

The Common Cause

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

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Demobilisation of Women	475
Women and the Machinery of Government	475
Civics: Its Scope and Content	477
The Provision and Distribution of Food	478
Russia	479
Reviews: The Background of a Feminist Problem; The Story of An English Sister	480
Correspondence	481
Reports, Notices	481

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All MSS. and letters relating thereto should be addressed to the Editor, THE COMMON CAUSE, Evelyn House, 62, Oxford Street, W. 1. Telephone: Museum 2702.]

Notes and News.

The Ministry of Health Watching Council.

A Ministry of Health Watching Council has been formed by a number of women distinguished in political and social work. The objects of the Council are to watch the progress of the Ministry of Health Bill through all its stages; to take any action considered necessary to women for the health of the nation; and to secure adequate representation of women in the Health Ministry. Among those who are taking part in starting the Council are: Viscountess Rhondda, Lady Barrett, M.D., B.Sc., Mrs. Chalmers Watson, M.D., C.B.E., Lady Henry Somerset, Miss Bunting, Dr. Helen Campbell, Mrs. H. B. Irving, the Countess of Selborne, and Dr. Adeline Roberts. One important point for which the Council will press is that if Advisory Consultant Councils are part of the Health Ministry (as has recently been suggested), one of these should be a Women's Advisory Council constituted on a democratic basis. We wish success to the work of the Council.

Industrial Fatigue Research Board.

We commented last week on the lack of any woman member on the Industrial Fatigue Research Board. Viscountess Rhondda has written to the *Times* on the same subject. She says: "In no time in history have women been so extensively employed in industry, and at no time has the need for racial fitness been so important as at the present. Consequently, never have the problems of women in industry called for such detailed study and such sympathetic understanding as to-day. It would be difficult to think of any place in which women's point of view is more needed than on such a board." This is perfectly true, and strength is added to our case when we recall the fact that this board is a reconstitution of the Health of Munition Workers Committee of the Ministry of Munitions, which was dissolved at the beginning of 1918, and issued its final report last May. Women sat on the original Committee and signed the final report, and there seems to be no reason in the world why they should not sit on the present board. We understand that the reason alleged is that the industrial processes at present under investigation are those on which men only are employed, and that no enquiry has yet been started into work carried out by women. This is no answer. Not only is it of urgent importance to enquire immediately into the condition of things in those trades in which women do take part, but none of us is yet satisfied that the other trades, now the exclusive province of men, should continue to be so, or that women are

naturally unfit for all of them. That is the very matter which we want the board to inquire into; but we shall certainly distrust the result of their enquiries if they are conducted without the help of suitable women.

A Woman Candidate for the Edinburgh Town Council.

We are interested to learn that Mrs. T. J. Millar is standing as candidate for the Morningside vacancy on the Edinburgh Town Council. The election is taking place at the time of writing. Mrs. Millar has special experience in infant welfare, and is keenly interested in the question of a pure milk supply for the City of Edinburgh, as well as in the furtherance of schemes of recreation, as a counter-attraction to the lure of the streets and its attendant evils. She is a member of the Women's Patrol Committee for Edinburgh, and is also on the Committee of the National Council of Women. We are glad to learn that she is in full agreement with the Equality programme of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, and that she will do her best to forward it as far as it comes within the scope of municipal politics. She is specially keen in her support of "equal pay for equal work"—a question which will shortly arise when the Edinburgh tramway system is taken over by the Town Council. We also understand that she favours the appointment of paid women police and patrols, over which there is much divergence of opinion in the present Council. The Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage has been giving warm support to Mrs. Millar's candidature.

Mothers' Pensions.

The Local Government has issued a report on Mothers' Pensions in the United States of America, which will be of great interest to those who are studying this subject with a view to getting something done in our own country. We believe that there is now very general agreement that something ought to be done immediately for widows with dependent children, and that the provision should not be administered under the Poor Law. Outside this minimum there is a wide divergence of opinion. Supporters of mothers' pensions range from those who desire a very limited measure indeed to those who support the State Endowment of all motherhood. So far THE COMMON CAUSE is the only newspaper which has opened its columns to a wide discussion of this subject, but we shall certainly hear more about it in the near future, and we ourselves hope to publish further articles.

The Wasted Work of Women.

Speaking at a meeting of the Association of Teachers of Domestic Subjects last week, Mrs. Ernestine Mills dwelt on the terrible waste of women's energy which still goes on. She mentioned the whitening of doorsteps which ought to be tiled, the cleaning of brass knockers which could be replaced by those made of wrought iron, and the washing of lace curtains when short plain casement curtains could be used. We thoroughly agree with her in lamenting the waste of a national asset, and we also think with sorrow of the weary lives that so many women have led, and still have to lead. We hear from a correspondent that at the recent General Election, one of the candidates received a letter from a woman elector asking for a pledge that the candidate would provide a bathroom for her. She said that after a hard day's work she found that the fatigue of heating and carrying water for bathing eight children was more than she could bear. The demand for this pledge seems to have caused some merriment, but we think that the reasons which prompted it are a matter for tears. All this waste will doubtless be realised and dealt with in time by our new Democracy, but before that happens how many women's lives will have been worn out?

The Vocational Training of Women.

We have before us the Interim Report of the Women's Advisory Sub-Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction on the Co-ordination of the Vocational Training of Women. The members of the Committee are Miss Susan Lawrence (chairman), Sir Robert Blair, Miss A. E. Esplin, Mr. W. W. Finny, Miss Helen Smith, and Miss M. G. Spencer; Miss A. K. Leach is secretary. The terms of reference are "to consider and report on the best method for co-ordinating, both centrally and locally, the existing and proposed provision for the vocational training of women." The Committee state themselves to be impressed with the exigencies of the present situation and the probable immediate need of industrial training for women.

Training Before and Since the War.

Before the war the provision of technical education was mainly in the hands of the Board of Education and the local education authorities. It is true that under the National Insurance Act the Ministry of Labour has certain permissive powers with regard to the training of the unemployed, but they have not yet been much exercised. Since the war, however, there has been more public interest in the question of training, and various attempts have been made to provide for it. For instance, the Ministry of Munitions has provided training for women at about seventy training centres, seven of these being instructional factories, and the rest technical schools, institutes, &c. In this way accommodation for about six thousand to six thousand five hundred pupils has been provided. The factories have been under the direct control of the Ministry, the schools, on the other hand, have been managed by the local education authority. The Ministry has, however, paid all expenses, and, with the assistance of the Board of Education, it has given general directions as to the instruction required. This was described as being of an intensive character, and directed to enabling women to perform a limited range of occupations with speed and accuracy. For management purposes the Ministry relied chiefly upon its own intimate knowledge of what was required, and upon the opinion of its experts. As it was the ultimate purchaser of the goods required, the connection with trade requirements was of a very real and practical nature. All this is, we understand, now at an end.

The Ministry of Pensions.

The Ministry of Pensions has special statutory powers with regard to the training of disabled men and pensionable widows. The training of disabled men has been upon a large scale, and with the close co-operation of the Ministry of Labour. That for the training of widows has been small in extent, and carried on without such assistance. It is now estimated that the total number of widows in receipt of pensions will amount to one hundred and ninety thousand within the next six months. Only four hundred and sixty have, however, applied for training, and sanctions have been given under the Royal Warrant in one hundred and eighty-seven cases, while in twenty-seven other cases (officers' widows) sanction has been given by the Special Grants Committee. No communication has been made to the representatives of organised labour, either with regard to curriculum or to the remuneration during or after training, though advice had been taken with regard to possible openings. The Pensions Ministry makes an allowance, varying with the circumstances, but in no case more than twelve and sixpence a week, to those who are undergoing training. The necessary investigation as to the character and capabilities of the person to be trained are carried out by the local Pensions Committee. It is understood that the Ministry is not at present desirous of embarking on any large schemes of training for women. In view of the urgent need, this seems much to be regretted.

Other Authorities which Deal with the Training of Women.

Other bodies that have statutory powers as to training are the Trade Boards, which may impose different minimum rates for those who are not undergoing an effective course of trade training—e.g., the employer may be required to pay girls in a blind-alley occupation a higher rate of wages than those who are learning the superior branches of the trade. At present the only skilled trades which come under Trade Boards appear to be the clothing and paper-box trades, but in the extension of the

Trade Board Acts, which is probable in the near future, the relation of the Boards to training may have considerable importance. In the constitution of the new Industrial Councils (Whitley Councils) the supervision of trade instruction is in most cases formally set out as one of the objects of the Council. At least in one instance—that of the Potteries industry—active steps have already been taken, and it appears probable that other Councils may, later on, devote considerable attention to this question. The Central Committee of Women's Employment, which was formed in the early months of the war to administer the Queen's Fund for the Employment of Women, carried out in certain cases schemes of training for unemployed women. With the great growth in women's employment, the activities of this committee came to an end; but it is possible that they may be resumed if there is a large amount of unemployment. It is thus plain that there are already a great many bodies which have a direct Government sanction for dealing, in one way or another, with the training of women. Besides these there are, of course, many voluntary agencies. There is a possible danger of overlapping and waste of energy in the future; but at present it is clear that the danger is that not enough, rather than too much, should be done.

