

not to be taken away

# The Common Cause

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

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[The N.U.S.E.C. does not hold itself responsible for opinions expressed in signed articles or in correspondence.

The Special Number of "The Common Cause" which should have been published this week has been postponed on account of the Strike and of the consequent difficulties in the way of the distribution of newspapers.

## Notes and News.

### The Strike.

THE COMMON CAUSE goes to press this week at a moment of grave uncertainty. It is possible that before these lines are printed the railway strike declared last Saturday may have extended into a General Strike. It is possible, also, that a way of conciliation may have been found, and that something like normal life may have been resumed. This is no place in which to argue the rights and wrongs of the question at issue between the railway men and the Government. The gravest element of the situation is that many people on both sides proclaim their conviction that the struggle was inevitable, and that the only question was when it should begin. We, ourselves, cannot assent to this view. Deep as are the differences of opinion between various sections of the community as to what social justice requires, we believe the citizens who place the good of the whole community before the questions of any one section could, if they were given the opportunity, adjust these differences and find a way to peace. The obstacle to their doing so is lack of knowledge, and consequent lack of power. The vast majority of the people in this country do not want strife, or class-war, or any unfair advantage; what they want is fair play for all—and peace. The different classes do not hate each other, and do not want to strangle each other. Unhappily, however, they do to some extent distrust each other, and this distrust engendered by the mistakes and injustices of the past is naturally strongest in some of those who have to take a leading part in the struggle on both sides. It is ready to flame up at any spark. In this case only the change of a word in a Government message was required to kindle it. It is the duty of the great mass of public-spirited citizens, among whom are the newly-enfranchised women to refuse to let themselves be inflamed by it, and to resist all temptation to be led away by the prejudices of class, or by passions springing from ancient wrongs. They must insist on knowing all the facts. They must take every means open to them of hearing both sides. Above all, they must demand that the Government which represents them shall find a way to peace, and shall not allow the country to drift into a state of strife which no one desires and which would be the greatest possible disaster for our national life.

### Women and the Strike.

If the great strike had come upon us before 1914 no Government would have called upon women volunteers to help to keep things going. It is a measure of our progress in these five years that women motor drivers should be called for as a matter of course; that the voluntary workers who register volunteers for public service at Grosvenor House should be mostly women; that the demobilisation of the W.R.N.S. should be one of the precautionary measures taken by the authorities. The women of the Women's Services have the advantage of being disciplined, of being accustomed to work with men as well as under arms, and of being uniformed and therefore recognised by the public as responsible persons with public duties to perform and a tradition of competence and courage behind them. The stoppage in demobilising the W.R.N.S. is a commentary on the irresponsible complaints lately made upon the superfluity of uniformed women in this time of transition. The Army and Navy (and the W.R.N.S. as part of the naval forces) are being used to protect the ordinary citizen against unconstitutional attempts upon his liberty. That women should be among the guardians of liberty is an earnest and symbol of the fact that they have obtained their own political freedom.

### An Unjust Scale.

The Ministry of Labour has announced that the out-of-work donation for persons thrown out of employment by the strike will be on the following scale. Married men and widowers with a child or dependent children under fifteen, will receive 25s. per week. Single men, or widowers with no children under fifteen, 15s. per week. Women, 12s. per week. Boys between fifteen and eighteen, 7s. 6d., and girls between fifteen and eighteen, 6s. This scheme makes no provision whatever for widows with dependent children. An unmarried man with no children will receive 3s. more than a woman with a family dependent on her. No explanation is given of this change in the existing rates of unemployment donation which provide for dependent children. We indignantly protest against the rate if 12s. being applied indiscriminately to women, and against the gross inequality of the whole scale.

### The War Cabinet's Report.

The Report of the War Cabinet for 1918 is not news but history; it records the highest point of the national effort, the turning point of the war, and the beginning of the process of reconstruction. There is, one is glad to see, no special paragraph devoted to "women's work," but women's co-operation in all forms of work for their country is taken for granted and acknowledged in the sober terms befitting citizen-service in national emergency. The year 1918 saw the doubling of the trained section of the Women's Land Army, the increase to three hundred thousand of the village women employed, whole or half-time, on the land, the culmination of the replacement of male workers by one and a half million women, the increase of women in the uniformed women's services to a quarter of a million. Six million women were engaged in whole-time work. So much for their quantitative part in the final war year. Of the quality of their work it is sufficient to quote the verdict that their employment "revealed a source of national strength whose existence had never been fully realised." They may at first have been employed *faute de mieux*; their physical strength and mental capacity alike improved. But nothing could show more plainly the confidence inspired by women in responsible administrative posts than the appointment this week of Miss Hopwood of the Food Ministry as London Distribution Officer during the strike. It is an open secret that much of the good work of this as of other Ministries was done by its female



staff, and it is only outsiders who express surprise at so suitable an arrangement as that of a trained woman as London's house-keeper.

#### Women as Health Advisers.

The constitution has now been announced of the Consultative Councils set up to advise the Ministry of Health. For England there are four councils, and it is satisfactory to learn that at least half of the Council advising on General Health Questions are to be women. The official paid guardians of the nation's health may be chiefly men, but in the homes of the people it is the mother who bears almost the whole responsibility. This point was made by the women's organisations which pressed for a special Advisory Council representing women, and its justice has been recognised in the selection of the members of this Council at least. The advisers on National Health Insurance and Local Health Administration, like those on the Medical and Allied Services, are men in the proportion of twenty to two. A large number of them are appointed as representatives of bodies such as trade unions, scientific associations, and local authorities, and as these bodies are at present constituted, it is natural that men should be appointed as their spokesmen. It is for women to press for larger representation at this earlier stage, and this they will no doubt do with success in the near future, thus giving the Government an opportunity of enlisting the services of a greater number of expert women, and recognising more adequately their importance in what all sections of opinion agree in holding to be their sphere.

#### Medical and Allied Council.

The selection of Miss Frances Ivens, M.S., and Dr. Janet Lane Clayton as advisers to the Medical and Allied Services will be welcomed by all thinking women. Dr. Ivens is a specialist in gynaecological surgery; she is well known as the recipient of the French *Croix de Guerre avec Palme* for service under fire at Villers Cotterets, and for her devoted work at Royaumont, where, beginning to operate immediately after a hurried and perilous retreat from her evacuated hospitals, she continued for a week with hardly any rest, and performed in fourteen days many hundreds of serious operations. Dr. Lane Clayton, Warden of King's College for Women, is our foremost authority on the chemistry of milk as well as a distinguished figure in the educational world. Women have always been prominent in the Health Administration of Cambridge, and this is recognised by the appointment of Mrs. Dimsdale to the Council on Local Health Administration, where the other woman member is Miss Broadbent, of the Marylebone Board of Guardians. Miss Mary Macarthur on the Council for National Health Insurance has for colleague Miss Florence, of the Women Clerks and Secretaries Friendly Society.

#### Pride and Conquest.

The first number of *The Woman Teacher*, the organ of the National Federation of Women Teachers, appeared on September 26th. It is a gallant venture and we wish it, and predict for it, all success. We know of few organisations outside the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship which give us so strong a sense of the solidarity of women as this Federation. Its President, Miss Agnes Dawson, was, a few years ago, one of the most enterprising and indefatigable of the members of the London Society of the N.U.W.S.S. She was then, and she is now, on fire with the passionate love of freedom which inspired the Women's Movement in its early days, and which is its only hope now that it has grown up, and is faced with new difficulties and new problems. Miss Dawson tells us, in her Foreword in *The Woman Teacher*, that "Pride and Conquest is the watchword of the Federation," and, she continues, "We are proud of the women in our midst, who have stood so firmly in spite of persecution until women in our land were granted a measure of political freedom. We are proud of the women who, in the remotest rural school, carry on and hold fast to their principles," and again, "What the Women's Suffrage Movement began is left for women workers generally to continue; it is for us to establish a freedom and equality of opportunity amongst women which has been denied them hitherto."

