

The Common Cause

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Notes and News.

The Sex Disqualification (Removal) Bill.

The Government's rival to the Women's Emancipation Bill was introduced into the House of Lords at the end of last week, and passed its second reading on Tuesday, July 22nd, without a division. Whatever tactical mistakes the Government may have made in the Commons—and they were many—they made none in the Upper House, and by the simple device of getting in first with their Bill they have further complicated what ought to have been a very simple matter. The final outcome is still obscure. Their Lordships will have the other Emancipation Bill before them in a day or two, and presumably will send both Bills to the same committee. And then we shall see what substance there is in their profession of liberality towards women; after that the composite product, whatever it may be, will go back to the Commons, and then, no doubt, all sorts of unexpected developments will follow. Everything, from a complete dropping of the whole subject to a constitutional upheaval so great that it precipitates a general election, is on the cards; but perhaps what is most likely is an amended and improved form of what is now the Government Bill. We do not like to prophecy, however, but prefer to hope.

The Bill.

The first clause of the Government Bill is as follows: "A person shall not be disqualified by sex from the exercise of any public function, or from being appointed to any civil or judicial office or post, or from entering or assuming any civil profession or vocation, and a person shall not be exempted by sex from the liability to serve as a juror." All this is very good and reads very well, and if the Bill stopped there we should not complain. But it does not, for what it gives in this clause it takes away in the next; (a) "Notwithstanding anything in this section, His Majesty may by Order in Council authorise regulations to be made prescribing the mode of admission of women to the civil service of His Majesty, and the conditions on which women admitted to that service may be appointed to posts therein, and

providing for the exclusion of women from admission to any branch of the civil service in any of His Majesty's possessions, or in any foreign country; (b) any judge, chairman of quarter sessions, recorder or other person before whom the case is heard may, in his discretion, on an application made by a woman to be exempted from service on a jury in respect of that case by reason of the nature of the evidence to be given or of the issues to be tried, grant such exemption."

The Government.

The Lord Chancellor, who introduced the Bill, did so without much enthusiasm. Their lordships, he said in effect, might as well polish off what they had begun (an argument worthy of a better Bill). He made out in great detail that the other Bill was useless, and would not even accomplish its own purposes: he compared the two Bills clause by clause, and praised up the one he was introducing as much as he could. It was definite, he said, and concrete. It imposed not only the privileges but also the penalties of legal enfranchisement, and conferred not only the right to earn money at the Bar, but the duty to serve as jurors. It opened the Civil Service (it is true that he slurred this section over, as well he might), and it enabled Peeresses to sit in the House. All this, he contended, was the substance of the Government pledge, which did not and could not apply to the franchise, and he asked for the second reading in an unimpassioned and temperate manner. In all his speech there were but two interesting remarks, and they were both of a timid nature. He reminded their lordships of the age limit clause they had introduced into the Magistrates' and Justices' Bill, and hinted that they might, if they choose, do the same again, while they continued to refuse to lower the franchise age limit. Youth, it is said, calls to youth, but in this instance age called to age; for though Lord Birkenhead himself is the youngest Lord Chancellor who has ever sat upon the Wool-sack, the average age of his auditors could not conceivably be less than fifty. The other point of interest was a reference to the Peeresses. He announced for the Government that this clause (incomplete as it is), was not an integral part of the Government proposals. The whips were not to be put on; each peer could vote according to his own conscience, and if they did not want women in the Upper House they need not have them there.

The Speeches.

Lord Haldane, the first speaker to succeed the Lord Chancellor, at once raised the question of the Civil Service Clause, and gave notice that in Committee he would move for its improvement. At a later stage he was ably supported by Lord Muir Mackenzie, who spoke with great weight as a signatory to the Minority Report of the Royal Commission in 1914, and as a member of some of the subsequent committees on the subject. The chief point made by the other speakers, however, was the comparatively unimportant question of the admission of Peeresses. Like all other sections of men, their Lordships were filled with alarm at the prospect of female competition, and it was fairly evident from the tone of the speeches that the Government permission to cut out that clause would be freely accepted. Lord Bryce was the first to raise the point, and he, while admitting the advisability of having women in the Second Chamber, strongly urged that it be postponed until the long overdue reform of that body was carried out. Lord Muir Mackenzie agreed with this, as did Lord Crewe, and the criticisms levelled at the anomalous form in which this clause appeared in the Bill, will only serve, apparently, to delay the introduction of Peeresses at all. Lord Shandon, Lord Saltoun, and Lord Kimberley were the other speakers, and the latter alone, of all the House, supported the rival Bill, and urged the extension of the franchise. It is, indeed, time the Upper House was reformed,

The Peeresses.

Even the Peeresses do not escape the trimming and paring methods of the Government. Their clause—which was the one that excited most discussion—runs as follows:—"His Majesty may include in the letters patent for the creation of a peer of the United Kingdom a provision to the effect that where the holder of a peerage is a woman, she shall, if otherwise qualified, be entitled to a seat, place, and voice in the House of Lords." This apparently applies only to the future, and is only permissive at that. We think the Government need not be so very much intimidated. There are but twenty peeresses in their own right, and two of these are minors!

Ministry of Health Consultative Councils.

It is to be regretted that the House of Lords has not yet seen fit to pass the resolution approving the draft order setting up the four Consultative Councils to the Ministry of Health. The resolution has passed the House of Commons, but was at the instance of Lord Salisbury, postponed *sine die* in the House of Lords. It would appear from the short discussion which took place that a section of the Peers take exception to two of the Councils, one being that on general health questions. This Council is of especial interest to women, as it is the only one on which they are likely to be represented in anything like adequate numbers. It was owing to the agitation of a number of Women's Societies that Dr. Addison was induced to promise that at least half its members should be women; and if it is to be refused existence, few women (and no ordinary women) will have any opportunity of keeping in close touch with the Ministry of Health. Such a state of affairs would naturally be resented by a large number of women's societies.

