

The Common Cause

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
A Great Victory	628
The Restoration of Pre-War Practices, by Mrs. Oliver Strachey	628
The Control of Milk Supply, by Dr. Marion Phillips	629
Sanitary Inspection and the Ministry of Health	630
Proportional Representation, by A. Clutton Brock	632
Urban District Council Elections, by Mrs. How Martyn	633
The Problem of the Unqualified Worker, by Madge Mears	633
Correspondence	634
Reports	636

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Notes and News.

The Women's Emancipation Bill.

On April 4th, the day on which THE COMMON CAUSE appears, Mr. B. Spoor (Member for Bishop Auckland) will move the Women's Emancipation Bill on behalf of the Labour Party. The N.U.S.E.C. and the Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organisations are combining in their efforts to leave no stone unturned in order to ensure its favourable reception in the House of Commons. These organisations are, at the time we go to press, trying to arrange for a large and representative deputation to Mr. Bonar Law. The Standing Joint Committee, which, as our readers will remember, represents the Women's Trade Union League, the Labour Party, the Women's Co-operative Guild, the National Federation of Women Workers, and the Railway Women's Guild, is sending a letter to every member of the House of Commons, which explains that the object of this Bill is to place men and women on a footing of complete civic and political equality, and that its effect would be to open all professions and all judicial offices to women, as well as to make it possible for peeresses in their own right to sit in the House of Lords, and for women who might be elected as Members of Parliament to hold ministerial office; and that, further, it would sweep away the unreasonable provision which now prevents a woman under thirty from exercising the Parliamentary franchise, and would give to men and women precisely the same rights under the Representation of the People Act of 1918. The letter says: "We feel that this Bill is non-contentious in character since its general proposals have long been advocated by the Labour Party and Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Bonar Law in their manifesto to the country before the last general election declared themselves in favour of an equalisation of the law between men and women. We hope, therefore, that the working women of the country may rely upon your support when this Bill comes before the House of Commons on Friday next, April 4th, 1919." This letter is signed by Miss Margaret Llewelyn Davies and Dr. Marion Phillips on behalf of hundreds of thousands of organised working women. For further comment on the Bill, we refer our readers to previous issues of THE COMMON CAUSE, and especially to Mr. Henderson's article in our last week's issue. From our hearts we wish all success to the Bill.

Women and the Peace Conference.

In our leading article we comment on the great news that in the draft of the League of Nations scheme, women are declared to be eligible for all appointments. Meanwhile, as we go to press, President Wilson is receiving a deputation of women.

Lady Aberdeen (President of the International Council of Women) will introduce the deputation. Mrs. Corbett Ashby, of the N.U.S.E.C., will speak supporting the eligibility of women to all bodies set up under the League. Mlle. Grinberg and Madame Avril de Sainte Croix will speak on moral questions. Mrs. Fern Andrews and Signora Amelia de Tivoli on Education, Dr. Mangin on Hygiene, and Miss Margery Fry on Women's Suffrage. Mrs. Corbett Ashby and Miss Fry are hard at work, and have recently been received by Lord Robert Cecil and by Lord Sinha.

International Labour Charter.

The Commission on International Labour Legislation has concluded its report, and has drafted clauses for insertion in the Treaty of Peace. This new Charter of International Labour lays down as a first principle that in right and in fact the labour of a human being should not be treated as merchandise, or as an article of commerce. From our special point of view, the two most important clauses are the following: "Equal pay should be given to women and to men for work of equal value in quantity and in quality;" and "All states should institute a system of inspection, in which women should take part, in order to enforce the laws and regulations for the protection of workers." The other seven clauses provide as follows:—"Employees and workers should not be permitted to be employed in industry or commerce before the age of fourteen years, in order that every child may be ensured reasonable opportunities for mental and physical education. Between the years of fourteen and eighteen, persons of either sex may only be employed on work which is not harmful to their physical development, and on condition that the continuation of their practical general education is ensured. Every worker has the right to a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life, having regard to the civilisation of his time and country. Weekly rest, including Sunday or its equivalent, for all workers. Limitation of hours of work in industry on the basis of an eight hours' day, or a forty-eight hours' week, subject to an exception for countries in which climatic conditions, imperfect industrial development, or industrial organisation, or other special circumstances, render the industrial efficiency of the workers substantially different. The International Labour Conference will recommend a basis approximately equivalent to the above for adoption in such countries. In all matters concerning their status as workers and social insurance, foreign workmen lawfully admitted to any country, and their families, should be ensured the same treatment as the nationals of that country."

The State Registration of Nurses Bill.

Major Barnett (Coalition-Unionist Member for South-West St. Pancras) brought forward the Nurses Registration Bill in the House of Commons on March 28th. This Bill has been prepared at the instance of the Central Committee for the State Registration of Nurses, a body representing some thirty thousand medical practitioners and nurses. Its object is to establish a general nursing council for the training and registration of nurses in the United Kingdom. This Council will be composed of persons appointed by the Privy Council, the Local Government Board, associations of medical and registered practitioners, and by nurses' training schools, and will also have on it direct representatives of the nursing profession. These last will ultimately be the most important part of the Council, but until the register is formed there is no satisfactory electorate of nurses, so that for the time being it is proposed that a Provisional Council should be appointed, to hold office for two years. It will prepare rules and regulations to govern the profession of nurses, and deal with the formation of a register of nurses. From this provisional council and from the proposed register a permanent

General Council will arise. Divisional boards will be set up in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and there will be appeal from the divisional boards to the Council. There will be a period of three years during which any person who is carrying on the profession of a nurse in a *bona fide* manner will be entitled to claim registration. Persons who have been trained as nurses under regulations authorised by the Admiralty or Army Council will be entitled to be put on the register. At the end of the three years, any person will be able to claim registration, provided that she is a British subject of not less than twenty-one years of age and has done a three-years' training under the definite curriculum prescribed by the Council.

Support in the House of Commons.

The Bill met with very general support in the House of Commons. Mr. Briant (Liberal Member for North Lambeth), Sir Donald Maclean (Liberal Member for Peebles and Sothorn), and Sir Samuel Scott (Unionist Member for St. Marylebone) maintained that it was a national necessity and a necessary complement to the Ministry of Health Bill. Major Molson (Unionist Member for Gainsborough) spoke as a medical man, and said that the measure was absolutely necessary for the public. Mr. F. Roberts, of West Bromwich, speaking on behalf of the Labour Party, supported the principle of the Bill, but suggested that some immediate consideration should be given to the conditions under which nurses work. He and the other members urged the Government to give every possible facility to the Bill, and to consider making it a Government measure. Mr. Rawlinson (Unionist Member for Cambridge University) and Colonel Wedgwood (Liberal-Coalition Member for Newcastle-under-Lyme) opposed the Bill, but Major Astor (Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board), in his reply, expressed himself as convinced that the support of the principle of State Registration of Nurses in the House of Commons was overwhelming, and said that the Government also was in favour of the principle. The second reading was passed without a dissentient vote. Several references were made to a second Bill which has been put forward by the College of Nursing, but has not met with any success in the ballot. Major Astor said that the difference between the two Bills might be considered in Committee. He added that the attitude of the Government must depend on the shape in which the Bill came back to them from the Committee.

Scottish Women and the Board of Health.

Many women in Scotland are feeling strongly that there should be a Women's Advisory Council in connection with the Board of Health for Scotland. A resolution to that effect was passed on March 29th by the annual meeting of the Scottish Federation of Women's Suffrage Societies (now the Scottish Federation of Societies for Equal Citizenship). The resolution was telegraphed to the Secretary for Scotland. We publish a full report of the meeting of the Federation on another page.

The Law Society and Women.

On March 28th, the Law Society, by the large majority of fifty votes to thirty-three, decided to support the Barristers and Solicitors Qualification of Women Bill, so far as it affects the Solicitors' Branch of the legal profession. The resolution was moved by Mr. Samuel Garrett, to whose work the change in the attitude on the part of the Society is, we believe, very largely due; it was seconded by Sir Walter Trower, supported by Mr. Bell and Lieut. Wood, and opposed by Mr. G. B. Crook and Mr. W. A. Sharpe.

The Amalgamation of the Women Liberals in Council.

The amalgamation of the Women's Liberal Federation and the Women's National Liberal Association, to which we referred last week, was confirmed by a joint council meeting on April 1st. Lady Carlisle, the veteran Liberal leader, returned to the fray to help in accomplishing this great reunion, and the first joint meeting was held on April 1st. We congratulate the women Liberals and believe that their reorganisation will be a powerful aid to the progress of those reforms which enlightened women of all parties have most at heart.

The Income Tax Commission.

The appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the Income Tax was announced on March 28th. As promised, there is one woman member, Mrs. Lilian Knowles, Reader in Economic History to the University of London since 1907, Lecturer in

Modern Economic History at the London School of Economics and Political Science in 1904, and member of the Departmental Committee on the rise in the cost of living of the working classes in 1918. This is an excellent appointment, but we very much regret that the Government has stopped short at it, and that Mrs. Knowles is the *only* woman on the Commission.

The Deputation from the National Federation of Women Workers.

An important deputation of women workers, organised by the National Federation of Women Workers, waited on Mr. Bonar Law on March 29th. Its object was to place before the Government the urgent necessity of providing suitable work, or full maintenance for all workers. It urged that some scheme should be made to counteract the tendency to lower women's wages, and suggested that the Temporary Wages Regulation Act might be extended pending the establishment of permanent machinery. Miss Margaret Bondfield spoke strongly on the demoralising effect of having to spend long hours waiting outside Labour Exchanges as women workers are forced to do now. Miss Flora Barker (Woolwich Arsenal worker) asked why the Government would not spend on reconstruction a quarter of what it had spent on destruction. Miss Jessie Stevenson, of the Bermondsey Branch of the N.F.W.W., stated that there were four thousand women out of work in her district the week ending March 22nd, and that at the time of speaking, March 27th, there were six thousand. Mr. Bonar Law, in reply, said that the Government could not spend so much money now as it had during the war, as, now that people did not feel the need so pressing, money did not come in so well. He also said that the State could not make employment; no Government that ever existed had done so. The most that could be done was to aid employment, and that was being done. As to the minimum wage, he thought some kind of basis could be established.

Training for Unemployed Women.

We are glad to learn that the Government has at last decided to make use of the inevitable period of unsettlement for women workers for their further training. Under a scheme just issued by the Ministry of Labour, any woman receiving or eligible to receive the unemployment donation, may now apply for training in any of the occupations not covered by the pledge to restore Trade Union practices, and also to receive a maintenance grant during the period of training. In the case of women and girls living at home, this maintenance grant will be of an amount sufficient to make the training wage up to 15s. per week, and in the case of those not living at home, up to 25s. per week. We believe that very large numbers of the unemployed women will be glad to avail themselves of this opportunity, and that the efficiency and productiveness of the nation will be largely increased thereby.

Unemployment Benefit Refused.

There is a tendency to attribute the amount of unemployment among women to their unwillingness to accept work of any kind as long as they are obtaining the unemployment donation. The charge is frequently made that when work is obtainable at the Labour Exchanges it is refused, and the public is allowed to draw the inference that women workers are taking undue advantage of a too generous unemployment benefit. This is very far from being the case. The unemployment donation for women is 25s. a week for the first thirteen weeks, with an allowance of 5s. for the first child, and 3s. for other children; for the second period of thirteen weeks, the donation is reduced to 15s. for women. This is not generous, but it would be tolerable if unemployed women could really get the donation when they are out of work. The National Federation of Women Workers vouches for a number of cases, some of which we will quote. A. was offered daily domestic work: the Exchange stated that the wages were 10s. 6d.; the employer said 8s. 6d.; the hours were 7 a.m. to 5.30 p.m.; the girl refused the work and was disallowed benefit because she did not attempt to bargain with the mistress. B. was offered domestic service at £22 per annum, living in; she had been a servant before the war and had had £26, and she had a mother and four younger sisters whom she helped to support; in this case she was to provide uniform, and refused the job because she had no suitable clothing for living in, as this had been destroyed by the class of work she was on during the war. Her appeal was disallowed, and benefit refused on the ground that while she was earning the inflated wage of £2 during the war, she should have supplied herself with clothing to meet the emergency.

Other Cases.

