

Not to be taken away

The Common Cause

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Extend the Franchise Now	100
Our Out-of-Work Problem, by Mrs. Heitland	101
The Position of Women in the Civil Service	101
From Semi to Full Citizenship, by Mrs. Martina G. Kramers	102
Women and the Priesthood	102
Five Novels	103
Reports	104

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Notes and News.

Women Suffrage through Congress.

Just after we went to press last week we had the good news that the American Senate had passed the Women's Suffrage Amendment to the Federal Constitution by fifty-six votes to twenty-five. Our readers will remember that the House of Representatives passed the amendment on May 23rd by three hundred and four votes to eighty-five. The amendment is therefore through Congress. It now has to be confirmed by three-fourths of the State Legislatures. We believe, however, that there is no doubt of the result, and that we may look forward with confidence to the full enfranchisement of American women. British women in all parts of the Empire will wish to send heartfelt congratulations to all their fellow-suffragists in the States. For more than fifty years we have struggled side by side with them, sometimes a little ahead of them, sometimes following their lead, always in warm sympathy and close co-operation. Since we have had our imperial vote we have been most impatient that they should have theirs. We hail this victory with as much delight as if it were our own.

The Suffrage Bill in France.

Three weeks ago we had the joy of announcing that the Chambre des Députés had passed by 344 votes to 97 a measure granting full suffrage and eligibility to women. At the same time we gave some extracts from the first part of the debate. The full official report is now in our hands, and although we hope very shortly to publish an account of all that happened from an eye-witness, we think that in the meantime our readers will like to have a summary of the events that led up to this remarkable vote. It will be remembered that the whole affair arose out of the report of a Government Commission on Universal Suffrage. This report recommended that women over thirty should be allowed to vote for the *conseils municipaux* and *conseils d'arrondissements* (which roughly correspond to our Parish, Borough, and Urban District Councils), and should be eligible to sit on them, and that they should have the vote, without eligibility for the *conseils généraux*, which correspond to our County Councils. The Bill for this purpose was introduced on behalf of the Commission by its secretary, Monsieur Pierre-Etienne Flandin, on May 8th. His suffrage arguments were so excellent and so far-reaching that it seemed strange that they should serve to introduce such a very small measure. The reason for the extreme moderation of the proposal appeared, however, in the course of the debates. It was designed to pacify

not the Chamber but the Senate, a much more conservative body, and one which is believed to be exceedingly opposed to Women's Suffrage. This was the reason not only for the omission of any claim for the Parliamentary vote for women, but also for not demanding eligibility for the *conseils généraux*, which help to elect the Senate, and are, therefore, regarded as particularly important by Senators. The compromise was justified by its supporters not only on the ground that it would probably get through, and would therefore turn out preferable to any magnificent failure, but also as good in itself. They said that although logic required that if women had political rights at all they should be equal rights with those of men, history showed that the right way to give women's suffrage was by instalments; this was the course that England and America and Norway had followed with success, and it was also the right one for France.

Three Kinds of Criticism.

In the course of the long debates on May 8th, 15th, and 20th, the compromise was subjected to criticism from three distinct points of view. There was, first, the open opposition of old-fashioned anti-suffragists like Monsieur Lefebvre du Prey, who rehearsed all the war-worn arguments which we have known so long in England—the different nature of women from men, their fundamental unfitness for political life, the break-up of the home that must result from enfranchising them, and all the rest. Then, there were the "wrecking amendment" proposals of those who said "You must give women all or nothing," admitting, when pressed, that for the present they thought the only safe course was to give nothing. Lastly, there was the frank dissatisfaction of those Deputies who had been wholeheartedly converted to Women's Suffrage, and who thought it would be quite unworthy of the Republic to stop at a half-way house, and not to follow justice and logic to the end.

First Two Days of the Debate.

The determination of many of the Deputies to pass a wide measure of Women's Suffrage was evident from the beginning of the debate. On May 8th, Monsieur Bracke announced that the Socialists would try to amend the measure so as to extend full suffrage and eligibility to women. No division was taken that day, and on May 15th the supporters of the compromise had to face first the open enemies and then the false friends. After a good deal of discussion, however, a division was taken as to whether the Chamber should proceed to discuss the clauses of the Bill, and it decided to do so by 330 votes to 218. In English Parliamentary language we might say that the House passed the Second Reading of the Bill, and referred it to a committee of the whole House. After that, what we should call the Committee Stage began. Much time was taken up by the discussion of a Family Suffrage amendment, moved by Monsieur Rouleaud Dugage. He proposed that the franchise should be extended to all French people, irrespective of sex or age; the vote of minors to be exercised by their parents or guardians. His aim was, of course, to encourage large families. The amendment was negatived on a division by 219 votes to 200.

An Historic Day.

May 20th was the critical day of the debate. Two amendments were down, in the names of Monsieur Jean Bon and Monsieur Louis Andrieux, with the same object, that of giving full suffrage and eligibility to women. Monsieur Andrieux agreed to support Monsieur Bon, and both vigorously defended the more courageous course of action. But the excitement of the day was the magnificent speech by Monsieur Rene Viviani—surely one of the best suffrage speeches that have ever been made in any Parliament. This seems really to have carried the day. It was received with immense enthusiasm. When this had died down

Monsieur Aristide Briand coolly pointed out that though the compromise measure was justified by its supporters on the ground that it would pacify the Senate, it would not really have this effect, as it gave women the vote for the *conseils généraux*, the very bodies about which Senators feel most anxious. The Chamber might as well, therefore, support the wider measure. Monsieur Bracke, on behalf of the Socialist group, asked all those members who had previously agreed to vote for his amendment to support this one of Monsieur Bon's, since it had the same purpose, that of giving full suffrage and eligibility to all adult women. A division was taken, and there voted for the amendment 344 against 97. It was therefore declared carried by a majority of 247 votes. A second clause of the amendment providing that for a month after the promulgation of the Act the Parliamentary Register should be kept open to receive the names of new electors, was accepted in the name of the Commission by its president, Monsieur Varenne, who said that although the Commission hardly dared to congratulate themselves on the vote that had just been taken, he thought they might well do so, as it was they who had raised the question of Women's Suffrage in the Chamber. A third clause extending the operation of the new Franchise Law to Algeria was also accepted, and the Commission asked the Chamber to agree to their Bill as amended. This was done, and Adult Suffrage with full eligibility for all the women of France and Algeria, was thus declared to be the policy of the French Chamber. May 20th, 1919, was an historic day for the Suffrage cause, and for the French people.

Monsieur Viviani and Family Life.

In the course of his magnificent speech, Monsieur Viviani poured contempt on the anti-suffragist thesis that giving votes to women would destroy the integrity of family life. That, he said, had already been destroyed by the economic developments of the last fifty years. He went on to speak of the actual fate of girls of the bourgeois class, in a terrible descriptive passage, which one can hardly read without seeing again in one's mind those scenes from Brieux's play "Les trois filles de Monsieur Dupont," which made such a deep impression when it was produced in England. Afterwards, he described the working-class mother, forced to go out to the factory and leave her child at an institution, and showed how the present industrial conditions have made any home life that is worth having almost impossible for the families of the poor. "After this," he said, "do not let any one talk to me of our 'Family Life,' and say that we shall be corrupting or destroying it by letting women drop votes into a ballot box twice in four years."

Must Liberty Await Demand?

Replying to the argument that women do not want the vote, Monsieur Viviani showed that no set of human beings has ever unanimously demanded its own enfranchisement. When the slaves were freed, it was against the opinion of those chiefly concerned. Liberty had to be imposed because it was not understood. It was found necessary to include in the great emancipation Act a clause which provided that in future no contract by which a slave alienated his liberty should be valid; otherwise, many of the slaves would have sold themselves again. Then, he asked whether labour laws had really been demanded by the mass of the working classes, and cited several which had been regarded with apathy and suspicion, or even actively opposed by those they were designed to benefit. He instanced among others the *repos hebdomadaire* (the law establishing a weekly day of rest), which had been opposed both by employers and employees, and said that the laws of public hygiene, which were one of the glories of the Republic had had to be imposed by force on employers and work-people, allied to resist them. Reforms which were not passed till all those chiefly concerned demanded them, would never be passed at all. If Parliament were to sit and wait to make laws till they were unanimously asked for, it might as well not exist at all. It had other duties than that!

Be Worthy of the Republic.