Ministry of Health Staff Appointments.

On the creation of the new Ministry of Health, the medical staffs of the Local Government Board and the National Health Insurance Commission have been brought together, but considerable additions have been made. Sir George Newman, as chief medical officer, is to have the status of a Secretary to the Ministry, and five new posts of senior medical officers are to be established, with status of Assistant Secretary. Miss Janet Campbell, M.D., M.S., is to be one of these, and is also to act as chief woman medical adviser of the Board of Education. The remainder of the medical staff is to be of one grade, known as "medical officers," and the following women have been appointed: Miss Irene Cecil Davy Eaton, M.B., B.S., D.P.H., Miss Florence Barrie Lambert, M.B., D.P.H. (Remedial Treatment), and Miss Jane Holland Turnbull, M.D., C.B.E. (Obstetrics and Gynaecology). In addition to this regular staff, certain specialists are named as advisers on a part time basis, among them being Colonel Harrison, D.S.O., M.B., for venereal disease. We recognise with satisfaction that a real effort has been made to call in the services of responsible and experienced women, but we would urge that some woman be added to "advisory" appointments to act with Colonel Harrison in regard to those many difficult problems, affecting not only men and women as individuals, but also the family and the race, connected with preventive, remedial, and possibly penal action touching venereal disease.

Marriage and Income Tax.

During the Committee Stage of the Finance Bill in the Commons on July 15th, Mr. Locker-Lampson, in moving the Second Reading of a clause to provide for the separate taxation of the income of married persons, called attention to the fact that the evidence given before the Royal Commission on Income Tax, and in particular that given by Mrs. Hubback of the N.U.S.E.C., and by Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon, was not in the hands of the members of the House. Mr. Locker-Lampson made an able and convincing speech, but in spite of Sir Frederick Banbury's support, who hoped the opposers of "this very simple act of justice" would have a "reminder from their female electors" at the next election—the clause was opposed by the Government and was negatived by one hundred and forty-eight to sixty-six. The facts go to prove that the liberties on which the greatness of a free nation should be built up are jeopardised far more often by reason of the inefficiency and want of imagination of those who should be their guardians than by frontal attack. But it is just these unregarded negligences and ignorances by which one department in the State or an Order in Council can sweep away unobserved a whole system of hardly won constitutional securities that need dragging to the light. The Married Women's Property Act of 1882 says: "Every woman who marries . . . shall be entitled to have and to hold

as her separate property, &c." It is unrepealed, but by its side stands the Income Tax Act of 1919, with the clause "The profits of the married woman living with her husband shall be deemed to be the profits of the husband." The Government has accepted Mr. Arnold's clause enacting that the relief of £25 for a wife shall be raised to £50, which will bring joy to many a hard-pressed middle-class household, and for this reason it is welcome. But "female electors" will not accept this or any other quack remedy in place of the full establishment of the principle embodied in the Married Women's Property Act, and violated in the Income Tax Act.

Unemployed Women.

The L.C.C. have decided to substitute discharged soldiers and sailors for the women in its employment as tram conductors. Though there is little cause for complaint in this action, it will add to the rapidly increasing body of unemployed women, whose helplessness in the face of forces stronger than they, threatens the whole status of the women worker of the future. The Tin Box Trade Board (Great Britain), proposes to grant a minimum rate of 7½d. an hour to female workers over eighteen, and of 1s. an hour to male workers over twenty-one. This may seem a small thing as the trade is not one of the great standard trades of the country, but it is through such channels that abuse creeps in unobserved, and it is but one sign more that ceaseless vigilance is necessary to avert grave reaction towards female industrial serfdom in the transition period now upon us. In the face of these dangers, women must show a bold initiative in pressing their claims, and the Women's Organising Committee of the Glasgow Trades and Labour Council have set an example to be followed, in arranging a deputation to their Town Council to lay before it specific proposals for the opening up of new avenues for the women worker. Among these proposals are the establishment of thread mills, (now, it is stated, a monopoly making huge profits), municipal laundries, and dairy farms, hen and pig keeping, and domestic help services. The Glasgow women's ideas bear out what we have always maintained that women are as capable as men, and perhaps at times more so, in "sizing up" the needs of the public with sound business acumen.

Equal Pay for Teachers.

It is as we anticipated. The L.C.C. has accepted unamended the report of its Teaching Staff Sub-Committee, and the National Federation of Women Teachers has decided to constitute a Strike Fund, to be formed by substantial contributions from each member's "holiday dole." The Council's Sub-Committee makes many useful concessions, but it refuses to concede the main principle in dispute of "equal pay for equal work," for the curious reason that in its opinion this course "would have the effect of making teaching wholly a woman's profession." The Sub-Committee become pathetically didactic in the peroration to its report, which runs, "We hope that the agitation, so far as London is concerned, will now cease, and we think we have a right to expect that the teachers will now settle down . . . we feel sure they themselves recognise that the unrest and discontent among them expressed so freely, and at times injudiciously, must have a seriously prejudicial effect on the supply of recruits to a service to which so many of them have loyally devoted themselves." But this fatherly exhortation has left the teachers unmoved, for they are no longer children. Their reply is, "The women teachers refuse any longer to offer cheap labour to undercut their male colleagues. They make this stand in loyalty to the downtrodden women wage slaves who are too poor and too weakly organised to fight the battle for themselves, but whose need is therefore all the greater."