Other cases in which various jobs had been offered have some notable features. For example, E. was offered kitchen work at a wage of 16s. minus 1s. 6d. deducted for food, and her fares amounted to 3s. 6d. a week. She refused the work because the wage was insufficient. Unemployment benefit was refused on appeal. F. was dismissed from a company from which she was earning 27s. 3d. to 30s. per week. She was actually sent back to the same company for a different class of work from 16s. to 20s. The appeal to the Court of Referees in this case is not yet settled, but the first appeal was lost. G. living at Enfield, was sent to an embroidery firm in Baker Street and offered 12s. a week. Her employment donation was at first refused, but later on appeal was allowed. H. was an experienced sack mender, who was offered 13s. 6d. a week, and on refusing it her unemployment donation was stopped, but her appeal has not yet been heard. I. was refused the unemployment benefit because she was sent to do work at heavy trucking and she had a medical certificate showing that she was unfitted for such work. This case has been heard by the Court of Appeal, and it has been finally decided against the girl. J. was offered laundry work, and stuck to it for three weeks, but found that she could not make at the piece rate more than 12s. 9d. Her case was disallowed on appeal.

Action by the Ministry of Labour.

There are many other instances which we could quote. We think that these will go far to show the importance of taking immediate action. The need for a statement of wages in the laundry and clothing trades is quite obvious, and it is interesting to note that the Government has taken action with regard to the clothing trade which will go far to meet the special difficulties of the situation. The Minister of Labour has issued an order fixing rates of wages varying from 7d. an hour for women and 4d. an hour for girls of fifteen who are engaged in the manufacture of women's and children's clothing. This was a notoriously sweated trade, but during the war the employers found that they had to pay higher wages in order to keep their girls from the more attractive munitions work. Since the Armistice was signed there arose the danger that these higher wages might be broken and the Wages (Temporary Regulation) Act only protected the workers in cases where there had been general awards or orders. In this particular trade these Orders only covered a very small part, and it would have taken a very long time to get a Trade Board established and an Order issued under it. The Minister of Labour has, therefore, taken advantage of a provision in the Wages Act which provided that where there was no general award or Order, the rates paid to women must be the rates paid to the majority of women in the trade "unless some other rate is fixed by the Minister on the advice of the Interim Court of Arbitration." An application that a rate should be fixed was made by trade unions representing women; it was referred to the Court of Arbitration; both parties were given an opportunity of being heard; the advice of the Court was received; and the Minister has acted on it at once by issuing the order now announced. It will, however, be necessary to get Trade Boards set up in this and other forms of employment, as the measures taken now by the Minister of Labour can only be temporary ones.

Prison Reform.

On March 28th the Home Secretary received a deputation from the Penal Reform League, and twenty-two other Associations, including the N.U.S.E.C., on the subject of prison reform. Among the reforms advocated by the deputation were the appointment of women administrators, both as Prison Commissioners, on a women's committee of Directors or Managers, and as Women Governors and Medical Officers for women's prisons. A request for the provision of trained nurses for all prisons was also brought forward. In addition, the deputation advocated the provision of Reception Houses for unconvicted prisoners; better conditions of work for prison officers; better conditions for prisoners, such as the discontinuance of separate confinement and of the silence rule, of dietary punishment, and of unnecessary humiliation, and the provision of occupations and education. The deputation also asked for some hygienic improvements, and dealt with the question of the public in the Courts. They asked that when a Court is cleared on account of indecent evidence, young people of both sexes should be asked to leave, and not women only. Mr. Shortt's reply, though sympathetic in tone, was unsatisfactory in substance, and he did not seem to grasp the needs of the case. He pleaded the war as an excuse that more had not been done, and he did not hold out much hope of any great reforms. A great work remains, therefore, to be done by the Penal Reform League.

The Democratisation of the Church of England.

A step has been taken by the Representative Church Council of so revolutionary a character that the small amount of public interest in the matter is somewhat surprising. It has, with only one dissentient voice—that of the Bishop of Hereford (Dr. Hensley Henson)—passed the "Enabling Bill." If this Bill passes Parliament it means that the Church will, subject to certain restrictions, be free to govern itself. Nothing could be more unhappy than the present situation. As things now stand the Church can do nothing without Parliament, and Parliament says quite frankly that it does not want to be bothered with Church affairs. The Enabling Bill provides for elected Church Councils to govern the Church, the supreme one being the National Assembly. On all these Church bodies women will be eligible. Thought moves quickly in these days, and enlightenment comes with a flash. Only a year ago the Representative Church Council resolved, concerning the Councils, that: "All representatives may be of either sex, *except in the case of the Assembly, in which they must be of the male sex.*" This year the Bishop of Lichfield moved the admission of women to the Assembly, and though the Bishop of Hereford and Lord Salisbury opposed it, the amendment was carried by a large majority. We stand on the brink of the most momentous changes the Anglican Church has ever seen. The Church, if the Enabling Bill passes, will be democratised. The ordinary citizen, even the ordinary Churchman, has hitherto been little interested in Church affairs—and small wonder. Under the Enabling Bill every baptised member (the communicant's qualification passed last year has been abandoned) will have a vote in Church affairs. The next step is for the Convocations to adopt it, and include it in a report to the King. This will now be done. It is impossible to say when the Bill will be passed, but pressure of public opinion will make the whole difference. Anyone wishing to know more on this subject should write to the Secretary, Life and Liberty Movement, 177, Victoria Street, S.W. 1.

Queen Mary's Army Auxiliary Corps.

It is good news that the Army Council has decided to maintain the Q.M.A.A.C. as a part of the after-war organisations, and that steps are being taken to ascertain the names of officials and members who will decide to remain in the service. The excellent work done by the Q.M.A.A.C. has been recognised by all. The Corps was first organised by Mrs. Chalmers Watson, M.D., C.B.E., and the present Controller-in-Chief is Dame Florence Leach. About a year ago, soon after the splendid work and long marches carried out by the Corps during the March retreat, Her Majesty the Queen became its Commandant.

Proportional Representation in Ireland.

We hear from Ireland that the question of Proportional Representation becomes of increasing importance as reconstruction problems press increasingly for consideration. The success of any solution of these problems will depend to a great extent on the efficiency of the local bodies, and P.R. presents the only hope for such efficiency. There are two reasons for this. The first and least important is that the present methods of election make it easier to run municipal contests on party lines: A good example of this is afforded by the Belfast City Council, where no candidate has at present a chance of success unless run on the party ticket. A much graver reason is the political state of the country. As things stand now, it is quite possible that the local bodies in most cases will be captured by men whose chief object is to make the present system of government impossible: this is the avowed aim of one Irish party. The only hope of counteracting this purpose is to adopt an electoral method which will provide for minority representation. The Ulster Unionist defence for their opposition is hardly adequate. They maintain that the Government proposals involve differentiation between England and Ireland, and are, therefore, fundamentally wrong. But the Local Government systems in the two countries are already entirely different, and the Ulster opposition should have dated from the Local Government Act of 1898; to adduce such differentiation as a reason for opposing a measure which may possibly safeguard local administration from capture by an avowedly wrecking majority, is merely frivolous. It is interesting and hopeful to note that the Dublin Trades Council last week decided to support Proportional Representation, though there must have been opposition from the Sinn Féin section of the Council: A question which brings this body into line with the Unionist Reconstruction Committee must have had some sound arguments in its favour.

A GREAT VICTORY.

THE adoption by the League of Nations Commission of an amendment specifically granting the eligibility of women to all positions in any body set up by the League, and to any part of the Secretariat, is a most important event. To us in Great Britain it may seem almost natural; our own public has changed its opinion very thoroughly and very rapidly, and we are almost used to our enfranchisement already. The granting of the Parliamentary Suffrage has been followed by such astonishing domestic changes and by such an outburst of sympathetic attention to women's questions, that we have come to look on the eligibility of women as a foregone conclusion. But we must not forget that there are many countries which still retain their antiquated ideas upon the position of women, and this explicit decision with regard to the constitution of the League will have upon them a very far-reaching effect. There will be countries in the League whose women are in almost complete subjection: countries where they cannot read or write, where their personal and property rights are non-existent, and where their position is regarded as almost sub-human. Countries may be admitted whose women are supposed to have no souls: others where they are as infants under guardianship from birth to death, and the League will henceforth constantly remind these races and civilizations of the reality of an ideal different from their own—an ideal of liberty, democracy, personal independence, and responsibility extending to men and to women alike. We repeat, therefore, that the adoption of this amendment is an event of the very first importance, whose results will be immeasurable in the future development of all the nations of the world.

We are proud to think that this achievement is the work of our own statesmen, and that the driving force which has put it through comes from the people of our own race. If we had not won Women's Suffrage in Great Britain, and if the United States had not been travelling so fast in the same direction, it is certain that no such clause would have found its way into the constitution of the League, and a long and tedious campaign would have had to be conducted at some future date. As it is, the right principle goes in from the very beginning, and by so doing not only establishes its own principle, but sets a notable example to the constituent nations to guide them in their own affairs.

Eligibility itself, however, is a barren thing, and if it is not taken advantage of it becomes only a theoretic triumph. Theory is always important, but it is well to back it up by practice when this is possible. The progress of women's enfranchisement has been so rapid in the last few years that it is sometimes difficult to secure the actual fulfilment of all the opportunities now open. There are not yet enough trained and experienced women doctors, for example, to balance the trained and experienced men, and therefore the equal representation of women in the Ministry of Health does not come of itself, even

The Restoration of Pre-War Practices.

The text of a draft Bill for the restoration of suspended trade union customs has been published. This text is substantially the same as that presented for the consideration of the unions at the beginning of December, and it has been unaltered by the subsequent lengthy and important negotiations which have been taking place between the Government, the unions, and the employers on the subject. These negotiations have been of a very serious character, and if the breakdown which has at present occurred is not remedied, a serious situation will undoubtedly arise.

The draft now published is full of inconsistencies and loopholes, and as it stands it pleases no one. It has been submitted both to the unions concerned and to the employers and to joint conferences of them, and from both sides amendments have poured in upon it. A final deadlock was reached when the employers demanded the restoration of their pre-war practices (which presumably meant their pre-war rates of wages), and at the present time the matter is in the hands of the Ministry of Labour.

It is worth while, however, to examine the existing draft, which may be taken as a first attempt to tackle a difficult problem, even if when it actually comes before the House, the Bill takes a different shape. At the first glance the Bill means very little, and at the second it is incomprehensible; but at the third its highly controversial character begins to appear, and the reasons for the failure to agree upon it become apparent, for it

when all prejudices are removed. We claim for women, and we shall achieve, not only the right of entry, but also the actual entry into all trades, professions, and occupations, all positions and appointments. But we have not reached the stage where this result can be obtained by ordinary free competition. Until this is so, if it ever will be, it is an open question whether it is equitable or expedient (or both) to press also for special opportunities for women. To the Inter-allied Conference of Suffragists in Paris President Wilson recommended the appointment of a special commission of women, and there is much to be said for this plan. It is not the same thing as eligibility, but it is not incompatible with it, for we might well have both. The scheme which has been adopted is the firmer and the more logical thing, and it is the ultimate ideal towards which we are aiming. But perhaps we ought to try for the other also, and to have meanwhile special commissions of women, special opportunities for them, and special encouragements to compensate for their comparatively backward and inexperienced state. It is a question upon which there is room for much difference of opinion. To those who care most for immediate results, the double plan commends itself. If it can be carried through, it secures by a short cut the representation and influence of women; and there is no doubt that both are badly and urgently needed in our public affairs. Those, on the other hand, who care for the underlying theory and the ultimate achievement of real working equality, feel uneasy about these proposals. They do not like privilege any more than they like disabilities, and they fear this short cut.

In the present instance, however, there are some special arguments in favour of taking the short cut as well as the long road to representation. For in the League of Nations there will be included countries with no approach to Women's Suffrage. From countries such as these it is more than unlikely—it is quite impossible—that official women delegates will be selected, and the opinions of the women in these countries will be even more than customarily misrepresented by those who are chosen. For them, then, some other consultative women's body seems specially needed, and we hope that President Wilson's plan may receive further attention and working out. Meanwhile we have the great and the solid thing, and it will be for us in our own countries to secure its practical realisation.

We do not doubt that the Peace Congress itself will accept this improvement in the Covenant, and we look to its ratification with complete and jubilant confidence.

We cannot leave this subject without a tribute to Lord Robert Cecil. The whole world knows that it is he who is largely responsible for the great achievement of the Covenant of the League, and we know, with a knowledge drawn from experience, that it is he who is responsible for the inclusion of this amendment in it. Never have we had a truer friend, and never have we had more reason to thank him.

is clear that it attempts to accomplish an impossibility.