#### New Fields to Conquer.

The words quoted above are the words of a leader, of one who sees clearly the struggle to come and the cost of it, but who is absolutely convinced that victory is certain. It is this faculty of clear vision, and of sterling ability—combined with the trained imagination which never loses sight of the goal in the multitude of present cares—which distinguishes the Fed-

eration as a whole and which has won for it its position and enabled it to compel attention to its demands. Every good feminist should support the Federation and should be inspired by its example of courage and clear vision to go forward with boldness, climbing peak after peak until at last, and it will be a long last, the principle, so glibly professed but so inadequately practised, of equal status and opportunities for men and women in every human sphere is an accomplished fact.

#### Women's Suffrage in South America.

Good news of the progress of Women's Suffrage comes from South America. A Suffrage Bill is to be introduced into the Argentine House of Deputies by the Socialist Deputy, Dr. Regelio Araya, and we hear that arrangements are being made for a Pan-American Congress in Buenos Aires in July, 1921, and that Mrs. Chapman Catt has promised to preside. In the neighbouring Republic of Uruguay much progress has also been made in the Women's Movement. The President, Dr. Balthasar Brum, is a strong Feminist who recently made a suffrage speech which is printed in full in our contemporary the *Accion Feminina* of Monte Video. After remarking how the French Revolution, while proclaiming the Rights of Man, failed to establish the equality of the sexes, and left women in a state of irritating inferiority with regard, not only to political, but to civil and family rights, the President went on to say: "In our country, I observe it with real pride, men have made it their business to improve the status of women, without waiting for women themselves to demand it. In a very short time many disastrous inequalities have been removed from our laws, and woman has been reinstated in her full rights. This is all the more honourable for us because it has not happened everywhere, and even in the few countries where women have secured recognition of their rights, this has not taken place (as it has here) by the spontaneous and whole-hearted action of men, but has been conquered after a long and painful struggle." The President went on to point out how all over the world the war had been a powerful assistance to women, by giving them the opportunity to show how fit they were to take part in all struggles, to co-operate with men, when necessary, to replace them. It had made even the nations which had most strenuously resisted the recognition of equality obliged to proclaim it in spite of all the obstacles of selfishness and prejudice. Uruguay has a very active National Council of Women, with Dr. Pauline Luisi as President.

#### The Equal Moral Standard and the Empire.

Mrs. Dixon, whose wonderful work against the evils of the Cantonment system in India is well-known to all readers of the *Shield*, is now in England, and is carrying on a campaign for the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene. The object of the campaign is to demand that the equal moral standard shall be established not only in the Mother country, but throughout the British Empire. At present, our great Dependencies come far short of the highest standard of English law. The time has come when an effort should be made to bring their law into conformity with it. Mrs. Dixon holds, however, that this is not primarily a question of legislation, but of educated public opinion. Her recent experiences have strengthened her in this view. During the last year, she has addressed over twenty-four thousand men and women, and has everywhere met with an enthusiastic response. No body of people have shown themselves more susceptible to the appeal to justice than the British soldiers in India, to whom she has constantly spoken. Mrs. Dixon thinks that some of those who wish to legislate for the bodily health of our troops, without regard to other considerations would be surprised if they could once realise how the men resent being treated in this way, and with what intense eagerness they listen to those who speak to them from the standpoint of justice and right. We wish success to Mrs. Dixon and her association in their coming labours and we hope that all women's organisations will do what they can to help. Women Citizens' Associations and others who would like to be in touch with the work that is going on should write to Mrs. Dixon, or Miss Alison Neilans, at the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, 19, Tothill-street, S.W.1.

#### Peace Work of the Red Cross.

The British Red Cross Society and the Order of St. John have agreed to carry on in time of peace the same kind of work for the benefit of the sick and helpless that they did for the long years of war. That this should be so is a material advantage—

something saved from the locusts which have destroyed so much that we had before the catastrophe. Naturally enough, the Red Cross will continue to care for the sick or disabled ex-soldier, supplementing the work of the pensions authorities as it did the efforts of the War Office to tend its broken men. Then it will do for the civil hospital patient many of the kind offices that meant so much for the soldier, carrying on the Library scheme and organising the efforts of those who are willing to sew or knit for the sick and to provide the extra comforts that doctors and nurses cannot provide owing to lack of funds or labour. It will concentrate much of its energy on Child Welfare, co-ordinating the work of many societies that have hitherto acted independently. The Voluntary Aid Detachments will still continue some kind of connection with the Territorial Force, and the ambulances used during the war will be placed under local directors and be at the disposal of the sick all over the country, which, strange to say, has never had any efficient ambulance service outside the large towns. In this new scheme something has been borrowed from the French Red Cross, which by its prescribed service in Poor Law infirmaries, has long provided a modicum of practical training for its workers, while ours were purely theoretical in their attainments. The peace-service of our Red Cross will tend to become a glorification of the "social work" and "district visiting" about which many cruel things have been said, but which, in spite of its exploitation by busy-bodies and incompetents had as its ideal the offer of help without patronage, which those needing it could accept without servility. The tradition of the Red Cross is that of respect and gratitude to its patients as well as to the workers, and this spirit carried into voluntary ministrations to the sick of the more necessitous of our town and country people, may well work a revolution in our social life.

#### Women and the Housing Campaign.

We are glad to hear of the practical work that is being done by the Garden Cities and Town-Planning Association (3, Grays Inn Place, W.C.1) to help to make it possible for women to take an active part in the housing campaign. The Housing Act of 1919 will not gain much living force until the citizens of every county and borough have realised the duties and powers which it gives to local authorities and have brought the pressure of public opinion to bear on their own councils. There are many districts, urban and rural, where the local authorities would welcome the assistance of an outside Committee of enthusiastic men and women. We hope that the propaganda undertaken by the Garden Cities and Town-Planning Association will make the formation of such Committees general. The Association welcomes the help of all women's organisations and Women Citizens' Associations which have not yet come into direct contact with it should write to the Headquarters for information.

#### Lodgings for Babies.

The attempt to make life possible for unmarried mothers and their children began, as was natural, with helping the women to some employment which should permit them to keep their children with them. It became obvious that a wage-earning woman could not, without help, care for a very young child, and hostels for mothers and babies, where the infants could be cared for during the day by a skilled person were instituted, though their number is still lamentably insufficient. But when the child is a year or eighteen months old his mother must leave the hostel to make room for some one in more urgent need. Then it appears that the lodging houses which will have fatherless babies are either very unsatisfactory from the health point of view, or from a moral standpoint. Miss Inez Skrine, who has founded successively a Weaving Studio for unmarried mothers, a hostel to house its workers, the Margaret Day Nursery for Fatherless Children, with its Mothers' Club, now wishes to provide a house where the women who use the day nursery can live with their children, each in her own furnished room. The initial outlay might be considerable, but grants for the upkeep of such a house, if well managed, would be available from the Ministry of Health. Some such provision is a necessity if unmarried mothers are to regain an independent self-reliant existence, and it will doubtless meet with the support to tide it over the initial difficulties.

#### Good Milk.

At a time when pessimistic scientists speak as though the choice of the milk-consumer lay merely between the innutritious sterilised fluid on which babies die merely of inability to live and dirty natural milk, swarming with germs of enteric, it is cheering to read in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*,

Professor Armstrong's opinion that the buyer who knows good milk from bad will be able to get the good even in London. Mr. Robert Mond, he says, has for the last dozen years undertaken the supply of pure milk to the Infants' Hospital, Vincent Square. Some five thousand mothers have visited the out-patients' department, and "having learnt to recognise good milk—by taste, smell, and its curdling power with rennet—they have found very little difficulty, after using appropriate language, in obtaining from the existing dairies scattered all over the slums and suburbs of London, a suitable milk for their babies." The scientists supply the knowledge, the mothers the energy and the "appropriate language," and the milk—which unaided scientists despair—is forthcoming.