Mr. Harry Gosling's Amendment.

The scale of payment proposed in the Education Committee's Report will, according to the statement made by Sir Cyril Cobb, in moving its adoption, give £100 additional salary to the men teachers and £70 to the women, above pre-war rates. An amendment moved by Mr. Gosling, and seconded by Major Gray, was rejected by 54 votes to 52. This amendment was that the scale be accepted as an emergency measure, and that provision be made for a meeting of the Education Committee immediately after the recess, to submit proposals for a joint conference with the teachers, with an independent chairman. By this means much of the bitterness of feeling existent among the women might have been allayed. But Mr. Gosling made a shrewd hit, when he observed that "The only people listened to in this country are the people who can hit you hard, and directly they do it, up go your hands, and you cry 'Kamerad,'

The Report was adopted by a very large majority, with the addition that its provisions are to be regarded as an emergency measure, pending a national settlement of teachers' salaries and of sex differentiation in payment. Before an equitable agreement on national lines can be arrived at, there is much to do in many fields in the education of public opinion.

Girls' Public Schools.

In several of the most prominent of the girls' public schools there is a movement to try and get the schools put into the same position as the big public schools for boys. That is to say, that they should be incorporated under a charter instead of being as they usually are now, run by limited liability companies for profit. There are, of course, arguments for and against such a course, and many difficulties stand in the way of its adoption. At the same time, on broad principles the idea seems to be the right one, and we hope that we may soon be able to record that some girls' educational establishments have been placed on the same permanent foundation as those of their brothers.

Pre-War Practices Bill.

The Restoration of Pre-War Practices Bill came before Standing Committee A, Sir Archibald Williamson in the chair, on Wednesday, July 23rd. The great majority of the amendments considered were designed to safeguard the position of women in industry, and it was on this point alone that any difficulty at all arose. The discussion began on a point of order and continued through every other subject, rising at times to considerable excitement, and revealing by degrees the very wide divergences of opinion that existed between Trade Unionists, employers, the Government, and the disinterested members of Parliament representing the general public. As the discussion proceeded the divergences became clearer and clearer, and the final division revealed an official majority of only fifteen to ten. The result of the division was the defeat of the amendments, and the Bill comes out of Committee substantially as it went in, with only two minor amendments. But the case has been well put, and the Government has given a notable admission which, though not all that we want, is some slight comfort.

The Government Position.

The attitude of the Government on the Bill was exceedingly important. Sir Robert Horne stated in most emphatic terms that the Bill imposed no special disabilities upon women, and protested against the raising of this question at all, as out of order. He went on to assert—and it is a most valuable declaration—that nothing in the Bill had any reference whatever to conditions in new industries, and would have no effect upon them. This assertion was repeated and emphasised by Mr. Wardle, who used the curious phrase that "it is the accident of circumstance" that causes the exclusion of women from industry, but repeated that this Bill gives legal sanction in no shape or form to anything that would disturb the employment of women in new industries. This attitude, which will be of great value if it really materialises into action, seemed to cause some disagreement among the Labour representatives. Mr. Robert Young, in resisting the amendment, said that though he was ready to admit that absolutely new industries fell outside the scope of the promises, he could not agree that anything in the engineering trade could be called a new industry. The new branches of the engineering trade, he maintained, were among the developments of an existing industry, and must all be governed by the Treasury pledge, and the strict provisions of this Bill. This attitude, which of course means the absolute monopoly of the control of all the engineering and allied trades in this country by the skilled men, and spells ruin for the future, not only of women workers, but of the industries themselves. The attitude of the Government in allowing such an important point to pass unchallenged is the more grievous, as a special Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction has submitted a report on the engineering trades' new industries, and reported in great detail what trades, processes and branches of industries could be held to be new in this country, and could with advantage be developed after the close of the war. The only hope that remains is that in actual practice agreements will be less rigid than they appear on paper.

The Amendments.

Amendments were on the order paper in the names of Lieut.-Col. Walter Guinness, Major the Hon. Edward Wood, Lieut.-Commander Kenworthy, Sir G. Croydon Marks, Capt. Loseby,

Col. Greig, Sir Francis Lowe, and Major Lane-Fox, almost all of them designed to secure the exclusion of new industries and new branches of old industries from the operation of the Bill, and to make possible the continued employment of women therein, several of the amendments being further designed to secure that when women are so employed in the future it shall be at rates of wages that will not adversely effect the ordinary rates paid for the job. The text of the amendment that was finally selected for discussion was as follows:—"Nothing in this section shall be taken to apply to any industry or branch of industry which was not before the war already established and organised in this country, nor to any establishment carrying on any such industry or branch of industry, provided that the rates of wages hereafter paid for such labour shall not adversely affect the rates or wages basis customarily paid for the job." This amendment, which was moved by Commander Kenworthy and amended by the inclusion of phrases from that moved by Colonel Guinness, was fully debated, and its final rejection was evidently due to a fear, which was expressed by Lord Hugh Cecil, that any alteration to the agreed Bill would give rise to so much suspicion on the part of labour that such harm would be thereby caused as would outweigh the good that everyone admitted would be done by the amendment. The only opposition that was offered to the amendment on its merits was that of the Government—that it was unnecessary since the Bill did not apply to new industries—and that of Mr. Robert Young, that it was not part of what was an agreed measure. Neither of these objections dealt with the merits of the case at all while the supporters of the amendment put forward a reasoned and clear account of the need for safeguarding, both for discharged soldiers and for women, their future right of entry into new trades.

The Division.