The first three clauses provide that—
“Where . . . any trade practice obtaining before the war . . . has been departed from, the owner of the establishment shall be under an obligation . . . to restore . . . the practice . . . and for one year to maintain [it], whether or not the practice was one tending to restrict production or employment.”

This obligation is only to be binding if
“within the prescribed time there is served on the owner, in the prescribed manner, by or on behalf of a majority in the establishment of the class or grade of workers whose custom it was . . . a notice . . . specifying the nature of the practice.”

An exception is made, however, for establishments which have already contracted out of this obligation by other agreements,

if “a substantial majority in the establishment of the class or grade of workers whose custom it was . . . are either parties to the agreement or are members of a trade union who are parties thereto.”

The meaning of these three clauses is clearly to put the onus of proof upon the workpeople themselves, both as to the particular practice to be restored, as to the moment of its restoration, and as to agreements contracting out of it. It makes a general demand by a union on behalf of all its members insufficient, and throws back upon a constantly changing set of workpeople the duty of establishing the conditions of nearly five years ago. It is easy to see how a trade union objection to this principle might arise, both as to the claim for restoration and as to the contract-

ing out by agreement. It is equally obvious that employers would reject the onus of proof being put upon them, while both sides would no doubt resent the interference of a Government official, even if such were proposed. And yet if the thing is to be done at all, someone must specify something.

The last nine clauses of the Bill deal with the courts of appeal, the legal proceedings, the interpretations of the Act, and its application to Crown establishments. One curious provision is worth notice. When an employer has not complied with the obligation, if the munitions tribunal “is satisfied that contravention or failure to comply with the obligation . . . has occurred from a genuine and reasonable doubt as to the nature of any trade practice prevailing before the war . . .” it may make an order declaring the true interpretation without imposing any penalty at all. Of course such “genuine and reasonable doubt” will arise; the Bill will probably give rise to nothing but doubt as it is at present drafted (unless it also gives rise to revolution). But this is a curious provision nevertheless, and one unusual in legal documents.

These difficulties in the Bill, serious and complex as they are, may perhaps not be insuperable; but Clause 4 is in a different category, and raises the central problem which the Bill is designed to solve, namely, how it is possible to restore pre-war conditions in a post-war world. This clause is worth quoting in full:—

“Nothing in this section shall be construed as imposing an obligation to discontinue the use of machinery introduced or altered during the war, without prejudice, however, to the obligation to restore any other practice which may have been introduced, as a consequence of the introduction of or change in the machinery.”

On the face of it, this claim embodies a sheer impossibility. If a practice that is the consequence of new machinery must go, it is difficult to see how the new machinery itself can remain. It is as if one were to say that a girl could wear her hair short provided that she did it up according to the fashion of 1913, a permission that could give but little satisfaction. This clause, however, is not so foolish as it looks. The objective of it, presumably, is that which is not explicitly stated in it, and the pre-war practice to be restored to which it refers is that of not employing semi-skilled men and women. No doubt the intention is that new machinery shall be allowed to remain, provided it is operated by skilled classes of workers, and the other less far-reaching practices that must have followed the introduction of new machines will not be affected.

It is here that the critical point arises for women workers. If this is the meaning of Clause 4, and if no substantial change is made in it, it will necessitate the removal of practically all the semi-skilled workers, both men and women, from the engineering trades, and in the case of the women it will besides prevent their transformation into regular skilled workers by any term of apprenticeship, since the pre-war practice was not to employ women at all in the trade.

This exclusion of the semi-skilled worker is really the crux of the whole question. The enormous multiplication of this class during the war, and in particular the unexpected success of women in this direction, is the most important of all the changes that have taken place, and it is one that threatens the whole of the skilled man's position. If this clause stands as it is, intolerable hardship will result; thousands of useful workers will be prevented from obtaining productive work, thousands of valuable machines will stand idle, and conflict of the most embittered kind will immediately spring up between the skilled and the semi-skilled workers. In this conflict it is not only women who will be involved, but also the thousands of semi-skilled men, whose right to their employment will be denied, and whose work will be forbidden to them by law.

If, on the other hand, this clause is struck out, the pledge to restore pre-war practices will be broken, and the unions will have a grievance whose justification everyone must admit. What then is to be done? Can we find some amendment to this clause that will enable us to skate between these possibilities, some ingenious technical quibble by which all will be saved? We cannot. Facts face us too closely, and the living of thousands of men and women waits upon the result. Quibbles will not do, nor will delay. We must take hold of this problem, with all its troubles, and we must once and for all admit that it is insoluble, and give up the attempt to frame such a Bill as this. Once we have done this the path is plain. We need no longer try to put back the hands of progress by Act of Parliament, nor to unlearn the lessons of the war by statute; we need no longer fear that we may cheat the skilled man of his bargain, but we must turn with all our energy to remoulding the industrial world in such a fashion that neither the skilled nor the semi-skilled, the employer nor the employed shall have reason to fear.

The first consideration must be that the trade unions which

received the pledge shall be satisfied. If they cannot receive the exact letter of their pledges (and it is perfectly plain that they cannot), then they must be given something better. Until they are satisfied, our national honour is disgraced, and this is the first condition of a new settlement. There are other conditions, too, no less important. If we are to tackle this question boldly and in a spirit of genuine reconstruction, we must take it in its relation to the whole problem of labour unrest. We must take account of the growing spirit of industrial self-government, of the growing independence of women, and we must base our settlement upon the needs of the industry. We must recognise the increased output that our country requires, the increased enterprise, and the increased efficiency, and we must build up for our engineering works a really flourishing and successful trade. The way to secure these results is already being indicated for us, and the signs are plain. The report which is to be submitted to the Industrial Conference this week spells it out very clearly, and we shall be wise to follow along that course. It demands, with wonderful and significant unanimity, the radical improvement of the conditions of industry, the universal shortening of hours, the fixing of minimum rates, the guarantee against unemployment and underemployment, and, most far-reaching of all, the establishment of a permanent Industrial Council to regulate the affairs of the industrial world. In this direction only is a solution possible, and it is in this fashion that the problem of the pledge must seek solution. If the trade unions are wise, they will demand these reforms in part payment of the pledge; they will themselves draw up what other conditions they require, what other new demands it is to their advantage to make, and they will consent to refer these demands to the Industrial Council for detailed solution. A course such as this, which would be both immediately practicable and universally approved, would have one other great advantage. It would be just; for in the Industrial Councils of the future the employees and the employed, the skilled and the semi-skilled, the men and the women, must all be included, and in the agreements of the past this has not been so.

Neither at the original conferences which preceded the Treasury agreements of March, 1915, nor at the subsequent conferences for the discussion of this draft Bill, have the representatives of the women's trade unions been present. Not being “parties to the agreement,” it is assumed that they need not be “parties to the settlement,” even though they are primarily concerned, and their very existence is one of the main difficulties of the affair. This is no way to achieve justice. We must base our solution, if it is to be a lasting one, upon a firmer basis, and we must look to a fuller ideal. Neither sectional advantage nor sex division must find a place in the new charter which must replace this futile Bill, but only fair dealing, generous treatment, and the permanent national good.

RAY STRACHEY.

The Control of the Milk Supply.

By MARION PHILLIPS, D.Sc. (ECON.).

In February last the Consumers' Council of the Ministry of Food set forth its policy with regard to milk in the following terms:—

“This Council appreciates the measures taken by the Ministry for the national and local distribution of milk, but having regard to the vital importance of this article of food to mothers and young children, expresses the opinion that the production, quality, and supply can no longer be left to hazardous enterprise and initiative, and urges upon the Ministry the necessity of taking early and effective steps to ensure an adequate supply under national control.”

Some members of the Council, of whom the present writer is one, would like to define the terms of this resolution a little more clearly. To them, national control would mean not simply the control of private enterprise, but complete nationalisation of the productive side, with joint municipal and national control of distribution. But even without that further step being taken, it is undoubtedly true that there is immediate need for a great extension of national control, though in a less complete form. Moreover, all classes of the population might well join in this demand, and legislation necessary to secure at least some improvement on these lines ought to be regarded as non-contentious.

The reason why milk should receive special treatment of this kind may be very simply expressed. In the first place, it is the only food of infants whose mothers are unable to suckle them, and it is a large part of the diet of little children. There are no substitutes for the infants and the mothers who are nursing them, and the welfare of the coming generation must depend upon the forethought of those who prepare for its milk supply. In the

second place, milk is a product which is very easily contaminated, and needs not only great care in its actual production, but also great care in its transport and preservation. If left to what the Consumers' Council has admirably termed "hazardous enterprise," milk is too often the product of tuberculous cows, reared on dirty farms, milked under unhygienic conditions; it is too often transported in unrefrigerated cars and in unsuitable and ill-closed milk cans, and finally distributed in unsealed vessels under thoroughly hideous conditions of uncleanness. It is even more important that the child in the poor home, who has already to battle against much that is unsuitable in its environment, should get thoroughly reliable milk than the well-to-do infant for whom all other needs are well supplied. Yet, at the present time, it is only possible for the very rich, and even a small number of them, to be certain of obtaining their milk from herds tested for tuberculosis and in bottles filled and sealed at the dairy itself.

It has been said, in the course of a recent investigation, that at the present moment from 50 per cent. to 75 per cent. of the cows in the dairy herds should be done away with. The condition has necessarily been rendered more acute as a result of the war. The shortage of feeding stuffs and of labour, together with the great advantage which the farmer reaped from sowing wheat and growing cattle for the meat market, very naturally caused shortage, and undoubtedly the control exercised by the Ministry of Food, though its incompleteness has been a disappointment to many, has alone made it possible for the supply of this essential commodity to be kept even at its present level.

It is impossible here to go into the whole of the details of this control, but it is urgent that public opinion should be aroused upon this subject in order that the work of the Food Ministry shall not be allowed to go without a really satisfactory system being put in its place. Milk should no longer be left to the chance of supply and demand—a chance under which it has to meet the competition of other farm products less difficult to handle and needing considerably less organising ability than the work of the dairy. The chief success the Food Ministry has achieved is in improving the methods of distribution and handling, and under their orders the retailer is no longer allowed to add anything to the milk which he sells. This means the end of the perilous "reconstructed milk" which used to be so common. Improvements have also been made with a view to shortening transport, which is a particularly important matter, because refrigerating cars for milk are practically non-existent, and the habit of bottling at the dairy is almost unknown. Moreover, the Food Control Committees have wide powers under which they may secure comparative cleanliness and wholesomeness of milk, and, as the milkman has to be registered, the fear of losing his registration has a very healthy influence. Milk of a specially high quality, produced by herds that have no animal reacting to the tuberculin test, may be sold in sealed bottles at a specially high rate, but very few dairies have been able to take advantage of this, as the conditions of production and the high price of the ungraded milk make it more profitable for them to go on in the old way. The sale of milk at the present high prices, with a flat rate, certainly discourages its careful production, though under the circumstances of the times, the necessity of getting any milk at all was so great that it may have had justification. The haphazard methods of the past have given us little data in this country upon which we can judge clearly the actual cost of production, but investigations are now on foot to try and increase our knowledge on that point.

Meanwhile, it is very instructive to the British public to note the conditions of the milk supply in the City of New York, where a very elaborate scheme of control has been in force for some time under the City Health Authority. The most important point is that all milk delivered to a consumer's house must be bottled, and the bottling must have been done at the dairyman's premises. The milk itself is graded on the basis of the number of bacteria that it contains at any time before it reaches the consumer, or in the case of pasteurised milk, upon the number of bacteria that it contains before pasteurisation. Grade A, for infants and children, may be sold raw or pasteurised. Grade B, for adults, must be pasteurised, while Grade C may only be sold for cooking and manufacturing purposes, and must also be pasteurised. Since these regulations have been in force, Grade C has gone off the market altogether, and Grade A makes up about one-seventh of the whole supply. The prices of milk are fixed, and in spite of the generally high cost of living in America, Grade B is sold at the same price as our milk here. Further, the Department of Health maintains fifty-nine milk stations which supply milk for infant feeding at the sum of 9½d. a quart, but this, it should be noted, is all Grade A milk.