#### Mice.

It is to be hoped that Rat-week, appointed for the fourth week in October by the Board of Agriculture and the Ministry of Health, will result in a reduction of the rat population. At present it is, at any rate, as numerous as the human inhabitants of these islands, is capable of multiplying a millionfold in two or three years, and costs the country, at a moderate computation, £40,000,000 per annum. It is obvious that we in England can no longer afford to maintain a rat each in these times of scarcity. Unluckily, the scientific people tell us that reduction of the rat population will, unless we take precautions, be followed by an increase in mice, and house-mistresses, warned of this danger, will do well to forestall Rat-week by making their houses as far as possible mouse-proof lest the hue-and-cry, the traps, poison, and ferrets of October should induce mice, when disturbed from their accustomed haunts, to take refuge in houses from which they cannot easily be dislodged. The mouse has not so bad a record as the rat as a plague carrier or conveyer of trichinosis, but the Australian mouse plague of 1917, with its million pounds worth of damage, made it clear that mouse diseases are transmissible to domestic animals, and that defilement of food by mice may have fatal effects upon human beings. The Rats and Mice Destruction Bill now before Parliament makes harbouring rats and mice a punishable offence, but until this is passed action is possible under the Defence of the Realm Act against persons taking no measures to rid infested premises of these animals. The British Museum's Natural History (Economic Series) Handbook No. 8 gives almost unprintable details of the ravages of rats in refreshment houses, and suggests that no rat or mouse infested house should be licensed for refreshments. Fortunately, the housewife's remedies are simple. Almost any trap (though one which catches without killing the mouse will warn other possible victims): any bait attractive to rodents, but not elsewhere obtainable on the infested premises, stopping mouse-runs with powdered glass and cement; not leaving food or edible refuse accessible to either resident or visiting mice. The Board of Agriculture's Leaflet states that there is no ground for the belief that phosphorous paste mummifies without odour the body of a mouse that eats it. More important is the warning as to the careful use of "Virus," which is uncertain as a destructive agent, and may possibly infect human beings with enteritis. Evidently, the cat, harmless as well as necessary, is our best friend in this respect. Country people should look out for mice emigrating from threshing yards this autumn, and get rid of them before they have time to found a family.

#### Adelina Patti.

Even to the most materialistically minded a great artist seems immortal, and Adelina Patti will live in the hearts not only of those who heard her in her prime but in the tradition of the people for all time. Not so much for her operatic triumphs will this memory remain green for the ordinary person, but for the supreme simplicity—that highest art—with which she expressed the primitive and universal emotions. It is easy to smile at her inevitable encore, "Home, Sweet Home," but the smile becomes a smile of joy rather than of amusement that she could so unite herself with thousands, even millions, of her humble fellow-creatures. To adapt a well-worn quotation, we may well say one touch of Art it is that makes the whole world kin. In the world of Art there is indeed neither male nor female, bond nor free. The artist receives the recognition due to his art and to that alone. Would that the controversialist could understand the significance of this fact, for Art is the almost perfect medium through which truth reveals itself and makes its habitation with mankind. We honour the memory of Adelina Patti because she was a great artist and because through her art it was given to her to vindicate the full humanity of women.



## OUR EQUALITY PROGRAMME AND CLASS BOUNDARIES.

By MRS. MARGARET HEITLAND.

WHAT is the equality for which we of the National Union are working? "Sex equality," most of us would answer if our reply were to be quite brief. That no such state as literal and absolute equality can be reached, we are all aware. We realise that equality is an ideal to be approached rather than attained; and that the approach is made by the removal of all inequalities which are not rooted in the physical being of men and women. The equality for which we are striving (in whatever words we may define it) is equality between men as men and women as women; and, since we hold that women have been unfairly treated compared with men, it becomes our task to abolish by united effort the hardships and disadvantages which law or custom has imposed on women. The "Equal Citizenship" for which our National Union stands is the equal citizenship of women with men.

Strangers to our Union sometimes ask whether our "Equal Citizenship" implies the equality of everybody or even the equality of women with each other. We tell them in reply that our actual programme does not go beyond the removal of those disabilities which our present social system lays on women by reason of their womanhood. We tell them further—and it is self-evident—that the Societies within our Union will have enough to do in getting the principle of sex equality accepted and practised without adding to their undertakings.

Yet the object of every organisation is linked up with other objects; and with us unquestionably the object of sex equality does stand in near relationship to the greater ideal of a general human equality. It is for no mere rhetorical or rhythmical reason that Fraternity is linked with Equality, and both with Liberty, in the expressed ideal of two of our freedom-seeking Allies. A measure of fraternity must be gained before we can begin the fight for equality. It is useless for one woman to demand equality for her sex: women must be united in fraternity before they can possess force enough to make their claim heard. Our opponents in the past understood this, and sought continually to break up the fraternity of women by urging the individual woman to stand alone, to enjoy flattery or material comfort and to dissociate herself from her fellow-women. They knew that they could dominate or buy off individual women, but that they could not defeat women knit closely together in union for the sake of a "Common Cause." Thus, inevitably, women have been brought into close association with each other; their cohesion has been an indispensable condition of victory.

We must maintain this cohesion; we must increase it, for on the solidarity of women we must rely if we are to gain equal franchise powers, opportunities for earning an equal wage with men and an equal share in the conduct both of State and domestic affairs. The solidarity of women is threatened from many sides. The appeal now made to the vanity of individual women is different in kind from the old appeal. "Dear madam," said the ancient intriguers, "you are an exceptional woman, gifted with a man's brain. Why associate yourself with women of the rank and file whom you must know to be markedly your inferiors? Take your place, we beseech you, among your peers, the lords temporal and spiritual of the world!"

To-day the appeal to a woman's personal vanity is more subtly framed. "Leave your class and the women of your class who are unworthy of you," say the modern tempters. "Join another class and in it rouse class jealousies. Your gifts will show to advantage, for there will be little competition. You will quickly become a leader." What the tempters omit to add is that the invitation to class leadership is only offered on the tacit understanding that a woman abandons her demand for sex equality or that at critical moments she keeps silent concerning it.

We have, I think, another part to play than this. It is for us, I hold, to work for the obliteration of class differences and to work, so far as we can, for the lessening of all those inequalities of education and circumstances which create such differences. We do not, I am sure, progress by the intensification of class differences to which some women (in advanced quite as much as in old-fashioned circles) are prone. The woman who publicly disparages her audience because she sees no "working woman" present is quite as unhelpful to the cause of women's solidarity as was the woman of times past who used to disparage women of what she then styled the "humbler class." I see little to choose between the two types. As women whose first principle is sex equality we cannot afford to emphasise class inequality, whether for our own personal glorification or for

any other object. We must necessarily stand together. We must necessarily pool our knowledge, our talents and our common experience of life and work. To do this involves the breaking down of class differences. We cannot take equality in small helpings. We cannot pick and choose the sorts of equality we prefer and leave the other sorts of equality for those who fancy them. From the particular kind of equality that we know we want we are led (or may be forced) onward towards another equality which we shall like better as we get to understand it.

These are hard sayings, and I do not utter them because I am in any greater hurry to practise them than my comfortably-off neighbours, but simply because I know they are true and that ultimately we must conform to them.

There is one domain, however, in which we ought, I am convinced, to recognise the principle of class equality at once and not leave it to fight its way later through the hard social crust. This is the domain upon which we are about to enter with our new housing schemes. These schemes, especially in their "town-planning" aspect, give us a magnificent opportunity for striving as practical people to get nearer to class equality by lessening class inequality. One of our main inequalities in large towns is regional or geographical. There is a tendency to house the population according to class and wealth in certain, often widely separated, areas. In a village or small town this tendency is much less marked. Daily affairs take the dwellers in large houses down their village street, and however much class distinctions may be preserved, there is at all events mutual acquaintance and a give-and-take of services. In very large towns this sense of community is lost. The occupiers of big houses press that only big houses should be built near them. The occupiers of medium dwellings are horrified at the thought of cottages or "places of business" being placed near them to lessen the "residential" or "rateable" value of their particular street. A veritable caste system is gradually set up. We get a very dull and spacious west-end, a very noisy, crowded east-end, then slums, then philanthropy to be kind to the slums, then more or less self-conscious "settlements," and ultimately class differences of the most intense and stupid character.

Many of these evils might be lessened if in large towns we lived more together, more intermixed. To me such an intermingling would be a gain, not a grievance. Personally I would as soon spend all my days in a convent or a college as I would live exclusively with persons of precisely my own class. Life loses for me its savour and richness if one may not know—and know intimately—all sorts of people of all ages and conditions. But there are many excellent women who feel differently. Such women are disposed to spend their working hours on removing the troubles against which poorer women contend; but when the working day is done they ask to return to the tranquil surroundings of their own "residential" district. They remind me that the noise with which the air rings in poor districts is excessive. There is also insect life, there are epidemics. True; but is there no noise when the wealthy go motoring or play football? Were there no vermin in the trenches? And do we not meet infection when moving in the highest circles?