The main division came after a number of minor amendments had been disposed of. A certain amount of disagreement was revealed on the question of rates of payment, whether they should be measured by output or by ordinary Trade Union standards. But on the whole the Committee was clearly in favour of a provision being inserted to include in it real safeguards against the undercutting of men by women. This point having been cleared up, a great deal was made by the Labour speakers of the fact that the women's Trade Unions were offering no opposition to the Bill, while on the other side a great deal was made of the fact that these same women's Trade Unions had not been consulted in the preliminary agreement and were not properly consulted during the subsequent stages. A good deal was said about the fact that the promotion of this amendment was a political agitation and did not come from industrial women; but, as was truly pointed out, those women who are industrially organised with men, though technically partners to the agreement cannot be said to be so in any real sense. The agitation may in fact be political agitation, but the reason for the existence of political societies is to take action on behalf of those who are not strong enough to protect themselves. When the final division was taken ten members supported the Bill and fifteen opposed it. The ten who voted for it being as follows: General Sir J. H. Davidson, Colonel Greig, Lieut.-Col. Walter Guinness, Mr. Hopkins, Lieut. Commander Kenworthy, Major Lane-Fox, Captain Loseby, Sir Francis Lowe, Mr. Samuel Samuel, Major the Hon. Edward Wood.

The State and the Family in Germany.

The National Assembly at Weimar has passed a Bill placing maternity under the care of the State, and providing that large families shall receive assistance from the State, also that illegitimate children are to be provided in law with the same opportunities for physical, spiritual, and social welfare as those born in wedlock, and that unmarried mothers shall be officially designated as "Frau." In regard to the philosophy upon which the last stipulation (carried by 138 to 133 votes) is based, much might be said, but in the Assembly's concern at this critical time for the welfare of the family, we must recognise only good. We shall, nevertheless, await with considerable interest, further particulars. Will they show whether or not this solicitude for "maternity" and for the child, is based upon the only stable foundation of an unequivocal recognition of the dignity of the mother, not as the means to an end, but as a complete human being having an intrinsic worth?

HOUSING AND DISCONTENT.

BY a great procession in London and by peace rejoicings all over the country, we celebrated on July 19th, 1919, the end of the war. Fireworks, pageants, plays, dancing, flags, and, unfortunately, drink, gave expression to our national relief that the war is over, and the ratification of the peace terms will but give expression to what the people have already clearly accepted.

The feeling of the time, however, is not one of satisfaction with the present so much as relief that the horror of the immediate past is behind us. As a whole, we like the prospect neither abroad nor at home. We are faced with a world shortage of the things we want, with an international settlement that obviously needs immediate and continual readjustment, with a host of partially settled foreign problems. At home we have a far-reaching spirit of unrest; every class and kind of person in this country is dissatisfied. The very rich are terrified, the very poor are angry; the professional people are very hard-hit, the industrial people discontented; the politicians are losing power, the soldiers are losing patience. Demobilised men are indignant with the treatment they are getting; women are waking up to their economic grievances. And all this dissatisfaction comes at the very moment when transport and shipping are disorganised, when industry is paralysed by lack of materials, when we are threatened by a serious coal and food shortage, and when the change of popular thought is most revolutionary.

Now that the Victory Loan is closed, and the Victory celebrations over, and the Peace Treaty in process of ratification, we must begin in earnest to set about our new tasks, and to see what we can do to allay the very real and natural discontent that everyone shares. Foreign affairs, direct action, nationalisation, the distribution of wealth, and all the other high political questions are all very well; we have got to tackle and solve them, and to do it as quickly as we can; but we cannot expect to clear them all up in a fortnight. Questions like these divide men's minds, and unless we go in for a reign of Militarism or of Bolshevism (both of which alike are bogeys), we must be prepared to allow time for discussion, experiment, and acceptance or conversion before these things are straightened out. We must begin (and indeed have begun) our discussions and experiments at once. But that is not enough. There are some matters upon which agreement is here, and which everyone is ready to see dealt with immediately, and these things ought to be settled out of hand.

The first and foremost of these is housing, and we venture to think that the present disgraceful state of affairs with regard to houses is a very important contributor to the existing unrest. After all, much as we may care about foreign affairs, there are few of us who are not more greatly distressed by a smoking chimney; much as we may rage at the capitalistic system, the damp in our walls comes nearer home; and though many will still be found to defend private ownership of mines, no one approves of filth, overcrowding, and disease. We are therefore mentally ready for housing reform; physically we have long been more than ready. The state of housing in this country before the war was a disgrace and a scandal. To-day it is even more—it is a menace. London as described in Booth's "Life and Labour of London," presented housing conditions then almost unbelievable. Thousands upon thousands of people habitually lived more than five to a room. Thousands more in rooms no better than coal-holes, without light or air. And in these dens of filth and disease children were born, and lived, and died. Nor was London the only region where these horrors could be found.

A Problem in Slum Reform.

By JOHN ROBERTSON, C.M.G., M.D.
(Medical Officer of Health, Birmingham).

At the present time, and as a result of very patient inquiry, a scheme has been evolved for the erection of houses to meet the pressing need on a basis which I think is satisfactory for the time being. Those who have not yet obtained a copy of the "Manual on the Preparation of State-aided Housing Schemes," or of the equally good report of The Tudor Walters Committee, should do so. Both reports are published by His Majesty's Stationery Office.