It is well known that in our country the amount of milk consumed, especially amongst the children of the working classes

in towns, is very small. In New York about 40 per cent. more per head is consumed in the poor quarters than in the wealthy districts; but what is exceedingly important to note is that practically the whole of the milk sold in our towns would be classified in New York as Grade C, milk to be used for cooking and manufacturing purposes only. A great deal of our milk is also pasteurised without the consumer knowing it, and sometimes, before it reaches the child, it may have been pasteurised two or three times over—a process which definitely reduces its nourishing qualities. All dealers in milk or milk products must have a licence from the New York Health Department, and that licence is revocable at the discretion of that authority. Moreover, before it has been granted, the Department of Health examine the source of supply, and must be satisfied with the conditions.

The two facts which we have to face to-day are: first, that our milk supply is not sufficiently large, and, secondly, that it is not of sufficiently good quality, although its price places it beyond the reach of great numbers of the working people. It will be a long time before the herds can be made up to the previous numbers, and therefore drastic steps for weeding out the poor cattle, and even diseased cattle, must be taken with great care. Milk must be home produced, and we cannot rely on supplies of condensed or dried milk from abroad if we are to rear a healthy population. Even our "dirty" milk is better than no milk. What is urgent is that national control should be maintained and extended so that step by step the dairy farmers shall be brought into line with modern requirements and modern scientific knowledge. It is only by national control that this can be fully accomplished, for the transport of the milk must be carried out in close relation to the needs of the population and the situation of the dairy farmers. Finally, control by licensing and registration of the retailer must be maintained and strengthened in order that the milk which leaves the farm clean shall reach the consumer in the same condition; and the infant welfare centres must be brought into close co-operation with the central milk administration in order that the infant population of urban and rural areas alike shall be made secure of ample supplies.

Sanitary Inspection and the Ministry of Health.

By a LONDON SANITARY INSPECTOR.

The public are all acquainted with the profession of a sanitary inspector. When there is anything wrong with a house, group of houses, or a street, whether it is a puddle in a back yard or a smoking chimney, or a rumour of rats in a basement, or unwholesome sweetstuff on a barrow, or a case of measles, or a smell of any kind, the public always say: "Where is the Sanitary Inspector?" They are right, of course, so far, but what they do not know and what they should understand is the extraordinary and unnecessary obstruction of the legal machinery by which he or she works. With the Ministry of Health Bill now being read, it is necessary in the interests of public health that everybody should know what are the functions and duties of a Sanitary Inspector, since on the proper carrying out of these duties the well-being of the State depends. At the present time a Sanitary Inspector is appointed by a local authority, Borough, Town, or District Council to carry out the provisions of the Public Health Acts. In London only he must be qualified by an examination comprising elementary science, including hygiene, mathematics, building construction, sanitary science, and law. He must pass a preliminary educational test examination about equivalent to the Third-class College of Preceptors. The Local Government Board has to sanction his appointment, and his duties are clearly defined in an Act of Parliament. The Public Health Acts (1891 for London, 1875 for the rest of the country), the Food and Drugs Acts, the L.C.C. General Powers Acts, the Acts relating to verminous persons, &c., provide for the suppression of all nuisances (with the exception that there is no law dealing with personal dirty habits, and that the laws relating to vermin are very incomplete). Why, then, are these laws inoperative? How is it that in any country village one finds damp, insanitary, overcrowded houses, in any town overcrowding (and this in the days before the exceptional war conditions of the present time), filthy backyards, dirty staircases and rooms, stopped gullies and w.c.s., and all the other horrors of ill-kept, neglected slums. How often are letters received from ratepayers with this complaint: "I don't know what the Sanitary Inspector is doing!" Exactly; it is time they knew. First, outside London, the Sanitary Authority who

appoints and controls the Sanitary Inspector is a Statutory Committee of the Borough, Urban, or Rural District Council. It is obliged by the Local Government Board to appoint sufficient Sanitary Inspectors. In a country town known to me, where the sanitary conditions are abominable, the Sanitary Inspector is a brother-in-law of one of the Councillors; not that that makes much difference. If the Councillors on any Public Health Committee are interested in bad housing, very little is done to make them carry out the law. The Local Government Board does not inspect to see if the Public Health Acts are being complied with; it interferes under certain conditions if ten ratepayers make a complaint, but it certainly has not the staff to do routine inspection, though it may be remarked that it keeps a staff of highly-paid doctors who do routine inspection to see that infant welfare work is being done in accordance with its wishes all over England, and send out copious leaflets warning Sanitary Authorities to take all precautions with regard to summer diarrhoea, which latter would not be necessary if the Public Health Acts were properly administered.

If a Sanitary Inspector be employed by a large town or London borough, he may be chosen as the best candidate of a large number of applicants. The committee who employ him may be quite free from axe-grinding. Is his course clear then? By no means! Let us take a typical case of a nuisance reported to an Inspector in a London Borough and follow the procedure. Let us suppose it is a defect in a w.c. in a tenement house used by ten or twelve persons (twelve is the maximum number of persons allowed by law to use one w.c.). The Inspector, male or female, calls within a few hours of receipt of the complaint. If he finds it a valid one, he returns to the office and serves a first notice on the landlord, informing him of the nature of the nuisance, and requiring him to abate it forthwith.

Supposing the landlord takes no notice of this intimation, and that the Inspector calls again in about a week, and finds that nothing has been done. He then considers when the next meeting of the Public Health Committee is; usually they meet once a month; it may be a few days off; it may be four weeks, or in holiday times seven or eight weeks. If the committee is meeting in a few days, he puts in an application for a second notice, or statutory notice, as it is termed, which can only be passed by this committee, or in an emergency by the Town Clerk and Chairman of the Public Health Committee (cases are on record where the legality of the proceedings has been held in question on this latter form of notice). About two or three days after the meeting of the committee he will receive the statutory notice, duly signed by the Town Clerk, threatening legal proceedings if the nuisance is not abated within a certain time. The time limit is left to the Sanitary Inspector to fill in for himself—in this case three days would be usual. Directly this notice is received, the inspector serves it upon the landlord, and again visits the premises at the expiration of the three days. The time has now spun out to over two weeks since the complaint was first made. If still nothing has been done, although the Inspector now has full legal power to prepare evidence for a summons and get one served upon the landlord, yet the medical officer may insist upon writing and remonstrating with the landlord before allowing the matter to proceed further, thus weakening the position and showing the landlord that the statutory notice is not final (as it was intended to be in the law). If the landlord is still recalcitrant, and if he is a firm of solicitors or auctioneers or estate agents, as he may very likely be, the Inspector is then permitted to make out evidence for a summons. The evidence is then duly sent up to the Town Clerk. Does the Town Clerk instantly have a summons issued? Not invariably. Several days may elapse before it is finally served on the landlord, or it may occur to him to telephone to the landlord and ask if he intends to do the work. At this point the landlord usually yields, and the work is done in time to prevent the issue of the summons, the time being anything from four to six weeks since the service of the first notice. Now this is a very favourable exposition of the course of the law, and from this it can easily be imagined why houses are often so badly kept in London and elsewhere. Allowing a correspondingly longer time for less urgent nuisances, a sufficiently acute landlord to gauge exactly the apathy of the Public Health Authority (that is why low-class solicitors do it so well), and it can be seen that a zealous Sanitary Inspector is not exactly encouraged by the law as it stands.

Of course, many landlords comply promptly with the first notice, but a small proportion, making a large number in actual figures, behave in the manner I have described. If you study annual reports of councils and are shown the enormous number of notices served during the year and the very small number of summonses issued, do not be led to believe that it is necessarily all well with the abatement of nuisances. A further column

should be added giving the *average time* in which nuisances are abated.

Only in two cases, (a) seizure of bad food, (b) proceedings under the Sale of Food and Drugs Acts, does prosecution swiftly and invariably follow, and that is chiefly because in these two cases the Inspector is empowered by law to carry through the whole process himself.

By far the most satisfactory part of a Sanitary Inspector's work is Workshop inspection. This is because notices are usually quickly complied with. The owner has a very real fear of the Factory Inspector, who has power to prosecute and carry through all legal cases himself, without necessarily any reference to another authority; consequently the workshop or factory owner is prepared to obey the Sanitary Inspector, whom he knows to be closely allied to the Factory Inspector.

Leaving the creaking machinery, the present laws are defective as I have mentioned, because they throw the whole onus of cleansing upon the landlord, and the tenant can have as filthy personal habits as he chooses. The only redress the landlord has is to give him notice, whereat he pollutes the air somewhere else. Now, seeing that dirty personal habits, when carried beyond a certain point, become injurious and dangerous to the health of others, it is certainly time that the liberty of the tenant to be as dirty as he or she likes should be restricted, and I am sure that the working classes, who in the bulk are wonderfully clean, considering their difficulties, would support a law dealing directly with the tenant. It would mean, of course, that as poor, working class mothers should not be fined, when every attempt to make them clean by cajolery had failed, the incurably dirty persons would have to be sent to a house of detention, where they would be taught to be clean from the foundations. An ordinary prison would be useless. It must also be remembered that many magistrates, particularly in the country, are not favourably disposed towards prosecutions under the Public Health Acts.

Further, in case of bankruptcy, if a summons is issued against a landlord and the verdict goes against him and he is unable to pay the fine, the work may remain undone for months. There is a clause in the Public Health Act permitting a Local Authority to carry out cleansing or abate nuisances themselves in case of necessity, and then sue the owner and recover the costs; but, so far as I have been able to ascertain, this part of the Act is a dead letter.

Since it is not the laws relating to public health that are defective, but the means of carrying them out efficiently, we must not suppose that merely having a Ministry of Health is going to do anything for us unless we radically change the position and powers of the Sanitary Inspector. In Section 6 of the Ministry of Health Bill there should be a sixth subsection reading: "All Sanitary Inspectors now employed by Local Authorities shall hold their appointments directly under the Ministry of Health." If this clause were incorporated in the Bill it would mean a great economy of labour. I have tried to show the many impediments in the way of the Sanitary Inspector in getting a summons issued, and it must be pointed out that an enormous amount of time is wasted in paying superfluous visits. The effect of a summons with a good fine is almost magical. Not only is that landlord speeded up with regard to other nuisances, but other landlords get to hear of it, and no doubt, if a reasonable number of summonses were issued in a district, the labours of the Sanitary Inspectors would be greatly reduced, and they would be able to serve a larger area. Sanitary Inspectors should be responsible for all notices in their districts, just as Factory Inspectors are, and they should be able to act with the Medical Officer of Health and legal adviser in such cases as that of deciding whether an area or block of houses should be condemned. Much of the work of a Public Health Committee is superfluous, in a London Borough especially, since the new Maternity and Infant Welfare Committees have arisen as separate bodies, and they might meet much less frequently when no longer required to sanction notices. The advantages of this system would be great. The Ministry of Health would place its Sanitary Inspectors wherever required, and if they were in a town where all the chimneys of the factories were allowed to smoke because the factory owners were magistrates, why, then, the Ministry of Health should appeal to a higher court, just as the Home Office does for the Factory Inspector.

Another good reason for this system is that it would obtain a much better type of inspector. At present every borough in London offers a different salary and pays different bonuses, while a similar variation of conditions obtains in the country. Although the Local Government Board is supposed to sanction all appointments, it is only rarely, in extreme cases, that it can be got to oppose one on the grounds of insufficient salary or qualifications. Since not every town or borough wants an efficient

Sanitary Inspector, unless there is a uniform system of salaries, holidays, superannuation benefits, and a possibility of gaining promotion, there must be great injustices, and many suitable men and women either do not go in for the work, or, in the case of the women (who are treated much worse than the men as a whole), are attracted in large numbers to other fields of work, to the detriment of the Public Health Service. Further, it should be possible for the more talented men and women to have the chance of obtaining higher administrative posts within the Service. Much of the work now done by Medical Officers of Health is merely clerical work and routine inspection, which makes no demands on their medical training, and there should be a reorganisation of these duties; in London certainly six or eight Medical Officers of Health would be ample, instead of the twenty-nine now employed, since so very much of their work has been taken from them by the encroaching London County Council. Although my thesis is sanitary inspection and not Medical Officers of Health, the two are closely inter-linked, and the Sanitary Inspector naturally resents a fully-trained Medical Officer of Health pottering round, looking at the lids of the dustbins, and receiving five times the salary of the Sanitary Inspector.

As regards the human and personal sides of the work, the opportunities are many, and it is often forgotten that the Sanitary Inspector was the original Health Visitor, and that it is quite impossible to separate the two professions, they overlap so much. It is to be hoped that the community will realise here and now that the stability and permanence of the whole edifice of Public Health legislation, which is about to be entrusted to the Minister of Health, must depend upon its foundations being well and truly laid, founded, that is to say, upon the expert knowledge of those who, by virtue of daily experience, are able to speak with authority on the problems involved.

