

Not to be taken away

The Common Cause

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

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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.

Women under Thirty.

On going to press, we learn that the Women's Emancipation Bill has been passed by the Standing Committee without a division, and with the Franchise Clause intact. The occasion is full of hope. There is no time to be lost in carrying out a widespread campaign in support of the Bill. It comes up for the Report Stage on July 4th. Now is the time for women under thirty to demand their enfranchisement. This Clause provides that a woman shall be able to exercise all such franchises as she would have been able to exercise as if she were a man; that is to say, it removes the sex disability for women between twenty-one and thirty, as well as doing a good deal more. Disfranchised women should come forward and show their strong support of this Clause and of the whole Bill. It is plain to all who are interested in the women's side of industrial and social questions, that women under thirty need the vote as much or more than any other section of the people. Who should need it if not the demobilised munition girls, the sweated laundry girls, the young teachers, the young clerks and secretaries, whose present is so difficult, and whose future so precarious? Week after week, we chronicle in our columns the events in the struggle for the economic freedom of women workers. The majority of these workers are young women—large numbers of them are under thirty. When they have the vote it will hardly be possible for the Government, or anybody else, to resist their economic emancipation. We hope that those of them who have not yet realised how bound up the two things are together will do so now, and will come forward to strengthen the Labour Party in its work for this Bill. We hope, also, that all those young women who are feeling the injustice of their exclusion from the higher positions in the Civil Service, and in the professions, will take part in a vigorous agitation for sweeping away sex disabilities in these occupations.

A Meeting in Prospect.

In London the young women are already active; and they are organising a meeting with the help of the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship and the Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organisations, which will take place on May 28th at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street. All the speakers will be under thirty. They invite the support of their contemporaries. All who are interested should communicate at once with the "Women under Thirty," N.U.S.E.C., 62, Oxford Street, London, W. 1. We hope that young women in other parts of the country will quickly follow suit.

Women and the Ministry of Health.

In the course of a House of Lords debate on the Ministry of Health Bill, on May 13th, the Government accepted an amendment to Clause 6 moved by Lord Askwith, providing that, in making appointments, the Minister of Health should "give equal consideration to the suitability of persons of both sexes." On hearing from Lord Sandhurst that the Government would accept these words, Lord Haldane withdrew his amendment in a similar sense. It will be remembered that words stating that there should be no discrimination on the ground of sex in the making of appointments under the Ministry, were put into the Bill in the Committee of the House of Commons, but taken out in the Report Stage. We are glad that words in this sense are now restored.

The Housing Bill.

"No women have so far been appointed to high positions in the Housing Administration." This direct reply given by Viscount Sandhurst to Lord Selborne on May 9th, was afterwards elaborated. The Lord Chamberlain said that housing work fell into three branches—central administration, professional and technical work, and decentralised administration. The first two branches of the work, including the preparation of the Housing Bill, and the consideration and approval of schemes, involved professional and technical duties, and were carried out by the Local Government Board Staff, reinforced by the appointment of Sir James Carmichael, as Director-General of Housing, and other officers with special experience. The Local Government Board was forwarding the progress of Housing schemes by making available the advice and assistance of Housing Commissioners, who were acting in ten areas covering the whole of England and Wales. The Commissioners had under them a number of qualified inspectors and architects. "In fixing about the expansion of the Board, it was not found that any women possessed of the requisite qualifications and experience presented themselves for appointment, either in an administrative or a professional capacity." This statement is very disappointing, and we confess we should like to know more details as to how the appointments were made, and how the experience and capacity of the applicants was determined. It is not really a consolation to hear that women are being invited to serve on an advisory council on housing which is in process of formation. Women ought certainly to be placed on all such councils, but it is very important also that they should have some share in the administrative posts, and that a full chance should be given them of taking part in the professional and technical work. We should like to know more of this.

Women's Suffrage in Holland.

It has been announced in the Press that the Second Chamber of the Dutch Parliament has passed a Women's Suffrage Bill. The Bill was introduced this Spring by the Radical leader, Mr. Marchand, and Dutch suffragists were always very hopeful concerning its prospects, owing to the general progressive tendency of public opinion which has recently shown itself in Holland, as in other lands. The Women's Suffrage Bill, having been introduced by an ordinary Act of the Legislature, is liable to be rescinded by a majority vote; it is not, like male suffrage, an integral part of the constitution; to make it so will now be the great object of Dutch suffragists. It will be remembered that Dutch women have, up to now, possessed eligibility to stand for Parliament, but not the vote—a curious and anomalous position. At the Parliamentary elections last Summer, one woman was elected out of twenty-two candidates: Miss Suze Groeneweg, a member of the Social Democratic Labour Party, and a teacher by profession.

Civil Servants' Salaries.

We understand that all classes of Civil Servants are about to receive an increase of pay, and that this is to be £60 plus a percentage of salary in the case of men, and £40 plus a percentage of salary in the case of women. This increase of pay is the result of a report of a Conciliation and Arbitration Committee set up about two years ago to make recommendations on the salaries of Civil Servants. The members of it are Mr. Gore Brown, K.C., Mr. Harry Gosling, and Sir R. Butterworth. The enormous rise in the cost of living obviously makes a rise of pay necessary, and even if the scheme will cost four million pounds, as is stated, the money may be well spent. But why should there be an inequality between the increase given to men and that given to women? Women Civil Servants do not, or at any rate should not, eat less than men Civil Servants, their bus fares do not cost less, their clothes generally cost more. Why then this difference? We await the explanation.

Women Teachers of the Future.

One very hopeful point about the movement for improvement in the pay and conditions of women teachers is that it is receiving most support among the young. Many of the students now in training have thrown themselves into it with vigour. They will go into the teaching profession already educated as to the conditions which they ought to demand, and the local authorities all over the country will find themselves faced with a movement growing to irresistible strength. The salary scale proposed by the Kent Education Committee last year was the immediate cause of the "Training College Women Students' Protest Movement." The Kent Committee offered a commencing salary of £90 a year to women teachers, with an additional £5 for each year which the intending teachers had spent at a training college, and a yearly increment of £5. When it is remembered that students are not accepted at the training colleges till they are at least seventeen, and cannot become certificated teachers till they are at least twenty (most of them being several years older), it will be seen that such a scale gives little chance, for those who accept it, to earn a moderately good salary until they are at least middle-aged. Yet the Kent Committee's scale was by no means exceptional. It is not surprising, therefore, that as soon as the students of Goldsmith's Hall, Greenwich, organised a protest movement, about a score of other training colleges joined in. Goldsmith's Hall is a mixed college, and although the Kent salary scale for men is a little better than that for women, the men teachers joined in the protest. A meeting of about six hundred students from various colleges was held in London last June. Since then, the organisation of the movement has progressed, and we understand that fresh developments may be expected in the near future.