The Aims of Training.

The Committee state that "the object of industrial training for women, as distinguished from that of education properly so-called, is to equip the individual with knowledge and skill which should be of immediate practical use to her. A woman who is induced to spend time and defer earning for the sake of learning a trade in which there is no opening for her has suffered a serious wrong." They consider it necessary, therefore, "that persons should only be trained for occupations for which an ascertained demand exists; and that the occupational training should be strictly practical in its character." Two consequences, they believe, would follow from these principles. "First, that it is necessary that the national and local demand for trained persons should be ascertained for each occupation; secondly, that the training should be carried on in closest possible co-operation with those actually engaged in the industry. If the first condition is not fulfilled, a trade may be overstocked with trained persons to the detriment of those trained, and with a possible lowering of wages. If the second condition is not fulfilled, the employers, on the one hand, may decline to employ the persons trained, and organised labour, on the other, may refuse to recognise their status." There is, of course, much truth in this, but we believe that it will be dangerous if the Government is too much influenced in its schemes of training by regard for the rather selfish attitude of some of those who are trained already, and by a too cautious fear of going beyond the ascertained demand. The demand can never be exactly gauged, and we believe that the authorities have it in their power to increase the demand for trained women by removing restrictions and ignoring conventions. The exclusion of women from certain occupations because they are women will, if it is persisted in, amount to economic servitude for the whole of one sex. It will be a lamentable thing if the Government recognise and strengthen it at the very moment when they should be doing all in their power to break it down.

Recommendations of the Advisory Committee.

The definite recommendations of the Women's Advisory Committee are that there should be co-operation between the Board of Education, the local authorities, associations of employers and employed, and the Ministry of Labour; that the actual training should be the function of the local education authorities under the control of the Board of Education; and that the Minister of Labour should set up central local trade committees resembling the Whitley Councils for trades in which women are concerned, or should secure the representation of women on those which have already been set up. They further recommend that the functions of the Ministry of Pensions and of the Central Committee for Women's Employment (or the Committee of the Prince of Wales' Fund) should be those of recommending and assisting persons suitable for training; and that the Ministry of Munitions should hand over the training institutions it has set up to the local authorities or the Board of Education. The Report is an interesting one, but it is impossible to read it without some discouragement, since it shows how little the Government has already done for the training of women, and how little appears to be expected from it by some of those who have given their attention to the matter.

DEMobilISATION OF WOMEN.

THE difficulties arising in the demobilisation of men from the Army have been rousing a great deal of public attention, and the belief that the Government is proceeding upon no settled plan is receiving confirmation.

In the case of the demobilisation of women this same procedure or, rather, lack of procedure, is being followed and with similar unfortunate results. At the present moment there are close on two hundred thousand women out of work, mostly discharged from munition factories. For the time being they are in receipt of the Government unemployment donation, but as their numbers steadily increase and the end of their out-of-work pay draws nearer they are becoming anxious. It is estimated that close on two hundred thousand women went into industry for the first time during the war. Of these a very large proportion intend, if they can, to remain permanently in industry. Their intention is based in most cases upon choice and need combined, and anyone who has come much in contact with women war workers realises that it would be a national loss if they were to return to an idle existence. With regard to the numbers who intend to remain at work, some detailed enquiries have been made. In an aircraft repairing shop recently investigated two hundred and eighty out of three hundred girls expressed their desire to remain at work, and in a Southern county two-thirds of the land army have decided to take up permanent agricultural work.

With this spirit among the women war workers it seems disastrous that the only employment at present offered to them should be domestic service. Newspapers even go so far as to say that it is the duty of munition girls to go into domestic service! But it is greatly to be hoped that the Demobilisation and Resettlement Department has some other proposal in view. It is true enough that domestic service must be performed, but unless the war workers who have had experience of good wages and independent conditions of life are driven to it by sheer necessity, they will not return to the pre-war conditions of that trade. Under the stress of scarcity of workers during the war its conditions were beginning slowly to improve. Efforts are now being made to launch schemes for raising the status and conditions of that work by the establishment of Household Orderly Corps, centres for the supply of out-workers, and definite and recognised standards of training. Unless, however, the Government deals wisely with the demobilised women, the improvements that have been effected and the efforts to make them permanent are bound to be frustrated by the promiscuous undercutting of unorganised girls.

The position of the women war workers is not only that the Government is doing nothing to make openings for them, but that it is showing signs of actually working against them. The Cabinet decisions with regard to the temporary Civil Servants, upon which resettlement appears to be contemplated, are in the highest degree reactionary and dangerous. It is little comfort that Lord Haldane's Reconstruction Committee should recom-

mend the immediate admission of women to the Civil Service if at the time when their admission would really ease the problem of demobilisation they are being ruthlessly and wastefully disbanded.

It is easy enough to criticise the confused fashion in which demobilisation is taking place. It is more difficult to say exactly what action would solve the problem, but there are some obvious remedies ready to hand. If it is the aim of the Government to utilise the labour and strength of the country to the best advantage, and to give to every worker the best chance of earning a good living, why does it allow the restrictions and prohibitions that hamper the women workers in their search for new work? There are an enormous number of these women workers who would be willing out of their savings to train themselves for such work as house decorating, plumbing, aircraft and engineering work, if they could only see reasonable prospect of employment after the training period. If the Government were now to announce that in the great new national and municipal works that will be set up, competition and wages will be equal between men and women, an immense relief would immediately come to women's demobilisation difficulties. In addition to this, if the Government or local authorities were to create a State Nursing service whose wages and conditions were tolerable, and if the salaries of teachers were to be put upon a satisfactory basis, thousands of the women war workers would be absorbed into these professions. In connection with a State Nursing Service also, a State Domestic Service, setting a pattern to domestic employers, might well be set up, and if the Government or local authorities were to employ even a small amount of capital in launching such enterprises, and were to make use of the existing hostels and other war buildings which are in danger of being wastefully destroyed and sold as scrap material, the whole of the women's labour outlook would be altered.

In addition to this, it is the clear duty of the Coalition Government to fulfil its pledge to remove all existing inequalities in the law as between men and women at this moment. If it did so now, it would remove one of the root causes of the under-payment and non-employment of women. So long as the Government itself refuses to consider women intelligent enough to administer Government Departments it is hardly surprising that commercial firms take the same line, and so long as there remains the grave anxiety as to what form of legal barriers the restoration of Trade Union conditions may set up against women in industry, the entry of women into those trades can only be temporary and accidental.

It is absurd to suppose that there is not plenty of work to be done. There will, of course, be a period of unsettlement, both for the soldiers and for the women war workers. During that period if the prospects were fair and the field free, the women could, and would, train themselves for useful work. But unless the Government acts, and acts promptly, dissatisfaction and distress are bound to increase.

Women and the Machinery of Government.

The Report recently issued by the Machinery of Government Committee* is a valuable and interesting political handbook, and we recommend it to all students of history. They will find in it indications of the manner in which the Government of their country is changing from day to day. "Constitutional Government" is an expression which English students have, perhaps, had a better opportunity of understanding than any others. They realise (or should realise) that it represents something which does not depend entirely upon laws, but grows like a living organism from day to day by the thought and action of politicians and of peoples. Perhaps not all of them have taken account of the changes that have come over it in the last few years and which are surely, if silently, going on now. Our British constitution has a life of its own which makes it as impossible for it to stand still or remain the same, as it is for any other living organisation.

The Machinery of Government Committee (a sub-committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction) has been at work since July, 1917. The members of it are:—Viscount Haldane of Cloan, O.M., K.T.; The Rt. Hon. E. S. Montagu, M.P.; Sir Robert

* To be obtained from His Majesty's Stationery Office, Imperial House, Kingsway, London, W.C. 2., or through any bookseller, price 6d.

L. Morant, K.C.B.; The Rt. Hon. Sir George H. Murray, G.C.B.; Colonel Sir Alan Sykes, Bart., M.P.; The Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas, M.P., and Mrs. Sidney Webb. Mr. Michael Hazeltine has acted as secretary during the whole period, and the Committee record their obligation to him.

The Terms of Reference were:—

"To enquire into the responsibilities of the various Departments of the Central Executive Government, and to advise in what manner the exercise and distribution by the Government of its functions should be improved."

They have divided their Report into two parts. In the first part they define the general principles which should govern the distribution of responsibilities, and, in the second part, they illustrate the application of these principles. Before dealing in detail with departmental organisation, however, they examine the functions of the Cabinet "the main-spring of all the mechanism of Government." These functions are summarised as follows:—

- (a) The final determination of the policy to be submitted to Parliament;
- (b) The supreme control of the national executive in accordance with the policy prescribed by Parliament; and
- (c) The continuous co-ordination and delimitation of the activities of the several Departments of State.