I do not, however, think that sufficient attention has yet been

All the big cities had their slums, their insanitary, pestilential areas, where life was brutal and dangerous, and crime and immorality were inevitable. And in rural areas it was little better. The crowding and the filth were absent it is true, but not the bad housing. Labourers' cottages existed, and still exist, lacking everything that is necessary for decent living; lacking water, sanitary conveniences, windows, roofs, and even staircases; cottages where damp came out from every brick, where chimneys would not act and fires would not burn, where rats and vermin lived at ease, and human beings aged and died prematurely. All this before the war, and in spite of the efforts which were beginning to be made to wipe out this scandal from our civilisation. And then came a stop. For four years there has been practically no building. Old houses have crumbled, and new ones have not been built; walls have not been mended and leaks have not been stopped; crowding and overcrowding have increased until the condition of our towns to-day passes all belief. There are hovels in Brentford, inhabited still, into which the Thames washes its mud when the tide is high, and Brentford is within ten miles of the House of Commons. There are cottages in the country where the inhabitants have to open umbrellas over their beds—when they have umbrellas—and even of these there are too few. Everyone is cramped and worried for lack of house-room. Young people cannot settle down, old people cannot be comfortable; no one can move. From one end of the land to the other, this is true.

Overcrowding carries in its train a thousand evils. It means not only inconvenience and discomfort, but dangerous ill-health. It means the rapid spread of any evil infection, whether it be moral or physical; the rapid deterioration of young people, and the demoralisation of small children. One evil-minded or foul-tongued man in a crowded tenement can do, and does do, infinite harm; one drunken or disorderly woman in such a neighbourhood can, and does, corrupt the girls pressed so much too closely round her; one consumptive can, and does, infect a dozen others, while syphilis and all the other non-notifiable contagious diseases spread like wildfire in such areas. And yet we do nothing at all. The Ministry of Reconstruction, it is true, has given us reports, and excellent ones they are. The Local Government Board prepared plans, and the House of Commons has passed Housing Bills. We talk housing till we are dizzy, but that is all; we go on living in pig-styes, and our children die for lack of space. The London County Council last week passed schemes for ten thousand houses to be ready, if all goes well, by Christmas. And we need ten times as many next week! The Birmingham district is hoping for one-fifth, or so, of what it needs. Manchester expects to get another small fraction, and Glasgow rather less. Country areas are hardly even hoping, relief seems so very unlikely. And yet housing is the central necessity of decent life, and we can make no satisfactory progress till we have room to live.

There is something very wrong with discontent if it accomplishes nothing. Our discontent to-day—and we have plenty of it—has a fine chance to be useful. Let us harness it all for a week or two to the question of housing reform, and see if we cannot "get a move on." Let us pester our local authorities until we know what is holding them up, and when we know what the obstruction is, let us demolish it. Do not let us go on groaning about the unsatisfactory world we live in, and complaining about the many discomforts, at least until we have had a good try at removing this one of them. In short, let us wake up, and, realising that the war is over and the time of reconstruction here, let us reconstruct our habitations and set our house literally as well as metaphorically in order.

given to one of the main defects in the housing of the poorest classes in our large manufacturing towns—I refer to the provision of a decent environment for new houses and for any old houses which are good enough to remain or which may be capable of reconstruction. The problem might be put in another way—it is probably true to say that far healthier and more self-respecting people could be produced in poor houses with beautiful surroundings, than ever will be produced in good houses with slum surroundings.

In all our manufacturing towns the central areas are being surrounded by an increasingly deep area of houses, works, etc., which prevent the dwellers in the centre from enjoying the natural beauties of the country. In some towns this belt is so effective a barrier that but few of the children ever see the country in its natural state. Occasionally such children may be taken to an outlying park. There are many areas from which they can never see even a single tree unless they are taken considerable distances. A few geraniums in pots or some anæmic lettuces in a box in the back garden, or some dirty and dishevelled poultry in the yard, are poor and ineffective substitutes for healthy plant and animal life on which to base our ideas of bounteous nature.

These houses are locked in so that their dwellers cannot see any natural beauties, but in addition they are surrounded by factories, workshops, warehouses, and the like, most of which emit smoke or fumes or dust, and sometimes noise in addition. The soot nuisance, depending as it does on many causes, is a real horror. It dulls the sky, it prevents the cleansing effect of the sun's rays, it makes the housewife despair, and by requiring the windows to be kept closed, it prevents a reasonable amount of air to gain access to the living and sleeping rooms. In some areas I have a real sympathy with the people who never open their windows. In one way or another there is no doubt but that soot causes disease and kills.

It seems to me to be a real mistake to attempt to build new houses on up-to-date lines in areas such have been described, yet the old and the new Housing Acts contemplate nothing better.

It is essential that the popular view that the manufacturer and the business man need not be considered in questions of town development, should be removed. In the case of manufacturing towns, the very life of the people is wrapped up in the success of its manufactures. It is possible in one way or another to facilitate manufacturing interests—by granting of cheap land for the factory, by providing in certain areas cheap power—electric or gas, (producer gas)—and by securing proximity to railways and canals for transport purposes.

It is desirable to have power to may out the built-up area, or parts of it, into business areas, "factory" areas, and residential areas.

It will, of course be impracticable to require such a sorting to take place within a limit of years that a factory area shall contain factories alone, and a residential area residences alone, but it is possible to prevent any new factory in a residential area, and *vice versa*. Further, if reasonable facilities are given in the factory areas, a very considerable migration of works will take place in so short a period as twenty years, for all progressive works are continuously altering and improving and seizing every opportunity to reduce the cost of manufacturing.

Having defined an existing area as a residential one, it will then be possible to spend money on it by providing, as far as the existing accommodation will allow, of decent dwellings, of pleasant surroundings by tree-planted streets, open spaces, and other amenities. It may even be desirable to pay for the removal of those works which give rise to the largest amount of smoke and other nuisances. Less objectionable works may be left alone.