Kent Committee's Slow Progress!

Meantime, the Kent Education Committee, though it has shown signs of being a little shaken, has not amended its ways. Last year it refused to meet the Training Students; this year it did send representatives to meet them, and proposed a new scale. The new scale seemed at the first glance to be a great improvement on the old one. £120 was offered as a commencing salary. But more was behind. The Committee had not really given up their cherished ideal of teachers at £90 per annum. The commencing salary of £120 is only offered to those certificated teachers who begin work in 1919, and there is to be no increment in it for five years. Teachers who begin work in 1920 are to receive a commencing salary of £115, with no increment for four years; those who begin work in 1921 receive £110, with no increment for three years, and so on, until in 1924 commencing salaries will be back at £90—or £100 for those who have done two years' training. The cost of living, says the Committee, will have gone down. We all hope so, but some other things are a little more certain than that. One is that before 1924 public opinion among the younger teachers and among training college students will be so organised that it will no longer be possible to offer them salaries so inadequate for the character of the work required from them.

Women and Unemployment.

The Executive Committee of the Labour Party, at their meeting on May 8th, passed a resolution strongly supporting the claim put forward by the Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organisations for a woman representative on the Committee appointed by Sir Robert Horne to consider the administration of the Out-of-work Donation. At present there is no woman member of this committee, and the Labour Party

shares the opinion already expressed by us, that in this matter it is of urgent importance that the women's view should be directly represented, since the majority of the recipients of the donation are women, and amongst all the cases, the most difficult are those concerning married women. The Standing Joint Committee has already approached Sir Robert Horne upon the matter, and similar representations have been made by the Rt. Hon. W. Adamson, M.P., the leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party.

A Trade Unionist on Equal Pay.

An interesting discussion on Equal Pay for Equal Work took place at the monthly meeting of the London Society for Women's Service on May 12th. Mr. Alexander Gossip, General Secretary of the Furnishing Trades Association, who was in the chair, took exception to the words of the formula, but not for the usual reason. Those who object to it generally do so on the ground that work which appears equal may not really have an equal value. Mr. Gossip, if we understand him right, objects to it because it seems to imply a too close and distrustful enquiry into output. His theory is that a worker (whether a man or a woman) should be engaged for a job because of his or her suitability for it, and should then be paid according to the nature of the job, as now happens with Members of Parliament, Cabinet Ministers, and other highly placed workers. His formula is "equal pay for similar duties," and in applying it he would sweep away sex barriers with an unsparing hand. Every woman should take her share in the work of the community; it is her duty, and no one has a right to hinder her. To keep a woman in economic dependence is to force upon her unmerited degradation. She has as much right to freedom and as much obligation to serve as a man. It will be seen that Mr. Gossip goes as far as any feminist of us all. As a practical one, he is as conscious of the difficulties of the present situation as the rest of us are; as a Trade Unionist he has special knowledge of them. His work for women in the furniture trades is well known. Those present at the meeting showed that they were aware of it by the warm welcome they gave him when he appeared, and his statement of his views did but increase their enthusiasm. Some of those who at first did not go as far as he did, expressed themselves as convinced by the discussion that followed the speeches.

Mrs. Cooper.

Mrs. Cooper is a speaker who is sure of a welcome wherever she goes. But perhaps she is nowhere more popular than at London meetings. London Suffragists have not only found her the best of comrades in the struggle for the vote, but her practical experience as a Lancashire cotton worker and a Trade Unionist of many years standing is of immense interest to them. They know that she continues in close touch with many different bodies of workers in the North, and has always fresh facts to tell them. Her speech at the meeting on the 12th, was of special value as she was able to help the London Society workers in their present efforts for economic equality by giving them details as to injustices which women are actually undergoing, or have undergone in recent months in various parts of the North of England. Some of her illustrations of the urgent need for equal opportunities for women we hope to quote in forthcoming numbers of THE COMMON CAUSE. In speaking of what had already been accomplished in the past she referred to the change of attitude on the part of British miners about women's work in connection with mines; she recalled how the miners had at one time proposed to exclude women from pitbrow work, and how the women, organised by Suffragists, had protested. Only a month ago, she said, she had heard a Labour Leader (himself a miner) say at an important conference that the miners had been wrong, and the women right, and that the Miner's Federation was now prepared itself to organise the labour of women, believing that they were efficient and valuable fellow-workers. Those who have studied the reports of the recent International Labour Conference, know that it was the attitude of the British delegates which prevented the conference from passing a resolution limiting the labour of women in mines above as well as below ground. Representatives of British miners said that they had found from experience that women could do valuable work with advantage to themselves and to their fellow-workers. This corroborates Mrs. Cooper's statement and is a great encouragement to all those who are struggling to obtain for women full freedom to work, without artificial sex limitations as to the industry they choose.

An American Women's Commission.

The American War Work Council, under the auspices of the Y.W.C.A., has sent to Europe a Commission to enquire into the industrial and labour situation particularly as it affects women. The ladies of this Commission are Miss Florence Simms, Head of the Commission, National Industrial Secretary, Y.W.C.A.; Mrs. James S. Cushman, President of War Work Council, Y.W.C.A.; Miss Marie Wing, General Secretary, Y.W.C.A., Cleveland, Ohio; Miss Mary Dingman, Head of *Foyer des Alliés*, Y.W.C.A., France; Mrs. Irene Osgood Andrews, Assistant Secretary, American Association for Labour Legislation; Miss Mary Dreier, Women's Trade Union League; Miss Rose Schneidermann, Women's Trade Union League; Miss Nellie Schwartz, National Consumers' League, Chief of Bureau of Women in Industry, New York State; Miss Imogene Ireland, Secretary to Commission, Y.W.C.A.; Miss Chandler, Assistant Secretary to Commission, Y.W.C.A. Some extraordinarily interesting discussions have already taken place between these ladies and representatives of British feminist

organisations. We hope to publish more on this subject next week.

A Summer School for Women Citizens.