The conditions which the Committee consider to be essential, or at least desirable for the proper carrying out of these functions are that the Cabinet should be small in number; that it should meet frequently; that it should be well supplied with information; that it should consult personally all ministers whose work is likely to be affected by its decision; and that it should have a systematic method of securing that such decisions are effectually carried out by the several departments concerned. The Committee believe that Government has suffered in the past from the lack of organised information, and of the systematic application of that, as a preliminary to the settlement and administration of policy. They suggest that in some spheres of action it has been found better that the business of enquiry should be put in the hands of persons definitely charged with it, whose duty is to study the future, and work out plans of policy for those engaged in the actual administration; and although they recognise that it is difficult to make such a division in all departments of Government, they believe that the principle might with advantage be carried further than it is.

In discussing the allocation of functions between departments, they point out that there are two alternative principles which may be adopted. The functions may be distributed according to the persons or classes to be dealt with, or according to the services to be performed. It is not possible to carry out either of these principles quite strictly or exclusively, but the Committee have come to the conclusion that distribution "according to the services rendered to the community as a whole," is the one whose adoption is likely to lead to the minimum amount of confusion and overlapping.

The Committee then make some suggestions on the method of organisation of departments, and it is under this heading that we find the portion of the report which will be of the greatest interest to suffragists, and the publication of which will, we think, mark a step forward towards the enfranchisement of women. We consider this so important that we quote it verbatim from the report:—

"Employment of Women in the Civil Service.—Our terms of reference entrust us with the duty of advising 'in what manner the exercise and distribution by the Government of its functions should be improved,' and we are strongly of opinion that among the changes that should be made as conducive to this end must certainly be included an extension of the range and variety of the duties entrusted to women in the Civil Service and in practically all Departments.

The present position in this matter is that in many Departments, and particularly in the Departments established during the War, women form a majority of the total staff. The appointments which they hold are for the most part temporary, and it would clearly be inadvisable to accept the forms of emergency organisation under which women have been thus employed as suitable for incorporation in the permanent structure of Departments. Any such policy might be seriously prejudicial to the possibility of forming a reasoned estimate of the degree of efficiency attainable by women Civil Servants, properly recruited, and regularly trained and organised for Departmental work, under less abnormal conditions. But whatever may be the future of the temporary Departments and the arrangements for recruiting the Civil Service in future, it seems clear that a further extension of the employment of women in the Civil Service will be necessary.

A recommendation to this effect was made by the Royal Commission on the Civil Service which reported in April, 1914, a few months before the outbreak of war. The Royal Commission recommended that the Treasury, acting in communication with the various heads of Departments, and after consultation with competent women advisers, should institute an enquiry into the situations in each Department which might with advantage to the public service be filled by qualified women. There has been no opportunity under war conditions of carrying out such an enquiry into principles, and the employment of women in the Civil Service has been extended in order to meet urgent practical needs (many of them doubtless of a temporary character), and without that further investigation and deliberate settlement of principles which the Royal Commission proposed. It has inevitably resulted that the changes since 1914 in the scope and character of the employment of women have been made frequently on haphazard lines, without any adequate comparison of the various Departmental methods adopted, whether as to recruitment, as to the proportion of women included in the total staff of Departments, as to supervision, or as to allocation of duties between the women and the men, and without the possibility of applying proper methods of training the large numbers of women continuously entering the Civil Service for the kind of work normally required by Departments. The effects of this may well be unfortunate unless this most important matter be carefully investigated and authoritatively reported upon without delay, and before any substantial modifications of the position as it was left on the cessation of hostilities are decided upon.

The Royal Commission was not unanimous on the question whether women should be admitted to the Class I. examinations, either immediately or at some future time. The Majority Report recommends that specially qualified women should be eligible for appointment to administrative situations in departments specially concerned with such services as education, health, and employment, but that such women should be selected by the method used for recruitment of professional officers, and should not be admitted to the Class I. examination. Six members of the Commission suggested as an alternative that a limited number of places should be assigned to women as part of the Class I. examination scheme.

The practical question whether women can be found suitable to perform duties comparable with those assigned to men in Class I. has to a large

extent found an answer in the experience of the last four years, which has gone far to resolve any doubts upon the point. We understand that in certain Departments women have undertaken duties of the Class I. standard during the greater part of the war period, and have been found to perform these duties to the satisfaction of the Heads of the Departments in which they are employed.

We, therefore, think that it is no longer expedient in the public interest to exclude women on the ground of sex from situations usually entered by the Class I. examination, or from other situations usually entered by competition.

In our opinion there are, apart from those administrative posts for which either a man or a woman of sufficient education and experience may be equally suitable, certain posts, both in the Higher Division and in other grades, for which women, if properly qualified, are, prima facie, more suitable than men. These posts should, we think, in future be assigned to women, and, as regards other posts, we think that the test of eligibility should have no relation to the question of sex, but should be whether a particular candidate, male or female, is in all respects the one who appears best qualified and most likely to perform efficiently the duties attaching to a particular post.

With regard to the majority of permanent appointments to the clerical establishment, which are made after selection by competitive examination conducted by the Civil Service Commissioners, we do not consider that, whether for Class I., the various intermediate classes, or the Second Division, there is any reason for excluding persons of the female sex from entering for any examination whatever the form of the educational tests which may in future be prescribed.

We think that it should be open to any Department having posts to be filled, to specify with regard to each vacancy, whether the circumstances of the post and the duties to be performed are such as to make it undesirable for a woman or a man to be appointed, and we are also of opinion that within each Department, promotion to higher posts should be dealt with on the same principles.

The question of the remuneration of women employed in the Civil Service is, we are aware, one of the difficulties that has delayed the adoption of a considered and homogeneous scheme for their employment in the several Departments. On this, as on other points, whilst we are of opinion that no discrimination can properly be enforced merely on the ground of sex, we refrain from offering observations or recommendations, since, to be of any value, these would require the consideration of various highly technical and somewhat controversial questions, not only in the economic sphere, but in many other directions on many of which there is at present an insufficiency of trustworthy records of experience. Further, we understand that at the present time the Government are conducting enquiries into a number of these questions which have from certain points of view come to need very early consideration and decision.

We restrict ourselves here, therefore, to the general statement of our conviction (1) that the absence of any substantial recourse to the services of women in the administrative staffs of Departments, and still more in their Intelligence branches (which we are unanimous in hoping to see set up by an increased number of Departments), has in the past deprived the public service of a vast store of knowledge, experience, and fresh ideas, some of which would, for particular purposes, have been far more valuable and relevant than those of even the ablest of the men in the Civil Service; and (2) that for the effective arrangement and performance of the largely extended duties which we think that women should undertake in the Civil Service, it will be essential that one or more women of special qualifications and experience should regularly be included in responsible posts as part of the staff of that separate branch of the Treasury which we have unanimously suggested should be set up to specialise in 'establishment' work, and to study all questions of staff recruitment, classification, &c., in application to the several Departments of State."

The last section of the first part of the report deals with Parliamentary control. The Committee evidently consider that it might be an evil rather than a good to promote the efficiency of the Departments of State without at the same time strengthening the control of the legislature over the executive. This control, they very properly believe to be the business of the Parliament itself, but they call attention to certain recommendations recently made by a Parliamentary body (the select Committee on National Expenditure), i.e., the appointment of two, or, if necessary, three standing Committees on Estimates, and suggest that this procedure of appointing standing Parliamentary Committees might with advantage be carried further, and apply in connection with the work of other Departments.

The Committee suggest that the Departments of State might be as follows:—

1. Finance.
- 2 & 3. National Defence and External Affairs.
4. Research and Information.
5. Production (Including Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries), Transport, and Commerce.
6. Employment.
7. Supplies.
8. Education.
9. Health.
10. Justice.

The second part of the report is devoted to examining in some detail the work which would come under each of these Departments. Information is in each case given as to how that particular work is done now, and various plans are suggested for the transference of duties from one department to another, with a view to concentration and efficiency. This

part of the report, though it is of immense value to those doing any political work, is of less general interest than the first part. It is moreover, so well summarised that it would be difficult to give it in shorter form here. We, therefore, refer our readers directly to the report, calling special attention to the sections on employment, education, and health. In connection with the last, the report says:—

"For these reasons we urge in conclusion, that the constitution of the Ministry of Health should include definite provision for the appointment of advisory bodies so constituted as to enable the Minister to make frequent reference to them for the purpose of obtaining advice and assistance on matters relating to the health of the people, and themselves entitled to submit representations to him on any such matters which may not have been made the subject of a reference.

Among the matters proper for consideration by these bodies, we wish particularly to refer to questions in regard to the action proposed to be taken by the Ministry for the proper supervision and development of midwifery services, and in relation to such cognate services as nursing and health visiting.