At a later point in his speech, Monsieur Viviani made a passionate indictment of the attitude of the French law towards women. He described how, in the course of his professional duties, women had come to him who were the victims of bitter injustice, and how he had had to tell them that there was

nothing in the law to help them. "What have we done," he said, "to give us the right to be proud of our civil or our penal legislation? We have had to wait till the last few years for a law to establish the responsibility of fathers. For years after other countries we have submitted to the moral degradation of seeing a woman, after the birth of an illegitimate child, forced in her weakness to bear the whole burden of the common fault, while her seducer went free, to seek fresh adventures and fresh pleasures." Then he spoke of the position of married women and showed how the system of community of goods and the dowry system benefitted the husband at the expense of the wife. He said French women had remained as they were described by Beaumarchais at the end of the eighteenth century—Minors as far as their goods were concerned, but of full age when it was a question of punishing their faults. "The position of women has not changed," he said, "since that time; though in the interval four political revolutions have enfranchised the spirit of our race." In burning words, which we will not mutilate by translation and compression, he appealed to his fellow-workers to be worthy of the history of their nation, and to place her once more in the forefront of progress. He could not believe, he said, that France would refuse freedom to her women, or would break with the traditions of the Republic. He could not believe that now, after the war, when other nations had enfranchised their women, the sons of the revolution would draw back because they lacked courage; but if they did so, they might well ask themselves how they were going to face the future. This great speech was, we are told, received with prolonged and passionate applause, and after it had been spoken there could be no doubt of the result of the debate.

South Africa and Women's Suffrage.

We have received from South Africa the May number of the *Woman's Outlook*, which contains comments on the Women's Suffrage victory on April 1st. The *Woman's Outlook* says:—"The victory in the House on April 1st, when Mr. Wyndham's motion, 'That in the opinion of this House the sex qualification for the exercise of the Parliamentary franchise should be removed,' was carried, meant far more than the fact that the 'Ayes' were just two more in number than the 'Noes.' It meant that the subject was given a fair hearing, and that it was not laughed out of court as a matter of no moment, but seriously debated as being practical politics. The wording of the motion was a departure from the old form, 'That the vote should be given to women as it is or may be given to men.' Mr. Wyndham said, he did not propose on that occasion to deal with the details of the franchise law. All this motion did was to ask the House to affirm the principle that the sex qualification necessary for the exercise of the franchise in all the provinces should be removed. When that principle had been affirmed, it would be for the House to decide how it should be carried into effect. This was a masterly move on the part of Mr. Wyndham; his motion was far more acceptable to the House than the resolution in its former dressing would have been, as it left a possibility of qualifying the franchise for women when it should be granted, though we anticipate that no half measures will be successfully introduced. The age qualification for women in England has been imposed for a time, but there is no doubt that before long it must be removed." The Women's Enfranchisement Association of the Union of South Africa is much encouraged, and is entering on a new and vigorous campaign.

Pre-War Practices Bill.

The Whitsuntide Recess has postponed further discussion in Parliament on the Restoration of Pre-War Practices Bill. Representatives of the Labour Party in Parliament have made it plain that they strongly object to any attempt on the part of the House of Commons to alter or modify or improve the Bill in any particular. The same attitude has been taken by writers in the Labour Press. It is a bitter disappointment for those who care for equal opportunities for women in industry, that the Labour Party has given no sign that it regards the women's case as of any account. No one in or out of Parliament, and certainly no woman, wants to destroy the Bill, or to ask the Government to break its pledge. On the contrary, we do strongly feel that the pledge must be kept. It is not unreasonable, however, that the women whose whole future is in the balance should seek to obtain some assurance that the Bill is not intended to go further than the real pre-war practices. If it is applied to new industries, it will do something more than

fulfil the pledge. Such industries as air-craft, optical glass, and scientific instrument making, and various special branches of the engineering trade were hardly carried on at all in this country before the war, except in a purely experimental fashion. In the enormous developments that have taken place in them during the last few years, a new set of conditions has grown up, the most notable of which is the employment of women. This change in conditions has taken place since the time when the Government gave its pledge, and some account ought surely to be taken of it by the Trade Union leaders. It would seem unreasonable that because it was not the custom to employ women in shipbuilding before the war, it should be made illegal to employ them in lense grinding after the war. Attempts have been made to reassure women workers by telling them that the Pre-War Practices Bill, when it becomes law, will not be enforced. It is said that the Unions concerned will enter into agreements in each particular case which will modify the provisions of the Bill. No citizen who cares about Parliamentary Government and holds that it is the chief protection of her freedom can find much satisfaction in the passing of laws which are afterwards to be overthrown by a new kind of Secret Diplomacy. Moreover, women are not yet part and parcel of Trade Union organisation: they are excluded from most of the skilled Unions, and though they are admitted to membership by the less skilled ones they have hardly yet had sufficient experience, or perhaps sufficient opportunity, to make their opinions felt: in any bargaining that may take place, therefore, it will be difficult for them to secure that their interests shall be forcibly represented, as those of the men workers. For this reason women workers feel that they might have hoped that Parliament and the Labour leaders in Parliament would have shown a special care to secure full justice for them. In supporting a legal sex restriction, the Labour Party is doing a new thing, and is, we believe, injuring the cause of freedom. When we consider the proud record of the Party in respect of the enfranchisement of women, its present attitude is a heavy blow indeed. We cannot help hoping that it will reconsider its attitude, and that those of its leaders who have so far been silent, will take an early opportunity to show that they uphold sex equality not as a general thesis only, but in their own affairs. The principle of justice for all cannot be partially applied. It must be applied all through or it is destroyed by those who profess to uphold it.

Why Women Only?

On June 5th, in the House of Commons, Mr. Ramsden asked the Minister of Labour if, in view of the abnormal condition of the labour market, he would suggest to the Government Departments that they should invite married women in their employ, whose husbands were earning salaries on their own account, to relinquish their posts in favour of discharged and demobilised soldiers. Mr. Baldwin replied that the Government was entirely in sympathy with the object Mr. Ramsden had in view, and would see what could be done in Government Departments. We believe that it has also been suggested that women of "independent means" should give up their jobs. We understand the point of view of those who suggest it, but it strikes us as curious that no suggestion has been made that men of independent means should give up their jobs, though surely they are in precisely the same position as women who are asked to refrain from work? It would, no doubt, be regarded as preposterous to suggest that men whose wives are earning good salaries should retire, yet we can imagine many cases in which the work done by the wife is of more value than that done by the husband, and surely, in all these cases some consideration should be given to the work itself? Some jobs can be done equally well by any intelligent person, and there is something to be said for awarding these to those who need them most, but surely the more skilled forms of work that are necessary to the State should be done by those who can do them best, whether they are men or women, and whether they have, or have not, independent means. Otherwise, the service of the State must suffer, though the cares of the Labour Minister may be diminished.

The National Federation of Women Teachers.

The National Federation of Women Teachers have been holding their Annual Conference at Leamington. We are glad to have the opportunity of publishing in another section of our paper an abbreviated report of the Presidential Address, given by Miss Agnes Dawson, who is well-known to our readers as a devoted worker for the cause of Women's Suffrage, and for the rights of the women teachers. On June 10th the Conference passed a resolution calling on the Government to establish a

national scale of salaries for teachers, irrespective of sex. The teachers at the Conference also pledged themselves to do everything in their power to obtain equal opportunities for women with men in all administrative posts. Equal pay and equal opportunities for women is the demand of the Federation, as it is our own.

Women Under Thirty.

The Women's Emancipation Bill will be discussed in the House of Commons again on July 4th. Our leading article deals with the urgent need for the extension of the franchise to women under thirty, which is proposed in this Bill. We desire to remind our readers that in London, the women under thirty are organising a demonstration for July 1st, and that every Suffragist, whether a woman or a man, and whether under or over thirty, ought to make an effort to take part. The meeting, which is under the auspices of the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship and of the Labour Party, will be at Farringdon Street Memorial Hall, at 8 p.m. The Chairman and all the speakers will be women under thirty; the audience will be of both sexes and all ages. All our readers are invited to attend.

The National Council of Women.

The Annual Meeting of the National Council of Women of Great Britain and Ireland will take place at Leicester on June 24th to the 27th. On the agenda are resolutions pressing for the appointment of women on juries, and as Justices of the Peace, as barristers, and as solicitors, and others dealing with maintenance for mothers, married women's income tax, equal pay for equal work, juvenile delinquency, the Children's Act, organised play, pure milk, district nurses, and liquor control. There are to be public meetings on "women in agriculture," "women as patrols, police, and magistrates, on juries, and in "widows' pensions and the endowment of motherhood," and police-court work."

The Labour Women's Conference.

In connection with the annual conference of the Labour Party in Southport, a special conference of the work of women in the Labour Party will be held at the Cambridge Hall, Southport, on June 24th. At the morning session the chair will be taken by Miss Susan Lawrence, L.C.C., and in the afternoon Mr. Arthur Henderson presides. A full statement of the work of the past year, in so far as it deals with the special interests of women, will be placed before the delegates as the subject for discussion. The National Executive of the Labour Party recognises the great need for developing the full strength of the women's side of the working-class movement, and expects by this conference to gain much useful knowledge by a free interchange of opinion as to the methods to be employed in organisation and propaganda.

St. Thomas Aquinas on Women and the Priesthood.