Even were these misfortunes doled out to the poor in larger measure than to the prosperous, ought we not to be made aware of the fact? If we felt these evils in our lives and constantly, should we not quickly cry out and have our sufferings relieved? Undoubtedly we should do so; and this is really the great argument for the living together of classes. The well-endowed (whether with brains, influence, or other things) do not put up with grievances. If mistakes are made by which they themselves suffer, they cry aloud and spare not; and upraising their voices on their own behalf, they also help other people.

I do not profess to see far ahead, but I can perceive that we shall all in the future be called on to share the work of the world more equally with each other. During the era which the war definitely closed we were by way of "specialising." (The verb was perhaps a little flattering for the actualities if hid.) "Specialising" meant that some persons did mechanical, dreary jobs, others did well-paid enjoyable work, and the rest who did nothing deplored the indolence of the age. The "specialising" era is finished. Each of us now must do a little work of all sorts. The house-worker wants some brain work as well: the brain-worker will presently find that she must make her own bed before she sits down to write an article.

(Personally I fear I should make and unmake my bed many times sooner than begin that article!) Anyhow life is going to be more varied and heterogeneous and, whether for other people or myself, I look forward to it with pleasure.

Let us come out from our little class-cells and give up living (à la "Young Visitors") in our own palatial "compartments." Most of us, especially women, live from forty to eighty years in "compartments," and die without having fully lived. When we do our house building, let us, in spirit, do some house-breaking as well. Let us take occasion to break down our class compartments.

## Work for Women on Borough Councils.

By EDITH HOW-MARTYN,  
Middlesex County Councillor.

The November Elections for County Borough and Town Councils, give the first good opportunity for the new women Local Government voters to exercise their power for the good government of their towns. To ensure the best administration the co-operation of women and men Councillors is necessary. Women who are invited to stand will naturally want to know what the duties and responsibilities of the office are, and in this article I attempt very briefly to answer these questions.

The Councils meet monthly and usually in the evenings. Special meetings may be summoned by the Mayor or by any five members of the Council. All Council meetings are open to the public, and prospective women candidates, by attending them, can gain a little insight into the working of the municipal machine. The detailed work of administration is carried on by the Committees of the Council and these meetings are not open to the public.

The functions of a Borough vary according to the number of its population. The County Boroughs exercise within their areas all the powers possessed by the County Councils, and are independent of the County authorities. Boroughs of more than 10,000 inhabitants have Police powers, are the authorities for Elementary Education, and administer the Food and Drugs and other Acts. In smaller Boroughs, these duties are performed by the County authorities, who generally invite the co-operation of the local Councils.

All Borough Councils are administrative bodies, whose duty it is to carry out instructions laid down in Acts of Parliament, and, except for bye-laws, all of which have to be approved by some central authority, have no power whatever to make or alter the laws. A law, however good, is of no benefit to the people until it is administered. In the past, owing to their own apathy, the public have not benefited by many excellent laws, because the local Councils have not troubled to carry them into effect. Women can now look into all these matters, and for the first time have the power to insist that the children, the unfortunate, and ordinary citizens shall have the benefits which Parliament has made possible. A fair proportion of women among the elected Councillors will be the best guarantee of this. Women possessing organising and administrative abilities should not hesitate to accept invitations to stand as candidates.

**Public Health.**—All Borough Councils have large Public Health powers, and the Ministry of Health is anxious that these powers shall be used to their fullest extent. Women are needed on all Public Health and Housing Committees. Housing is the most urgent problem at the present time—to build houses in accordance with a town-planning scheme and on garden suburb lines, to put existing houses into sanitary repair, to adapt large houses, in short to use thought and imagination to give people proper homes, one of the fundamental conditions of a healthy and moral life.

An important new development of public health is the Maternity and Child Welfare work, and I have no hesitation in saying this work cannot be satisfactorily carried out unless there are a number of women on the Council. County Boroughs administer the Midwives' Act. The care of the expectant mother is at the basis of all sound infant welfare work.

Recent legislation has made it possible for Councils to extend their work to the cure and prevention of venereal diseases, tuberculosis and other infectious and contagious diseases, also to the proper care and nursing of children suffering from measles, whooping cough, and other so-called childish ailments—a measure which will save the lives of thousands of children annually and prevent in others disastrous after-effects.

Isolation, Maternity and General Hospitals, removal and destruction of house refuse, Baths and Wash-houses, the sani-

tary condition of the streets, provision of public conveniences, health conditions in laundries, workshops, dairies and public lodging-houses, pure water supply, inspection of food, and much else all come within the powers of Borough Councils, and the health of the people largely depends on their efficient administration.

**Education.**—Next in importance to Public Health comes Education. The proper administration of the 1918 Act is a matter of national urgency. Women are indispensable on Education Committees, so Parliament has made the co-option of women compulsory, but elected women Councillors are also needed, as they alone are in a position to urge upon the Council itself the proposals put forward by the Committee.

Education authorities control all elementary education, provide for the medical inspection and treatment of the children, make bye-laws (within the limits laid down by the Act) regulating the employment of children outside school hours, make arrangements for defective and epileptic children to attend special schools and perform numerous other incidental duties. They co-operate with the County authorities in secondary and technical education and they may provide Nursery Schools for children below school age.

County Borough Education Committees control all kinds of educational work within their areas, and may contribute to and promote University education.

The future position of England among the nations will be largely determined by the kind of education given to its young citizens. Women make admirable teachers, and I believe that the cause of education has everything to gain by the larger participation of women in the well-paid administrative posts and on education committees.

**Care of Children and the Unfortunate.** Women can be especially useful in all the measures taken for the protection of children and young people, the care and treatment of the Insane, of the Sick, of Mental Defectives, of Inebriates, of Unmarried Mothers, of Old-age and War Pensioners; and it may be in the near future of some of those who at present are dealt with by the Poor Law Guardians. The scope for sympathetic, individual work of a personal nature is practically unlimited, and no one can do it better than experienced women.

**Finance.**—Councils are continually spending money which they raise by means of rates and loans. In addition, grants are received from Government, and some boroughs receive income from property or from trading. The indifferent citizen considers the whole duty of Councillors is to keep down the rates, while the enlightened citizen asks that the money shall be spent wisely and properly. Women should certainly understand the finances of their Councils, an easy enough matter under the direction of the Borough Accountant. Women Councillors should look into the salaries and conditions under which the women employed by the Council work.

**Other Duties.** In addition to the above, other important responsibilities devolve upon the Councils in connection with the Police, Recreation Grounds and Open Spaces, Libraries and Reading Rooms, Provision of Small Holdings and Allotments, Roads and Tramways, Rivers and Bridges, Diseases of Animals and Plants, Licensing and National Insurance. During the war the Councils were called upon to carry out many new duties—especially in connection with Food Control. Committees are now being set up to investigate complaints of Profiteering.

The above brief outline shows how intimately the work of Borough Councils is bound up with healthy conditions for home life and with the welfare of children. The new needs call for women as representing the home makers to extend their work by taking their share in municipal administration. The Women's Local Government Society states that 63 women are doing excellent work on 48 Borough Councils, but that 276 Councils in England and Wales have no women members. Let us see to it that the November Elections will result in no Borough Council being without a woman member.

## Women's Economic Status and Outlook. I.

By MARY WARD.

Political status and economic status are closely linked. When John Stuart Mill pointed out that the "subjection of women" had involved the appropriation by the male half of the community of the "lion's share" of the wealth that justly belonged to both sexes, he made notable illustration of this important fact. It has remained for their experiences during



the war to bring its truth home to women in a direct and practical fashion.

During the social and economic upheaval they have learned something of what their own capabilities in the matter of wealth-production actually are, and might become if freer scope were allowed them. And, as an indirect consequence, they are beginning to appreciate more truly the economic significance of their ordinary work in the home—work, the value of which, on the material side, has hitherto been scarcely recognised by the masculine half of the community and has been conventionally underrated even by women themselves. The man works and earns, his wife and children (and maybe parents) live at home, sheltered, protected, and freely provided by him with all the necessities and many of the comforts and luxuries of life—that is the convention. How far it differs from the reality as regards the mass of the population will be considered in a later article.