In such questions it is obvious that the knowledge and experience of women will be of special value, and we are of opinion that this fact should be recognised not only in the composition of the advisory bodies themselves, but in the formation of the staff (both professional and administrative) of the Department, since it is upon the cordial co-operation of his staff with the advisory bodies that the Minister will in large measure depend for the general acceptance of the policy in such matters as these which he proposes to adopt."

We regret to see that Sir George Murray finds himself unable to concur in the paragraphs in the first part of the Report which refer to the employment of women in the Civil Service. He thinks that until the enquiries which are being made by other committees into the whole question of the employment of women in Government service are known, any definite conclusion must be premature.

Civics: Its Scope and Content.

Never before has the need for the study of Civics been so pressing as at the present day, when reconstruction is the general aim, and women's as well as men's opportunities of service to the commonwealth are so great. But a conception of the scope of Civics is not very general, and the subject is too often limited to the study of institutions and government, or to the practice of regional survey. Both these aspects are included in Civics, but its content is far wider, and embraces everything that appertains to citizenship. And nowadays it would be difficult to find any sphere of life or knowledge with which a citizen is not concerned.

Some method must be observed by the Civics student, and no better one could be adopted than that indicated in Prof. Geddes' famous formula of Place, Work, People. In other words, Civics has a threefold aspect: the first is geographical and concerned with the earth on which we dwell; it reveals how surroundings have influenced our forefathers, and therefore ourselves. In an ordinary river valley sloping to the sea the types of workers are the fisherman, the farmer, the woodman, the hunter, and the miner—each of whom has had his vocation determined by his environment. The coalfields of England and Wales have caused a very different civilisation from that produced by the desert sands of Arabia, and instances less diverse than these might be multiplied indefinitely.

Another aspect of Civics is the economic, in the sense of occupation. A citizen who works as a draper has a personality different from that of a doctor or a railway engineer; a working-class housewife—one of the most valuable of citizens—has a soul of different quality from that of a teacher. In these, and innumerable other cases, the character, the attitude to life, even the bodily form, are partly moulded by occupational differences.

The third aspect is the historical—a most important side of the subject that hasty reformers are apt to overlook. It is impossible to understand present conditions without knowing the events, mistakes, influences, efforts, and work that have produced them; just as the future is based on the present so the present has been formed by the past. History is the expression of what a people have been and are, and the citizen of to-day must know his predecessors if he is to work for his followers.

It will thus be seen that Civics covers a very wide field, which extends through the past and over the whole world. But a warning must be given that studies must not be concerned merely with olden affairs; all aspects of Civics must be connected with the present, and the good citizen must cultivate insight to detect the tendencies of his own time in order that his efforts may be the more effective. Civics is not an academic subject, but a living study that links life with knowledge, yesterday with to-day and to-morrow and the earth with its inhabitants; it is the thread binding the different spheres of learning and of working, and it gives a purpose to each.

We may regard a citizen as being based on certain fundamentals, being limited by certain forces, and as expressing himself in certain directions. Therefore, these fundamentals and forces and directions are the content of Civics, and a course of study or lectures should deal with all of them. The fundamentals on which the citizen is based are the Family, the Village, Town or City, the Country, and (in England) the British Commonwealth, and there are, of course, various relationships, increasing in number and complexity, with the outer world.

We must begin, then, with the Family, and this is especially the concern of women. It may be said that the family was woman's invention, and as human civilisation began with the settlement of families woman's influence is at the basis of civilisation.* The family in primitive times must be studied, and in the Greek and Roman periods, when the power of the husband and father was at its height but the mother's formative spirit not inconsiderable. Passing to the feudal ages the cottage as well as the castle must be considered, and, later on, the great changes wrought by the industrial revolution. This will lead the way to present day problems, such as those of the endowment of motherhood, mothers working outside their homes, the housing question, the family wage,† State intervention.

The next social unit is the village, the relative importance of which is only beginning to be realised. India and China are lands of villages, and so to a great extent was ancient Greece. From these we pass to the origins of English villages, and the special study of those in our own country. The importance of the parish with its church and lord of the manor, its meetings and labourers, must not be overlooked; while the causes of depopulation will bring the student to the general dullness of village life, and the need for improvement. Much scope for citizenship of all kinds lies in England's villages, and beginnings have already been made with the establishment of Women's Institutes.

In connection with villages a history of our own county should be read, and visits paid to places whose interest is either in past history or present conditions. The "king's highway" also comes in for notice at this point, and affords a good instance of the gradual passage of authority from individuals to the State.

Towns and cities next claim our attention, and by some are regarded as the main subjects with which Civics should deal.‡ A definite stage of civilisation was marked when humanity began to live in cities with buildings and laws; and the study of the famous cities of old—Athens, Rome, Jerusalem—is a fascinating one, and can be extended as far as time and opportunity allow. The soul of a people is embodied in their city's institutions and buildings, and such names as London, Venice, Bruges, Florence, Antwerp, stir the imagination and civic sense. Charters and guilds form a section of the subject not to be omitted when dealing with mediæval towns. Developments since the middle ages, and the overcrowding and jerry-building, due to the industrial revolution, indicate how present-day cities have arisen. Fruitful comparisons can be drawn between the concentrated patriotism expressed in ancient and mediæval cities, and the disorganised condition of citizenship in our towns of to-day.

So quite naturally we pass to what woman as the home-maker can plan and direct with knowledge and sympathy—the towns and cities of the future—and we find that before we can plan for those we must have some idea of regional survey.§ Nothing has been done in this sphere of more interest than the equipment of the Outlook Tower in Edinburgh, and various Civic Exhibitions have been held (notably one at Ghent in 1913).

*Womanhood as a civilising force is an aspect of feminism insufficiently realised even by enthusiastic supporters of women's cause.

†With this is connected the intricate problems of equal pay, wages versus salaries, &c.

‡All citizens should read Prof. Geddes' *Cities in Evolution*.

§Prof. Fleure, of Aberystwyth, is an excellent authority on this subject.

Many model industrial villages and garden suburbs are in existence and can be visited or read about. As an experiment in practical civics our own town or village can be studied in regard to its history, its industries, and possibilities, and a group of people would be interesting themselves and performing a civic service in arranging an exhibition on those lines.*

One of the limitations by which the citizen is bound comes next for attention—local government as one expression of town life. The tendency to devolution makes this section one of increasing importance, and the growth of Citizens' Associations indicates the realisation of this characteristic of modern life. It is a useful study to collect the achievements of various corporations and to gain some idea of the powers of councils—these powers are usually more ample than is realised.

The State and its functions forms a very important section of Civics, and it is essential to know the historical development of Greece and Rome, with their City States, the growth of European nations, and the kinds of government which mankind has evolved before coming to the English nation. Our own country must be studied civically, and the ordinary history textbook is of little use in this aspect, as it is the sense of nationhood and the expression of the people's spirit that have to be discerned. The other limitation by which the citizen is bounded—national law and government—is treated of in this section; and it may be added that other bounds no less firm because more intangible should be included. They are the customs and traditions and social opinion which surround him, and which have no small influence on his life and action.

The English nation can be studied from very many points of view according to the preferences of the student, but some knowledge of English culture, English law, and English industries should be gained. The importance of the last-mentioned cannot be over-estimated, and the good citizen will know something of the history of the workers' movements and aims throughout the centuries, as well as of such suggested social remedies as Co-operation, Syndicalism, Socialism, National Guilds.

Education and its history in old Greece and Rome, as well as in England, claims a place in the scheme. In discussing what its general aim should be and how it should be carried out,† we are brought to the detection of modern tendencies and the study of schemes of reconstruction, for the young citizen must be prepared to co-operate with the forces working for progress, and be inspired to give of his best. There is no space here for us to explore the wide field of modern tendencies, but they deeply concern the citizen, who should make himself as fully cognisant of them as he can, since it is by joining in the stream of progressive tendencies that he can express himself most effectively and perform civic duties most usefully.

The outlook and future of the British Commonwealth forms the last section, and perhaps it is the best plan to read the history—not in too great a detail—of each colony and dominion before grasping the wider view. Some idea of the salient characteristics of each part of the Commonwealth and of its history and possibilities can be gathered, and this knowledge will prevent mistaken opinions being made regarding present affairs.§ For there are many problems to be solved in the near future in connection with our great commonwealth of nations: migration, citizenship of the Empire, self-government, Imperial conferences, are a few of the questions awaiting solution.

Much of the framing of the future lies in the hands of women citizens, who, together with their brother citizens, must carry on the reconstruction waiting to be taken up. The value of their work will, to a great extent, depend on their equipment in common sense, knowledge, insight, and capacity to take a wide survey of all questions. Some such course as that outlined in this article, with special attention paid to the sections which most interest individuals, will give a broader outlook, and greater intimacy with the life around.

E. M. WHITE.

* An account of how schoolgirls made such an exhibition is described in a pamphlet entitled *An Experiment in Practical Civics*.

† The best book known to the writer on this subject is Mr. F. J. Gbuld's *British Education after the War*.