The N.U.S.E.C. is this year arranging a Summer School at Cambridge, from August 2nd till the 16th, on important points in its programme. Lectures will be given, and classes held, on such subjects as the industrial position of women, the status of married women, the guardianship of children, the problem of the illegitimate child, the endowment of motherhood, widows' pensions, women as solicitors, barristers, magistrates and jurors, and the equal moral standard. The Summer School of Civics and Eugenics will be held at the same time, and lectures on such subjects as social psychology, eugenics, and citizenship will doubtless appeal to members of both Associations. Further particulars will be published under Headquarter Notes in THE COMMON CAUSE next week, but those who are interested should lose no time in writing to the N.U.S.E.C., 62, Oxford Street, London, W. 1, for information.

"EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK."

THE REPORT OF THE WAR CABINET COMMITTEE ON WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

IF it were not for the magnificent and uncompromising Minority Report of Mrs. Sidney Webb, we should hail the result of this most important enquiry as a great triumph. We do in any case so hail it; for its findings are a notable advance on any other official pronouncement on the subject of Women's Work and Wages; they mark the beginning of a new era; and that we like the Minority Report even better does not diminish our enthusiasm and delight. The Majority Report, whose recommendations are printed in full on the following page, consists of an able and well-arranged survey of the conditions and governing factors of women's work both before and during the war, and the Committee has drawn practical and significant conclusions from the mass of detailed evidence laid before them. If we feel that the Minority Report presents the ultimate ideal towards which we are aiming, we nevertheless do not quarrel with the findings of the Majority, since they obviously indicate a tremendous advance in that direction, and if followed out would make the attainment of the real economic equality of men and women an actual and fairly immediate possibility. There is a note of practicality and urgency about the report which is as welcome as it is rare in Government publications. Such phrases as "with the least possible delay," and "at once," recur again and again, and we sincerely congratulate the Committee on its courage in stating in plain language that the Government should itself give effect to these decisions with regard to its own employed men and women.

The Report begins with an interesting historical survey on the position of women in industry before the war, with statistics both as to the numbers employed, the occupations open to them, and the pay they received, which make strange reading at the present day. The Committee brings out very forcibly the fact that before the war women were receiving about half the pay of men, and were arbitrarily excluded from a number of suitable trades. They examined the causes of this phenomenon and give first place to natural causes. "The state of affairs," they say, "that has come down through the ages, and is nearly universal, must have some origin in nature, however much the effect may have been accentuated by the action of man." On this point the Minority Report makes a wide divergence. Industrial wages, Mrs. Webb points out, have been settled by the "higgling of the market," and not by any consideration of the effort of labour involved in each particular job. She, therefore, puts down the lower wages of women to artificial causes, and we are strongly inclined to agree with her. It may be true that women are less efficient workers than men, but it is certainly not true that all customs which are practically universal have their origin in nature, and must be accepted as immutable. The other causes of the lower position of women in the industrial world recognised by the Majority Report, are those brought forward in evidence before them by the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, the Women's Service Bureau, and other women's organisations, namely, the conventional opposition to women's work, and the lack of training and organisation. The Committee add to this an interesting conclusion that they draw from the evidence brought before them: "wages have in the past been kept low on principle by some employers, the principle being that the spur of necessity is the chief or only incentive to work." A sad comment, this, on industrial life and conditions!

The survey of women in industry before the war is followed by a most fascinating summary of their work during the war, in which is included the evidence of a number of employers on the capacity for women for output, and their record as to time-keeping. It is interesting to contrast the evidence given by the A.S.E. and the Engineering Employers' Federation on these points, and reading their conclusions one is tempted to believe that both were influenced in giving evidence, not only by the facts as they saw them before them, but by their respective strong desires on the subject of the retention of cheap female labour in the trade as a permanency. Their views contrast so sharply, and are in such marked accord with their wishes, that some such suspicion is almost inevitable. Throughout this section of the Report there is continual reference to the handicap under which women generally suffer, namely, domestic responsibilities and additional home work carried on simultaneously with their wage earning occupations. Nevertheless, the Committee definitely concludes that the employment of women in men's occupations has been advantageous, and should be to a large extent continued.

The question of the wages of women during the war and of the extent and results of Government control are examined in considerable detail in two important chapters. To those who have watched the fluctuations in women's wages from outside the Government machine, these chapters are of absorbing interest. The Committee find that the results "constitute a very important charter for women," and, indeed, as compared with pre-war conditions, they do. Nevertheless, the story itself, and in particular the twistings and turnings of the Government departments when faced with the demand to pay women the same money as men at the end of each week, and the shameful history of the war bonus and the war advances that women did not get, hardly seem to bear out the conclusions at which the Committee arrives. It whitewashes the Ministry of Munitions and exonerates the Government from having broken its pledges. On this point, as on so many others, we find ourselves in full agreement with Mrs. Sidney Webb when she says that the Government has broken its word.

The rises in women's wages which have undoubtedly been affected through the medium of State regulation have been, of course, severely complicated by the rise in the cost of living, and in this connection the Report points out the standing confusion that arises with regard to the question of the family wage. While they did not maintain that the argument of a family wage should prevent the payment of equal pay for equal output to men and women doing the same sort of work, the majority of the Committee appear to attach considerable weight to this argument, and maintain that the minimum subsistence wage for women in purely women's trades should be based upon the needs of the single woman worker. It is interesting to note that among the needs of the single woman workers they include trade union subscriptions, and a reasonable sum for holidays and amusement, both of these being up to now unheard-of minimum requirements of the single woman worker.

With regard to the future, the Committee strongly advocate the increased employment of women in new directions, and the regulation of their wages by combined trade union action and State regulation. They consider that immediate adjustment can be made in the teaching, clerical, and similar professions, and

recommend that allowances for children should in some cases be immediately given and that the whole question of State endowment of families should be examined with a view to early action. After a long analysis of the different formulæ concerning equal pay for equal work, equal pay for equal output, or equal rates for the job, they come to the conclusion that output is in general the most just test. They hold that no wholesale deductions should be made for liability to marriage or the other standing peculiarities of women, and that when women are working on time rates, they should be assumed to produce equal output with men unless the employer shows proof to the contrary. They say, with great truth, that as the employment of women extends and increases, the various formulæ will come closer together, and our greatest objection to this section of the Report is really their decisions as to the arrangements by which these things are to be carried out. They suggest that negotiations should take place between the employers with the men affected. This seems to us to neglect too flagrantly the women workers themselves. The Committee, however, realises this danger of the proposal, and recommends "that whenever industrial questions directly or indirectly affecting the interests of women are discussed under the auspices of a Government department, that department should be responsible for seeing that there

The Recommendations of the Women in Industry Report.

RECOMMENDATIONS AS TO PRINCIPLES THAT SHOULD GOVERN FUTURE RELATION BETWEEN MEN'S AND WOMEN'S WAGES.