But further, women under war conditions have learned something of the dignity and self-respect that belongs to economic independence as well as of the interest that the full and free exercise of faculties lends to life. They have known the satisfaction of handling good earnings, the reward of good work. Above all they have enjoyed the unwonted freedom of choice in spending and have realised the advantage this gives in shaping their own lives and surroundings to their own ideals. Women of all classes have, in their degrees, in one way or another, shared in these experiences. We all know women (young and old, married and unmarried) accustomed to ease and luxury who in various kinds of arduous war work have found new values in life. And this has not been only because of the glad sense of good service rendered to their country in its need; it has been also because of the satisfaction found in the exercise of energies previously cramped or dormant.

All this means that the war conditions have enabled, nay, forced, women to "find themselves"; and it is unthinkable that they should contentedly return to their pre-war social and economic status, any more than to their political. At present, when the shattering effects of the war have made reconstruction of society on a new basis and a wide scale imperative, when political, industrial and social institutions seem to be all more or less in the melting-pot, women have a rare opportunity of "coming into their own"; and they have a duty to perform to the race as well as to themselves in taking advantage of it.

The revelation of the extent and gravity of their economic disabilities and of the injury to the State which results has come to many women with almost a shock of surprise. Partly, they had grown so used to the disabilities as to ignore them, partly, they had conventionally accepted them as inevitable—as the result of natural laws and not of human institutions. This surprise has come also to many of the more intelligent and earnest leaders of reform among men. They are beginning to see—if as yet "through a glass darkly"—that women's economic subjection blocks the way to the social regeneration they desire. Among other things they are envisaging—in quite a novel way—the fact that they are sons before they are husbands and fathers, and that the inferior economic position of their mothers tends to affect adversely their whole lives; especially, of course, in the working class. Scientific enquiries, statistics of health insurance, of infant mortality, of school medical inspection, above all, the records of the conscription tribunals, revealing, as they did, the shockingly low average of our national health ("the C3 nation"), all this is forcing attention to the unsatisfactory conditions of motherhood among the masses. But the fact that the worst, the most fundamental, of these is the mother's low economic status might still have been blinked and scouted were it not for the surprising experience that during the war, despite the high prices of all the necessities of life, despite the largely increased employment of women outside the home, a marked improvement took place in the health and general well-being of the children in the elementary schools. Why? Obviously, because, strange as it seemed, a large proportion of the mothers possessed in their very moderate separation allowances (plus, in many cases, their earnings) better means of feeding and clothing their children than ever before. An important point was that these "allowances" were fixed and secure, and that the women had complete control of their expenditure. They were no longer entirely dependent from week to week upon their husband's bounty, his industry or idleness, his good or bad work, good or bad habits, his ideas of his own claims and needs, his personal projects and ventures, or extravagances. Possibly, many of the women—high prices taken into account—had rather less to spend than, on an average their husbands had in pre-war time allowed them; but having independent control of the money they could make more of it. And they could count upon it.

So it was that the separation allowances did more for the children, as statistics show, than all that State doctoring and school medical inspection and improvements in sanitation had accomplished. And there is every ground for thinking that, however useful maternity schools and baby clinics may be, the shortest and surest road to decrease in the infant death-rate lies in securing, somehow, better economic conditions for the mothers.

But it is not only as regards motherhood that the nation suffers from women's economic disabilities. The war has shown what a great material asset the productive energies and capabilities of women can be. To their exertions, mainly, was due the enormous increase of production to meet war requirements which took place at a time when millions of men were withdrawn from the field of labour. Yet, all the time the women's work was heavily handicapped by lack of experience and training and suitable education, and by many other consequences of long ages of legislative and conventional restrictions; and many of the restrictions continued in force. Women were kept out of many of the higher posts for which their fitness in certain cases was obvious; and such appointments as they obtained were often arbitrary and ill-judged. Not nearly all the available productive powers of women were made use of, or made the most of. In spite of all this, the facts that far greater opportunities for doing decently paid work were given to women than ever before and that their efforts were directly encouraged resulted in an enormous output. And that with benefit, instead of injury, to the children.

What a loss, then, to the whole nation has been the shackling of women's wealth-producing powers in the past! What woeful waste! And what folly, as well as injustice, is the attempt now being made—now, when the nation is threatened with bankruptcy—to drive women back to economic futility and serfdom! On the one hand we get the Government shuffling off the Bill for opening the Civil Services to women on the same terms as to men; on the other, large sections of working men clamouring to oust women from their new positions in skilled and other well-paid employments. The birthright which the male half of the democracy is loudly claiming for itself is the liberty of the individual to work in any field for which his capacities fit him and to enjoy to the full the actual fruits of his labour. Not only that, a yet more significant claim is being made for equality of opportunity to prepare himself for this or that chosen sphere. Have women no birthright of the kind?

A great industrial and social revolution is in progress. The masses of the democracy are determined to bring about a more equal distribution of wealth and greater equality in the conditions of life all round. They claim not only a greater share of material comforts, but more security, more freedom, more leisure, more education, more opportunity of self-development, more possibility of enjoyment of the intellectual, and what one might call the spiritual, sides of life. At least this is what the leaders of the movement maintain. What we want to know is where do women come in under this new scheme of things? Are the men taking account of the women as being "equal citizens" with themselves? Are women's conditions, political, economic and social, about to be automatically revolutionised, *pari passu* with those of men? To "come down to dots," as regards just one small matter: do the men who, at the various Labour Congresses and Conferences, have been claiming for themselves an eight-hours' working day (less, if Sundays and half-Saturdays are taken into account), along with wages which will leave them a considerable surplus after everyday necessities and reasonable comforts have been provided, intend that their mothers, wives, sisters (whom some speakers, with an assumption of chivalry only partially cloaking the desire to get rid of women's industrial competition, declared "ought not to go out to work"), should likewise have only eight hours' daily labour in the home, and should also enjoy complete control of a fair share of the "surplus" income, and have opportunities to expend it on their pleasures, their hobbies, and their "higher life"? There is little sign that they do; or that they at all realise the economic serfdom in which the attainment of their own economic freedom may yet leave their womenkind.

Women will have to work out their own salvation; and the sooner they set about it the better. Economic enfranchisement will no more drop into their mouths than did political. It will be a hard task to obtain it. But with the vote to help them to bring pressure, and with the Womens Citizens' Associations to promote united and intelligent action there is no need for despondency.

In a later article I hope to consider more in detail the various classes of economic disability under which women suffer and to offer a few suggestions of ways and means of coping with some of them.

## The Girl of the Future.

By C. D. RACKHAM.

The girl of yesterday suffered from many disabilities which are still fresh in our minds; she belonged to the unenfranchised sex, and she was only slowly emerging from the cramping limitations which had surrounded the girls of the Victorian era. The girl of to-day has had opportunities which were undreamed of in the time before the war; she has played an entirely new part in life, and at the same time she has seen the suffrage agitation transformed from the most living movement of the age into a matter of history. The girl of to-morrow enters upon an inheritance which has been won for her by the pioneers who have gone before, and we may glance for a moment at the new conditions which will go to the making and moulding of this unknown creature.

If we consider her physical well-being we feel that any improvement in this is at present a matter of speculation only. We may hope much from higher wages, improved housing and town planning, and general social betterment, but in the meantime dear milk and increased overcrowding are not giving a good chance to the citizens of the future. We hope that the greater intelligence of the young mothers of to-day will have a beneficial effect on their children, but this cannot operate to the full under the wretched conditions which exist in the poorer quarters of our towns and cities. A much more effective demand must be made by the mass of the people if their daughters are to start on their careers with a reasonable equipment of physical health. We should like to think of them as freed from the sufferings of bad health—the bad teeth and anæmia—which press so hardly on the girls of to-day, followed by the illnesses of later life which have been revealed by the Insurance Act. Perhaps the Ministry of Health will establish a better standard in which the girls of the nation will participate.