§ The quarterly *Round Table*, and the works of Mr. L. Curtis, are reliable and comprehensive on Imperial questions.

The Provision and Distribution of Food.

SOME POSSIBLE REFORMS.

By CHARLES E. HECHT, M.A., M.C.A.

Hon. Secretary, National Food Reform Association and Parliamentary Committee on Food and Health.

A first place must, in view of existing conditions, be given to the question of a pure milk supply. It is nothing short of a scandal that the Government should have postponed throughout the four years of war the coming into operation of the Milk and Dairies Acts, 1914, for England and Wales and for Scotland. At the time (June, 1915) the writer ventured to point out in the Press the futility of the plea of administrative difficulty advanced by the Local Government Board, seeing that the same Department would be certain, at the close of the war, to be no less pre-occupied with such huge problems as are involved in demobilisation and the repatriation of the Belgians. Future generations will suffer acutely by reason of this neglect, which has doomed to a premature death, or to more or less permanent ill-health, many little children who might have become healthy citizens. If adults would but use milk intelligently and scientifically, the evils referred to might be minimised. Those interested in the subject will find fuller information in "Facts for Patriots," 3rd series. Meanwhile it is all to the good that the existing shortage should lead to a measure of public control and to experiments in handling and distribution, like those which the Corporation of Manchester is undertaking at the instance of the Food Ministry. If Dr. Niven, who has done so much to improve conditions in that city, has to describe them as "very unsatisfactory," what must they be elsewhere!

A scarcely less pressing matter is the passing of a Pure Food Act, such as obtains in the Australian Commonwealth, the United States, and Switzerland. This would, it is assumed, include stringent regulations forbidding the exposure of articles of food in shops, on stalls, and indeed, at all stages of their distribution.

Food problems in connection with the war have assisted in bringing to the front the question of Market Reform. Charles Bradlaugh rendered no greater national service than in the action which he took in securing the appointment of a Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls. Its valuable report, published in 1884, has, however, shared the fate of so many documents of this nature in being pigeon-holed. Harassed housewives in general and members of Women's Institutes, with the new army of allotment holders, alike in town and country, in particular, are, however, becoming increasingly alive to the urgency of this subject. Effect should be given, without further delay, to the principal recommendations of the Royal Commission, so that the food of the people may no longer be taxed and surplus produce wasted through arbitrary restrictions and charges, preferential and excessive railway rates and so that additional wholesale markets, as well as local markets, may be established, where producers and consumers can meet without the intervention of a middleman. There is room, too, for a far greater employment of co-operative methods.

Slaughter-house reform is another pressing measure. This might take a three-fold form, viz.:—the provision of public slaughter-houses by local authorities, the abolition of private ones, and the adoption of humaner methods of slaughtering, on the lines of the recommendations of the Admiralty Committee presided over by Lord Lee.

If the housewife is to be in the position to make the best and most intelligent use of available food-stuffs, it is essential that reform should also be carried into the kitchen. The promised housing reform will not be worthy of its name, if it does not include the provision in every dwelling let for the occupation of a family, and throughout all tenement houses of a constant water supply, c.f. L.C.C. (General Powers) Act, 1907, a grate suitable for cooking (c.f. Recommendation 21 of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration) and facilities for the proper storage of food (and clothes). These two latter requirements are made obligatory in new tenement houses in London by the County Council (General Powers) Acts, 1908 and 1909.

Questions dealing with the above matters, as well as others concerned with meals for school children, home organisation and cookery, health and temperance, were addressed by the National Food Reform Association to Parliamentary candidates at the recent General Election and received wide-spread support. Copies, price 1d., may be had from Danes Inn House, 265, Strand, W.C. 2.

Russia.

At the end of March, 1917, the Russian Refugees Relief Committee, N.U.W.S.S. handed over their hospital in Kazan to the local Duma or Town Council into whose service I also passed "till the end of the war," as it was proposed. This was one month after the deposition of the Tsar.

The Revolutionary Duma of Kazan was a most pleasant employer, and we had much reason to be grateful to one of its members, Dr. Lepski, a Jewish specialist in children's diseases, who kindly acted as honorary consultant.

We received our funds and stores regularly and found ourselves invariably treated with prompt consideration because we were what was still known as "the English Hospital," though by then all the staff was Russian except the doctor and the housekeeper-secretary, Miss Crawford, who left Kazan in August, 1917, and was succeeded by a most helpful, kindly Russian, Maria Nikolaevna.

The nurses and servants were proud of belonging to the "Angliskaya Bolnitsa," so that, later on, during the Bolshevik rising in October, when other staffs fled in panic, I was able to check them, saying: "Remember, since you are the English Hospital you can't run away; the English never do!" "Harasho, doctor" (very good) was the docile response, as they went on with their work under fire.

In the early days of the Revolution there was perfect order in Kazan. One was reminded of the new state of things only by little indications such as official letters from the Town Hall beginning "Deeply respected Tavarishch" (comrade) instead of "Madame." The food question was growing more difficult, but as long as there was white bread and sugar, and manna kasha (semolina) in the town storehouses, the English Hospital was sure of the first share.

Gradually the political horizon grew stormy: Kerensky's grip on his unwieldy country weakened, parties disintegrated into Right Social Revolutionaries, Left Social Revolutionaries, Social Democrats, Mensheviks, Bolsheviks, Anarchists—even the "K.D." or Cadets, who had done so much for Russia under the Tsar, now split into three factions and lost influence. Rival meetings were held in all public gardens; agitators, largely financed by Germany, carried on their insidious work at the front and in the rear. One began to meet demonstrations, processions of insubordinate soldiers carrying banners: "Down with the War!" "All power to our Soviet!"

But as far as we were concerned, our only excitement of that summer was the great munition factories' fire of August, when for two days and nights we worked to an unceasing accompaniment of magnificent explosions. Indeed, we quite missed it when it ceased: it was like the silence in a room when the clock stops ticking. Thousands of people fled from that quarter of the town, running distractedly with their babies, their bedding and their kettles, up to the higher parts of the town and far on into the country, for it was feared that Kazan itself would be blown up when the main stores were fired.

Seventy-three lost children were brought to us for shelter, found by military search-parties in the forests. All were soon claimed, except one little boy of apparently two years old, whom we named Augustus-Katastrofski, till, after three weeks, his delighted father found him and carried him off—and did not return the beautiful blanket we lent him. All the time of the explosions, Kazan lay under a heavy pall of smoke from the burning naphtha reservoirs, and shattered glass lay like snow in the streets.

But it was in October, 1917, that we first experienced real warfare. The enemy had some of his guns on the open land behind our fence, while the Government Junkers and military cadets fired from their quarters in the town. Two days' life under the chromatic scale music of shell, much promiscuous sniping at night, under cover of black darkness—for electricity failed entirely—and then the Bolsheviks celebrated their victory by burning at the stake a military inspector, in mistake for the Colonel, who had escaped. Men were said to be dying of their wounds in the cemetery woods, but no one could get in to help them. Bolsheviks do not fight fair. As for their own dead, they were given a military funeral without a priest, in the Kremlin garden. We could not believe then that the Bolsheviks would remain in power for long.

But they had all the ammunition and stores on their side, and the soldiers only too readily turned upon their officers, murdering and mutilating them, while the peasantry rose against the landed proprietors, burnt them out or shot them, stole their cattle, and wantonly destroyed those animals they did not need; and where a benevolent, liberal-minded landowner remon-

strated, they said: "We must destroy your goods or else the soldiers will punish us."

In March, 1918, the Commissar of Hospitals, a young man who suffered severely from swelled head, turned his attention to the English Hospital, with the result that I resigned on the spot, after a spirited conflict which would have been more so had I not been so handicapped by the difficulties of the language. I went straight to Professor and Madame (Dr.) Chistovitch, the unfailing friends of our English mission, who most kindly gave me a room in their flat in exchange for English lessons, while I found other pupils for English and French, which enabled me to pay for my food. The Bolshevik Commissar had asked, tauntingly, "How are you going to live without the hospital. You can't go home, you know?"—for the frontier was closed. For six months I gave lessons, and expenses mounted steadily, week by week. Things went from bad to worse. Transport difficulties increased. The soldiers and peasants, living largely on loot, grew more and more demoralised. Working-men, feeling the lack of supplies in home and factory, became discontented and hostile to the soldiery. No credit abroad meant no raw material. Demoralisation and lack of skilled guidance from proprietors led to neglect of agriculture and dairy-farming. Moreover, the peasants say: "Why should we bring our produce to the towns? We don't want your money: there's nothing to buy!" On the other hand, the working-man cries: "How can we manufacture goods for you while we are starving and have no material?"

Meanwhile, the Bolshevik Government blames the bourgeois for everything, and raises money by robbing and fining anyone who has any left—aristocrat, scientist, tradesman, merchant, whatever he may be—in most cases charging him with being "contra-revolutionary," i.e., "contra-Bolshevik."