Proportional Representation.

"Women have won the vote just when men have discovered that the vote is worthless." I have heard that said more than once, and it expresses the despair of Parliament which is the great political danger of our time. "Bolshevism" means despair of Parliament, of representative government: and this despair is felt by many who are not by nature revolutionaries. The question is—Are women, after the first moment of triumph, going to share it? Will they find that the vote is merely a pretty compliment paid to their sex?

The despair of Parliament has causes which are not hard to discover. The question is—Can they be removed? If they cannot, women will soon be out of conceit with the vote, and, being less subject to romantic illusions than men, will probably cease to exercise it. Then their only remedy will be "direct action." But although there is one great example, in fiction, of successful direct action by women, namely, in the *Lysistrata* of Aristophanes, the Militarists seem to prove that women are not fitted for direct action in fact. They cannot hit hard enough; and, further, they are naturally on the side of order. A woman thinks of her children first; and direct action is not good for children. Therefore, women must rely on the vote and, if men are too stupid to see what is the matter with the vote at present, women must enforce the remedy with their vote.

That remedy is provided by Proportional Representation; and, if you wish to know why Proportional Representation is needed, you have only to seek its enemies and to read their arguments against it. The great enemy of Proportional Representation is the Party Machine, which says always that Proportional Representation is a purely mechanical device; but we know what to think when Satan rebukes sin. Proportional Representation is a device for improving the mechanism of representative government, and it is opposed by those who profit by its present defects of mechanism. How they profit is easily seen. It is still commonly believed that the voters in a constituency choose their member; and they wonder why it is that they so seldom can choose a member worth choosing. The fact is that they do not choose their member, because they do not choose the candidates. They are chosen by the party machines, and the electors have only the power of voting for that one of the two candidates whom they happen to dislike least. The real power is in the hands of the machines, and they naturally oppose any reform which will deprive them of that power. Now Proportional Representation would deprive them of that power, or at least greatly lessen it; for under Proportional Representation

constituencies would return, not one member, but probably five, and the voter would vote not merely for one candidate but for all the candidates in the order in which he himself preferred them. At present, if he dislikes the nominee of his own party he will still vote for him rather than for the nominee of the other party; in fact, the party machine forces the card on him. Under Proportional Representation he might vote, with some chance of success, for a candidate not chosen by either machine, or he might give his second preference to such a candidate; and, where there was a general dislike for the party nominees, an independent candidate would always have a good chance of success. It is easy, therefore, to understand why the machine does not like Proportional Representation, and why it has the wit to say that Proportional Representation is a merely mechanical device.

At present the real reason why people despair of Parliament is the quality of the persons elected to Parliament, and the fact that they are usually pledged to support their party, which, when in power, always behaves like the other party. The elector's choice is between Tweedledum and Tweedledee, but Proportional Representation would give him a wider choice, and so a Parliament not filled with Tweedledums and Tweedledees. Naturally the Party Machine says that Proportional Representation would encourage cranks; by which it means candidates with convictions of their own, and the freedom to vote for them in parliament.

I have put this argument in favour of Proportional Representation first, because at present the despair of Parliament, owing to the quality of its members, is the great political danger; but there is, of course, another argument, easier to state and perhaps of greater permanent importance. It is that Proportional Representation would give that representation to minorities which, under our present system, they do not obtain. Once at least under the present system a minority of voters has returned a majority of members; and nearly always the minority is grossly under-represented. Anyone will see that in each particular constituency at present the minority, no matter how large it is, is not represented at all. Proportional Representation, by means of larger constituencies and by means of its system of preferential voting, would give representation to minorities in every constituency. Instead of one candidate being returned, perhaps by a narrow majority, there would be, say, three returned on one side and two on the other; or, perhaps, three party candidates and two independent. And the mere fact that independent candidates had a chance, and might imperil the success of the party candidates if they were chosen, as they now often are, with a complete disregard of the wishes of the electorate, would cause even the party machine to make a better choice. For the party machine would be afraid, as it now is not, of an independent minority of the electors. It would know that that minority had the power of expressing itself in the voting, and it would therefore choose candidates themselves of some independence. It would, in fact, be always fighting a losing game, where now it is always fighting a winning game. The mere pressure of circumstances would be against its power where now it is in favour of that power. The electors would begin to find that they had some power of choice; and their appetite would grow with the eating. Can you wonder that the machine is against Proportional Representation, and that a great part of the House of Commons, as at present elected, is likely to be at least indifferent to it.

But that is not a reason why the electors, and in particular the women, should be indifferent to it. I have always wished women to have votes because of their greater sense of reality. To that sense Proportional Representation makes its appeal. What is the use of having the vote if it only enables you to return to Parliament candidates whom you would never choose for candidates? And if all the issues on which an election is decided are also chosen for you by a machine, interested, not in you, but only in the maintenance of its own existence. I believe that women, now they have the vote, will wish to do something with it, and will see that they can do very little with it until the machinery of representation is reformed. They will come fresh to the absurdity of our present system; they will not be content to wear colours as people wear them for the boat race, or to cheer for the winning colour without caring what is the effect of its victory. Of one thing you may be certain. You may have six points on your programme, but you will not carry them unless Proportional Representation is one of them.

I have said nothing about the technical details of Proportional Representation in this short article. For a clear account of them, and of all the arguments in favour of Proportional Representation, I refer the reader to *The Reform of Political Representation*, by J. Fischer Williams.

A. CLUTTON-BROCK.

Urban District Council Elections.

The results of the County Council Elections show a gratifying increase in the number of women elected. There are no less than forty-six women county councillors instead of twelve, but this success ought to be easily surpassed by the results of the forthcoming Urban District Council Elections. These District Council Elections will take place in most places on April 7th. There is still time to rouse public interest and to persuade especially the women voters to use their new powers.

One of the greatest dangers to democratic government is the apathy of the electorate, a sad example of which we have just had in the recent County Council Elections. In London and the Home Counties less than twenty per cent. of the electors took the trouble to vote, which means that the nature of the chief local governing bodies of that large and important area was settled by one voter in every five, the other four apparently not taking the slightest interest in the matter. This deplorable indifference is partly accounted for by ignorance of the nature and work of the County Councils. Many women do not seem to have understood that the vote for local councils was given them at the same time as the Parliamentary vote.

It is desirable that greater interest shall be shown in the Urban District Council Elections, resulting in a larger number of people taking the trouble to record their votes. This brief article does not pretend to do more than indicate the important questions voters should have in mind at the forthcoming elections.

THE CHIEF PROBLEMS.

The councils have many important functions, but Housing, Health, and Education are the basis of good local government. Housing comes first, as without adequate sanitary housing a vigorous healthy race is impossible; the proper care of mother and child is impossible, and children living under bad conditions cannot benefit by the education provided for them. Such children physically maimed and intellectually impoverished enter the world handicapped from the start. The new Housing Bill makes it obligatory on local authorities to provide proper housing accommodation, and councillors should be chosen who will carry out these duties with enthusiasm.

People properly housed have a chance to keep healthy and good health is literally invaluable: nothing can replace it. Of course, we must begin with the baby, therefore the full Maternity and Child Welfare scheme of the Local Government Board should be carried out, and candidates should be required to pledge themselves to this. The Medical Officer of Health must be encouraged and supported in his work, and the widest possible interpretation given to his powers in the interests of public health.

Children well housed, well fed, and healthy are ready for the process of school education. The endeavour of every local authority should be to educate the children within its area in order to develop their natural gifts, to provide scope for their full realisation, and then help the children to choose their occupations in life. This education should begin in the Nursery Schools. Among the councillors there should be some experts in education, and any candidate who speaks slightly of education, or who undervalues it should receive short shrift from the electorate.

POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE COUNCILS.

The powers and duties of these councils vary according to the population of the area, e.g., only districts of more than 20,000 persons are given the administration of elementary education, in other cases it remains under the control of the County Council, though the districts are allowed to nominate persons to sit on the sub-committees. At present all higher education is managed by the county authorities.

Many of the duties, such as levying and collecting the general district rate, the collection and disposal of house refuse, the cleaning and lighting of the streets, are more or less of a routine character, and the efficiency with which they are discharged largely depends on the ability and character of the permanent officials—the Clerk, the Treasurer, the Medical Officer of Health, the Surveyor and the Inspector of Nuisances. The councillors should realise the importance of securing the best possible officials and paying them adequately.

The duties of the authorities under the Public Health Acts, the Education Acts, and the Housing and Town Planning Acts, are of a vaguer character, and many of them permissive only, and it is in the administration of these Acts that the councillors have a very real influence.

AREAS AND COUNCILLORS.

The Urban Council area is generally divided into wards, and to each ward is allotted its *quota* of members. In some districts the whole council is elected every three years, like the County Councils, but the more usual practice is for a third of the members to retire annually. Each ward having several members makes it comparatively easy to secure the return of women, as every fair-minded person is open to the argument that among the three or four councillors representing a ward, at least one should be a woman. Nominations have already been made so that we can only find out what woman, if any, has been nominated in our respective districts, get into touch with her, and her committee, and work hard to put her at the head of the poll. In any case, examine carefully the election addresses and credentials of all the candidates and consider whether they possess the qualifications and outlook urgently required for this new period.

CHOICE OF COUNCILLORS.

At the present moment every district, like the nation and the world, is faced with a greater variety of more difficult problems than ever before. The satisfactory solution of their particular problems by local authorities will contribute enormously to the industrial prosperity and the peaceful restoration of a normal, contented national life.

Electors should, therefore, choose those candidates who seem most likely to carry out their duties in a broad sympathetic spirit, who have the necessary knowledge and capacity to appreciate the problems, and the courage and determination required to overcome difficulties.

EDITH HOW MARTYN,
County Councillor for Middlesex.

The Problem of the Unqualified Worker.

A great deal of indignation has been expressed at the refusal of certain large Trades Unions to admit women to their membership, even when such women were engaged side by side with the ordinary Trades Unionist workmen upon almost identical tasks. But there was something more behind this refusal than simple masculine prejudice. A large Trades Union does not exist only for the purpose of forcing up wages and improving conditions of employment. In return for "recognition"—that is to say, for the admitted power to bargain, through its officials, with a private employer or with the State, and to have such bargains recognised as binding—it offers a guarantee of efficiency for every worker claiming membership. It is worth while for the employer only to engage Trades Unionists when he can be sure that they all, roughly speaking, reach the same level of skill, have passed through the same apprenticeship, and have been taught to handle the same tools. It is *not* worth his while to engage unorganised "blacklegs," even at less than the Union rate of wages, when they can bring him no such guarantee. The Trades Unions would never have risen to their present power if they had not assumed these obligations, and if they did not take them seriously. And it would obviously be a breach of these obligations if any Trades Union were to put forward, as a fully qualified member, a woman who has not served the orthodox term of apprenticeship in the ordinary way—a thing which no woman worker has yet done, no matter how quickly she may have picked up the essentials of her trade, nor how great a degree of technical skill she may have acquired.

It is important to grasp both sides of this question, because it is one that, under different guises, continually recurs when the problems of women's employment are under consideration. For many years women were unable to enter the medical profession, not because anybody doubted that they would be very welcome, especially in the treatment of children and of ultra-fastidious members of their own sex, but chiefly because they could not be licensed to practise unless and until they had passed through the regular course of training—and in those days the teachers at the medical schools flatly declined to instruct mixed classes! Of course, the right remedy for this, as the courageous pioneers amongst medical women immediately decided, was not to undermine public confidence by pleading for the recognition of unqualified practitioners, but simply to break down the prejudice of the medical teachers, and so secure adequate training for women as well as men.

Again, there is a great feeling of grievance, and of quite legitimate grievance, amongst uncertificated school teachers when they see the increased pay and quick promotion of their fully qualified colleagues and contrast it with their own Cinderella-like position. Heaven knows, the most brilliantly qualified



Something for Nothing

IN this imperfect world everyone likes the idea of getting something for nothing: so some people defend the coal-range on the ground that it heats the water in the range-boiler by means of "waste heat".

It is a pleasing thought, but unfortunately mistaken.

When the damper is open the range simply devours coal; when it is shut the boiler exercises a cooling influence, which means that much more stoking is necessary to get the ordinary work out of the range.

Householders who have substituted gas water-heaters find that not only do they get a better supply of hot water, but their coal consumption is much reduced. And the gas bill can be kept correspondingly low, because these water-heaters are so constructed as to combine surprising economy with their efficiency—if due care be taken.