The dwellings in the factory areas may quite properly be left so long as they are in themselves wholesome and good. I have no fear but that they will be vacated in course of time if decent houses with reasonably good surroundings are provided.

Conditions vary so much in different towns that the whole question is one for investigation as to the best way of limiting areas for factories and residences. Sheffield, with its deep valleys and high surrounding table-lands, has one problem. Birmingham, with its gentle, undulating surface, has quite another, but on the whole the lines of contour will in the main determine the location of these areas, for in few cases do railways and canals, or even main roads, attempt to climb hills in the manufacturing area of a town.

Such a proposal will produce, in regard to dwellings, two main effects—it will enable pleasant surroundings in place of the soot-begrimed squalour of some of the existing areas, and it will very largely reduce the number of inhabitants who can be accommodated in the central areas. This latter effect may give anxiety to those who are desirous of housing the people within reasonable distance of their work. It must be borne in mind, however, that one of the evils of our past haphazard development was the fallacious idea that all works were better located in the central areas, and all houses in the periphery. This has produced disastrous results in our large towns, and in time has had the very opposite effect of that originally anticipated. In

these large towns, factory workers with self-respect often live in the suburbs, and have long distances to travel backwards and forwards to work in centrally-situated factories. Modern factory development has, I am glad to say, been largely in the suburban areas (now efficiently controlled by town plans), and here the workers may select a pleasant residential district near their work. I regard it as one of our most sacred duties that the family life of the nation shall be protected. It is important, both from the point of view of the family and from a health and economic point of view, that the majority of the people should be housed so near their work that they may easily go from the factory area to the residential area for their meals. I plead, therefore, for parliamentary power to enable the large towns to deal adequately with the slums, and for this purpose to give us power to "Town Plan" the old areas of the city as well as the new areas, but on somewhat different lines.

Women as Magistrates.

The future historian, in dealing with the "Women's Movement," will only estimate it truly by realizing that in all its varying aspects, the underlying thought has been a demand for opportunities of social service. Quite naturally, therefore, the struggle for the right to elect to the legislative bodies is followed by an agitation for the admission of women to the legal professions, and more especially to various posts connected with the administration of the law. Chief among these in importance and in opportunities of service to the community, is the magistracy.* Useful as jurywomen will undoubtedly prove, their work is confined to ascertaining and determining facts: whilst magistrates, at any rate nominally, decide both the facts and the law, though naturally only in cases of less importance.

Hitherto, the administration of the law has been entirely in the hands of one sex; and criminals also have been mainly drawn from the same sex. Some of us will remember that when the clauses in the Criminal Law Administration Act of 1914, which empowered magistrates to commit youthful offenders to Borstals, were being discussed in the House of Commons, a suggestion was made that additional Borstal accommodation would be needed for girls, as well as for boys, but the legislators were quite clear that any increase for girl delinquents was unnecessary; and in spite of war revelations and outcries for the detention of girls, the country still has but one Borstal Prison for our sex. Those of us, however, who have watched police-courts during the years covered by the Great War, have been convinced that the proportion between male and female offenders has been altered to a remarkable degree by the rapid entrance of women into the industrial world. Their virtue had been the "cloistered virtue" of home life, which has not always been strong enough to withstand the increased temptations of the outer world: and we have had a rising curve of girl thieves and young women obtaining goods by false pretences. It is all the more necessary, therefore, that women should be called upon to share in administering laws which more and more affect their own sex.

The question at once arises: what special qualities, supplementary to those already possessed by men, can women bring to the work of administering the law? The obvious feminine contribution to this work is bound up with our knowledge of, and sympathy with womanhood and childhood. Feminine ways have puzzled many a Bench and many a jury, and we women may be pardoned for suspecting that they have from time to time baffled even the astute wisdom of our judges. Some five or six years ago I was present at a case at the Assizes when a young man was accused of assaulting a girl of barely fifteen. The Court was packed—with men, and near the girl were the only two women present, one a farmer's wife, who stayed after giving her evidence. An apparent discrepancy in evidence was the chief point in the defence, contradictory evidence as to the girl's underclothing, and on this discrepancy the case was decided, and the man let off! As we left the hall I said to the farmer's wife: "Did you understand what had really been the case as to

* In speaking of Magistrates throughout this paper, the writer always refers to Justices of the Peace, either County or Borough:—"the Great Unpaid"—as they have been called, to distinguish them from Stipendiary (paid) Magistrates.

the underclothing?" "Oh, yes," she replied, "it is what all girls in that class do." I knew as much; but we women alone had the key to the puzzle, and we were powerless. Our knowledge of our own sex is badly needed to suppress insinuations based on masculine assumptions as to feminine characteristics. In a purely masculine Court, with a largely or wholly masculine audience, there is just such an atmosphere of ignorance in which can thrive shallow and erroneous generalisations about women—their changeability, their love of clothes and admiration, their petty spites and rivalries, their inveterate lack of truth as to age, and many another fable, such as one hears used—and used with effect upon men—by second and third-rate solicitors. Women magistrates could often protect their weaker sisters against vexatious and vindictive cross-examination.

Then our spirit of motherhood is needed for the children and adolescents in our Police-courts. Nowhere in legal administration is it more needed. It is needed to help the evolution of better types of Children's Courts; to distinguish quickly the signs of feeble-mindedness; to realise the significance of the child's home-conditions, and to devise more helpful methods of punishment. Women are needed to maintain always and everywhere that the true aim of the law with respect to the child delinquent shall be simply and solely remedial, and that all that hampers or obscures that aim shall no longer be allowed to exist. Constant watchfulness is needed, too, on behalf of the child witness. Women on the Bench could enforce the due observance of Clauses 114 and 115 of the Children's Act, and guard the child from prolonged cross-examination. Their more intimate knowledge of the working of the child mind would be of use in many ways. It is difficult to sit by patiently whilst elderly men ask small people under nine the precise time at which they started to wander in the fields, picking flowers, or, worse still, the exact time when they turned their little feet towards home.