One's house is liable to be broken into at any time and searched. Evidence of sympathy with the National (white) Army generally means death for the accused, and destitution for his family, for all his goods are confiscated.

An elderly lady whom I knew, was shot because her husband had written some anti-Bolshevik pamphlets. As he could not be found his wife was killed for him, but when I left Kazan he too had been caught and imprisoned. He was the father of Madame Petrovski, another sincere friend of the English Hospital. Madame Petrovski herself was in hiding when I came away, in great danger of being shot (probably tortured as well), for the valuable help she had given to the White Army. She must be breaking her heart for a sight of her three little children. Her husband, a studious professor, taking no part in politics, was set to digging trenches for the Red Army. A school girl of sixteen, who had collected money for the White Army and was charged with being a spy, was arrested and kept in prison for some days. Her mother took food to her daily, for the prisons give nothing in Kazan—but was one morning met by the brutal announcement: "You needn't bring that any more: your daughter was shot this morning!"

A brave old bishop, the friend of some people whom I knew, was buried alive for protesting against cruelty and injustice. One method of obtaining information is to place a man against a wall with his back to his questioner having previously kept him all night without food or water in a dark cellar, then to shoot at the wall over and around his head, nearer and nearer, till the shot passes through his hair or takes the tip off his ear, when he is likely to lose his nerve and shriek out the information wanted. In the streets are scarlet banners: "Death to the Bourgeoisie!" "Hail to the Red Revolutionary Terror!" "We are the leaders of world-wide Revolution!"

When I applied to the Commandant for permission to leave Kazan and return to England he flatly refused, and asked jeeringly: "What do you want to go to England for? You've got revolution there, too!" For a year I had no letters nor newspapers. In Kazan we had only such Bolshevik organs as "The Flag of Revolution," so "progressive" that it comes out the day before its date. One may hear the newsboys shouting: "Flag of Revolution! Very interesting events in Moscow!—of to-morrow's date!"

The Government is nervous of Allied interference and tries to keep us as hostages.

The Bolsheviks apparently realise that they need the support of other countries to keep them going, and make frenzied appeals to other proletarians to uphold "The Red Terror." "Comrades! We have this day lighted such a fire as will wave the flag of revolution over all the world!" says one excited orator. From the bottom of my heart I say: May God Forbid!

D. A. STEPNEY.

Reviews.

The Background of a Feminist Problem.

The N.U.W.S.S. has taken upon itself the guardianship of women's economic interests; and to a great majority of its members that guardianship implies an emphatic demand for "Equal Pay for Equal Work." But even the most positive advocates of such a demand realise that it raises many tangled questions—questions involving considerable knowledge of the ramifications of industrial affairs. Meanwhile its less positive advocates are tormented by qualms that its indiscriminate application may recoil disastrously upon some of those in whose interest it is urged. Controversies have raged about it in the pages of THE COMMON CAUSE, and on the platform of N.U.W.S.S. Council meetings; indeed, controversies tend to rage about it wherever suffragists in any great numbers are gathered together. All are agreed as to the desirability of seeking to improve the position of women in the industrial world of to-day, not all are agreed as to the desirability of pressing "Equal Pay" as a means to this end. And now the problem is on the top of us and all round us. It is absorbing the National Federation of Women Teachers, it has rent the N.U.T., it has held up the traffic system of London, it has involved protracted negotiations and multifarious agreements in the engineering trades, it has been embodied in a host of sweeping and ambiguous political pledges.

Clearly, here is scope for a considerable amount of brain work on the part of members of the N.U.W.S.S.; and the first condition of such brain work must be some general knowledge of the actual facts regarding the position of women in the industrial world of to-day. A fair sample of such knowledge has already been provided through the pages of THE COMMON CAUSE in Mrs. Strachey's admirable digest of Mrs. Drake's report on "Women in the Engineering Trades"—the third of the Trade Union studies published by the Fabian Research Department. More enterprising enquirers will turn to the report itself, and will supplement it by glances at the recent official report on the health of munition workers. By so doing they will acquire something resembling a complete picture of the conditions under which women are working in one of their largest fields of endeavour at the present time.

But in order to see the problem whole, and in order to visualize the demand for "Equal Pay," not as an end in itself, but as part and parcel of a great attempt to secure fair conditions and a tolerable life standard for man, woman, and child, the seeker after truth must go beyond a consideration of facts affecting women alone. The problems of labour as a whole must be studied, and nowhere are better opportunities for such study offered than in the two latest trade union publications of the Fabian Research Department: "An Introduction to Trade Unionism" and "The Payment of Wages," by G. D. H. Cole. They are up to date, they are brief, they are extraordinarily comprehensive, they are not bewilderingly technical, and, in view of the industrial problems which are looming ahead of us, they are enthrallingly interesting. The one complaint which we are tempted to make is that they are expensive—expensive, that is to say, in view of the wide circulation among people of small resources which we should desire for them.

In the first of his studies, "An Introduction to Trade Unionism," Mr. Cole presents a general view of Trade Unionism as it exists in this country to-day. In Parts One and Two he deals with concrete facts—the statistics of Trade Unionism and its classification, its politics, methods of government, and finance. In Part Three he deals with unsolved problems of internal organisation and external relations with which Trade Unionism is confronted to-day. Among the dozen sections which comprise Part Three we find brief and extraordinarily illuminating discussions of such burning questions as "Amalgamation and Federation," "Standard Rates and Payment by Results," "Women in Trade Unions," "Relations to Employers." In connection with the third of these headings, it may be mentioned that Mr. Cole considers low rates of pay a greater obstacle to the Trade Union organization of women than the non-permanence of the average woman's industrial career. The significance of this last obstacle has been, he considers, "greatly exaggerated in the past." This verdict should be a cheering one for advocates of "Equal Pay for Equal Work."

In Part Four Mr. Cole sums up his subject, under the heading "Theories and Conclusions," with a general discussion of the

conflicting ideals and ultimate aims of organised Labour. Here we meet his own advocacy of a programme of "industrial unionism" leading up to a complete national scheme of Guild Socialism.

In the second of his studies, "The Payment of Wages," Mr. Cole brings us into touch with a more detailed and technical problem of industry. He concentrates upon one section of his foregoing survey, and tells us something of the machinery by which wages are paid and their rates calculated, revealing in the process complications of which the average middle-class observer of industrial matters does not so much as dream. Here, for instance, he introduces us to those pitfalls which may lurk beneath what may appear to the uninitiated as a fair piece-rate, or a reasonably generous bonus system. And for the suffragist advocate of "Equal Pay for Equal Work" there is something rather depressing in this presentation of the host of difficulties which will beset the attempt to determine what exactly is equal pay, when we have satisfactorily determined what exactly is equal work.

Those who bend their minds to the problem, as members of an organization which stands for the principle of economic equality must, however, face the facts; they could begin by constructing a mental background formed of such knowledge as Mr. Cole presents in his two most admirable studies.

MARY STOCKS.

The Story of an English Sister. By Ethel Romanes. (Longmans, Green & Co., 39, Paternoster Row)

In "The Story of an English Sister," Mrs. Romanes describes the short life of her daughter Ethel, whom her friends called Fritz, and of whom one said "She could discuss hockey in as intimate detail as theology." The outward events of Fritz's career were simple enough: born in 1880, the eldest of the six children of the late Professor George Romanes, she was educated at the Oxford High School, at Wycombe Abbey and at Lady Margaret, Oxford, where she took a First in Theology. At the age of twenty-nine she entered an Anglican Community, proceeded to India at the age of thirty-three, was invalided home, and died one month after the outbreak of the war.

Those who think a life passed in accordance with the best traditions of modern High Anglicanism must be a barren life, may pass this work by. To others, and among them many who do not hold the faith she held, this record of a woman of considerable mental ability, of much personal charm, and of a broad humanness will seem worth reading.

What music is to the born musician, or science to her lovers, theology was to Ethel Romanes. In theology she found scope for her intellect and some of the means of expression for her spiritual life. But, like St. Theresa, her sense of humour gave her a rich sympathy with every endeavour of the children of men. She was happy as a teacher, and what she looked for of good in her pupils she found. She discovered that some of the children and of the "penitents" (sic) under the care of her Community had an affinity for spiritual things and for theology. She writes:—

"Rather an interesting thought has come to me arising out of my teaching of Christian Doctrine, viz., that children are not only Theologians (that I have always believed), but that they are Liberal Theologians. They have modern difficulties . . . One child, e.g., told me she could not see how the doctrine of the resurrection of the body follows from the doctrine of our Lord's Resurrection—since it saw no corruption. This is precisely what Mr. Streeter says."

And again:—

"I have just been giving a class on the subject for the day to the Communicants: and had rather dreaded it, thinking this subject so difficult and abstract for them. But I am quite astonished by three or four of the girls. This is not the first time I have noted the remarkable spiritual capacity in them. They take Moberly's or Illingworth's ideas and illustrations out of my mouth before I have time to utter them. Hooting at the idea of persons being separated and so on. It is rather wonderful."