(1) That women doing similar or the same work as men should receive equal pay for equal work in the sense that pay should be in proportion to efficient output. This covers the principle that on systems of payment by results equal payment should be made to women as to men for an equal amount of work done.

(2) That the relative value of the work done by women and men on time on the same or similar jobs should be agreed between employers and Trade Unions acting through the recognised channels of negotiation, as, for instance, Trade Boards or Joint Industrial Councils.

(3) That where it is desired to introduce women to do the whole of a man's job and it is recognised that either immediately or after a probationary period they are of efficiency equal to that of the men, they should be paid either immediately or after a probationary period, the length and conditions of which should be definitely laid down, the men's time rates.

(4) That where there has been sub-division of a man's job or work without any *bona fide* simplification of processes or machine and a woman is put on to do a part only of the job or work, the wages should be regulated so that the labour cost to the employer of the whole job should not be lessened while the payment to the persons engaged on it should be proportioned to their respective labour contributions.

(5) That where the introduction of women follows on *bona fide* simplification of process or machine, the time rates for the simplified process or simplified machine should be determined as if this was to be allocated to male labour less skilled than the male labour employed before simplification, and women, if their introduction is agreed to, should only receive less than the unskilled man's rate if, and to the extent that, their work is of less value.

(6) That in every case in which the employer maintains that a woman's work produces less than a man's, the burden of proof should rest on the employer, who should also have to produce evidence of the lower value of the woman's work to which the fixed sum to be deducted from the man's rate for the particular job throughout the whole of the industry should strictly correspond.

(7) That every job on which women are employed doing the same work as men for less wages should be considered a man's job for the purpose of fixing women's wages, and the wages should be regulated in the manner above recommended.

(8) That the employment of women in commercial and clerical occupations especially requires regulation in accordance with the principle of "equal pay for equal work."

(9) That in order to maintain the principle of "equal pay for equal work" in cases where it is essential to employ men and women of the same grade, capacity, and training, but where equal pay will not attract the same grade of man as of woman, it may be necessary to counteract the difference of attractiveness

are women present who can adequately represent those interests."

With regard to the health of women in industry and the effect of work upon it, a most important memorandum by Dr. Janet Campbell is included in the report, and recommendations are brought forward with regard to women's conditions of work, which deserve the very fullest consideration. We hope to be able to publish an article on this aspect of the subject in a forthcoming issue.

The Minority Report by Mrs. Sidney Webb embodies, as we have already stated, our real and ultimate hopes. It is so good, both in its reasoning and in its conclusions, and it is so ably and clearly written, that it seems difficult to do anything but quote it in full. We hope to publish a full description of it next week.

We feel that the whole book, summarising as it does the conditions, wages, and theories governing the pay of men and women, is worth the closest study; and if its Majority recommendations are adopted—as we hope they will be—and if its Minority recommendations follow from them—as we believe they inevitably would, the future of women in industry will be safe, the reputation of this country for justice and enlightenment will be enhanced, its industrial resources enriched, and its industrial prosperity permanently assured.

R. S.

by the payment to married men of children's allowances, and that this subject should receive careful consideration from His Majesty's Government in connection with payments to teachers to which the Government contribute.

(10) That the principle of "equal pay for equal work" should be early and fully adopted for the manipulative branches of the Civil Service and that in the case of Post Office duties, the question of the men having late hours or night work should be provided for by an extra allowance to persons undertaking common duties under disagreeable conditions.

(11) That this principle with regard to allowances to persons undertaking common duties under disagreeable conditions should be applied also to industry.

(12) That if the Treasury enquiry advocated by the Royal Commission on the Civil Service with the object of removing inequalities of salary not based on differences in the efficiency of the services has not yet been held, it should be put in hand with the least possible delay.

(13) That the separate grades and separate examinations for women clerks in the Civil Service should be abolished, but that the Government Departments should retain within their discretion the proportion of women to be employed in any branch or grade.

(14) That the Government should support the application to industry of the principle of "equal pay for equal work" by applying it with the least possible delay to their own establishments, and that as soon as any relation between the wages of men and women in any occupation or job has been agreed between employers and Trade Unions acting through the recognised channels of negotiation, the maintenance of that relation should be a condition of any Government contract involving the employment of workpeople in that occupation or job.

RECOMMENDATIONS AS TO PRINCIPLES THAT SHOULD GOVERN FUTURE EMPLOYMENT AND WAGES OF WOMEN.*

(15) That in those trade processes and occupations which the experience of the war has shown to be suitable for the employment of women, employers and trade unions acting through the recognised channels of negotiation should make possible the introduction of women by agreements which would ensure, in the manner above indicated, that this did not result in the displacement of men by reason of the women's cheapness to the employer.

(16) That with a view to improving the health and so increasing the efficiency of women in industry—

(i) there should be a substantial reform and extension in scope of the Factory and Workshops Acts, with special reference to (a) the reduction in the hours of work (including arrangement of spells and pauses, overtime, night work); (b) the provision of seats, labour-saving devices, &c., to avoid unnecessary fatigue; (c) an

* Sir William Mackenzie dissents from recommendations (18) to (26). See note on p. 335.

RECOMMENDATIONS ARISING OUT OF ALLEGATIONS AS TO NON-FULFILMENT OF GOVERNMENT PLEDGES.

In connection with the doubts and difficulties that arose with regard to the fulfilment of the Treasury Agreement (Part III.), the Committee strongly recommend:—

(28) That whenever industrial questions directly or indirectly affecting the interests of women are discussed under the auspices of a Government Department, that Department should be responsible for seeing that there are women present who can adequately represent these interests.

(29) That the Department or Departments that make contracts on behalf of the Government should place the Ministry of Labour in a position to exercise on their behalf through the Ministry's local officers some supervision over the due carrying out of the conditions of the Fair Wages Clause and that the Ministry should undertake this supervision.

(30) That the assistance of expert draftsmanship should always be available to those negotiating important industrial agreements.

(31) That in all cases in which agreements are entered into between employers and Trade Union representatives under the auspices of a Government Department, copies of any shorthand notes that may have been made should be supplied to the parties concerned for record.

[Next week, we hope to print an article on Mrs. Webb's Minority Report, and with it the text of her recommendations.]

The Position of Women in India.—II.