Other qualities which women can contribute to the work of a magistrate are quick insight and a ready grasp of detail, always remembering that the first must be checked by a trained intelligence, and the second by an appreciation of underlying principles. Many of us hope that when the women's point of view becomes effective, there may be a fresh revision of values in our law. There are encouraging signs of such a change beginning with our new Labour Justices of the Peace, and it will behave women, whilst not disregarding the importance of form and precedent, to insist on upholding spiritual truths as more important than the shapes in which they are embodied.

In all moral questions women are needed, side by side in responsibility of judgment with men. So only can we free society from the evil tradition of the double standard of morality as it is upheld by the law and the administration of it. Again, the false and unjust attitude of the community towards prostitutes is day by day shown up in our police courts in all its cruelty, its hollowness, and futility; we women are needed to face this question fully, to realise all its implications, and then to undertake the responsibility of action. The heavy burden laid on women by the present procedure in affiliation orders needs our help, and our sympathy and insight are required in separation orders.

What are the first steps to take as soon as women are legally eligible for the magistracy? Either then, or sooner, we must run to earth the local Advisory Committee who recommend names to the Lord Chancellor, and we must, through the best available local women's organization, induce this Committee to add one or more women of ability and local knowledge to their numbers. These may then be trusted to forward the claims of women, as their names are brought forward as suitable for the Bench. In the meantime, let such women prepare for their future work by watching the proceedings in police-courts; by studying the recent Acts on which much of our criminal law depends; and it seems to me to be worth adding, by reading the little manual published by the Pitt Press, entitled "The Administration of Justice in Criminal Matters (in England and Wales)," by G. Glover Alexander. It is a great social work in which we are seeking the right to help, even though we may be forced to accept the late Mr. Justice Stephen's description of our criminal law as "an important part of our institutions, of which surely none can have a greater moral significance, or be more closely connected with broad principles of morality and politics, than those by which men rightfully, deliberately, and in cold blood kill, enslave, and otherwise torment their fellow-creatures."

EVALINE D. HUTCHINSON.

Prostitution.

"This woman, your Honour, being a common prostitute, is charged with loitering in B— street last night, with intent to solicit . . . Her last conviction was on the —th of last month. She was sentenced to ten days' imprisonment, and only came out of prison yesterday morning."

The above is perhaps the most common charge in the police courts of our big towns. In the police court which I, as a policewoman, daily attend, from one to seven similar charges are heard every day.

The woman in the dock is usually a veritable death's head. Bloated or emaciated, dirty, malodorous with cheap scent and lack of soap and water, scantily but gaudily dressed, sullen, shameless, hopeless, there she stands; every eye upon her, every hand against her, every tongue condemning her. Truly a spectacle to make the angels weep, the greatest living tragedy of our whitewashed, humbugging society, the most hideous satire upon civilisation.

The charge has been read with ill-disguised disgust and scorn by the clerk of the court; the public prosecutor* then digs out of her sordid past a list of previous convictions. She is asked if she has anything to say for herself, and in a hoarse and sulky voice she answers "No."

The magistrate in a few scathing words puts before her the heinousness of her crime. He urges her to "turn over a new leaf," to "look out for honest work," to "go and beg her parents' forgiveness" (not knowing whether or not she has any parents), after her punishment is over, and, remarking that this great evil of prostitution must and shall be stamped out of his fair city, he sentences her to "sixty days."

So, at the beckoning of an imperious, unsympathetic policeman, she trails dejectedly out of the dock and through a door into a white-tiled passage and disappears.

In sixty-one days or more she will reappear, and the scene will be enacted all over again; and so the farce will run on till the principal player subsides into the nearest river, or, more likely, the local Lock hospital.

Oh the tragedy, the humbug, the miserable injustice of it all! How can society cure the cancer of prostitution (which from the beginning it brought upon itself) by tinkering with the effects of human lust and sin? How can a "common prostitute" be transformed into a respectable citizen after a term of imprisonment, when every person's hand is against her? How is she to obtain honest work? How is she, the outcast of society, to get bread and clothing and lodging but by the further prostitution of her wretched body? What means other than that of soliciting has she for supplying herself with the bare necessities of life?

She may have been brought to the streets through the indulgence of her own passions, or as the victim of someone else's, or through poverty, or through a wild unstable love for the man who first seduced her. Whatever brought her there, one thing is very certain—it is, humanly speaking, impossible to get her off them again. Yet the law of England, knowing this, flings her into prison again and again for plying her trade—the oldest trade in the world, and the only profession open to women which has never been called "unwomanly."

One other course is open to her—she may ask to be taken to a "Home." She may voluntarily give up her life, her freedom, her youth, her spirits (if she has any left), into the iron hands of some respectable women whose business it will be to surround her with prison walls and feed her on prison fare and dress her in prison clothes, and work her without wages, and lecture her without allowing her to retaliate. And there she must stay, and stifle, and weary and pine, and drudge, and inwardly rebel for two long sad-coloured years before she is considered fit to creep forth, still branded and tainted and separated from the rest of her sex, into the miserable bondage of a "general servant" to some charitable old lady who has consented to "overlook her past."

What wonder if she shrinks from such an alternative, preferring the precarious livelihood of the streets, with the probability of constant convictions, to the salvation of her soul at such a price as that demanded by a "Home" for "fallen" women?