Though Sister Etheldred's ideas of what is good in religion and morality were by no means of our modern indeterminateness, they were liberal:—

"Apropos of Miss—, I believe everybody is narrow really—we can't help it. There are too many sides of truth . . . too many things in the world."

Also:—

"I do like Foundations . . . the whole tone of the book is delightful. Mr. Temple impresses us most; Mr. Streeter strikes me as being the most brilliant."

Lastly:—

"I wonder if Norman and Giles went to hear Maude Royden speak in the schools about the Criminal Law Amendment Act—it says 1,000 men were there. I do hope they did."

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The Government has recognised the advantages of this plan of saving by allowing abatements of Income Tax to the depositors, and your interests are absolutely safe, as the Sun of Canada is one of the strongest Life Offices in the Empire with funds of over £18,000,000.

The best recommendation of this plan is that women who have joined are recommending it to their friends.

Write, stating age, amount you can save each year, to J. F. Junkin, Sun Life of Canada, 196, Canada House, Norfolk-street, London, W.C. 2.

Sister Etheldred was not only theologian and teacher—she delighted in the drama:—

"A beautiful make-up (acting) box [was] presented to me by the people whom I had coached for 'Everyman' I had rouge and false hair and flesh tinting. I thought it a delightful present for a sister to receive! On the strength of it we settled to begin on Ali Baba at once. . . ."

But at least once her duty of religious obedience cut across to prevent the achievement of her intentions as a producer of plays. On November 4th we read:—

"Do you think you could send a cheap paper copy of Sheridan's 'The Critic'. I have offered to help the girls get up a play . . . I did get up 'The Critic' once at Lady Margaret Hall, and it was a success—it is killingly amusing."

But, alas, on November 11th follows:—

"It is very sad about 'The Critic.' Sister likes it in itself immensely, but thinks the audience would not appreciate it. I see what she means, though I do not agree."

Here is the characteristic note of this sister's life. She was no ascetic, she took eager delight in all simple joys and even pleasures, she swam like a fish, she liked cigarettes and good music, and England in the spring was her heaven; but each time what seemed the higher call came she answered it simply and with good humour. She subjected a keen intellect to the service of organised religion; she left a perfectly happy home for a convent; she obeyed the order of her superiors to go to India though her mother writes about it thus: "Etheldred herself never gave way, was always cheerful and cheering, but I have reason to believe her heart was broken." When the time came she relinquished health and life as graciously as she gave up acting "The Critic," though she could write to her friend Mrs. James Peck, thus about her illness, (quoting Mrs. Wood's words):—

"Come woe, come white
Shroud o' the world, black night,
I have had love and the sun's light."

"This is what ran in my head all through those first days. One has had so much that it could not be surprising if it had been courted that this life's cup were full. And yet it is such a joy to find it isn't. This is rather puzzling, because what do we mean when we sing, 'Jerusalem, my happy home, when shall I come to thee, etc.'? I always feel quite sincere about it. Perhaps we are looking forward then more to Heaven than to the intermediate state. I must say I always do think when one remembers and sees Egyptian mummies, it does strike one that there is plenty of time to be dead in without being in a hurry for it!"

This biography is not a great biography, and it is not the biography of one of the world's great figures. Also it touches hardly at all the welter of problems in which we struggle to-day. But it is always worth while to write of a happy human being whose body, mind, and spirit are held in perfect balance by a consecrated will.

I go further and confidently recommend this book as good reading, perhaps especially for those who are lying in bondage under the spell of Mr. Lytton Strachey and his demonic biographical genius. Neither his scintillating twenty-first-centuryism nor the more merciful effort of Mrs. Romanes quite solve the enigma of life, or even of religion, but each book reminds us again that Ethel Romanes did get rather near at least to one reality when she remarked "Everybody is narrow really—we can't help it . . . there are too many things in the world."

A. H. W.

A CORRECTION.

MADAM,—May I correct an error in my article in your last week's issue? The Chairman of the Home Office Committee which considered the means of finding women clerical workers to replace men called to the colours was Mr. Cecil Harmsworth, not Lord Rothermere.

RUTH YOUNG.

Reports, Notices, etc.

LONDON UNITS, S.W.H.

The Elsie Inglis Unit received orders early in December to move from Uskub in Serbia to Sarajevo in Bosnia. The long journey via Salonika and the Adriatic was not without incident. After the Unit had embarked at Salonika, Dr. Chesney was asked to take charge of all the medical work of some hundreds of troops of different nationalities on board. The Unit's travelling drug store was not equal to this unexpected emergency, and supplies had to be obtained from a British battleship. After landing at a port on the Adriatic the Hospital personnel had a twenty-six hour journey by rail to Sarajevo, and as there were no Serb soldiers at hand to unload, the equipment and cars had to land further north with five drivers in charge. The latter spent Christmas Day with the British stationed at that port, and were to proceed by rail and road to Sarajevo.

Miss Geraldine Hedges, the Chief Transport Officer, has been invalided home with malaria, and Miss Robinson, the second officer left in charge, has taken the majority of ambulances by road from Uskub to Belgrade over roads about which nothing was known, as they have been in enemy hands since 1915. She arrived safely in Belgrade with her party, and no doubt has rejoined the Hospital at Sarajevo by this time.

The Serbian authorities have given over a building to the Unit large enough to hold several hundred beds. With the present personnel 200 patients can be nursed, and the cleaning preparatory to that work was in progress when the last news came.

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

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. President: MRS. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D. Hon. Secretaries: MISS MARGARET JONES, MRS. OLIVER STRACHEY (Parliamentary).

Headquarter Notes.

Societies will hear with great regret of Mrs. Oliver Strachey's decision not to stand again for the position of Hon. Parliamentary Secretary. In order to give Societies ample time to find candidates for the vacancy created by Mrs. Strachey's resignation, it has been decided that nominations will be in order if they reach Headquarters by February 20th.

Societies will now be realising that elections for County, Urban District, and Rural District Councils and Boards of Guardians take place in March. The Executive Committee is of the opinion that Societies can do excellent work at this time by promoting and assisting the candidature of suitable women for local governing bodies.

A Service of Thanksgiving will be held by the Church League for Women's Suffrage at 6.30 p.m. on Thursday, February 6th, the first anniversary of the passing of the Representation of the People Act. Any group of members of the N.U.W.S.S. attending this service, and wishing to carry the banner of the Union should—provided they are willing to call for and return the banner—communicate with the Secretary of the N.U.W.S.S., 62, Oxford Street, W.1.

Edward Wright Library.

The following books have, among others, been added to the library of the Information Bureau:— Report of Conference on New Idealism Education. Wise Parenthood. Dr. Marie Stopes. Roads to Freedom. Bertrand Russell. Women Wanted. M. Daggett. Problems of the International Settlement. (Introduction by G. Lowes Dickinson.)

Information Bureau.

At the last meeting of the Executive Committee the rules of the Bureau were altered as follows:—That an annual subscription of £1 is to be made to all Societies who wish to join the Bureau; and that a charge of 1s. be made for individual enquiries.

Literature Department.

The Literature Department has now in stock the last copies of Judge Parry's book, "Law and the Woman," price 1s. These it will supply to Societies at the trade rate of 10d. per copy. The book will be found most useful to all feminists, and in particular to speakers and organisers. It contains an up-to-date survey of all legal disabilities affecting women, and is attractively and amusingly written. Order early as this book will not be reprinted.

The Women Citizens' Association Handbook, price 6d., is still available in the Literature Department.

The Women Citizens' Diary is also on sale, price 1s. 6d. cloth, 2s. leather.

Contributions to the General Fund.

Table with columns for Subscriptions and Donations, listing names and amounts in £ s. d.

Table of contributions to the General Fund, listing names and amounts in £ s. d.

Table of Affiliation Fees, listing various W.S.S. branches and their respective fees.

Table of Women M.P.'s Fund, listing names and amounts.

Table of Donations, listing names and amounts.

Table of D.O.R.A. 40 D Protest Fund, listing names and amounts.

N.U.W.S.S. Scottish Women's Hospitals.

DECORATION OF OFFICERS: ACCOUNT OF THE CEREMONY.

Royaumont was en fête when, just before its close, the hospital received its greatest honour, in the presentation of twenty-three Croix de Guerre to its staff. It was a singularly picturesque ceremony, the beauty of the ancient Abbey lending a touch of enchantment to this modern scene.

At 2 o'clock in the afternoon all the staff were gathered in the great hall, now known as the ward "Canada." The beds had been cleared away from the centre of the ward, but there still remained a row of them down either side, in which were a number of the remaining "blessés."

General Nourisson and his staff arrived at 2.30, heralded by a fanfare from the Chasseurs with the double flourish of their trumpets above their heads. Then followed the "Marseillaise" with all the military

party standing at the salute. Next another fanfare was given and the "Citation" for Miss Ivens read out—a splendid and fitting tribute to her unceasing work of the past four years and a magnificent honour to the Hospital. She received the Croix de Guerre avec Palme.