Let me turn now to what I have called the "Left behinds"—the masses of Indian women. These are the orthodox Hindu and Mahomedan women on the higher rungs of the ladder of caste and position, shut away behind the "purdah" in a seclusion of which, at its worst, you can have no conception—their voices, as their faces, being "protected," their life lived secure from every possibility of air or exercise, of sunshine and open spaces. As a body they are illiterate; their customs still compel marriage at latest before the age of ten years. With great difficulty—and with the exertion of all one's influence—it is possible to prevent marriage among the most rigidly orthodox at eight or nine. After nearly twenty years of service and understanding, we may get the orthodox to allow a unit here and there to stay unmarried till eleven. I mention this in illustration of the rate at which we progress in the East.

Of course, where moorings are cut, you have people leap straight away to a point which may be beyond your most forward line in England. But that is to talk not of the orthodox but of the communities discussed in the first section of this paper. And progress of that kind leaves a much accentuated vanguard. Such being the custom then as to marriage, it is no wonder that the masses are illiterate. The latest educational reports give three years as the average school-going period for the vernacular-speaking peoples of India. What can you do in three years? Not even teach the correct reading and writing of their own language to these baby children. For we must remember that the home does nothing for any class, that the home can do nothing for education, as long as the mothers are illiterate.

Or put literacy out of the question altogether. Are they perhaps educated in other things? Alas! the answer is sadly negative. Of the care of their children in health and sickness, of domestic sanitation, of the need for discipline, of any life values as you would reckon such things in the West—we are hopelessly ignorant. The mothers of our orthodox communities do not even know what ambitions to hold in their hearts for their children. They will pour out upon them one kind of love and adoration and service; but love like that cannot fill up the measure of ignorance. Are you prepared to give these women the vote? Still to them is the "curse" of priest or enemy a real weapon; still to them is illness the occupation of a devil, still is widowhood punishment for a sin committed in a previous life; and still is perpetual widowhood and a life lived as one *accursed*, the only way of buying a better fate in re-birth for the beloved "lord" who has predeceased his luckless spouse. Are you prepared to give these women the vote? The women of Hindu mythology or of the times of the heroes, the Mogul women of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries who were "statesmen" and poets, the Rajput women who led the armies to battle three hundred years ago—I have heard all these quoted as proof of present greatness, as an argument indeed that we are really ahead of women in England in present ability and capacity for service. You cannot refer your creditor to last year's solvency for this year's debt; to your ancestors' solvency for your own present bankruptcy.

improved standard of sanitation (sanitary conveniences, lavatories, cloakrooms, &c.), ventilation and general hygiene; (d) the provision of canteens, rest-rooms and surgeries; (e) the general supervision of the health of the workers individually and collectively; and (f) the conditions under which adolescents should be employed;

(ii) the present Factory Medical Department at the Home Office should at once be strengthened by the appointment of an adequate and suitable staff of women medical inspectors of factories and that a considerable increase should be made to the present staff of lay women factory inspectors;

(iii) a local factory medical service should be established with duties of supervision, investigation, and research intimately co-ordinated with the School Medical Service under the Local Education Authority, the Public Health Service under the Local Sanitary Authority, and the Medical Service under the National Insurance Act or Ministry of Health when established.

(17) That the Ministry of Labour, with which should rest the duty of ascertaining both nationally and locally the demand for trained persons in any trade or occupation, should, through Central and Local Trade Advisory Committees, assist Local Education Authorities in determining the technical instruction which should be provided for women.

(18) That in order to secure and maintain physical health and efficiency no normal woman should be employed for less than a reasonable subsistence wage.

(19) That this wage should be sufficient to provide a single woman over 18 years of age in a typical district where the cost of living is low with an adequate dietary, with lodging to include fuel and light in a respectable house not more than half an hour's journey, including tram or train, from the place of work, with clothing sufficient for warmth, cleanliness, and decent appearance, with money for fares, insurance, and Trade Union subscriptions and with a reasonable sum for holidays, amusements, &c.

(20) That there should be additions to this wage for women working in the larger towns and in London to cover the greater cost of living there.

(21) That this wage should be adjusted periodically to meet variation in the cost of living.

(22) That the determination of the basic subsistence wage should be by a specially constituted authority which should also determine variations from it to meet the conditions of different districts and of different times or in rare cases special conditions of trade.

(23) That the subsistence wage so determined should be established by statute to take effect immediately on the expiry of the Wages (Temporary Regulation) Act, 1918, or any prolongation of it and to apply to the employment for gain in all occupations (other than domestic service) for which a minimum wage has not been determined by an Industrial Council or by a Trade Board or other Statutory Authority.

(24) That the Government should give consideration to the question of adopting a scheme of mothers' pensions for widows and for deserted wives with children, and for the wives with children of men physically or mentally disabled, such pensions to be granted only after investigation where there is need and subject to supervision, and otherwise to be administered on the lines followed for pensions granted to the widows of men deceased in war.

(25) That the Department or Departments of Government concerned should draw up for the consideration of the Government a scheme by which the entire direct costs involved by the lying-in of women under thoroughly satisfactory conditions should be provided by the State.

(26) That a scale of wages should be established for girls 2s. a week less than the women's subsistence wage, for each year under 18, and that no girl should be employed for gain at lower rates than those of this scale unless a duly constituted authority, such as a Trade Board or Industrial Council, fixes such lower rate where the employment is of the nature of an apprenticeship. Also that the question of girls and boys under 16 working on piece should be specially considered by the Department or Departments of Government concerned with a view to the definite abolition of such working if it is found to be detrimental to health.

(27) That the Government should continue to give the strongest possible support to proposals for the international regulation of labour conditions, which should lessen the danger of the foreign trade of this country being injured as a result of the employment of underpaid labour abroad.

If our own past is to help us at all, it is as an incentive to the retaking of that past in so far as we are able. It is a real disservice to India to use it to throw dust in our own eyes and in the eyes of those who would help us. I heard a woman say the other day, in a lecture upon Indian womanhood, that while Greece and Rome had fallen, India still retained her pristine greatness.

Now, how is talk or belief of this nature to help us? What about the customs which enslave the masses? What about the need for education? The Purdahashin is not only illiterate, she is without the knowledge which transcends formal education. They are wonderful matter, these little women—spiritually, mentally, temperamentally, wonderful matter wasted for lack of education. Even the education which in old days their religion gave them at its best—the recitation of Hindu tales of the heroes, the teaching of the beautiful things in the old sacred books—even this is declining with the degeneracy of the modern Hindu priesthood, and the encrustation of the purer Hinduism of the Ancients, with modern practices.