St. Thomas Aquinas was quoted with great effect at the debate on Women in the Priesthood, which we have written about in another part of the paper. The Rev. W. C. Roberts, Rector of St. George's, Bloomsbury, who made much the best contribution to the open discussion that followed the speeches, said that he thought, on the whole, not enough respect was paid to tradition, and that he had been considering the subject under discussion in the light of opinions expressed by the great Churchmen of the past. He found that St. Thomas Aquinas had dealt very fully with the matter, and, as was his habit in examining a controversial point, had set forth the arguments on both sides of the question. According to St. Thomas there were three reasons why women should be admitted to the Priesthood, the first was that "In soul there is no sex, and the priesthood is a spiritual office." The second was that "women have been prophets, and prophecy is a greater office than priesthood." The third that "women are admitted to positions of authority in the Church." Against these three reasons that seem to us so weighty, St. Thomas set the opinion of St. Paul, as expressed in the Epistles to Timothy and to the Corinthians; in view of these, he decided against the admission of women to the priesthood. This seems to be one of the occasions, however, on which the arguments of a great authority have more weight than his conclusion; so Mr. Roberts evidently felt, and many of those present at the debate felt with him.

EXTEND THE FRANCHISE NOW!

WE believe that the time has come when the agitation for the extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to women on the same terms as men ought to be renewed through the length and breadth of the land.

There are three reasons why we think this should be done at once, and they may be summarised as the opportunity, the need, and the changed spirit of the times.

The opportunity is here, in the Women's Emancipation Bill. Everyone must remember that the second clause of the Bill provides that "Any special franchises conferred upon women by the Representation of the People Act, 1918, notwithstanding, a woman shall have and may exercise under that Act all such franchises as are therein conferred upon men which she would have been entitled to have and to exercise if she were a man, and in that Act, save where the context requires, the word 'man' shall include woman." This clause with the rest of the Bill has passed its second reading and its committee stage, and is down for report stage on July 4th. The fact that the Government want the clause deleted is public. Dr. Addison announced in the course of the second reading debate that they would seek to get it taken out on the committee stage. They failed to do so, by accident, some think, because they had discovered that the feeling of the House was against them, others hope; anyway, they failed. They will doubtless try again, and if they fail, or perhaps if they think they are likely to fail, they will resort to the more familiar Government method of making there be no time. It is up to the Labour Party, who introduced the Bill, and to Suffragists, whose life-long object is embodied in it, to see that this does not happen, and the best way to prevent it is to rouse public feeling through the country. The opportunity is here!

But has the necessity for women under thirty to have votes been demonstrated? Is it one of those urgent needs about which public-spirited people can be roused to feel strongly? Is it something more than "academic justice"? We believe that it is, and every day that passes makes us more certain of the fact. In that famous speech in which he announced his conversion to Women's Suffrage, on August 14th, 1916, Mr. Asquith thus referred to the women's "unanswerable case":—

"... they point out—and we cannot possibly deny their claim—that during this war the women of this country have rendered as effective service in the prosecution of the war as any other class of the community. . . . What is more, and this is a point which makes special appeal to me, they say when the war comes to an end, and when these abnormal and, of course, to a large extent transient conditions have to be revised, and when the process of industrial reconstruction has to be set on foot, have not the women a special claim to be heard on the many questions which will arise directly affecting their interests, and possibly meaning for them large displacements of labour? I cannot think that the House will deny that, and I say quite frankly that I cannot deny that claim."

These words of Mr. Asquith's were received, and with reason, as a weighty contribution to the discussion; the argument that had converted him to Women's Suffrage, *i.e.*, the precarious situation in which industrial women would find themselves after the war, and the need that they should be consulted about industrial legislation, was used again and again by advocates of Women's Suffrage, and never without effect. It may safely be said that one of the chief causes for the overwhelming wave of public opinion that carried through the Representation of the People Bill was the desire to give votes to munition workers. Yet the Bill in effect did not do this, because most of the munition workers were, and still are, under thirty, and only women over thirty were enfranchised. The reason for this anomaly was, as everybody knows, that Parliament and the public were a little afraid of a new electoral element, and that some means of limiting the number of women electors had to be found. Now that women have actually taken part in a General Election, that fear has, we believe, passed away. On the other hand, the very conditions have arisen which Mr. Asquith prophesied, and the likelihood of which converted him and others to Women's Suffrage. There are "vast displacements of labour," and they do directly affect the interests of women. The Bill for restoring pre-war conditions, which is now before the House of Commons will, if it passes, result in many parts of the country in excluding women by law from future work in those very trades in which they "aided in the most effective way in the prosecution of the war." The girl munition workers have already been dismissed, and many thousands of them are out of work. The young women who worked at such trades as

optical lens grinding and built them up in this country are out of work too, and are urged to return to domestic service, dress-making, and other "women's trades." We are not arguing now as to whether this is or is not necessary as a temporary measure. However necessary it were proved to be, it would remain true that it must cause great suffering and anxiety to numbers of women, and that it is being discussed in Parliament in which the majority of these women are not represented. They have no opportunity of pressing their case, no opportunity of pointing out what will happen if they are driven back into what were, and will again become, the sweated trades; no opportunity—and this is worst of all—of discovering whether their exclusion from the work they want to do, and at which they can earn decent wages, is really to be temporary—or whether it is to go on for ever. They ought at least to be consulted. If they had votes they would be consulted automatically. No extension of the franchise will be in time to give them their due voice in the present crisis; but everyone with eyes to see realises that this is only the first of a long series of crises which must be passed before the relations of the sexes in industry can be regarded as settled; if these relations are to be made a matter of legal adjustment, surely it is only common justice that the women workers should have the same representation as the men. We believe that the Parliamentary extension of the franchise has been proved by the Parliamentary events of the last few weeks to be a great and an *urgent* need.

We believe also that the time is ripe for its fulfilment. The speeches in the second reading debate on the Women's Emancipation Bill showed that most of those who took part on both sides in the compromise on the Speaker's Conference are now prepared to give it up. The fear of women is quite gone, the half-way house has served its purpose, the majority of the present electors are quite ready to go the whole journey. It would be strange if this were not so, for in every civilised country public opinion is ripening for the admission of women to the full political rights. As has happened several times before in history, an example of freedom set by the English-speaking race has been followed to its logical conclusion by other nations, who have, in their turn, become an example to us. Most significant of this is what has recently happened in France. A Government Commission on Suffrage—not unlike our Speaker's Conference—recently made a very moderate recommendation about the admission of women to the local government franchise. The advocates of this proposal in the Chamber of Deputies justified it by the example of the British House of Commons, and quoted freely from Lord Robert Cecil and Mr. Lloyd George. These quotations were, from the official point of view, almost too well received; the Deputies warmly acclaimed the example of the House of Commons in this matter, and instantly began to ask why, as it was so good, they might not follow it to the end. What they did do was to go a little further than that, and pass amendments conferring full adult suffrage and eligibility upon all women, both in France and Algeria. The measure is not through the French Parliament yet, but it had a majority of 247 votes in the Chamber, and the speeches that were made in support of it were such as one cannot read without rubbing one's eyes. But, after all, why should one have expected that France, the most logical nation and the prophet of human rights, would have stayed behind? She will have to hurry to be in front. German and Austrian women obtained full suffrage and eligibility when they threw off imperial rule. Each has got women members in its first democratic Parliament. Holland is granting full suffrage to women, so is Sweden. The American Senate has passed the Federal Amendment. Even Spain and the Spanish Republics of America are rapidly moving towards Women's Suffrage. There is no time to lose if the British race is to keep the lead which New Zealand captured for it a quarter of a century ago, and which the Mother Country has now made her own. British statesmen in Paris have gained for women the right of eligibility to every post under the League of Nations. What can they do better when they come home than press forward the full political equality of British women with British men? We urge the Government to give full facilities for the Women's Emancipation Bill, and to bless instead of cursing its franchise clause. We urge every Suffragist who reads this, and especially every member of the N.U.S.E.C., to do everything in his or her power to press forward the demand which is so just, so necessary, and so well in accord with the spirit of the new age.

Our Out-of-Work Problem.

AND THE FRENCH FIASCO OF 'FORTY-EIGHT

BY MRS. HEITLAND.

"While the unemployment donation was demoralising, nothing was more demoralising than useless work. Everybody who had read the history of the Revolution in France in 1848 knew the condition of affairs that was created in Paris under the system of Paris Industrial Works. Nothing ever so demoralised a population as the useless works started at that time by the French Government, and he hoped that in no circumstances would they ever be induced to take up similar schemes."

—Sir Robert Horne, Minister of Labour, speaking in the House of Commons, May 28th, 1919.

Undoubtedly the French experiment of 1848 was a very great failure. But did it fail because it was an experiment in employment or in unemployment? It is necessary that we should arrive at the true answer to this question. The brief, calamitous story of the *Ateliers Nationaux*—the "Paris Industrial Works" as Sir Robert Horne styles them—is being quoted at present by many writers and speakers as a kind of "awful warning." Thinkers who dislike subsidised unemployment are admonished that they had better be content to bear the economic ills we have, rather than fly to the dangers of Government employment, with revolution and disaster as their probable sequel. The reply to all suggestions in favour of organised work is "Remember the *Ateliers Nationaux*."