After that the "Citations" were read out for each group in turn, the medal pinned on each breast in the name of the President of the French Republic, and the accolade given. Miss Ramsay-Smith received her decoration for her work as Gestionnaire (Officier d'Administration) of the Hôpital Auxiliaire d'Armée No. 30, and is doubtless the only woman holding such a position in France.

The ceremony ended with another fanfare, a short speech of congratulation from the General, the "Marseillaise" again, and lastly "God Save the King." It was brief and impressive, and will be remembered long by those who shared it. It was a most gracious acknowledgment by France of her debt to the Scottish Women's Hospitals of Royaumont and Villers Cotterets.

The following are the names of those decorated, and the "Citations" concerning some of them:—

Miss Ivens, Médecin-Chef, Croix de Guerre avec Palme.—"Forçant l'admiration de tous, a assuré de jour et de nuit le traitement des blessés français et alliés au cours des bombardements de Villers Cotterets, en Mai 1918. A l'approche de l'ennemi, a reprie sa formation a dernier moment sur l'Abbaye de Royaumont ou elle a continué sa mission humanitaire avec le plus absolu dévouement."

Croix de Guerre avec Etoile.—Miss Nicholson, Chirurgienne; Madame Berry, Miss Courtault, Miss Hartland, Miss Henry, Miss Stoney, Chef Radiologue; Madame Manoel, Chef Laboratoire; Miss Lindsay, Miss O'Rourke, Infirmières Majors; Miss Goodwin, Miss Anderson, Infirmières. "Ont prodigué à l'hôpital des dames ecossaises, tant à Villers Cotterets qu'à Royaumont, leur Science et leur dévouement aux blessés français et alliés, sous des bombardements répétés."

Miss Smieton, Miss Armstrong, Miss Salway, Miss Daunt, Aides-infirmières. "Malgré un tres grand surmenage, ont continué le transport intensif des blessés sous des bombardements répétés, faisant preuve d'un dévouement digne des plus grands éloges."

Miss Inglis, Miss Chapman, Miss Roll, a la Cantine Militaire de Soissons. "Ont assuré avec zèle et dévouement le service de la cantine militaire de Soissons, malgré les nombreux bombardements de cette ville."

Miss Collum, Aide-Radiologue. "Aide-Radiologue zélée et dévouée, blessés alors qu'elle rejoignait son poste en 1916 a bord du Sussex coulé par un sous marin ennemi."

Miss Ramsay-Smith. "S'est acquittée de ses fonctions d'Administrateur avec compétence, zèle et dévouement dans une période critique et dans des circonstances périlleuses."

Miss Murray, Miss Fulton, Miss Smeal, Chauffeuses. "Ont continué le transport des blessés avec courage et sang-froid au cours des bombardements de Villers Cotterets et de Dreil en Mai et Juin, 1918."

Subscriptions are still urgently needed, and should be sent to Mrs. Laurie, Hon. Treasurer, S.W.H., Red House, Greenock, or to Headquarters, 2, St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh. Peace has now been declared, but the Sick and Wounded are still on our hands, and will need to be cared for, for some time to come. The Committee therefore urge the necessity of continued and even greater support from the public, to meet the many demands that are 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, 66, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W. 1.

FURTHER LIST OF BEDS NAMED.

Table listing further beds named, including names of donors and amounts.

WOMEN SANITARY INSPECTORS' AND HEALTH VISITORS' ASSOCIATION.

Resolutions passed at an extraordinary General Meeting, held at the Royal Sanitary Institute, Buckingham Palace Road, 8th January.

1. That in order to give effect to the provision for the training of persons engaged in health services contained in Clause 2 of the Ministries of Health Bill, a Consultative Council should at once be appointed to draw up schemes of training for all such persons in their respective grades, the required training being uniform for, and appropriate to, each grade.

2. That, in order to ensure the efficient administration of all measures of public health promoted by the Minister, it is necessary to secure and retain the services of women Public Health officials who have attained to a high standard both of general education and of specialised training; that, for this purpose, it is essential that, in assuming the powers and duties of the Local Government Board under Clause 3, Section (1) Sub-section (a) of the Ministries of Health Bill, the Minister shall require, as a condition in making or renewing a grant to any local sanitary authority in respect of the appointment of any Woman Sanitary Inspector or Health Visitor, that the conditions of the appointment with regard to salary, war bonus, holidays, and the superannuation be at least equal to those set forth below, and that in no case should a Woman Sanitary Inspector or Health Visitor receive a lower salary than that of a man Sanitary Inspector employed by the same Local Authority.

(a) Salaries. (1) That the minimum salaries of Women Sanitary Inspectors and Health Visitors in all London Boroughs and in the adjoining Urban

Districts should at once be made uniform with those paid in the most progressive London Boroughs and Urban Districts—i.e., a minimum salary of £150, rising by annual increments of £10 to £200 exclusive of war bonus.

(2) That outside the London area a minimum salary of £120 rising by annual increments of £10 to £150, exclusive of war bonus, be required by the Board.

(3) That Women Sanitary Inspectors and Health Visitors who have already been working for five years in their profession should at once receive the maximum salaries referred to above.

(b) War Bonuses. That the holidays of Women Sanitary Inspectors and Health Visitors be not less than those given in the Civil Service—i.e., 28 working days, exclusive of Bank Holidays.

(c) That a Superannuation allowance be paid to all Women Sanitary Inspectors and Health Visitors under conditions not less favourable than those obtaining in the Civil Service. (The foregoing resolutions were proposed from the Chair, on behalf of the Executive Committee.)

3. That upon the transfer of the powers and duties of the Local Government Board to the Minister under Clause 3 Section (1) Sub-section (a) of the Ministries of Health Bill, the administration of the existing Poor Law Infirmarys be at once transferred to the Local Sanitary Authority for the districts in which they are respectively situated, and that they should thereafter be administered by those Authorities as general hospitals available without distinction for the inhabitants of their respective districts, the present distinction between so-called paupers and other members of the community being entirely eliminated in connection with these hospitals. (Proposed by Miss Holt, seconded by Miss Bennett.)

4. That the transference of the powers and duties referred to in Clause 3 Section (2) Sub-sections (a), (b) and (c) of the Ministries of Health Bill to the Minister be mandatory and not permissive. (Proposed by Miss Bennett, seconded by Miss Holt.)

5. That in order to give adequate effect to the provision contained in Clause 4 Section (2) of the Ministries of Health Bill, it is essential that at least two members of the Women Sanitary Inspectors' and Health Visitors' Association be included in every such Council. (Proposed from the Chair, on behalf of the Executive Committee.)

6. That in order to secure the advice and experience of the persons most directly affected by Public Health legislation, it is essential that organised and especially organised women's labour should be adequately represented on the Councils established under Clause 4 of the Ministries of Health Bill. (Proposed by Miss Aniger, seconded by Miss Williams.)

7. That, in appointing persons to fill positions involving administrative responsibility under Clause 6 (1) of the Ministries of Health Bill, the Minister shall be empowered to appoint women as well as men, preference being given to persons having practical experience in the Public Health Service. (Proposed from the Chair, on behalf of the Executive Committee.)

THE FRIENDS WAR VICTIMS RELIEF COMMITTEE.

(91, Bishopsgate, London, E.C. 2). The French poet, Charles Perrot, on the eve of his death on the Verdun battlefield wrote—"There is never an end to duty—" On na jamais fini de faire son devoir." It was a feeling akin to this which led the above society some months ago to offer to continue after the war the work which it had been doing for over four years for the people of France. The work having been chiefly among French people, many Englishmen who have been long in France are surprised to hear that the Society has four hundred workers and large building, agricultural, medical, and relief departments. The existence of this work—reconstruction in the Verdun area—will be an evidence of England's desire to share in France's sufferings, and a symbol of international fellowship and goodwill. Anyone who will send a donation should mention THE COMMON CAUSE.

Forthcoming Meetings (N.U.W.S.S.)

FEBRUARY 4. Bournemouth—Speaker: Miss Margaret Jones 3 p.m.

Coming Events.

JANUARY 22. Bradford—Girls' Patriotic Club—Speaker: Miss Hartop—Subject: "Equal Moral Standard" 7 p.m.

JANUARY 29. Bradford—Girls' Patriotic Club—Speaker: Miss Hartop—Subject: "The Work of the N.U.W.S.S. in Peace and War" 7 p.m.

FEBRUARY 5. Leytonstone—The Forum—Speaker: Miss Margaret Jones—Subject: "Equal Pay for Equal Work" 3 p.m.

FEBRUARY 6. St. Martins-in-the-Fields—Church League for Women's Suffrage—Thanksgiving Service 6.30 p.m.

LECTURE

ON FRIDAY, JAN. 24th, at 3 o'clock, At 52 PORTLAND PLACE, W. (by kind permission of Lady St. Helier), Subject: "THE FREEDOM OF THE SEAS,"

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