If we turn to the educational side we know that the girl of the future is not to leave school until she is fourteen years old, but we do not feel particularly exhilarated at the thought. At fourteen she may start her industrial life with attendance at a continuation school for a few hours each week until she is eighteen. She will at any rate be under the supervision of the school authorities during those all important years of adolescence; we may hope that this may give her a better chance of growing up strong and healthy, and that she may have something in the way of the games, swimming and outdoor sports which fill so large a part of the life of the well-to-do girl at that age. These will, it is to be hoped, occupy some of the time spent at the continuation school, but the eight hours a week insisted upon by law are woefully few when we consider how much there is for the girl of the future to learn in them. Besides the exercise so urgent for her health there is the technical knowledge which will enable her to develop the industrial side of her life, and the domestic subjects which every girl in the land should have a chance of learning, and which it would be well to restrict to the continuation school, and remove from the curriculum of the day school altogether. There are, last but not least, the study of the humanities which will enlarge the girl's vision and enable her to make the best and happiest use of her leisure. If the girl of the future is to do all this in eight hours a week she will be a marvel indeed, and we must look for a great extension of this period if the best use is to be made of her powers. It is an encouraging thought that in the future the working girl may have opened to her the possibility of that college life which was won with such struggles for her more fortunate sisters in the last century, but for many years to come college education as we know it can be only for the few and the average girl must make the most of what the elementary and continuation school will give her.

When the girl of the future leaves school will she, if she is of the leisured classes, settle down, as so often in the past, to a life of aimless idleness, with nothing to look forward to except the chance of matrimony? For the last four or five years she has been emancipated from this; war work has claimed her; but now that the imperious demands of war-time have ceased we may find that to a great extent the old traditions

still prevail and that in many homes a career for the girls of the family will still be regarded as out of the question. But there has been a change of outlook; new avenues have been opened; and one hopes that at any rate the girl who idles away her life in the future will be doing so of her own choice and will not be eating her heart out in all the restless misery that comes from unused and undeveloped powers.

For the girls from the poorer homes we want not more work but less. There does seem a prospect that shorter hours will be worked by the factory girl, and that better conditions and a freer life with more leisure will be the lot of the domestic servant. Long spells of work in factory or workshop, without intervals for food, combined with long journeys to and from work, have no doubt been the cause of much ill-health in the past, while the close confinement of the girl in service, coupled with lonely evenings and want of variety, have been crippling alike to mind and body. If we may hope that the hours of work will be shorter, it is more difficult to say that work will be less monotonous, or that large numbers of girls will not in the future as in the past be doomed to spend their working hours performing a mechanical action which makes little or no demands on their powers of thought. This is to a great extent inevitable in modern industry and must be faced. We cannot hope for a time when manufacture will be an art in which every worker will be able to express his or her individuality. But the necessity for much of the work of the world being dull and mechanical need not frighten us, provided that the hours of work are really short, so as to leave plenty of time free for the occupations of leisure. The girl whose working time has been spent on a task which has made no great demand on her energies, either of mind or body, may have all the more strength and spirit with which to use the remaining hours of the day, and if she has for this time occupations of real interest, the thoughts bound up with them may well employ her mind during the hours that her fingers are busy with some mechanical work. Such a result can only be achieved when girls have ample opportunities of filling their leisure and sufficient education to profit by them.

There is ground for hope that the girl of the future will find a larger choice of employment open to her than did the girl of the past. She will not indeed have the choice that was available during the war; some avenues have already been closed, but the horizon has been extended, and life and work in the open air can never again be considered as exclusively the prerogative of men. Greater possibilities are also before the girl who has been at a University; she will not in the future, we dare to predict, leave any University, even the oldest, without the degree that she has earned by examination, and though many barriers have still to be broken down she will not consider any of the professions as irrevocably closed to her as they were to the girl of the nineteenth century. To all girls of the future we believe will belong the improved status, the wider outlook, the better opinion of themselves due to their position as potential—if not actual—voters in the State, and to the opportunities to prove their worth which followed more quickly upon the vote than even the most ardent suffragist dared to hope.

In social life we may expect to see the girl of the future enjoying herself and expressing herself in many ways denied to the girls of the past. All freedom has its risks, and no doubt there will be unpleasing manifestations of the girl's new-found right to do and be what she likes, instead of following along the lines which her elders would have laid down for her. But each generation will wish to solve the old problems in its own way, and each must believe in its turn that it can find the solution, or where would progress be? We realise that much in women's lives and much in the relations between the sexes has been terribly unsatisfactory in the past; more evils have been unseen even than those that have been seen, and we know that in the attempt to put things right the girl of the future will make mistakes; she may possibly undo as well as do. We on our part will realise that it is better to face difficulties than to walk round them; and that some misuse of the new freedom is bound to accompany its use.

The girl of the future will not, except in rare instances, be grateful to the pioneers to whose efforts she owes her status and her rights. She will take them for granted, and will look, not back, but, as the young should look, forward to the future. She will see in front of her heights of achievement yet unsealed, problems of sex and maternity still unsolved, battles for equality to be fought and won; and those who were girls yesterday, or perhaps the day before yesterday, will welcome her experiments and rejoice in her successes, and if they think that in some respects she compares unfavourably with the girls who were young with them, they will, if they are wise, be slow to remind her of it.





## The People's Homes and the People's Money

IT has been reliably estimated by two eminent architects working independently—and their conclusions have been confirmed in practice—that for technical reasons a saving of £30 per house can be effected in new housing schemes if provision is made at the outset for the use of gas fires instead of coal grates. The "technical reasons" include the possibility of providing a much smaller flue outlet for the fires and doing away altogether with chimney breasts and chimney stacks.

Adopting this course, then, the Government might save some £15,000,000 on that amount of the people's money which they proposed to lay out on the erection of the people's houses; while the tenants would further benefit by the increased floor space secured by the abolition of the bulky structures before mentioned, and by the convenience of having ready at hand, clean, economical and labour-saving gas apparatus.

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### A Remarkable Novel.

Heritage. By V. Sackville-West. (W. Collins & Son. 6s. net.)

Heritage is a wonderful book. It is only 250 pages long, to those who are used to the close tissue of detail which makes up so much of modern fiction, it may appear slight, but it has the element of greatness. Its literary kinship is not with the *Old Wives' Tale*, or *Mr. Brilling*, or *Jacob Stahl*, but with *Chance* and with *Wuthering Heights*. Its resemblance to these two dissimilar books is not only a superficial one. The involutions of the narrative, the device of making one person tell another person's tale, remind us of Mr. Conrad and of Emily Brontë. Likenesses such as these are merely irritating, but these are not all. On the third page of the book occurs this passage:—

"I should like to explain here that those who look for facts and events as the central points of significance in a tale will be disappointed. On the other hand, I may fall upon an audience which, like myself, contend that the vitality of human beings is to be judged less by their achievements than by their endeavour, by the force of their emotion rather than by their success; if this is my lot, I shall be fortunate. Indeed, my difficulty throughout has been that I laboured with stones too heavy for my strength, and tried to pierce through veils too opaque for my feeble eyes. Little of any moment occurs in my story, yet behind it all, I am aware of tremendous forces at work, which none have rightly understood, neither the actors nor the onlookers."

This explains the book. After reading to the end we have come to the conclusion that the reason it reminds us of *Wuthering Heights* is that it presents human emotion to us in such a way that it appears charged with unfathomable significance. The emotion is not analysed, the expressions of it are not even minutely described, one at least of the narrators is shown not understanding what he tells, but the book not only creates pictures, it gives us a sense of transcendental values shining through them. It is therefore not unworthy of comparison with the acknowledged masterpieces of imaginative art.

The first part of the story is told by one Englishman to another, sitting under a clump of stone pines overlooking "a rough grey village in the Apennines." It relates how an English yeoman married a Spanish dancer, and brought into his Kentish family a strain of hot Andalusian blood. Out of this mingling of blood the incidents of the book arise. "You remember," says the narrator, "Francis Galton and the waltzing mice; how he took the common mouse and the waltzing mouse and mated them, and how among the progeny there were a common mouse, a black and white mouse, and a mouse that waltzed; and how in the subsequent generations the common brown mouse predominated, but every now and then there came a mouse that waltzed and waltzed, restless and tormented, until in the endless pursuit of its tail it died, dazed, blinded, perplexed by the relentless fate that had it in its grip." The narrator who introduces and dwells on the fanciful side of this symbol of the mice, is himself a character in the tale. He is, perhaps, the least satisfactory part of it. He never seems quite alive. But perhaps he did not even in the flesh. He is "the type of the theorist, who, when confronted with realities strays helplessly from the road. He had theories about love, but he passed love by unseen; theories about humour, but was himself essentially an unhumorous man; theories about friendship between men, but was himself the loneliest being upon earth." And we are led to guess that he was loved without realising it, not only by the surprising and wonderfully described Ruth Pennistan, but by the other Englishman who tells the other half of the tale, and who was—so they both believed—not his friend. This is a surprising touch. But the whole book is surprising.