The little ladies shut away behind the purdah have graces and possibilities which words cannot adequately portray—their gentleness, their *soul-texture* would need a language all its own, to be described in words intelligible to the West. And it is because of these innate qualities that the darkness in which they live has not hurt them the more. But it would be untrue, and a wrong to their urgent need, to deny the darkness, to pretend that the dark, musty courtyards are walled-in gardens of sunshine, that the pit is a hill-top.

The middle-classes, the non-secluded wives and daughters of professional men and of small landholders of the less high caste, are beginning to take advantage of Government and Mission Schools. But as a general rule it is still true to state that the agricultural classes are still very backward. We want education specialized for these people, we want industries multiplied. Missions have shown how clever and capable the non-secluded women can be at home industries, at lace-making and weaving. We want these advantages multiplied for secluded and non-secluded alike. We want a revival of old Indian arts and embroideries and hand-loom weaving.

We want domestic science and infant welfare teaching to bring the house-mothers' instinct into line with modern knowledge and adaptation of knowledge. For all alike we want better conditions of housing, better opportunities for air and exercise, better health conditions generally.

In all these directions there is good work to be done; and the first evidence that our work is bearing fruit will be surely the solution of the problems which are bigger still—the raising of the age for marriage, and the relief of the lot of the widow among those communities who still profess Hinduism.

To sum up. It is not very satisfactory to speak of Indian women as a whole: but in so far as this can be done, the position is this—we have a handful of women as they are known to Englishwomen in society, whether in India or England; and we have a great yawning gap. And, on the other side of the gap are masses of women who are children in the simplicity of their hearts, and in illiteracy and in all knowledge of the world, or of the progress of the world, or of world-values; children often also in years, though called upon to perform the functions of motherhood; saints often by instinct but hopelessly unhelped in their sainthood; prevented by British law from giving their bodies when widowed, to be burnt on the funeral pyres of their husbands, but *suttie* still in heart and in service of their dead lords, acknowledging no identity except as mothers of sons, or "the luckless ones" who have not been blessed with the gift of the Life-Bringer and are therefore accursed: sometimes endowed with shrewd common-sense or business capacity, but always at the mercy of those who will exploit them—whether these be priest or sharper.

In the eyes of the law their position is extraordinarily good—better in many respects than was the position of English women before the Married Women's Property Act; they have their own property—*Stridhan* or "the woman's wealth" independently of what may come to them through their husbands. Succession to this property is through the female line. What is needed, is to secure them the rights in practice which the law has already given them on the Statute-book of their great law giver Manu.

Hope, then, seems to lie in the recognition of our real position in India; and in the co-operation of both English and Indian women in helping forward the spread of education on lines suitable to our necessities until we lessen the gap between the handful of progressive women of whom I have spoken, and the masses of the women of India. Until we bring the "left-behinds" into closer touch with the vanguard—no political reform can be of any real and lasting service to our country.

Patriotism.

III.—RUSSIAN HERESY.

To Mazzini it seemed that patriotism and Christianity were indissolubly linked; that the service of family, of country, of humanity, and of God were capable of simultaneous fulfilment. Actually, as he well knew, there may be a conflict of loyalties; and in case of conflict he had no doubt as to the right choice. Many voices say "choose the *nearest* duty: charity begins at home." Others say, with the Prussians, "all claims yield before those of the State"; with Frederick the Great, "I love my country ardently; it is to her I owe my education, my fortune, my existence, my all; had I a thousand lives, I should with pleasure sacrifice them all if I could thereby render her any service and show her my gratitude." Mazzini says (in effect), "your first debt and duty is to God and humanity; your second to your country; your third to your family; your fourth to yourself; choose the *furthest* duty." God and humanity, because humanity is "the successive incarnation of God," discovering His law "article by article, line by line"; and because the first article in the creed of nationality is this: "I believe in Humanity, *sole* interpreter of the Law of God on earth."

Even in Mazzini's time there were those who read Christianity otherwise; and the anti-patriotic doctrine, since his day, has been developed in connection with an ardent belief in Christ by Tolstoy and others. The view is condensed in the following extract from Tolstoy's *Christian Teaching*. "Man must under no circumstances prefer men of his own nation or state to those of another; no consideration as to the future welfare of many must ever induce him to do harm to his neighbours; and he must not think that he ought to obey anyone whatever in preference to his own conscience." Elsewhere Tolstoy says of patriotism that "it is not the wish for spiritual benefits for one's own people (it is impossible to desire spiritual benefits for one's own people only); but it is a very definite feeling of preference for one's own people or State above all other peoples and States, and therefore it is the wish to get for that people or State the greatest advantage and power that can be got; and these are always obtainable only at the expense of the advantages and power of other peoples or States. It would therefore seem obvious that patriotism as a feeling, is a bad and harmful feeling, and as a doctrine is a stupid doctrine. For it is clear that if each people and each State considers itself the best of peoples and States, they all dwell in a gross and harmful delusion." Again, patriotism "is an immoral feeling, because, instead of confessing oneself a son of God, as Christianity teaches us, or even a free man guided by his own reason, each man under the influence of patriotism confesses himself the son of his fatherland and the slave of his Government, and commits actions contrary to his reason and conscience." The inevitable results of patriotism are, externally, wars, and internally, the strengthening of "the terrible bond called government."

To describe loyalty to an association as belief in the proposition that it is the best of its kind is a common and convenient inaccuracy. It is a manner of speech which is somehow natural to men, and the manifest absurdity of the situation never deterred high officers of the British Army in France from repeatedly and earnestly adjuring audiences of two or three hundred platoon commanders each to convince himself and his men that his and their platoon was the finest in the British Army. Is it not plain that a man is not and cannot be upon the same terms with his messmates as with those outside, with his family as with the families of others, with his fellow citizens as with the citizens of another country? The most natural and simple, though doubtless easily criticized, expression of loyalty is to say of these associates—"I like them better than the rest." And in the closest of these associations, the family, there are really only two alternatives for all but the most cold-blooded. You must either like them of all the best or hate them of all the worst, until middle-age and weakening ties allow an escape to the equilibrium of indifference. The absurdities therefore of patriotism need not worry us; and the implied "preference" of one's own people, so far as it is not expressed in any act of injustice to others, does not earn disapproval.