Certainly the French Industrial Works proved to be a hideous mistake. It is one of the few "lessons of history" which really is of use to later generations. But like all such lessons, it must be studied with a constant remembrance of the conditions of the time, and not with the assumption that anything we might do now is likely to be an exact replica of what was done in 1848.

The scheme which M. Emile Thomas patriotically tried to carry out to help his countrymen and an ungrateful Government, took the effect of the promotion of what the Minister of Labour has quite accurately described as "useless works." The levelling of roads and open spaces which did not perhaps call for levelling, the removal of poplars from one place to plant them in another as "Trees of Liberty," were enterprises probably less useful and needed than the stone-breaking jobs which used to be imposed as a labour test on our own able-bodied tramps. Thomas himself intended to carry out many other and more useful schemes, including the building of a large industrial suburb. He hoped even to employ skilled workmen (such as tailors, bootmakers, wheelwrights, &c.) at their own trades, and, soaring high, he dreamt that out-of-work painters and sculptors would, for the same flat rate of payment as other workmen, produce works of art which could be distributed by the Government. Thomas was a man of vast energy, but there was a vein of visionary optimism in his character, as this project for the national employment of artists suggests; but the worst and the really fatal flaw in his short-lived endeavour was that he allowed payment for unemployment to be a part of what should have been a scheme for employment only. His flat rate of pay was very little better than what we should now call an "unemployment donation." A man was offered two francs a day to work for the Government, or a franc and a half if he were unemployed. The unemployment pay was often preferred. The doings of the man who received this dole were less visible than those of the worker, and it was found possible to combine private paid jobs with acceptance of the grant. Women do not appear to have been offered work, but they were able, in some cases, to claim an allowance of food for themselves and their children, especially when the bread winner was in feeble health or the family was a large one. In the course of a very few months the scheme passed from popularity to violent disfavour. It was conceived in hope, executed amidst ridicule, and perished in bloodshed and national turmoil. It had all the defects of a mushroom scheme, being far too vast and too complete in theory and on paper. A solid nucleus of a small undertaking successfully accomplished—the only kind of nucleus which in human affairs permits development—was wanting. In countries where democratic ideas have long been

tried, leaders know when they can say of any one institution, "We have succeeded with it thus far; let us now try to carry it a little further." France to-day moves cautiously as we do, knowing how awful is the retribution for a bad blunder. But the France of 'forty-eight was new to democracy, and was under the enchantment of those *idées générales* which have always swayed her people more than they have influenced ours.

The outstanding features of the *Ateliers Nationaux* on the danger side were (1) that with a system of work paid for by the Government they mingled unemployment pay, doles of food, &c.; and (2) that the people were invited to do work which, when done, did not add materially to their comfort or happiness. That most of the work, if not all, was concentrated in Paris, and therefore drew away labour from the countryside, was a third enormous defect, since any system which brings unwanted country workers into the town is likely to increase the death of food and raw materials.

These are a few of the lessons to be learnt from our neighbours' misfortune of last century. Whether the teaching we may derive is wholly adverse to Governmental employment may be questioned. It assuredly indicates that a Government which becomes an employer on a large scale does add materially to its own perils, and may also jeopardise the whole organism of industry. It has underlined the dangers in blood-red ink. But it has also similarly underlined the evils of paying workers for not working. The French experiment was a venture at one and the same time into both of these hazardous domains. The question which we ourselves may at any time have to consider is which of these two undertakings offers the greater benefits to counterbalance its risks?

Unemployment pay on a liberal scale has (from the workers' side) the advantage of increasing the scarcity of labour and, therefore, enhancing its value. Its most obvious drawback is that it makes products and services scarcer and, therefore, makes living more costly, while at the same time it increases the number of those who are consumers only. Of these evils we are all peculiarly sensible now, when goods have been so largely destroyed. In this respect the France of 'forty-eight offers no sort of similarity with our own present conditions. The levying of taxes to provide donations for the unemployed tends (it must not be forgotten) to impoverish everyone. The purchasing power of the nation is lessened. Employment is, therefore, doubly withheld. Those who receive unemployment pay have a strong counter inducement against entering the labour market, and others can obtain less in goods and wages because the whole world is poorer. Unemployment pay retards the pulse of trade.

If an artificial stimulus is applied to employment by a Government, injury may also result. But there are moments—of which the present seems one—when the whole clockwork of trade can be set ticking with least delay if the hand of Government be applied to it. This act of stimulation needs to be exercised with the greatest caution. The touch of a Government can be too violent. A Government is not merely (as we have all observed) a wasteful employer and prone to use more labour and materials than it needs, but it is too powerful to enter into fair rivalry with private employers. For this reason, it is well that a Government should either frankly monopolise an employment (as it does in the case of the Postal Service, and as it may some day monopolise the Educational and Health Services), or that it should be content to stimulate employment in certain directions by placing orders through the medium of private firms. In favour of the development of semi-public employment on these well-trying lines there is much to be said now, when all the fruits of labour are wanted. If a subsidy has to be given, surely the money is more profitably expended on the building of houses and the making of roads than in the distribution of maintenance grants which, economically, is not merely marking time but wasting it. The application to trade of an oxygen pump is a remedy to apply only with forethought and in special circumstances. But many of us hold that the appropriate conditions exist now, and so thinking, may be inclined to change Sir Robert Horne's dictum by saying that, "while the unemployment donation is demoralising, nothing can be less so than useful work."

The Position of Women in the Civil Service.

There is a comforting reflection in people's minds that as a large measure of political freedom has been won for women, and they have everywhere demonstrated their ability, that practically every door which before the war was barred to women is now standing open. Certainly there is a disquieting knowledge that in industry women are not to have the same openings as they had during the war, but it is generally felt that at least "the doors of other professions are being opened" to the woman who works with her brain. But if we glance at the Civil Service, all the higher branches of which have been exclusively man's preserve, what do we find? "Temporary" women clerks have poured into the Service in their thousands during the war period, and a few of them have been classed as junior administrative assistants, while others, as in the Ministry of Pensions, have satisfactorily performed and directed whole portions of work on identical lines with men. The battle of women in the Civil Service was therefore considered to be won, and the abolition of sex differentiation was expected to follow automatically in the reorganisation of the Service after the war. Now, however, that the moment for a declaration of policy with regard to the matter is at hand, we see that the position of the permanent women in the Service is almost identical with that which they have always held. For the small army of between four and five thousand permanent women clerks, the war has afforded no opportunity. They have still no possibility of promotion except by seniority, which means that for the first twenty years of her service, the woman clerk, whose educational qualification on entering the service approximated to a fairly high matriculation level, is confined to an uneventful routine. Her salary never rises beyond the equivalent of a pre-war £120 a year, and however brilliantly her work is performed, she is never given an opportunity to use initiative on more responsible work.

When we come to glance at the temporary clerk, the position is little better. Certainly a small measure of opportunity has been given to her, but recent developments go to show that this tentative experiment is not to be followed up by the granting of equal opportunity. The Gladstone Report, signally important in that it has emanated from a Treasury Committee, distinctly relegates woman to the same inferior position as she held in pre-war days. Division I. is not to be opened, and no possibility of promotion is to be given to the woman clerk. Certainly a few higher posts in "work specially suited for women" are to be created, but for the feminist such a concession is little more than an insult. In the industrial sphere we can agree that certain work is not suited to women, on account of the physical strain involved, but when we are asked to consider clerical work as being only in certain cases suited to women, the argument loses force. Representatives of the Association of Women Clerks and Secretaries stressed this point on June 5th, when received by the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, but no assurances as to the removal of the grievance could be given. We know that first preference in the junior appointments is to be given to the men who have fought in the forces, and we bow to their superior claim; but when we note that the new regulations for Division I. examinations as distinct from the ex-service men's scheme are not applicable to women, we have very real grounds for resentment. As far as the rank and file of the temporary clerks go, the position is almost as serious. There are thousands of temporary clerks in London wholly dependent for a living on their present work, who are, at a fortnight's notice, liable to be dismissed with no other employment at hand. Very many of these women cannot possibly be retained permanently in their present positions, and yet each fondly imagines that she is to be the favoured one to remain. One of the points most strongly urged by the members of the deputation was the immediate urgency of a fair system of selection for the permanent posts. In order to secure the best material for the State and at the same time to be fair to the present workers, it is very necessary that in transferring to the permanent establishment, the pooling system should be adopted. Only so can the unlucky clerk in a department which is closing down have equal chances of establishment with the more fortunately placed clerk in a permanent department. The tendency on the part of the Heads of the departments is naturally to belittle this pooling system. A specially designed examination to test the practical ability of each candidate for permanency has been recommended as the only fair manner of sifting the efficient from the inefficient and of affording a safeguard against the evils of nepotism. It is probable that the first of such a series of examinations will occur before many months have elapsed, and it is most essential

that every woman who is hoping to remain in the Service should make an effort to sit for this examination.