It is also beautiful. The emotions which are its theme are presented on a background of nature; or, rather, the atmosphere of Kentish meadows, full of "appleblossom and other delicate things," and of burning Andalusia mingles with them. And through the clear stream we also see sudden pictures of other lands, and find contrasts such as these:—

"I remember how entranced I was by the sense of ritual in the labouring year. I thought of the country as a vast cathedral teeming with worshippers, all passing in unison from ceremony to ceremony as the months revolved. When I had come to join the congregation, apse and column and nave were rich with fruit, the common fruit of the English countryside—plum and apple, and damson and pear, curved and coloured and glowing with the quality of jewels; then busy hands came and packed and stored the harvest into bins, and colour went from the place and it grew dark. A long pause of meditation fell. The trees slept, men worked quickly and silently no more than was imperative, and from darkened corners spread the gleam of fires which they had lighted for their warmth and comfort."

"And I told you I had dipped into many things; I worked once on a Greek trader which plied with figs and oranges from Smyrna to Corinth through the islands of the Aegean. It was a bulky, mediæval-looking vessel, with vast red sails, very little changed, I should imagine, from the one in which Ulysses sailed on his immortal journey. I learnt a certain amount about the orange trade, but I learnt another thing from

that Greek ship which I value more; I learnt about colour, hot, tawny colour, that ran the gamut from the bronze limbs of the crew, through the Venetian sails to the fire of the fruit, and echoed again in the sunset behind Hymettus, and dropped in the cool aqua-marine of the waves near the shore, and deepened into sapphire as I hung over the sides of the ship above the moving water. From this rich canvas I had come to the grays and greens and browns of England, the dove after the bird of Paradise, and, do you know, I felt the relationship of the two, the relationship of labour between the Greek, the almost pirate crew, and the English farmer with his classic and primitive tools, the brotherhood between the sweeping scythe and the dipping oar, between the unwieldy stack and the clumsy vessel."

The next paragraph begins: "The scent of hay is in my nostrils," and in spite of the Southern scenes and images, scents and sights of the weald of Kent predominate in *Heritage*, as those of the Yorkshire moorland do in *Wuthering Heights*. On the frontispiece is this motto:—

"I was born, and learned my English in Kent, in the weald where English is spoken broad and rude."—William Caxton.

Miss Sackville-West's English can hardly be described as "broad and rude," but it has strength and purity which seems to take one straight back to old English sources, and which, flowering as it does, into delicate beauty, is not unlike the Kentish apple-trees in the Spring.

### Correspondence.

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

#### THE PENAL REFORM LEAGUE.

MADAM,—During the last five years thousands of men have felt the misery of lost freedom as prisoners of war, thousands more, whether as Conscientious Objectors or for purely military offences, have known the life of British prisons from within. Of these men a negligible minority only belong to what are called (in question-begging phrase) "the Criminal Classes." Their evidence as to the physical and psychological effects of imprisonment may be regarded on the whole as trustworthy. It shows conclusively that only by the most determined will can a man deprived of liberty and responsibility keep himself from degeneration; they will laugh in your face if you suggest that imprisonment can, in itself, strengthen or improve character.

In the light of this new knowledge—for it is new to all but a handful of people—it is clear that great changes must come in our system of treating criminals unless we are ready to defend it on grounds of punishment alone, abandoning all claim to reform.

The only hope of building up weak wills, of straightening distorted natures, of implanting the social virtues, lies in a treatment based on a clear, dispassionate and scientific understanding of crime and its causes in each individual. A routine treatment of sheer repression can effect nothing but the manufacture of gaolbirds. Experiments, in this country and others, hold hope of better things, but only an enlightened and urgent public opinion can give the impetus for new creation that is needed.

The main object of the Penal Reform League is to lead and inform this public opinion. We want to get the question read about, thought about, discussed, up and down the land; we want to see a policy of penal reform in every candidate's address at the next election.

Our funds at present barely cover printing, postage and typing. We need travelling speakers making it their whole business to address meetings in various centres—this must not be a purely "London" movement. The probable expense of such a speaker would be £400 a year. Will any of your readers give us guarantees of help for, say, the next two years, to enable us to act at this, the most hopeful moment?

(Signed) HENRY BENTINCK, Chairman.

S. MARGERY FRY, Hon. Secretary.

The Penal Reform League,  
7, Dalmeny Avenue, London, N. 7.

### Reports, Notices, etc.

#### CONFERENCE ON INDIA.

The following resolutions will be submitted to the Conference arranged by the Britain and India Association to be held on Saturday, October 4th, at the Steinway Hall, Lower Seymour Street, W. 1. Morning 11 a.m.—1 p.m. Afternoon 2.30—5 p.m. :—

(1) That this Conference earnestly supports the Secretary of State for India in his efforts to carry out the declaration of August 20th, 1917, and trusts that the improvements in the Reform Bill in which all the progressive deputations concurred may be accepted by the Government.

(2) That this Conference learns with great pleasure that the workers of India are taking steps to form Trade Unions to improve their conditions, extends to them its full sympathy, urges upon all the necessity of helping them in their struggle, and heartily appreciates Mr. Wadia's efforts to put their needs before the British public.

(3) That this Conference requests the Secretary of State for India to remove the disqualification imposed by the Reform Bill on women in common with lunatics and criminals, as regards the franchise, and trusts that the Parliament, which only enfranchised British women after forty years of bitter struggle, leading to imprisonment and torture of many noble women, will not introduce this new cause of unrest and disturbance into India.

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Offices—Evelyn House, 62, Oxford Street, London, W.1.  
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### Headquarters Notes.

#### Half-Yearly Council.

Headquarters arrangements for the Half-Yearly Council are still being made on the supposition that more normal conditions will prevail and that it will be possible to hold the Council in Glasgow on October 7th, 8th, and 9th. Even should it prove necessary to postpone or cancel the Council, it is possible that the parallel Conferences on the programme of the Union may still be held for the interest of the Glasgow public. Any alteration in the Council arrangements will be notified by telegram to those societies which intend sending delegates to Glasgow.

#### Editorial Notice.

In view of the Council of the N.U.S.E.C., arranged for next week, a special number of THE COMMON CAUSE, with leading articles by Mrs. Fawcett and Miss Eleanor Rathbone, had been prepared. The railway strike may make the postponement of the Council necessary and will, anyway, impede the distribution of THE COMMON CAUSE. We are therefore holding over our special number till a week in which we can be sure of getting it into the hands of our readers. Meanwhile, we would ask any subscribers who may fail to receive their COMMON CAUSE this week to send post cards direct to this Office, 62, Oxford Street, London, W. 1, and copies of the paper will be posted to them as soon as possible.

#### Appeal for Funds.

Funds are urgently needed to carry on the work of the Union, which will otherwise have to be curtailed. The money is needed to maintain our staff of organisers, who spread our propaganda through the country by arranging and speaking at meetings, interviewing local leaders of opinion and strengthening the societies in affiliation with us. Money is also needed to maintain our head office and clerical staff; our Parliamentary Department; our Information Bureau, Library, and literature.

Subscribers are invited to contribute to the general fund for these purposes or if they prefer it to earmark their contributions for any of the *Six Points of the Year's Programme* which are enumerated below:—

- (1) Pensions for civilian widows with dependent children.
- (2) Equal rights of guardianship over children for mothers and the rights of wives and children to maintenance.
- (3) The equal moral standard.
- (4) Equal pay for equal work and equal opportunities in industry and the professions.
- (5) The opening of the legal profession to women.
- (6) The election of women M.P.s. and proportional representation as a means towards that end.

All cheques and postal orders should be crossed and made payable to: The Hon. Treasurer, Miss Rosamond Smith, National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, Evelyn House, 62, Oxford Street, W. 1.

