good wearing.
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GLOVES.
Exceptional Offer in Ladies' 3-button White Glacé KID GLOVES, plain points, elastic skins, good cleaning.
Usual price 2/11 1/2. SALE PRICE 1/11 1/2.
Bargain in Ladies' Real KID GLOVES, Saxe, Emerald, and Helio shades only. Very pliable skins; excellent wearing.
Usual price 3/11 1/2. SALE PRICE 2/ per pair.
MILLINERY.
The entire Stock of our Model MILLINERY reduced to three prices:—
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Sale Bargains in Neckwear, Embroideries, and Overalls.
Dainty Sailor Shape COLLARS of good Crêpe de Chine, with two hem-stitched hems, in Ivory Pink, Champagne, and Sky.
Usual price, 2/11 1/2. SALE PRICE, 1/11 1/2.
Pretty Muslin FLOUNCINGS, beautifully embroidered in small designs, suitable for Children's Frocks, 27 inches wide.
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Very Special Value in FLOUNCINGS, beautifully embroidered on fine longcloth, in several charming designs; 27 inches wide.
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Continued from page 159]

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