A very contentious point is the age limit. It would seem that a very low limit, which would exclude many of the ablest women, is to be set. Between thirty and forty, very few women marry. They have had some ten years' experience of the world, and are frequently more assiduous and determined to make a success of their work than the younger woman, whose main thought is marriage. It is therefore essential for us to make a strong stand on this point.

To those of us who know how limited have been the careers open to women, and how many of the women temporary clerks are really working for a livelihood, the present is a most momentous time. In the minds of many, the temporary clerk is a frivolous tea-drinking flapper, who will naturally retire into domesticity as soon as her "war work" ends. This erroneous impression must be corrected at once.

A public meeting is being organised by permanent and temporary women clerks in the Civil Service, to protest against the findings of the Gladstone Committee and to demand equality of opportunity for women. It is very essential that both bodies should act as one in this matter, and women who are employed in the Service, or those outside who are champions of our cause, should make a point of attending at the Central Hall on Monday, June 16th, at 6.30 p.m.

If we delay our agitation, the day will be lost. Some of the most competent women will have been already discharged, and the experience of the war will merely have proved that women are not suited for anything but the most elementary forms of clerical work. Already this has happened in the case of the women in the London County Council offices, and unless we take action while there is yet time, we shall find our opportunity in the Civil Service deferred for a further lengthy period.

DOROTHY EVANS.

(Secretary, Assoc. Women Clerks & Secretaries.)

From Semi to Full Citizenship.

Soon after the passing of Mr. Marchant's Woman Suffrage Bill in the Second Chamber of the States-General on May 9th, the general elections for the Municipal Councils gave an opportunity of putting into practice the women's recently won constitutional right of passive suffrage, i.e., eligibility. Nearly every list of candidates contained names of women; foremost among the parties that gave a good rank to their women were the Socialists and the Radicals. Generally the women were put directly after the men who actually hold office as Town Councillors, and this gave them a fairly good chance. The elections took place in the second half of May. They had to renew every Municipal Council after the system of proportional representation, for all the existing Councils will end their term of office on September 1st. The State of the Netherlands is divided into 1,123 municipalities, and in three hundred and ninety-eight of these the Socialists have got from one to nineteen members each. This proves that nearly one-fourth of the present electors of the whole country vote with the Socialist Party. This increase of power has favoured the entrance of women into our Town Councils: forty-four of the elected women councillors belong to the Social-Democratic Party. The total number is something over fifty; three are Communists, that is to say, of the Party headed by Mr. Wijnkoop, M.P., who terms himself "the purest representative of the Bolsheviks in Western Europe"; most of the others are Radicals, split up into different parties, and two are Roman Catholics. It is interesting to note how rapidly the last-named party is changing its attitude with respect to feminism. They are arranging lectures for the enlightenment of the future women electors, they put up women candidates, and they urge women workers to join Roman Catholic trade unions. We are sure of the Roman Catholic votes in the First Chamber, when it will have to assent to the Woman Suffrage Bill; and they are numerically the strongest party.

To sum up, we have now one woman member of the States-General, fifteen women members of the Provincial States, and over fifty women Town Councillors. Miss Suze Groeneweg, S.D., has a seat in all three of the governing bodies, and her speech on May 9th was the only one that gave an outlook on women's altered social position in our days, by showing the number of women in the professions, and their varied activities; quite a contrast with the men's oratorical digressions on sex qualities, and investigations into the soundness of the adversaries' democratic principles.

Our hopes are high concerning the work about to be done by women in municipal and provincial government, and we feel justified in predicting our full enfranchisement before long.

MARTINA G. KRAMERS.

Women and the Priesthood.

AN IMPRESSION WITH COMMENTS.

The passionate interest taken by women in the subject of their admission to the Priesthood was demonstrated on the evening of June 6th. Next time that the League of the Church Militant arranges a debate between Miss Royden and Mr. Magee, it might be wise to take the Albert Hall! The Church House certainly provides most inadequate accommodation for these pastors, as was felt by the disappointed flocks who crowded round the doors in Dean's Yard and Great Smith Street, and some of whom actually had the patience to wait till the end of the debate, in the vain hope of getting in.

Inside the atmosphere was heated, in more senses than one, and was hardly suitable for the serious discussion of so grave a subject. It could have been wished that the chairman had from the beginning prohibited applause, and that Miss Royden's opponents and her followers had confined their remarks to the fundamental principles to which the resolution referred, and on which Miss Royden concentrated nearly the whole of her own speech. Few who followed did this, and we cannot help thinking that it was a good deal owing to Mr. Magee's own treatment of the subject when he opened the debate.

The resolution, which was debated but not voted on was: "That in the opinion of this meeting there are fundamental principles which forbid the admission of women to the Priesthood." Mr. Magee did not, as far as we could see, put forward any fundamental principles at all. He stated that he believed in the equality of human souls, and that this was the very reason he opposed the entry of women into the priesthood, because "equality of soul is not the same thing as identity of function." We doubt whether anybody ever thought it was, but as Miss Royden pointed out that evening (and as Plato pointed out 2,300 years ago*), the fact that there is a difference between women and men does not in itself prove that women are not fit for doing any special thing that men do, unless the difference between the sexes can be shown to affect that particular action. A difference in the strength of men's arms and women's arms may make it more suitable for men to be porters than women, but only a difference between men's spirits and women's spirits can make it more suitable for men to perform any given spiritual function.

Mr. Magee did not enter into this, but his statement about equality of soul was about as near as he got to any principle. He objected to women priests on the score of morality, but did not affirm that any moral principle would be outraged by their ordination, only that their actual ministrations would lead to flirtations and to undesirable conversations among men in smoking rooms. Such an argument—if argument it can be called, naturally shocked a good many of his hearers, and observing this, he exclaimed, "We cannot help it; we are made as we are; life is as God has settled it!" This statement naturally carried no conviction to those who hold that our sin-invaded life is not at all as God has settled it, and that the present relation of the sexes is still far away from the teaching of Christ. We shall not get nearer to that by shrinking from what seems right because sinners may abuse it. Catholics have never held that the fact that confession has sometimes been abused is a reason for abandoning that sacrament. So long as the Church is composed of both sexes and priests must be of one or the other, and both are liable to folly and sin, we cannot escape all danger of abuse—we certainly do not escape them by not having women priests.

Mr. Magee's third line of argument was that such great women as St. Catherine of Siena, St. Theresa, and St. Hilda of Whitby had got on very well without ordination. Miss Royden answered that the question was not whether the greatest women could do their work without ordination, but whether the Church was as well served as she might be if it had been possible for them to be ordained.

With some slight deviations, which had been forced upon her by her antagonist, Miss Royden kept pretty close to questions of fundamental principle. There do not seem to be more than three involved. The first is whether women are spiritually unfit for this spiritual office; the second (which is perhaps only the first in another form) is whether there is a natural headship of the man over the woman, always recognised by the Church; the third is whether Christ gave any teaching on this subject, and if so, what that teaching was. All are difficult to argue about, the first two because they are so very much matters of opinion,

* See *The Republic*, Book V., paragraph 454 et seq.

the last because two different interpretations of Scriptural authority are possible. Mr. Magee had abandoned the first position, and it is doubtful whether an Anglican would now maintain that women are spiritually different from men; but some do affirm, as the Bishop of Oxford is said to have affirmed lately, that the man has a natural headship over the woman. For this they have the authority of St. Paul. But it has not prevented the Church from appointing women to positions of great authority, as in the case of Abbesses of Double Houses in the Middle Ages, and of some of the ladies cited by Mr. Magee. Nor has it prevented the Church of England from acknowledging at different times, the headship of Queen Elizabeth, Queen Anne, and Queen Victoria, though a reminder of this fact seemed to cause a kind of frenzy in some of the audience at the debate, who behaved as though they thought that if they only shouted "Never! never!" loudly enough, they could not only pass the Enabling Bill, but undo what has been.

Miss Royden brought the matter back to what must, for Christians, be the final test, the teaching of our Lord himself. Two questions may be asked about this. One whether He did, in fact, institute women priests, the other, whether He made any distinction between the sexes in His teaching. The first point is open to doubt, because of the different text of the Gospels. St. Luke and St. John seem to indicate that there were women present when the risen Lord gave his commission to the disciples to go and bear witness of Him and to forgive sins. St. Mark and St. Matthew mention only the eleven. As to the second point, Miss Royden re-stated what has always been one of the central points of her religious teaching, "I will be bold enough to say that in all His dealings with men and with women, our Lord made no difference between them." In this she was not contradicted, and it seems to be the core of the matter.