#### BRITISH DOMINIONS WOMEN CITIZENS' UNION.

An informal meeting was held by the B.D.W.C.U. on Friday morning, September 27th, on the "Condition of Natives in South Africa." The speakers (who are members of a deputation sent by the natives of South Africa to plead with the Government for the better treatment of the aboriginals and natives by the Boer Government) were Mr. Plaatje and Mr. Gumede. Miss Ruth Atkinson, of the Women's Christian Temperance Union of New Zealand, was in the Chair.

Mr. Plaatje began by saying that the few facts he had to tell would be understood far better by women than by men, he was sure. British people, he said, were apt to think that because Cape Colony was a British possession, it had the same privileges as other Colonies. But this was not the case. In New Zealand, for instance, any man is as good as another, and the aboriginals are treated in the same way. But in South Africa, every degradation is forced on the coloured man, so that it is impossible to believe that South Africa is a Dominion in the same Empire as New Zealand. Before 1899 there were two British Colonies, and two Dutch Republics, but after the Boer War these were formed into four British Colonies, though the Dutch Government still remains. He said that South Africa had been given self-government, but this was enjoyed solely by the white people. No coloured races were allowed to enjoy the franchise (except in Cape Colony); so that in the rest of South Africa, the Transvaal, Natal, and Orange Free State, the natives are taxed without being allowed representation. Even in Cape Colony, although they may vote, they are not allowed to vote for a coloured man. The remedy was, he thought, for South Africa to have a constitution so as to get protection for the coloured races. Three of the chief injustices are that:—(1) Coloured men are not allowed to work at skilled trades. (2) They are not allowed to educate their children in schools where white children are educated. (3) They are not allowed to buy or hire any land. This means that they must leave the country, or else be driven back into slavery. A great many have already gone to Rhodesia, or Portuguese territory, where they are left more alone. In addition to the ordinary taxation, which is very heavy, there are special native taxes for black men, and the money thus collected is used to build schools for white children, where black children may not be educated. In 1914 a deputation was got ready to come to England, and was unable to do so owing to the war. Since 1914 the

oppression has become harsher than ever; "just as though there was no war on," said Mr. Plaatje. For instance, two women, whose husbands were fighting, were not allowed to keep cows on their own ground, to provide means of livelihood during their husbands' absence. In 1916, the South African Government went to extremes, and passed a law which made it illegal for a black passenger to travel in the same railway carriage as white people. The effect of this law is that very often coloured men and women buy tickets for journeys, but are not allowed to travel if there is no Kafir carriage attached to the train, and if the train happens to be the only one that day (sometimes that week), and there is no Kafir carriage, the blacks are arrested if they attempt to enter any other part of the train.

Mr. Gumede (a Zulu from Natal) endorsed what Mr. Plaatje said about the hardships of the native races, and said that the ignorant Boer is the man who is allowed to vote, while the most educated coloured man is not allowed to do so. He said that so far the Government has given them no hope of any help. "But," said Mr. Gumede, "how can we help ourselves if our hands are tied so completely?" The only thing to do is for the British public to grasp the matter. He said that the Union Jack in South Africa used to stand for liberty, but now it only stands for oppression.

Among the questions that followed, Miss Royden asked if the natives were treated better, as regards the three chief points of oppression mentioned, by the Portuguese in the territory governed by them. Mr. Gumede said they were as regards the buying of land, also natives in Portuguese territory were allowed to vote for Members of Parliament in Lisbon. Mrs. Solomon reminded Mr. Plaatje that this was a Suffragist meeting, and asked how working girls were treated. Mr. Plaatje replied that every native girl had to go to work at the age of fifteen or sixteen, and when she was employed (at 8s. a month) she was forced to pay a tax of 1s. a month to prove that she was being employed. A married woman is not allowed to inhabit the same house as her husband unless she pays the Town Clerk 1s. a month. No natives were allowed to travel from one place to another without passes signed by their employers; no natives were allowed to accept jobs (possibly with higher wages) without getting permits signed by their present employers, so that often they were forced to refuse better paid work because their employers did not want them to go. All these laws are called "Pass Laws," and the enforcement of them is carried out by men policemen. Mr. Plaatje said that in the case of the women the consequences could be guessed at, as they would do anything sooner than go to prison, and the fines were often too heavy for them to pay.

### Forthcoming Meetings.

OCTOBER 3.  
Wakefield—Inaugural meeting of Wakefield W.C.A. Institute of Literature and Science. Speakers: Miss Beaumont, on "The Need of Women Citizens' Associations"; Miss Hartop, on "The Equality Programme of the N.U.S.E.C." 7.30 p.m.

OCTOBER 8.  
Glasgow—Public Meeting, arranged by the Glasgow Society for Women's Suffrage. M'Lellan Galleries, Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow. Speakers: Councillor Eleanor F. Rathbone, Miss Maude Royden, Mrs. H. A. L. Fisher, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, B.A. Chair: Miss Frances Melville, B.D. Subject: "The Future of the Women's Movement." Tickets: 2s. 6d. and 1s. 8 p.m.

### Coming Events.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 11.  
WOMEN'S INDUSTRIAL LEAGUE.  
Dance and Whist Drive, organised by the Women's Industrial League, to be held at the Eustace Miles Restaurant, Chandos Street. Tickets: Single, 3s. 6d.; Double, 6s.; from the Women's Industrial League, 1, Central Buildings, S.W.1. 6.30 to 10.30 p.m.

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.  
Public Meeting in the Minerva Café, 144, High Holborn, W.C.1.  
Speaker: Miss Clara Andrew.  
Subject: "Adoption in Relation to the Unwanted Child" (The work of the National Children Adoption Association). 3 p.m.

OCTOBER 15.  
Speaker: Miss Lind-Ah-Hagelby.  
Subject: "The Re-Valuation of Women." 3 p.m.

OCTOBER 22.  
Speaker: Mr. William Aird.  
Subject: "The Food of the Future." 3 p.m.  
Admission Free. Collection.

OCTOBER 10.  
WESTFIELD COLLEGE (UNIVERSITY OF LONDON).  
Kiddermore Avenue, Hampstead.  
Inaugural Lecture.  
Speaker: Professor Gilbert Murray, Litt.D., LL.D.  
Subject: "Greek Tragedy." 5.15 p.m.  
Admission cards to be obtained from the Secretary.

OCTOBER 3 to DECEMBER 5.  
A Course of Lectures (followed by discussion).  
Subjects: "The Person of Christ," "The Nature of God" (with special consideration of the Problem of Suffering), and "The Nature of Man."  
Speaker: "Miss M. West, B.A., B.D. (Tutor appointed by the Board for Promoting the Training of Club Workers). 5 p.m.  
Fee for 10 Lectures and discussion, £1 1s. First lecture can be attended free.  
Further details from the Secretary, Westfield College, N.W.3.

OCTOBER 7.  
Course of Thirty Lectures.  
Subject: "Elementary Principles of Economics."  
Speaker: Mrs. Woolton (Girton College, Camb., 1st Class Economics Tripos). 5 p.m.  
Fee for the course, £1 1s. per term (Ten lectures). First can be attended free.  
Further details from the Secretary, Westfield College, N.W.3.

BRACKENHILL HOME SCHOOL, BROMLEY, KENT.  
OCTOBER 29.  
Queen's Hall, Langham Place.  
Speaker: Mrs. Annie Besant.  
Subject: "Education for the New Era."  
Admission: 7/6, 6/3, 3/6 (reserved), 1/6 (unreserved). Tickets from Captain Ensor, 11, Tavistock Square, W.C.1, and from Queen's Hall. Proceeds in aid of the Home. 8 p.m. (doors open 7.30)

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#### NATIONAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN TEACHERS.

OCTOBER 3.  
Protest Meeting in the Central Hall, Westminster. Object: (1) To protest against the refusal to give the women teachers' organisation representation on the Joint Committee; (2) To protest against the overwhelming masculine constitution of the existing Committee; (3) To inaugurate the Sustenance Fund. Chair: Miss Agnes Dawson. Admission Free. 7 p.m.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S FRANCHISE CLUB,  
9, Grafton Street, Piccadilly, W.1, Saturday, October 4th, at 5 p.m. Lecture by Mr. Norman Macdermott on "The Everyman Theatre."

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