The main charge, however, cannot be ignored. It is this: that patriotism is essentially a desire for the aggrandisement of a people at the expense of other peoples, and therefore necessarily conflicts with the interest in humanity and in the Law of Christ. Tolstoy will not accept the answer that there is a good and a bad patriotism; he admits no such distinction. The conflict is essential and necessary; and can be ended only by the suppression of patriotism. For clearness, therefore, it is necessary to ask, why is the conflict necessary? If, says Tolstoy, patriotism sought spiritual goods, which is absurd and impossible, there

need be no conflict; but it can, as a matter of fact, only seek the kind of good (*e.g.*, land, raw materials, "power") of which more one nation has, the less is left for the rest. The conflict therefore is inevitable. And when the conflict is joined, another evil arises, since patriotism forces the citizen to subordinate conscience to the interest of the State as defined by its government.

The Mazzinian reply to all this is fairly clear. It may be tabulated as follows:—

(1) With regard to these goods of which the supply is limited. "Power" or empire over others is not something which a man or an association, ought to seek, and therefore not something which *need* be sought. It is something, perhaps, which a man, or an association, should be willing to accept from, and in trust for, the community. Economic goods a man and an association is, by all laws of God and man, free to seek, subject to the like interest of others and to the general interest of humanity. The fact that conflicts may arise, and that in that case appeal will be necessary to the higher principle, does not deprive the lower principle of all value. This lower principle, however, is not rightly called patriotism. However legitimate it may be within its proper limits, it is not a moral principle but only national self-seeking.

(2) The principle of nationality, properly understood, at once sets limits to national aggrandisement (understood as Tolstoy understands it) and explains how a people may pursue a spiritual good of its own. It sets limits to aggrandisement, because it seeks to remove all arbitrary boundaries between States, and to substitute for them boundaries corresponding to natural divisions, racial, linguistic, geographical, of life, custom, and belief. To this a bitter opponent, Acton, witnesses, in words already quoted—"it prevents not only the division, but the extension of the State." And one of the chief articles in the nationalist creed is this: "never deny your sister nations." Now a nation, in this sense, has its spiritual treasures, its art and literature, its language or languages, its peculiar modes of life and association, which it is of the essence of national patriotism to treasure and employ in the service of God and humanity. In this effort it is clearly involved in no necessary conflict with other nations. By ruling out spiritual good it is easy to prove patriotism a non-moral, or even, if considered a source of absolute obligation, an immoral principle. But the ground of exclusion has been shown to be unsound.

(3) The supremacy of the individual conscience is a dangerous, and may even become an immoral, principle. On the other hand, to deny its supremacy is almost equally dangerous. It would need a long argument to do justice to this point. Mazzini argues that the individual conscience is apt to be narrow; that lamentably few men find in themselves a conscientious objection to that class of bad action which may be called "anti-social." They will accept unduly low wages, or obey a flagrantly unjust law, without a twinge of conscience. He concludes that there are two criteria—the individual conscience and the verdict of humanity: "whenever they agree, God is there." A man, therefore, may well doubt his conscience, when it stands alone. And patriotism, in this connection, is no more than an inducement to reconsider a decision which is in conflict with the expressed will of Society. No patriot claims that a citizen is bound to assent, or even to conform, to the decision of the majority.

It seems, then, that patriotism is proof against this line of attack. Mazzini's ideal stands, the ideal now and always, though not fully conscious or understood, of the vast mass of humanity, in whom goodwill predominates over individual or collective selfishness. The national spirit, to Mazzini, means an international outlook, and ultimately requires an international organization. Such an organization Mazzini sought in the Socialist International, but in that assembly nationality was judged an intruder, and he was forced to withdraw. It is doubtful if he would be much nearer satisfied by our new League of Nations. Certainly he would be disappointed in his own Italy, resolute to "deny a sister nation." But the revolution which Mazzini presupposed is not yet complete anywhere; and until it is completed by the union of socialism, nationality, and religion under one banner, the conditions of a true patriotism do not exist.

J. L. STOCKS.

Taking Stock.

Six months have passed since the General Election, and it is well to look around and see what advance has been made. It would be unfair to expect too much from the attenuated Irish representation at Westminster, and indeed, the progress has not been unsatisfactory. There are four questions of fundamental importance to women—housing, public Health, Poor law, and education. Recent legislation opens up possibilities of reform in the directions of Health and Housing. Poor law and education have not yet been touched in the House, the recent approach to the former being the debate on Mr. Tyson Wilson's motion, when the silence of the Irish members (save for two Abdiels, "faithful among the faithless"), will be a matter for the two Mothers' Pensions Committees to deal with when election time again comes round, and promises and performance are compared. With regard to education, there is a growing feeling that fundamental reform must be attempted. It presents special difficulties in this country, as any such reform would involve a very large increase of expenditure. Even were the Treasury to refund the amount of the Development Grant, voted for education and diverted to other purposes, this would not meet the requirements of the recent Viceregal Committee of Enquiry. The money will probably have to be provided by a rate, and how is this to be done without raising the religious difficulty in a far more acute form than was the case in England?

The Chief Secretary, in his official visit to Belfast, spoke with approval of the proposals of the City Council, which practically embody the English methods—nursery schools, day continuation schools, &c., financed by a local rate. Mr. Macpherson further promised that a Bill framed on these lines would be introduced by the Government if time allowed. Now it is these proposals which Cardinal Logue, in his Lenten pastoral, referred to as "prejudicial measures . . . in accordance with a device to which we are well accustomed in Ireland, of withdrawing charges from the public exchequer and transferring them to local sources." This the Cardinal regards as an introduction of the principle of popular control, which "should be resisted and shall be resisted by every legitimate means at our disposal." If education reform in Ireland is to be effective, the views expressed by Cardinal Logue cannot be disregarded. Mr. Macpherson further stated, with entire accuracy, that the Education Act is a farce. A case in point was brought up by a well known Dublin doctor at the recent annual meeting of the Women's National Health Association in Dublin. He pointed out that medical inspection of schools was a good thing, but how about the thousands of children who do not attend school? It pays better to put them to street trading or farm work, and the "absence from any other unavoidable cause" clause in the Education Act renders this quite possible.

Yet there has been progress. It is being recognised that reconstruction cannot be carried on without the active co-operation of women, and this fact was emphasised, for example, by the Secretary of N.S.P.C.C., at a meeting in Dublin last week. He told the audience that in London the three women Inspectors co-operated with the Health Authorities in carrying out the recommendations of the Medical Inspector, and they were a Godsend to the mothers and children. He urged the Society to see that when the system of medical inspection was really extended to Ireland, a woman inspector should be appointed in this city, and thus the foundations of health for Dublin children should be laid. Mr. Parr also suggested that the head of the new Ministry in Ireland should be a man—or woman—with ideas. Alas, it will be the Chief Secretary, and ideas are not encouraged in holders of that office.