THE BRITISH COMMERCIAL GAS ASSOCIATION

47 Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W. 1

teacher is not likely to be spoiled by over-indulgence from the authorities; but the uncertificated teacher, who may be, and usually is, an extremely capable person with ten or fifteen years' invaluable experience of daily work in the class-room, is paid at most a little more than the school charwoman. This, to be sure, is a terminating evil; the day of the uncertificated teacher is passing; but in the meantime no one can deny that it is an evil, and that it must lead to many instances of real hardship. And yet it manifestly would not do for the teacher's certificate to carry with it no material advantages whatsoever!

We shall be up against all these difficult problems in a peculiarly difficult form whenever the long-promised Bill for the State Registration of Nurses at last becomes law. On the face of it, it appears an absolutely desirable thing that there should be some recognised standard of efficiency which every woman must reach before she is entitled to assume the duties of a paid professional nurse. Yet the first effect of such a Bill would be to throw a number of highly skilled and eminently deserving women out of employment. Several of the greatest authorities on nursing have steadily opposed State Registration, partly for this reason, and partly because any scheme of registration, unless very carefully and wisely planned, might merely serve to arm a great many ambitious young people with an indisputable certificate of authority, although they might be singularly deficient in sympathy, patience, power of observation, and all the other desirable qualities which the old unregistered nurses (whom they would have ousted) often exhibit to a very marked degree.

Of course, the real root of the trouble lies in that evil old tradition which forbade a woman to take up any sort of paid employment except as an amateur. Now amateur work may often be excellent work; but it is not universally reliable, because it is not standardised; and the public demands that any service for which it pays a fair price shall reach a recognised universal standard. It is, no doubt, desirable that women should enter, and be quite free to enter, every trade and profession in the future; but they must do this as serious professional workers, and must especially beware of every kind of friend who wishes to show them a "royal road" through the preliminary difficulties and drudgery. Already we find ourselves continually torn between what is due to the clever, deserving, and often technically brilliant woman who did not realise in time the necessity of becoming officially qualified in her chosen work, and what is due to the general public interest. We want no more of these complicated and thorny problems to entangle us in the days to come.

MADGE MEARS.

Correspondence.

(We invite further correspondence on the subject of the Programme of the N.U.S.E.C.)

THE PROGRAMME OF THE N.U.S.E.C.

MADAM,—Miss Maud Allen is surely in error when she says that "nothing should be done (for the Endowment of Motherhood) till after the next Council." On the contrary, the decision was "to work for the endowment of maternity and childhood by the State," but not to commit the Union to any particular scheme until it had been submitted to the next Council. Those who have experience in speaking on this subject know that it is perfectly possible to carry out this instruction. There is room and need for any amount of general propaganda on the principle of the proposal, which excites the keenest interest in audiences.

In order to give definiteness to the discussion it is no doubt necessary to be ready to point to some sort of concrete scheme, and the obvious one for the purpose is that set forth in "Equal Pay and the Family" (Messrs. Headley, 1s.). But this can be done without committing the Union or even the speaker to an advocacy of that or any other scheme in detail. Perhaps I may be allowed to point out further that the small Committee which produced that particular scheme is composed on much the same lines as the "Special Committees" which the N.U.S.E.C. is now engaged in setting up and includes four present and two past members of the N.U.S.E.C. Executive, so that whether the subject is chosen in the ballot or not, it seems not unreasonable to expect that the Union may consent to adopt its scheme as a basis of discussion.

Personally, the three subjects which I should like to commend to the Council's choice are those numbered 1, 3, and 6 on the ballot paper.* But I should like to put in a specially strong plea on behalf of No. 3—*viz.*, the Committee for safeguarding the industrial interests of women, with special regard to the obtaining of equal opportunities in the skilled trades and watching the action of the Government in their treatment of "dilutee" demobilised women's labour. Let me remind our Societies that it was the tremendous difficulty and urgency of the problems connected with this subject which, more than anything else, converted our former arch opponent, Mr. Asquith, to our cause. I should like to see not only at Headquarters but in every large industrial centre, committees created by our Societies and including representatives of the various industrial organisations of women, engaged in watching over the treatment of the demobilised women and working out and pressing on employers, local authorities, and the State, schemes for training and reabsorbing them into the labour market. Our Union will, in my view, be stultifying

* See p. 637.

KATHLEEN CASTS KHAKI.

Kathleen in khaki walking up Piccadilly presented a rather forlorn spectacle.

"Isn't it good to think it's all over at last" was my greeting.

"Yes!" assented my cousin, a little listless. "It's all over at last. I've finished my war-work. Four years of real grind—out all day and most nights—driving anyone who wanted to be driven anywhere. But now I've really finished. I've just handed over the old 'bus and said good-bye to the Commandant of the Corps. In short, I've demobilized, and I don't mind telling you I'm feeling dead lonely."

"It certainly seems the moment to celebrate," I said. "Come and dine at the Ritz, and go and see Delysia afterwards. How does this plan appeal to you?"

"Not in these clothes if I know it," said Kathleen, "and I haven't another rag to my name. It's been khaki, khaki, all the way for me, and now I hate the khaki, the feel, and the thought of it! I couldn't enjoy myself anywhere dressed like this. I can't tell you how smart I thought my uniform while the War was on. Now it seems only stupid and out of the picture. I've demobilized—and I'm going to DRESS."

"Then you'll have to be quick about it, or you'll be late for dinner."

"It's not going to take me long," declared my cousin, with a determination that I couldn't help feeling was the outcome of those long months of driving anyone anywhere.

"If you've nothing better to do, you can come and watch me begin operations. For here we are," she said, turning into the Great Corner Shop of Piccadilly. "If I can't find what I want at Swan and Edgar's, I shan't find it anywhere."

And Kathleen was right. I had to acknowledge it an hour or so later when we emerged—my cousin no longer in khaki, but clad in the latest French fashions from head to heels—beautiful furs, a Parisian hat, silken hose and shoes that exactly matched the tone of the delicate grey dress she now wore under a sumptuous musquash coat of the latest length.

Nor had her transformation ended there. Preceding her to her club went a trunk containing a dream of an evening dress and a cloak that aroused the envy and admiration of every other woman sitting in the stalls of the Pavilion that night—to say nothing of a bag full of feminine fripperies that Kathleen declared were indispensable to a well-dressed woman's wardrobe, but which I realized had been simply irresistible to my critical cousin on account of their novelty and chic.

But what struck me most of all was not the rapidity with which Kathleen cast khaki, but the ease with which the transformation was accomplished.

"I haven't an idea concerning the dress in my head," she confided to the sympathetic saleswoman who waited upon her. "You'll have to see me through."

And that is what that saleswoman did. What she didn't know about present-day fashions wasn't worth knowing.

Producing dozens of Models for my cousin to choose from, she sent forth S.O.S. messages all round the shop and as Kathleen decided upon those toilettes that proved most tempting, they were borne away by other attendants, who found just what was right in shoes, in stockings, gloves, and scarves to match—in short, everything requisite to render them complete.

We experienced no tedious tramping off to other departments. Everything appeared as if by magic until Kathleen's Peace trousseau was complete and everything she wanted had been fitted, packed, paid for, and dispatched with the minimum of trouble and the maximum of success.

"And what is more, it is all wonderfully cheap," confided Kathleen as she signed her name to the cheque that paid for the anything but exorbitant bill covering the cost of everything that she had brought from Swan and Edgar's.

itself if we take no part in the solution of this extraordinarily difficult and interesting problem of the hour. Most of the other subjects on the ballot paper—Proportional Representation, League of Nations, The Equal Moral Standard, even Endowment of Maternity have already specialised Societies or Committees well equipped for dealing with them. This question is new, and so far as I know, no national Society of a non-party character, standing wholly and solely for the feminist demand, is so far dealing with it.

ELEANOR F. RATHBONE.

MADAM,—May I beg some space to remind your readers of the importance of striking while the iron is hot? At the present moment moral legislation is being considered by all kinds of Societies and from very different points of view. It is of the utmost importance that our point of view should be made as effective as possible, and made effective now.

We stand for the repeal of the present unjust and ineffective solicitation laws, and in their place for such laws as shall protect every person from molestation by any person; and for opposition to any legislation embodying the principle of Regulation 40 D, D.O.R.A., even if made applicable to both sexes.

I want to urge Societies to choose the "Moral Legislation" involved in the above questions as one of the six objects to be placed on our immediate programme. Members of Council have shown themselves fully alive to the injustice of present conditions and to the degrading estimate of the status of women implied in existing statutes. It is impossible here to set out the facts for those who do not know them, but I may suggest that they are to be found in the pamphlet just issued by our Society on the "Equal Moral Standard."

The three reforms already selected for our programme are (1) the obtaining of pensions for civilian widows with dependent children; (2) the reform of the guardianship of children laws; (3) the opening of legal and judicial professions to women.

Societies are now being asked to vote for three additional reforms to be placed on our immediate programme. I venture in this letter to ask for their support for Resolution 4 on the voting paper: "That a Special Committee be formed to work for the repeal of the law dealing with solicitation and common prostitutes; to consider and report on any legislation or proposed legislation affecting the relations between the sexes (or the transmission of venereal disease) and to carry on a propaganda in favour of an Equal Moral Standard."

EDITH BETHUNE-BAKER.

MARRIED WOMEN AND INCOME TAX.

MADAM,—With reference to the article appearing in THE COMMON CAUSE of the 21st inst. under the above heading, may I venture to draw attention to a circumstance which should not, I think, be lost sight of?

In 1842, when the Act was passed which requires the incomes of a husband and wife to be aggregated, and until the last few years, the tax was levied entirely at a flat rate, so that husbands and wives paid no more on their joint income than any other two persons having similar incomes, the only difference being that if their joint income exceeded a certain sum they could not claim total exemption. It may, therefore, well be argued that when the Act was passed it was never intended to impose on married persons a greater burden of taxation than on others, and that the object of the provision was merely to make it clear that the husband was liable for the tax on the property which in those days he acquired by his marriage.

With the introduction in recent years of the differential rates of the tax the provision in the Act has insidiously resulted in the present injustice.

"A SUFFERER."

DOMESTIC SERVICE.

MADAM,—It is well that the subject of domestic service should be discussed, and the needs of the workers attended to; but is there not a danger of overdoing it, to the detriment of those whom it is desired to benefit? The servants' grievances, the servants' requirements, are so much emphasised, that the duties as well as the advantages of the position are lost sight of. It is seldom realised that domestic servants were the only people who suffered nothing from the hardships of the war. The householder, great or small, saw his taxes doubled, the cost of living for his family rising every day, it of military age his business or profession well-nigh ruined; but the servants had no anxiety on that score. Their comforts were not curtailed, unless by Dora, and, indeed, it was only from the kitchen that the grumbling over rations was heard. Their wages had to be raised, or they would leave for munition or aeroplane work; indeed, the ridiculous wages paid by the Government—some girls made £5 a week!—had a good deal to do with the present discontent.

Let us look at their grievances. (1) Social status: This matter must be settled amongst themselves; a sensible girl knows that she can by her behaviour make her own position. (2) Dress: A girl may wear what she likes out of doors, but what so suitable for work in the morning as a washing dress and cap, to keep the hair clean? All V.A.D.'s and home workers know that. In the afternoon a cap is not now required, if the hair is smooth and tidy, and nothing is more becoming than a plain black or grey dress and white apron. (3) That they are called by their Christian names. An older servant, if desired, has always the prefix Mrs. or Miss, but for a girl it is much more friendly and homelike than the vulgar "Miss" of the shops. Lastly, the food. This should be good and plentiful, but it is unreasonable to expect every dainty from the dining-room to go to the kitchen; indeed, the too extravagant feeding in the servants' hall of large houses does not tend to make careful or economical housekeepers in their own homes. One knows that formerly the condition of domestic service was often bad, but it is so changed that no one now would accept it, and the requirements demanded as regards housing, food, and leisure have in most cases been already met, and will certainly be so in the future.

One is amazed to hear of the enormous sums being paid to girls for unemployment, when one looks down the pages of *The Times* and other papers, and hears everywhere the lament: "I cannot get a maidservant." Possibly living out may come, but I think careful mothers will prefer to know that their daughters are in good homes, well cared for, than in a hostel with crowds of girls she knows nothing of; and I think the



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BABY'S DIGESTION

It is not what is eaten that nourishes, but what is digested. "Condensed Milk," says a medical authority, "is almost as digestible as peptonised milk." And an Hospital Secretary writes: "We often find that a baby can digest Nestlé's Milk where no other form suits it."