There must be many of us who feel ourselves in the position courageously confessed to by Mr. Roberts, of St. George's, Bloomsbury, when he said that for years he had swerved from this question, because it aroused all his prejudices and caused him acute pain, but that now he felt it was his duty to face it, and to consider whether there really was any fundamental principle which would always make it wrong to have women priests. We dare not swerve any longer from this question. Suffragists must not ignore any aspect of the sex relations. Christians must not ignore any fundamental principle that affects the life of the Church. We are grateful to the League of the Church Militant for organising this Debate.

Five Novels.

The Undying Fire. By H. G. Wells. (Cassell & Co. 6s.)

The Secret Battle. By A. P. Herbert. (Methuen & Co. 7s.)

What Not. By Rose Macaulay. (Constable & Co. 6s.)

The Education of a Philanderer. By S. P. B. Mais. (Grant Richards. 7s.)

Jinny the Carrier. By Israel Zangwill. (Heinemann. 7s.)

The Undying Fire (H. G. Wells) is as much a war book, in its way, as is *The Secret Battle* (A. P. Herbert), or *What Not* (Rose Macaulay). All these show, in a very marked and unmistakable fashion, the effect of the war upon the subject matter of some of our modern novelists, and this effect, interesting though it is, cannot be said to be really pleasant. The realistic tendency which was destroying symmetries and annihilating plots before 1914 has gone further in the last few years, and nowadays there is poured into the realistic mould a mass of very horrible and painful reality.

The Secret Battle is the story of a young soldier who loses his courage: who toils through horror and filth for years, and at the end is shot for cowardice. It is a painful story, the more so for its obvious sincerity and what looks like its literal truth. It is simply told, without affectation and without heroics, and gives as lurid a picture of the fighting in Gallipoli and in France as any that has been written. Worms, flies and noise make a strange and horrid setting for the inner tragedy of the young hero: that have hardly yet ceased to make a strange and horrid setting, indeed, for the lives and deaths of young men, and the realism of this book is almost too real to be endurable.

The Undying Fire, on the other hand, takes its realism less directly. It begins in Heaven (of which realistic description is notoriously difficult, despite Sir Oliver Lodge), and it proceeds to a small and dingy lodging-house at an English watering-place, where Job, in his modern dress, laments and discusses God and the Universe with his aggravating and detestable councillors. The whole mise-en-scène is delightfully ingenious, and, as

always, Mr. Wells covers his pages with phrases so entertaining that the book is delightful to read. Nevertheless, of course, it is with the content of the book and not with its pleasant externals that comment should deal, for the book aims at much more than mere entertainment, at nothing less, in fact, than putting pain and suffering and the war itself into their right places in the Universe, and reconciling the whole with a good and an intelligent God. This is a task that Mr. Wells, like the original Job, finds difficult, but a task to which he also brings an apparently inexhaustible faith. It is curious and interesting to find that Mr. Wells has recourse to Satan, personified and impudent, who is allowed to try experiments with this unfortunate globe, and it is interesting to see how unflinchingly he allows discussion of the weakest points of his own arguments. We cannot expect or hope for solutions from books like this—if, indeed, we hope for them from any source—nor does Mr. Wells really attempt to give them any more than does the Book of Job itself. But what he does give, in his up-to-date and modern form, is his own firm conviction that the struggle is worth struggling, and the fight worth fighting—that if only human beings can hang on long enough, and keep their courage, the world will come out right in the end.

What Not, by Rose Macaulay, is, in spite of its meaningless name, an amusing book. To those who have worked in Government offices, in the hotels and palaces of Whitehall, it will have a thoroughly topical-fascination, with its descriptions of the underground railways and of official papers, minutes, and propaganda. There can be no one who lived in this country during the war who will not get from this book the satisfaction of recognising what it is intending to satirise; indeed, the chief fault of the book is that its disguises are too thin, and its transpositions too obvious. To write war for peace and peace for war makes a ridiculous thing of war-time catchwords, and to write women for men makes a certain amount of hash of recruiting posters and Government pledges. But Miss Macaulay makes too frequent a use of this dodge, and it becomes a little tiresome at times.

The book deals with the fortunes of the Ministry of Brains, its Minister and some of his staff. It describes meetings and public propaganda intended to raise the level of public intelligence, and the eugenic, financial, and examining method by which this is to be accomplished. Resemblances to Pelman advertisements give a pleasant familiarity to the main idea, and the whole book has a certain simple and obvious humorousness that makes it easy to read.

It does not pretend to be a serious work, and therefore can hardly be seriously criticised, but it has a rather hasty and superficial look, as of a good idea too rapidly worked out, and its interest is, perhaps, too topical to be more than temporary. While that interest lasts, however, we can heartily recommend it to tired civil servants who have to travel home by tube.

The Education of a Philanderer, by S. P. B. Mais, is a book without any merit. Not only is it badly and hastily written on an incoherent plan, but its characters (if they can be called characters) are incredibly inconsistent. In the first chapter Rupert, the philandering hero, is so shy that he dares not look at a poster; in the second he goes triumphantly tramping off over the moors, making friends with American tourists and amazing them by the independence and spirit of English school-boys; in the third he becomes an incredibly successful school-master, and so on. His flirtations lack interest, and his development wobbles unsteadily along through Oxford to other schools, while his character continues to undergo repeated and complete transformations.

Even the attraction of realistic description is absent from this book, since, though the style is realistic to the limit, the content is flagrantly unreal.

Jinny the Carrier (Israel Zangwill), on the other hand, is a long and pleasant book, moving slowly and deliberately from incident to incident through a flat and quiet country. The people are real and distinct—a little too consistent if anything—and they move and talk with a humorous appreciation of each other. Jinny herself, a character whom it is thoroughly refreshing to meet, is very nimble of tongue, and her jokes and repartees are very apt. All of the people in the book are good at joking—even the slow and dull old countrymen whose humour is unconscious—and their speech makes a pleasant pattern through a book of little incident and much countryside. It is proper that, with a village carrier for heroine, the book should display broad fields and muddy lanes, hedges, barns, gates, and broad pastures, and to read the book is as soothing as it would have been to sit in Jinny's cart amid the scattered parcels, and wander with her over the Essex roads. Here, at least, is relief from the war.

Reports, Notices, etc.

National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship

The National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship,
President: MISS ELEANOR F. RATHBONE.
Hon. Secretary: MISS MARGARET JONES. Secretaries: MISS INEZ M. FERGUSON, MRS HUBBACK (Information and Parliamentary).
Hon. Treasurer: MISS ROSAMOND SMITH.
Offices—Evelyn House, 62, Oxford Street, London, W.1.
Telegraphic Address—Voiceless, Ox, London. Telephone—Museum 2668.

Headquarters Notes.

National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE INCOME TAX.

Mrs. Hubback gave evidence before the Royal Commission on the Income Tax in lieu of Miss Chrystal Macmillan, who was detained abroad. The evidence given is summed up in the following statement:—

The National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship wishes to protest against the taxation of the incomes of married persons as one income, as this form of taxation is in direct contravention of the spirit of the Married Women's Property Act, by which it is acknowledged that a woman retains rights in her own property after marriage. The Union feels that the principle apparently recognised under the Income Tax, whereby a woman loses her individuality in this respect by marriage, is one that is degrading in itself and unjust in its working out. The losses thus suffered by a married woman whose income taken by itself is entitled to a rebate is both material and moral.

The N.U.S.E.C. has evidence, as shown by the accompanying resolutions, of the strong feeling in favour of this reform all over the country.

The N.U.S.E.C. wishes to protest against the injustice involved in the regulation by which any rebate which may be due on a wife's income is paid to her husband.

The N.U.S.E.C. wishes to protest against two forms of injustice which bear hardly on widows:—

(a) Widowers, with incomes of under £800, are now allowed a rebate of £25 in respect to a relative who has charge of his children. No such rebate is at present allowed in the case of a widow who goes out to work and who also leaves a relative in charge of her child.

(b) Income Tax is charged on the pension of an officer's widow. An officer himself does not pay Income Tax on his disability pension.

Summer School.

Students who intend to compete for bursaries by writing an essay on a point or points in the programme of the N.U.S.E.C. are reminded that the essays must be sent in by June 19th. The accommodation at Cambridge is being quickly taken up, so it is advisable that applications to attend the School should be made as soon as possible.

"Women under Thirty."

A procession (with banners) for members of the N.U.S.E.C. and for anyone else who would care to join it, will form up outside the Offices of the London Society for Women's Service (N.U.S.E.C.), 58, Victoria Street, S.W. at 6 o'clock on the evening of Tuesday, July 1st, and will march to the meeting at the Memorial Hall.

The procession will be formed up in two sections; (a) Women under Thirty Demand the Vote; (b) Women Voters support their Voteless Sisters.

Leaflets can be obtained from Headquarters. Any help in distributing these leaflets before the meeting will be very much appreciated.

News from Societies.