The Viceregal Committee of Enquiry has done something towards allaying the discontent among the teachers. The last Teachers' Congress in Dublin showed a changed feeling, and the speeches were less bitter than on other occasions.

At recent Conferences of the W.N.H.A., the extent of the advance made by the Health Bill and the Medical Inspection Bill were recognised, and in the melancholy tale of Government mistakes in Ireland, it was a relief to have something which merited real commendation. It was an even greater satisfaction to suffragists to feel that the first Parliament for which women have voted has not only taken a step towards remedying certain grave evils in Ireland, but has also achieved something towards reconciliation of the less extreme sections of Irish opinion. Only patience and understanding will be needed. The process of reconciliation will be slow, and there will be a simultaneous intensifying of bitterness on the part of the extremists, who will see the ground cut from under their feet if the removal of grievances goes on. This has been commenced by the recent



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IRISH WOMEN PATROLS.

On May 8th the Irish Women Patrols held their annual meeting, when medals for long service were presented by Colonel Edgeworth-Johnstone, C.B. Five years ago, it would have been hard to imagine women undertaking such work with any degree of public approval...

The patrol movement, originated in Ireland by the National Council of Women, under the impulse of the English organisation, has been worked in close touch with that in England, but on distinctively Irish lines...

The efficiency of the patrols was further illustrated by Miss Hayden's statistics, from which it appeared that out of the fifty-two cases taken into Court, only four were acquitted...

The satisfactory co-operation with the police was especially emphasised by Mrs. Haslam and Miss White, L.L.D., Principal of Alexandra College, who presided at the meeting...

Mr. Drury also spoke of Mrs. Haslam's splendid services, and indeed too much cannot be said of the energy and devotion with which this pioneer has thrown herself into the new work rendered necessary by war conditions...

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

MAY 19. Norwich—Assembly Room, Theatre Plain—Annual Meeting of the Norwich S.E.C.—Speaker: Mrs. Corbett Ashby—Subject: "Women at the Peace Conference" and "The Programme of the N.U.S.E.C." 8 p.m.

MAY 23. Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street—Meeting organised by the N.U.S.E.C. and the Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organisations...

JUNE 12. London—Caxton Hall—Speaker: Major J. W. Hills, M.P. (Chairman of Committee for opening the Legal Profession to Women)—Subject: "Women and the Law." 5.30 p.m.

JULY 14. London—Caxton Hall—Speakers: Mr. Robert Young, M.P., Miss Anne H. Tynan (Secretary, Society of Women Welders)—Subject: "Women in Skilled Trades." 5.30 p.m.

Coming Events.

WOMEN'S LOCAL GOVERNMENT ASSOCIATION (BRIGHTON). MAY 20. Speaker: Miss E. M. White. Subject: "Towns and Cities."—Part I. 6 p.m.

MAY 27. Speaker: Miss E. M. White. Subject: "Towns and Cities."—Part II. Tickets for the course, 5s. 6 p.m.

GUILD OF EDUCATION AS NATIONAL SERVICE. MAY 20. Speaker: A. Farquharson, Esq., M.A. Subject: "Suggestions for the Advancement of Sociology." 6.30 p.m.

MAY 27. Speaker: Miss R. Hamilton. Subject: "Children's Original Work in English" 6.30 p.m.

LABOUR RESEARCH DEPARTMENT. MAY 15, 16, and 17. Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W.1. Conference on the Re-organisation of Local Government...

FIGHT THE FAMINE COUNCIL. MAY 19. The Albert Hall. Meeting to protest against the Famine Conditions consequent on the Blockade...

COUNCIL OF THE UNION OF JEWISH WOMEN. MAY 19. Meeting, 4, Upper Gloucester Place, N.W.1 4 p.m.

BRITISH DRAMA LEAGUE. JUNE 5. Haymarket Theatre—Inaugural Meeting. Speakers: Miss Lena Ashwell, The Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, M.P., John Drinkwater, and others...

GUILD OF EDUCATION AS NATIONAL SERVICE. MAY 29. 11, Tavistock Square, W.C.1.—Lecture: "Suggestions for the Advancement of Sociology," by A. Farquharson, Esq., M.A. 6.30 p.m.

BRITISH DOMINIONS WOMEN CITIZENS' UNION. MAY 20. Georgian Restaurant, Chandos Street. Luncheon. Guest: Miss Margaret McMillan. Chair: Mrs. Page, of Melbourne. Tickets, 2s. 6d., from Miss D. Petrick, B.D.W.C.U., 39, Meadway Court, N.W.4. 12.45 p.m.

HALCYON CLUB. MAY 23. Speaker: Miss Cornelia Sorabji, Adviser to the Court of Wards, Bengal, &c. Address on "India as a Field for Women Lawyers." 8.15 p.m.

BARNET HOUSE, OXFORD. MAY 24. Speaker: E. Hitchcock, Esq. Subject: "Problem of Government Control of Industry." 2.30 p.m.

JUNE 14. Speaker: Mrs. Henry Fawcett, L.L.D. Subject: "Industrial Freedom for Women." 5 p.m.

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Table with columns: NUMBER OF WORDS, ONCE, THREE TIMES, SIX TIMES. Rows for 20, 30, and 40 words.

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

ADDRESSES BY WOMEN. ST. BOTOLPH'S, BISHOPSGATE.—The Thursday Services (1.15-1.45) have been resumed. The Addresses on May 1st, 8th, 15th, will be given by Mrs. Herman; on May 22nd, by Miss P. Walters; and on May 29th, by Miss Picton Turberville.

THE BRITISH DRAMA LEAGUE will hold its inaugural meeting at the Haymarket Theatre on Tuesday, June 3rd, at 3.30 p.m. Speakers: Lena Ashwell, the Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, M.P., John Drinkwater, the Lady Denman and others. Admission Free. Tickets for reserved seats will be sent to members on application to Sec., British Drama League, Dudley House, Southampton-street, Strand.

MRS. ALYS RUSSELL will hold four Speakers' Classes at 11, St. Leonards-terrace, Chelsea, on Mondays and Fridays, May 19, 23, 26, and 30, at 5.30 p.m. Fees (to go to the London Society for Women's Service), 2s. 6d. per class (half-price to professional women). Apply Mrs. Alys Russell.

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PUBLIC SPEAKING.

MISS LUCY BELL has returned from France, where she has been engaged in Lectures and Educational work with the Army. She is now prepared to make engagements for Lectures, Classes and private teaching in or out of London.—Apply 10, Brunswick-square, W.C.1. Telephone: Museum, 1,950.

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