This explains what a Scottish mother recently wrote:

"During my first little boy's illness the doctor ordered him to be put on a certain food, which I did for seven weeks, to my great sorrow, with the result—a hopeless case! But having heard of Nestlé's Milk I decided to try it, and in three days the baby was smiling at the doctor. He was so amazed at the remarkable improvement that he asked me what had done it, so I told him of Nestlé's Milk and he named him 'the little wonder,' and said he was very proud of him. He is now two years and seven months old and has never ailed one single day since Nestlé's introduced itself. My two children are re-ay a credit to your milk, and I cannot speak too highly of the way they have thriven."

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girls, when they have everything settled on a business footing, will regret the former times when they were part of the family, sharing the troubles and the rejoicings, and knowing the sympathy felt for their personal interests. I desire for them comfort and happiness. Our own are old and tried friends, but at the present day the tendency is to think only of the young and their enjoyment, and there is no consideration for the harassed and anxious mistress, it may be of a large house and household, with diminished income, possibly, from the strain of the last years, diminished strength, who has always done her best for her servants, but is unable to meet their ever-increasing requirements and enormous wages.
J. B.

WOMEN IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

MADAM,—The Birkenhead and District Women Citizens' Association put forward Mrs. Kempson as a candidate for the Behington Ward at the forthcoming Urban District Council Election, and in fairness to her and to the Association I desire to call attention to the reason why no contest is taking place in this Ward. Mrs. Kempson's papers were posted in a registered letter at noon on the 19th and were not received by the Clerk till 2 p.m. on the 20th (two hours too late), owing to the fact that registered letters are not delivered till the second delivery at offices where it is known no one will be available to sign a receipt for them. Other Nomination Papers posted later in the ordinary way from the same district were received in time. I have no desire to question the technical legality of the Clerk's ruling, but I feel that Mrs. Kempson and her supporters have been made to suffer an injustice owing to circumstances for which they were in no way responsible and over which they had no control. It appears to me rather extraordinary that the Clerk to the Council should have no office within the Electoral District where Nominations could be lodged in person instead of the papers having to be sent to Liverpool, and perhaps the compulsory provision for such arrangements will be one of the minor reforms that will come when the Local Government Board is taken over by the Ministry of Health.

It seems rather an anomaly that the nominations of other candidates that were actually posted later, without being registered, should have arrived in time while Mrs. Kempson should have been penalised for having taken extra precautions.

LUCY E. ABRAHAM,
Hon. Sec. Birkenhead and District Women Citizens' Association.

Reports, Notices, etc.

BUREAU FOR EDUCATED WOMEN WORKERS.
(PART TIME).

Under the auspices of the London Society for Women's Service a movement is on foot to establish an experimental centre in Hampstead, where educated women, who want part-time work, may be put in touch with employers. There are many women who, for domestic or other reasons, are unable to enter the open market for full time occupations, and there must be many employers who would be glad to know of competent people who could give them a few hours daily, weekly, or as required in such capacities as the following:—Menders (for workers, men and women), renovators, dressmakers, upholstresses (loose covers, &c.), handy women (carpentry, plumbing, &c.), shoppers (for those in town or country), silver and brass cleaners, mother's helps, companions and attendants to invalids and the aged, meeting children passing through London to and from school, washing blouses, laces, &c., caretakers, receptionists to doctors and dentists, secretaries, teachers, &c.

By kind permission of the Mayoress, a room at 66, Fitzjohn's-avenue has been lent until Easter, by which time the committee hope to acquire more permanent premises. An organiser will be in attendance on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, from 10 a.m. till 1 p.m., to enrol employers and workers. Every endeavour will be made to establish and maintain a high standard of efficiency and reliability. It is not proposed in this scheme to deal with domestic servants or charwomen.

DOMESTIC SERVICE ASSOCIATION.

In order to bring about reconstruction in the realms of domestic service, to procure both better trained girls for employers and better conditions for the workers, and to raise the whole to the status of a skilled trade, the following associations have been formed in Newcastle-on-Tyne under the above comprehensive title:—

I. The Association of Domestic Employers.

RULES.

1. That the hours of leisure for workers shall be sixteen hours one week and twenty hours the alternate week, inclusive of some hours off each Sunday.
2. That a uniform for workers be adopted to include a cap and badge with the monogram D.S.A.
3. That the subscription be 5s. per annum.

II. The Association of Domestic Workers.

This Association is an entirely separate society but has similar rules to the above, except that in this case the subscription is 2s. per annum, which may be paid half-yearly.—Secretary, Mrs. D./B. Pemberton.

NINETEEN CLUB.

This Club is open to all members and friends of the Association of Domestic Workers and meets at present on Tuesday and Thursday evenings at 135, Northumberland Street, from 7—9 p.m. for social recreation including dancing. This is only the forerunner of a large club and canteen for Newcastle and district, which consists of Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and the Cleveland division of Yorkshire. Registry work is only done for members of the Associations in conjunction with the various Registry offices in the town and district.

The Secretary appeals to all interested in this immense problem to come forward and join, and help to bring about a happier state of affairs, and she will be very pleased to supply any information at the offices of the Associations which are open from 10—6 p.m., Saturday 1 p.m. at 135, Northumberland Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

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

National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship

The National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship.

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Hon. Secretary:

MISS MARGARET JONES.

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Headquarter Notes.

The Parliamentary Department of the N.U.S.E.C. has been very busy this week arranging for deputations to wait on various Ministers on the subject of the Women's Emancipation Bill, Married Women's Income Tax, and Widows' Pensions. At the time of writing it is not yet known whether the Ministers concerned are willing to receive the deputation.

The need for bringing pressure to bear on the Government to introduce the Widows' Pensions Bill is very urgent, and it is hoped that Societies will not delay in sending resolutions on the Bill to Mr. Bonar Law and to the Minister of Reconstruction.

The following Ballot Paper has been circulated to Secretaries of Societies:—

Societies are reminded that three reforms have already been selected for inclusion in the immediate Programme of the N.U.S.E.C., and for reference to special Committees. These three reforms are the obtaining of Pensions for Civilian Widows with Dependent Children, the reform of Guardianship of Children Laws, and the opening of the Legal and Judicial Professions to women. The Executive Committee has decided under the powers given to it by the Council to refer to the Committee dealing with the third of these reforms the additional subject of Women Police (1918 Council Proceedings, page 18), and to the Committee dealing with Widows' Pensions the additional subject of Maintenance Orders for Deserted Wives (1918 Council Proceedings, page 16).

Societies are now required to select three other reforms from among those placed among the defined objects of the Union by the Council Meetings of 1918 and 1919, to be included in the immediate Programme of the Union and referred to special Committees.

The Executive Committee has for the convenience of societies placed the reform to be selected under three headings, "Legislation and Propaganda," "Research and Propaganda," and "Emergency Measures," in order to give an idea of the nature of the work which these demand. The Committee hopes that Societies will vote for at least one of the reforms in the second of these groups in order that it may not be overwhelmed with too much work requiring immediate Parliamentary action. The Executive Committee strongly recommends societies to refrain from voting for reforms eight to thirteen placed under the heading "Emergency Measures," since it holds that these reforms could not profitably be referred to special Committees, but could best be acted on as occasion arises by the Executive Committee of the N.U.S.E.C., under the powers granted to it in the following resolution of the 1919 Council Meeting:—

"It shall be the duty of the Executive Committee to take action upon any general matter coming clearly within the object of the Union, but not yet included in the Programme which becomes unexpectedly ripe for action in the intervals between Councils."

Any Society deciding to disregard this recommendation is, however, at perfect liberty to vote for any of the reforms under the heading "Emergency Measures" in the ordinary way.

REFORMS FROM WHICH THREE ARE TO BE PLACED ON THE IMMEDIATE PROGRAMME OF THE UNION AND REFERRED TO SPECIAL COMMITTEES.

Place a X opposite the three resolutions for which you wish to vote. Do not vote for more than three resolutions.

VOTER'S MARK.

LEGISLATION AND PROPAGANDA.

- (1) "That a special Committee be formed to promote the candidature of women for Parliament and the adoption of a system of Proportional Representation."

1919 Council Resolutions Nos. 24 and 22.

- (N.B.—To promote the candidature of women may involve either or both of the following activities:—

- (1) The selection of individual candidates and constituencies, and preparation for contesting the seat at the earliest opportunity.
- (2) The effort to secure the nomination of official women candidates by the party organisations).

- (2) "That a special Committee be formed to promote a Bill or a clause in any existing Bill, compelling Government bodies and Local Authorities to open up appointments to persons of both sexes on equal terms of payment."

1919 Council Resolutions 13 and 14.

1918 Council Resolutions Proceedings, page 18.

- (3) "That a special Committee be formed to watch any action or legislation undertaken by the Government for the purpose of restoring pre-war conditions, with a view to safeguarding the interests of women in respect of equal opportunities and equal pay; to consider all the proposed restrictions on women's labour and on openings for technical education in their bearing on the principle of equal opportunities for service and equal pay; and to recommend action when necessary."

1919 Council Resolutions Nos. 10, 12 and 14.

- (4) "That a special Committee be formed to work for the repeal of the law dealing with solicitation and common prostitutes, to consider and report on any legislation or proposed legislation affecting the relations between the sexes (or transmission of

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venereal disease), and to carry on a propaganda in favour of an Equal Moral Standard." 1918 Council Proceedings, page 19. 1919 Council Resolutions Nos. 18 and 19.

- (5) "That a special Committee be formed to promote legislation to provide that:—
- the sum payable for the maintenance of illegitimate children shall be fixed according to the financial position of the parent ordered to make the payment.
 - the duty of collecting such money shall be placed on a public authority, who shall be authorised to use for its collection the same method as is in use for the collection of a State debt.
 - the procedure for securing affiliation orders be simplified.
 - the subsequent marriage of parents shall legitimise the child.
 - where there is no will (1) an illegitimate child shall be deemed to be legitimate for the purpose of inheriting from its father and mother; (2) if the child has no spouse or children the mother shall inherit all, as the legitimate father does in the same case."
- 1919 Council Resolution No. 20.

RESEARCH AND PROPAGANDA.

- (6) "That a special Committee be formed to carry on a propaganda in favour of the principle of the endowment of maternity and childhood by the State, and to submit a detailed scheme to the next Council Meeting."
- 1919 Council Resolution No. 16.

- (7) "That a special Committee be formed to consider the existing conditions of women's pay and employment and to carry on a propaganda on behalf of the principle of equal pay for equal work."
- 1919 Council Resolution No. 12.

- (8) Support of a League of Nations.
- 1919 Council Resolution No. 23.

EMERGENCY MEASURES.

- (9) Labour Party Bill.
- 1919 Council Resolution No. 28.

- (10) Extension of the Franchise Bill.
- 1919 Council Resolution No. 9.

- (11) Reform of the Nationality Laws Affecting Women.
- 1918 Council Proceedings, page 17.

- (12) Reform of the Married Women's Property Act (Scotland).
- 1918 Council Proceedings, page 16.

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- (13) Reform of Income Tax.
- 1918 Council Proceedings, page 16.

N.B.—References to Regulations on the Programme of the Union, covered by the above Resolutions, are in the form of references to the printed Proceedings of the 1918 Council Meeting, and to the stencilled list of resolutions passed at the 1919 Council Meeting, and already circulated to Societies.

Literature Department.

The final report of the Women's Housing Sub-Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction (price 3d.) is now on sale in the Literature Department, as also the Interim Report of the Women's Advisory Council on Domestic Service (price 6d.).

The Department has also a few copies left of *Woman and the Church* by Canon Streeter and Miss Pictou Turberwill (price 3s.).

Now on sale in the Literature Department. New leaflet, *State Pensions for Widows*, 4s. 6d. per 100. This leaflet should prove most useful for propaganda purposes to Societies wishing to concentrate their activities on the Widows' Pensions movement.

Within a few days a pamphlet on *Widows' Pensions*, price 4d., by Miss Eleanor Rathbone, will also be on sale, containing a full statement of existing conditions, and proposals for a scheme of Widows' Pensions, shortly, we hope, to be brought before Parliament.

Another pamphlet by Miss Eleanor Rathbone, on *Rivalry, Co-operation or Amalgamation*, price 3d., an appeal to women's organisations to avoid overlapping of work.

An *Equal Moral Standard*, price 4d., by Mrs. Bethune Baker, is also on sale in the Department.