SEAFORTH & WATERLOO W.C.A.—A very well attended meeting was held on June 4th, at Ratho, Blundellsands, by kind invitation of Mrs. Norman Thomas. Lady Pares presided, and the meeting was addressed by Miss Jessie Beavan on "The Organisation and Work of the Women Citizens' Association." Many interesting points were discussed, and six new members enrolled. Branches in the neighbourhood engaged in women's work or propaganda will be invited to join this branch of the Liverpool Federation.

CLIFTON.—A well-attended meeting, under the auspices of the N.U.S.E.C. and Women Citizens' Association was held on May 27th. The Chair was taken by Miss Meade-King, and Mr. A. Pugsley, B.Sc., explained the advantages of Proportional Representation. A mock election, which created considerable interest, followed.

ROYAL HOLLOWAY COLLEGE.—The first open meeting of this newly constructed society was held on May 16th. Miss Helen Ward gave a most interesting address, chiefly on the Women's Emancipation Bill, but she spoke also on the subject of Pensions for Widows. Members greatly appreciated the helpfulness of her replies to the questions which followed.

Resolutions were passed in support of the Bill, and also of the principle of Pensions for Widows. Copies of the resolutions were sent to the Premier, Sir Philip Magnus, M.P., and Donald MacMaster, Esq., M.P.

N.U.S.E.C. SCOTTISH WOMEN'S HOSPITALS.

CONCLUSION OF GLASGOW AND WEST OF SCOTLAND W.S.S. JOINT COMMITTEE'S WORK.

The final meeting of the above Committee took place on June 6th. Mr. F. J. Stephen, to whose able leadership and charm of personality the Committee owes so much of its success, was in the Chair, and there was almost a full attendance of members.

Previous to the business of the meeting, Mrs. J. T. Hunter, Chairman of Headquarters Committee, Edinburgh, made a very gracious speech, acknowledging the invaluable work of the Committee, and thanking them for their continued enthusiasm and support through the four years of the war, during which period they had raised nearly £50,000. Only in Red Cross work did one find such unselfish labour without the power of administration. Referring to the achievements of the Scottish Women's Hospitals in the war, Mrs. Hunter laid special stress on the outstanding qualities of Dr. Inglis's character. While other doctors had been given opportunities, Dr. Inglis created hers, and had shown a unique capacity for overcoming enormous difficulties. They could all look back with pride on the work of the hospitals.

After the business of the meeting, Miss M. C. Morrison, who for four years has acted as Hon. Treasurer of the Committee, was presented by them with a writing desk, as a small acknowledgement of her untiring work on behalf of the hospitals. Mrs. Stephen, in presenting the gift, gave very happy expression to the affection and esteem in which Miss Morrison is held, not only by the Committee, but by all whom interest or occasion had brought to the office.

The meeting concluded with tea and conversation, and Miss M. J. Buchanan, on behalf of the Committee, expressed their indebtedness to Mrs. Stephen.

The Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage inform us that they passed the following resolution at a meeting held on June 7th:—

1.—That this meeting of the Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage calls upon the promoters of the British Section of the League of Nations to elect women in equitable numbers with men on its National Committees and Councils:

2.—It affirms: (a) That no nation can be adequately represented at the Councils of the International League which does not send its women to represent their own sex; (b) That women being free from the vested interests that have animated and may animate the actions of male politicians to the detriment of the peoples, women's influence at the Councils will prove a safeguard to the future peace and prosperity of the whole world.

3.—This meeting therefore demands that the British Section of the League shall give a lead to the nations in this matter, and make the inclusion of women at the International Councils an integral part of its programme.

(Signed) THOMAS SHAW,
Chairman.

THE ELIZABETH GARRETT ANDERSON MEMORIAL FUND.

The Memorial Appeal, inaugurated by Lady Hall of Dunglass in 1916—in honour of the founder, for the endowment of the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital, needs only a little over £6,000 to complete the £50,000 hoped for. Up to date, donations and promises have been received amounting to £43,506. This splendid response to the Appeal has been made by women and girls throughout the country, who in groups representing various schools and professions have combined to name beds (£1,000 per bed) in the Hospital. The Appeal Committee is very anxious to close the Fund this Autumn, and donations and promises will be gratefully received and acknowledged by Lady Hall, if sent to the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital, Euston Road.

WOMEN POLICE.

A meeting was held in Bournemouth last month to protest against the exclusion of women from the administration of the law. It was organised by representatives of several societies, some social workers, and two clergymen. Councillor Florence Lanoy, a well-known member of the local N.U.S.E.C. Society was Chairman of the Protest Meeting Committee.

Mr. Cameron Grant was in the Chair, and Miss Helena Normanton and Sister Jessie spoke to the following resolution, which was carried unanimously:—

"This meeting declares its conviction that a grave miscarriage of justice frequently occurs in cases involving charges of offences alleged to have been committed on women and girls, and that this would be minimised by the appointment of women police; the appointment of women as members of the jury in equal numbers to men; the appointment of women justices of the peace; and the institution of a law that responsible women should never be excluded from the Court while such cases are being tried."

WOMEN LIBERALS AND THE TERMS OF PEACE.

The Executive Committee of the Women's National Liberal Federation, have passed the following resolution:—

"That the Executive Committee of the Women's National Liberal Federation are thankful that the Covenant of the League of Nations has been definitely included in the Terms of Peace, and trust that the enemy countries will be welcomed into the League at the earliest opportunity."

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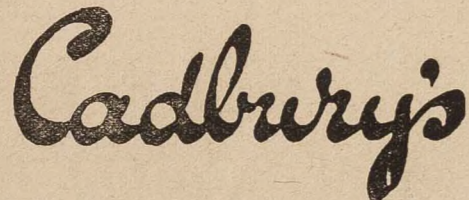
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National Federation of Women Teachers.

ANNUAL CONFERENCE, LEAMINGTON, JULY, 7TH-10TH.

THREE R'S.

At the Annual Conference of the National Federation of Women Teachers, Miss Agnes Dawson referred to the "Three R's," not those of hallowed memory, but a new edition. Rebellion, Revolution, and Reconstruction. She said that a year ago a party of law-abiding, highly respectable women teachers dared to show a spirit of rebellion against the London education authorities. The Press and public were standing by them and anticipating drastic action. Hitherto women teachers had been expected to show gratitude at being allowed to work at all—that they should expect a fair share in the new salary schemes under the Fisher grant was beyond the calculation of the powers that be. That rebellion was met by a concession, acceptable at the time to the teachers concerned, but the whole question is not cleared up. Their rebellion meant that women teachers repudiated, and would no longer tolerate without protest, the practice of payment according to sex. They demanded payment according to the quality of work without regard to sex. The latest excuse, "that we can get the right type of women teachers, but the men teachers are bound to be of an inferior type if we do not offer them more money than we offer women teachers," is moonshine. At least two-thirds of the teachers in this country are women; let us ensure the right type for the greatest number, and risk the rest.

There are other rebellions imminent. One of the causes is and will be unemployment. We commend to all whom it may concern the special clauses in the new Education Act which make for the prevention of child labour, and the further education of the young person over the age of fourteen; by-laws which will make these clauses more or less futile must not be allowed to pass; that way spells more unemployment; that way spells low wages bills, and there you have your real cause for rebellion, and rebellion means an arrest of progress. We have had proofs by the score that the present generation of men and women, all of whom should have partaken of the advantages of a national scheme of education, are lacking in initiative, have little knowledge of the meaning of citizenship, are unable to enjoy fully the little leisure they get, and are constantly the prey of a jingo newspaper or a shouting politician. Our children in the past have left the elementary schools and joined the great labour battalions, just as children in other walks of life are entering schools and can begin to appreciate some of the joys of learning, of reading or thinking, or of playing even. And here we would point out another great factor for evil that has prevailed in the past, namely, the enormously large classes in the elementary schools. While children are taught en masse, they are brought up more or less like machines, and do everything together. We would draw a comparison. Are the children of the rich herded together in sixties? Is there next to no chance for them to develop along lines of their own choice and at their own pace? Large classes prejudice education in our primary schools from the start. We are out to develop personality and to give a preparation for civic life; we should aim at getting an intelligent interest amongst our boys and girls in the problems of international, national, and municipal citizenship, and such an end is not achieved if large masses of young persons are taught together in unwieldy classes such as is the practice to-day.

That destruction has taken place during the last four or five years everywhere is apparent, and that we must reconstruct is equally true, but how? I am sure that if the Education Act of 1918 were rightly administered by wise administrators, and we could have each clause of the new Education Act intelligently put into operation, and a real reform in the housing of the workers—the results would mean Revolution writ large without blood, and some of us who will be privileged to see the new generation of children grow into manhood and womanhood will see this thing.

But reconstruction means harder toil and much more anxious thought than destruction. Take, for instance, the formation of nursery schools. Clause 19 of the Act is a permissive clause; it follows that only a very progressive local Education Authority will dream of establishing nursery schools decently equipped, and adequately staffed, just everywhere where the parents require them. We teachers foresee dangers. We can see baby-minding centres in place of the proposed nursery school, staffed by a motherly person who will do the job cheaply. We can see them situated in exceedingly poor districts only, in order to make it easier for the poor mother to go to work and receive a wage obviously less than she will earn and require. We cannot willingly be a party to such a system. A good nursery school will be a boon to all mothers and to all young children, and should be denied to none.

It is necessary that the public should realise that it is impossible for the teacher to give the child a sound mind and healthy body, even if she starts well, in the new nursery school. Thousands of our children are handicapped from before birth. I cannot get excited about the falling birth-rate. I am much more concerned about keeping the children sound when they are born, than I am to see an increase in the number of babies born. It has been nobody's business in the past to see that the mother had a chance to be sufficiently healthy herself, in order to be able to give birth to healthy babies, and then, the baby having been born, to be sure that its chance for a sound body and a sound mind was a good chance. Mothers are the great economists in the world. Now that the women will have a greater control over the spending of public monies, we look forward to them exercising their knowledge in domestic economies to prevent the gross waste that must follow if teachers are allowed to so vast a degree to begin their work on "damaged goods." Medical inspection is good, medical treatment where necessary is better, but prevention before it is too late is best.

Another new feature in the 1918 Act is the clause dealing with continuation schools. The new continuation schools must be run on right lines and in a right spirit. The Act provides for three hundred and twenty hours of compulsory attendance per year, in the employers' time, but the local Education Authority may, by resolution, reduce these hours to two hundred and eighty per year, i.e., from eight to seven hours per week. Why? Eight hours per week is quite short enough for boys and girls of fourteen to fifteen to spend in school. The hours at which attendance at school is required are left to be fixed by the local Education Authority, provided they are not before eight a.m. or after seven p.m. There is a

danger that sometimes an attempt may be made to crowd education in to the rag end of a working day. This must not happen. Local Education Authorities may also recognise "Work Schools" conducted by private firms, as giving suitable and efficient part-time instruction within the meaning of the Act. Such schools are likely to provide a commercial or specialised training rather than a general education. Further, there is a very big cry for a very specialised training for girls in domestic work. We have no quarrel with the study of domestic science, but claim that the girls in our new continuation schools must be given the same amount of freedom of choice in the subjects they shall study as their brothers will have.

One owns that more of what might be called domestic physics might be taught to our boys and girls. We should know for our own comfort why the pipes freeze, and the chimney smokes, and the boiler bursts. It is astonishing how few of us, either men or women, can help ourselves when such catastrophes overtake us. It is doubtful whether specialised teaching in what is called mothercraft is particularly desirable for young girls. Why should they not, equally with the boys of the same age, have opportunities for turning their thoughts in the direction of some interesting study or health-giving play?

One would put in a plea for better medical treatment following medical inspection. It follows that before medical inspection or treatment can touch the fringe of defects which hinder physical and mental development, houses must be different. I, for one, hail the prospect which makes for the better knowledge of social conditions amongst the necessary equipments in the training of a teacher; if it goes far enough, the revelations in themselves will go a long way toward bringing about a revolution in housing. And since the public conscience is somewhat aroused on housing, it will not be inopportune here to urge the bigger housing reform which is also necessary. We have some magnificent buildings for schools; we also have some buildings which are a disgrace. Most of these, I suppose, are in rural areas and amongst the non-provided schools; but there are too many of them amongst provided schools and in large towns, and all call equally for strong condemnation here. There must be injury to children's health, of which there is no record, but we in teachers' organisations can give testimony to an appalling number of breakdowns in the health of teachers because of bad conditions. Teachers enter the profession with a good bill of health. In one, two, three, and four years they are forced to take long periods of rest, or leave the profession because of illnesses which are directly traceable to bad ventilation, overcrowding, unwarrantable noise outside, and poor sanitation. We must then have good buildings on suitable sites for schools. We must have adequate playgrounds and spacious playing fields.

There is yet another clause (Clause 23) which gives power to local Education Authorities to aid in the work of research. A Director of Education told me only a week or two ago he was about to ask his committee to put this clause into operation at once, and make it possible for teachers who have been working under that authority for a given time, to get off for a term and study Education somewhere else. I doubt if a term will prove sufficiently long for much study, but it is a beginning. Many teachers are longing to come into direct personal contact with educational conditions in other countries, and to have time to study from outside the school walls the pressing needs and desires of the adolescent boy and girl, and now is the opportunity. We hope and trust that both teachers and authorities will make of Clause 23 the utmost possible use.

Finally, we would press forward that all should understand the changes that have taken place, that all should grasp for their children the great privileges that must no longer be withheld from the poor because of poverty. Then shall we have done something in the great work of reconstruction; then will the causes of rebellion have been removed; then will a revolution have come, not out of ill-will—not one conducted through ignorance fraught with destruction and distrust—but a revolution fraught with intelligent understanding based upon goodwill and a desire for the common weal.

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

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

Table with financial details for N.U.S.E.C. Scottish Women's Hospitals. Columns include '£ s. d.', 'Forward as per list to May 15th, 1919', 'Further donations received to May 29th, 1919', and various donor names and amounts.

Table with financial details for Glasgow and West of Scotland N.U.S.E.C. Joint Committee. Columns include '£ s. d.', 'Forward as per list to May 29th, 1919', 'Further donations received as at May 31st, 1919', and various donor names and amounts.

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

- JUNE 16. London-Caxton Hall-Speaker: Major J. W. Hills, M.P. (Chairman of Committee for Opening the Legal Profession to Women)-Subject: "Women and the Law"-Chair: Mr. Samuel Garrett (President of the Law Society, 1917-1918). 5.30 p.m.
JUNE 23. York-Friends' Meeting House, Clifford Street-Inaugural Meeting of the Yorkshire Council of Women Citizens (N.U.S.E.C.)-Speakers: Miss Eleanor F. Rathbone, C.C., Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Lady Lawson Tansred, Miss Beaumont, J. R. Cross, Esq., &c.-Chair: Mrs. H. A. L. Fisher-Tickets 1s., from Miss Hartop, 18, Park Row, Leeds. 2.30 p.m.
JUNE 23. Brighton-Chapel Royal Hall, New Road-Model Election and Address-Speaker: Mr. Humphreys-Subject: "Proportional Representation" Chair: Mr. E. A. Hobbs. 3 p.m.
JULY 1. London-Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street-Public Meeting, organised by the N.U.S.E.C. and the Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organisations in support of the Women's Emancipation Bill-Speakers: Mrs. Stocks (N.U.S.E.C.), Miss F. Campbell (N.F.W.W.), Miss Ruby Part (Workers' Union), Miss Howell, Miss Stevens (Poor Law Guardian). 8 p.m.
JULY 14. London-Caxton Hall-Speakers: Mr. Robert Young, M.P., Miss Anne H. Tynan-Subject: "Women in the Skilled Trades"-Chair: Mr. F. S. Butlin (Committee on Production). 5.30 p.m.

Coming Events.

- BARNETT HOUSE, OXFORD. JUNE 14. Oriol College Hall. Speaker: Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D. Subject: "Industrial Freedom for Women." Open Free to the Public. 5 p.m.
ASSOCIATION OF WOMEN CLERKS AND SECRETARIES. JUNE 16. Central Hall, Westminster. Meeting for temporary and permanent Women Civil Servants to protest against the Gladstone Committee Report. 6.30 p.m.
WOMEN'S LOCAL GOVERNMENT ASSOCIATION, BRIGHTON. JUNE 17. Pioneer Club, 4, New Road, Brighton. Speaker: Miss E. M. White. Subject: "The State." (D) 6 p.m.
JUNE 24. Speaker: Miss E. M. White. Subject: "The Workers." 6 p.m.
THE ARMENIAN BUREAU. JUNE 19. Central Hall, Westminster. Public Meeting to express sympathy with the Armenian Cause. Speakers and Supporters: Rt. Hon. Viscount Bryce, O.M., Lieut.-Col. Lord Henry Cavendish Bentinck, M.P., Dr. Ronald Burrows, Dr. John Clifford, Aneurin Williams, Esq., M.P., etc. Chair: Viscount Gladstone. Admission Free. 8.15 p.m.
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND. JUNE 24-27. De Montfort Hall, Leicester. All tickets to be obtained from the local Hon. Sec., Miss S. J. Sloane, 13, Welford Road, Leicester. Season Tickets, 3s. 6d. Tickets for Single Meetings 1s.

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ANNOUNCEMENTS.

ARMENIA AND THE SETTLEMENT.—Meeting Central Hall, Westminster, Thursday, June 19th, at 8.15 p.m. Chair: Viscount Gladstone. Speakers: Viscount Bryce, Lord Henry Cavendish Bentinck, Dr. John Clifford, Dr. Ronald Burrows, etc. Admission free.

PUBLIC LECTURES by Homer Lane on "Problems of Adolescence," June 17th and 24th, and July 1st, at 6.30, at 11, Tavistock-square. Tickets of admission (3s. the course), from the Secretary, Guild of Education on National Service, 11, Tavistock-square, W.C. 1

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