Finance.

The Mrs. Fawcett Victory Thanksgiving Fund is still open; Societies and individuals wishing to contribute can therefore still do so

News from Societies.

PRESTON.—Miss Rathbone kindly came over from Liverpool to address the eighth annual meeting of the Preston Branch of the N.U.S.E.C., which was held in the Y.W.C.A. Hall on March 21st. The chair was taken at 7.30 p.m. by Dr. Mary Lowry. The attendance was small for a variety of reasons (illness, bad weather, and last, but not least, the complete absence of domestic help in most middle-class homes, which makes it increasingly difficult for women to attempt self-development), which was very unfortunate in view of the fact that Preston has the honour of being the first Suffrage Society that Miss Rathbone has addressed since she became President. However, the forty or fifty members who were present, after hearing the President's address, were unanimous in voting for the continuance of the society, in view of the great need for such an organisation as the N.U.S.E.C., with its inherited tradition of Parliamentary procedure, to redress the moral, legal, and economic inequalities between men and women, which Miss Rathbone forcibly outlined, and to make of the women's vote an organised vote, and accordingly the Preston Branch of the N.U.S.E.C. hopes to continue the pioneer work of former days.

CARDIFF AND DISTRICT.—A meeting arranged by the Cardiff Society on March 21st was addressed by Mrs. Archdale, of the Ministry of Health Watching Council of Women. After adopting a resolution in favour of a special Consultative Council of Women, adequate representation of women on all the other councils, and due apportionment of the higher offices in the Ministry between men and women, the meeting resolved itself into a Watching Council for Cardiff and district, and appointed an executive committee representative of many women's organisations.

CAMBRIDGE (Association for the Political Equality of Women).—The annual meeting of this Association was held on Monday, March 24th, at 20, Green Street, Cambridge. The chair was taken by Mrs. Bethune-Baker, chairman of the Executive Committee. The officers, and such members of the committee as stood for re-election, were re-elected for the year, and one fresh name was added, that of Mrs. D. Thompson, who did such active work for the Suffrage cause in previous years as hon. secretary of the East Cambs. Suffrage Society.

The reports of the hon. treasurer and committee for 1918 were read and adopted. They showed a satisfactory balance at the end of the year, and the treasurer mentioned that donations of £10 had been made to the N.U.S.E.C. fund for promoting the candidature of women as members of Parliament, and to the Victory and Thanksgiving Fund respectively.

The Association had been affiliated, with nineteen others, to the Cambridge and District Women Citizens' Association, and Suffragists had taken part in the large and crowded meetings of this body. In addition to these, the usual general meetings of members for business had been held.

Resolutions had been passed by the committee and forwarded to the proper quarters in connection with the Education Bill, the Nationality and Status of Aliens Bill, the Bill for enabling qualified women to sit in Parliament, and Regulation 40D D.O.R.A. Questions had been put by the Suffrage Association to the local Parliamentary candidates at the General Election, and the replies had been published in the local Press. The Association now numbers among its members two women councillors for the Borough, two for the County, and six Poor Law Guardians.

After an address by the Chairman, two of the delegates to the annual council described its proceedings, and the reception and presentation of purses to Mrs. Fawcett. The Cambridge purse had been presented by Mrs. E. Gray.

Important resolutions were then put to the meeting and carried *nem. con.*; the first of these decided that the future title of the Association should be "The Cambridge Association for the Political Equality of Women." The second resolution modified the rule stating the object of the Association, which now reads as follows: "The object of the Association shall be to obtain the Parliamentary vote for women on the same terms as for men, and all such reforms as are necessary to secure a real equality of liberties, status, and opportunities between men and women."

SCOTTISH FEDERATION: ANNUAL COUNCIL.—The Scottish Federation held its annual meeting on March 29th, at 40, Shandwick Place, Edinburgh. Miss S. E. S. Mair, in her valedictory address as President of the Federation, said that in the past year women had had the opportunity of using the key which had recently become theirs, the key of the vote. With this key they were now to go forward and unlock many doors in the edifice of the State which had been closed to them, and she invited the Societies to apply all their energies to the task. The door which was to be opened was that of Equal Opportunity in exercising the liberties and duties of citizens in every direction.

The annual report showed that a large amount of political work had been carried on during the year, both at the Federation Headquarters and by Societies. This had been chiefly in support of the following: The Women Members of Parliament Bill, Solicitors (Qualification of Women) Bills, amendments to the Married Women's Property (Scotland) Act and to the Scottish Education Act, and for the repeal of Regulation 40 D.

The Federation adopted the new name of "The Scottish Federation of Societies for Equal Citizenship," and took for its object: "To obtain all such reforms as are necessary to secure a real equality of liberties, status, and opportunities between men and women, and especially to promote the election of women on parliamentary and public bodies. A recommendation was made to the Societies to take steps to secure the nomination of, and work for the candidature of, women in their own localities.

The following resolution was passed, and sent to the Secretary for Scotland: "That this Annual Council of the Scottish Federation of Women's Suffrage Societies urges the formation of a Women's Advisory Council in connection with the Board of Health for Scotland," and a telegram was also sent disassociating the Suffrage Societies in Scotland from the opinion that had been expressed to the Scottish M.P. that the women of Scotland were not in favour of an Advisory Council of women.

Resolutions of thanks were passed to Mrs. Henry Fawcett and Miss S. E. S. Mair, on their resignation from the Presidency of the Union and of the Scottish Federation, for their untiring work for very many years for the cause of the enfranchisement of women. Another vote of thanks was also given to the Scottish Women's Hospitals Committee for the way in which they had carried on the war work of the Federation in assisting the wounded of our Allies in France and Serbia.

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

Miss Barker, who has been Sanitary Inspector with the American Unit both at Ostrovo and Vranja, has just returned home and has given some interesting details of the work. The general condition in which the hospital at Vranja was found has been already described, and the condition of floor, cupboards and courtyard had perhaps better be left to the imagination. It certainly could not have been worse. Among the patients the Bulgarian prisoners particularly were in desperately bad condition; many of them suffering from terrible bed sores, and, of course, lying on the floor as the others were. The aspect of the work in which some of the members of the Unit take most pleasure has been the amount of service that was rendered to British Tommies. There were three in the Hospital when the Unit arrived, and it must have been a great relief to them to be properly washed and tended and placed in clean beds, as was done at the earliest possible opportunity. The C.M.O. received orders to accept men of all nationalities, and when it became known that the British would be taken in, they came in in increasing numbers, until finally one of the largest wards was set aside for them. More than one of the staff has said that any time they were feeling particularly depressed it was as good as a tonic to visit the British ward. The gratitude of the boys was most touching. One of them said: "None of us would have died if you had been here all the time. Our own mothers could have done no more for us."

The Hospital was of an extraordinarily cosmopolitan character. If one enumerated the different nationalities represented there it would be simply to run through a list of practically all the nations engaged in the war. Numbers of civilians are still being received, many being cases of children with one or both hands blown off through handling the bombs and shells which lie about. Some time since a little gipsy girl, aged eleven, was brought in with her father, who was seriously ill; until the father died the child slept at the foot of his bed, and there was a painful scene one night when she woke just as the Sisters were removing the dead body. The man commended Sophie to the care of the Hospital and she still remains. She was moved into the women's ward, and shortly afterwards an urgent case arrived and was put into the child's bed. Sophie ran to the ward in which Miss Barker was, crying bitterly, saying that her bed had been taken and she would be sent out and had nowhere to go. She was comforted and told that another bed would be found for her. Her hands were filled with sweets as added consolation, and she ran straight back to the ward which she had just come from, and gave half her sweets to the child who had been put into her bed.

The Unit look back with great satisfaction to the time in Ostrovo, not only for the work they were able to do, but also from the fact that so many British looked upon it as a sort of home to turn into when they were passing.

It is not yet possible for the Committee to decide how long to keep the Hospital at Vranja open.

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. Armistice 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 still coming from the various Units. Cheques should be crossed "Royal Bank of Scotland." Subscriptions for the London Units should be sent to the Right Hon. Viscountess Cowdray, or to Miss Gosse, Joint Hon. Treasurers, S.W.H., 66, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W. 1.

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

APRIL 4.
BRISTOL—Corsham—Speaker: Mrs. W. C. H. Cross.

Coming Events.

HASTINGS AND ST. LEONARDS WOMEN CITIZENS' ASSOCIATION.

APRIL 4.
Wellington College, 4, Wellington Square, Hastings.
Speaker: Miss E. M. White.
Subject: "The Present and the Future." 7 p.m.

WESTERN AND EASTERN STUDIO.

APRIL 4.
2, Scarsdale Studios, Stratford Road, W.8.
Speaker: Mr. Kinawa Kamal-ud-Din, B.A., LL.B.
Subject: "How to Walk Humbly with God." 5 p.m.

APRIL 11.
Speaker: Thakur Shri Jeesrajsinghji Seesodia.
Subject: "Symposium. Questions and Answers." 5 p.m.

EDUCATION AS NATIONAL SERVICE.

APRIL 8.
11, Tavistock Square, W.C.1.
Speaker: Mrs. Nugent Harris.
Subject: "Women's Institutes: The Part they are Playing in Rural Life." 6.30 p.m.

APRIL 29.
Speaker: Professor Jarnelec.
Subject: "Recent Advances in the Psychology of Behaviour." 6.30 p.m.

CHRISTIAN SOCIAL UNION.

APRIL 8.
St. Maryle-Bow Church, Cheapside.
Preacher: Rev. W. R. Matthews (Dean of King's College).
Subject: "Has Christ a Social Gospel?" 1 p.m.

APRIL 9.
Christ Church, Westminster.
Preacher: The Very Rev. A. F. Kirkpatrick (Dean of Ely).
Subject: "Religion and Reconstruction." 1.15 p.m.

BRIGHTON AND HOVE WOMEN'S LOCAL GOVERNMENT ASSOCIATION.

APRIL 10.
Municipal Art Gallery, Church Street, Brighton.
Speaker: Dr. Ryle.
Subject: "Municipal Powers for the Care of Mental Deficiency." 6 p.m.

APRIL 10.
Rall Hall, Hove.
Speaker: Miss E. M. White.
Subject: "The Present and the Future." 5.30 p.m.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE PREVENTION OF INFANT MORTALITY.

APRIL 7.
1, Wimpole Street, W.1.
Speaker: Philip Franklin, Esq., F.R.C.S. (Aural Surgeon, Evelina Hospital for Children).
Subject: "The Care of the Throat, Nose, and Ears." 5.30 p.m.

APRIL 11.
Speaker: Miss Christine Murrell, M.D. (Medical Officer to the North Marylebone School of Mothercraft).
Subject: "How to Conduct an Infant Consultation." 5.30 p.m.

APRIL 10.
The Midwives' Institute, 12, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.2.
Speaker: Miss Sygne (Author of "Simple Garments for Infants and for Children from 4 to 14").
Subject: "The Clothing of Infants and Young Children." 7 p.m.

LONDON SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SERVICE.

APRIL 9.
Presbyterian Church Hall, Westferry Road, Millwall.
Women's Meeting.
Speaker: Miss Helen Downs.
Subject: "The Responsibility of the Vote." 3.15 p.m.

APRIL 9.
Tipperary Club, St. Jude's Hall, Stevens Road, Plaistow.
Speaker: Miss Relf.
Subject: "Duties of Citizenship." 3 p.m.

APRIL 10.
Women's Presbyterian Settlement, 56, East India Dock Road.
Subject: "Equal Pay for Equal Work." 8.15 p.m.

MISS A. MAUDE ROYDEN preaches at the City Temple next Sunday (April 6th) at the 6.30 service. Subject: "Trust in God."

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ASSOCIATION OF ADVERTISING WOMEN.—April 7th, Imperial Hotel, 7-10 p.m. Mr. George Springfield will speak on "The Making of a Newspaper," and Mr. d'Arcy Denny on "Personality by Food," Music and refreshments. It is proposed to change the name to the Association of Business Women, and applications for membership should be made to the Hon. Secretary, A.A.W., 62, Oxford-street, W.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S FRANCHISE CLUB, 9, Grafton-street, Piccadilly, W. 1.—Subscription: London Members £2 2s., Country Members £1 5s. (Irish, Scottish, and Foreign Members 10s. 6d.) per annum. Entrance fee, one guinea. Excellent catering; Luncheons and Dinners à la Carte.—All particulars, Secretary. Tel.: Mayfair 3632.

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