Has she ever asked herself, poor wretch, during those long, lonely hours of solitude in prison, how she can provide herself with board and lodging on the day of her release, without having to offer again her poor degraded body in the market of man's lust? And, if so, what answer has come to her?

Oh the tragedy, the humbug, the miserable injustice of it all! Perhaps, in the wretched conditions under which she was

* In Scotland the Counsel for the prosecution is called the procurator fiscal.

A House Divided Against Itself.

A recent editorial note in THE COMMON CAUSE on the varied principles at work in that rather chaotic region—the "rescue" world, is of special interest, coming as it does immediately after the publication of a remarkable pamphlet entitled "Rescue Work: An Enquiry," and issued by the Committee of Social Investigation and Reform.* This pamphlet gives a "large map" of the English rescue world, and shows (though not perhaps so vividly as in the two instances given in juxtaposition in the COMMON CAUSE) two principles warring in the methods adopted. One is reminded, in the remarks addressed by the speakers to the drawing-room meeting in question ("for the most part clergy of the Church of England") of an interview which Mrs. Butler describes, with the Chief of the Italian Morals Police in 1875, Signor Vigliani. He said: "A woman who has once lost chastity has lost every good quality. She has from that moment all the vices." And so pleased did he seem with this theory, that he smiled and repeated it: "Once unchaste, she has every vice." Vigliani, like the clergyman referred to, entirely omitted to comment on the fact that, to an act of immorality there must be two parties, of which one is a man. Both pronounced a doom on the woman only. Vigliani's was the more excusable, since he was poisoned by the system to which he was committed. But that a priest of God, representative of a faith which takes its stand on love and forgiveness as its central principle, should condemn a woman who has sinned in this particular way to bear the mark of it for the rest of her life, is surely not Christianity, but sheer, despairing Paganism! It is by such sayings that, as Mrs. Butler said: "We limit God." That this doom should be pronounced on children of fourteen, victims of our God-forsaking social conditions, is only one more instance of the way in which the Church fails to keep in touch, not only with Christianity, but with modern thought and sympathies.

But the point of interest, to which this article is intended to draw attention is this: The monstrous fabric of the C. D. Acts was built up on the theory that women of evil life were outside ordinary humanity; that it was desirable, nay, necessary, to treat them as no other human beings could possibly be treated; that the Common Law of England and the principles of Magna Carta existed to safeguard the ordinary citizen, but not for these; that within the pale you must beware how you degraded a fellow-creature, but further degradation was not for these, without the pale.

Now this same identical principle, this idea central to the operation of the C. D. Acts, is still to be found operating here and there to-day in the world of rescue work, as the instances quoted in the COMMON CAUSE and in the pamphlet referred to plainly show. In the minds of some men and women—who would warmly repudiate Regulation—such little pitiful creatures must be treated as no others could possibly be—they are without the pale; the common law of Christianity is not for them; the Magna Carta of the Sermon on the Mount is not for them, nor its whole forgiveness and love.

Here is a paradox! That the idea central to a system which encouraged vice, controlled, regulated, and provided for it, should still be found operating in organisations intended to combat vice and reclaim its victims! It would be laughable were it not so tragic, so fraught with dreadful consequences. Till this idea be destroyed, root and branch, till there is not a vestige left of it, we shall continue to find within the hallowed precincts of the rescue home, the very causes at work which, in the world outside, promote sex irresponsibility and vice.

The truth is, we only get the kind of Rescue work we deserve; that and nothing more. "The attitude of a nation towards prostitution," wrote Professor James Stuart in 1913, "is largely the outcome of its attitude towards women." In spite of the advances which have been made in the last few years towards justice to women, we have whole epochs to overtake, as any suffragist knows. So in rescue work, which is a mere reflection of the common mind. We shall never have left the epoch of the C. D. Acts and all they stood for until, in the common mind, and consequently in rescue work, every conceivable thing is done to restore the norm; to treat sinners exactly like ourselves—also sinners—but in one way, perhaps, less greatly tempted or sinned against than they, until we have established in the common mind, and consequently in Rescue work, the single standard of morals we are demanding in the world outside. The COMMON CAUSE note suggests that the word "penitentiary" should be abolished. We strongly agree, for is not penitence the fine flower of all the virtues? And which of us, rightly understanding its meaning, would dare to say he or she is fit to enter a

* 19, Tothill Street, S.W. 1.

reared, she never heard the meaning of the word purity. Sharing a bed, as she had to do, with a brother and a man lodger, would it have been any use to her if she had known? She was taught, no doubt, that the easiest way to make money was to traffic with the body which God had given her, and she found, in common with the rest of her class, that the supply was never great enough for the demand. Men had told her that she was a necessary evil, that society could not do without her, that the medical profession described her as a medicine. Did it ever enter into her ignorant befouled mind to ask them this question—that if she were necessary and demanded and prescribed, why did the law compel her to be cast into prison for offering herself to meet that wolfish need?

The law of England has not bestowed the name of "common prostitute," or even "common profligate," on men who lurk about street corners night after night to tempt and prey upon their vicious sisters. A man may solicit over and over again, he may seduce girl after girl and lead a life as black as pitch, and he is not decried as "fallen." He may sow the seeds of disease in himself, his wife and family, and yet remain an honoured citizen, enjoying their rights and privileges while the woman who infected him writhes out her tortured life in a Lock hospital. He may save his conscience by subscribing generously to the local Homes for Fallen Women; he may be the father of many children and never called upon to pay one farthing towards their maintenance; he may even in his office as magistrate pass sentence on some distracted girl who has attempted to make away with herself or the child of which he might easily have been the father.

It is women's business to take up the reform of this problem of prostitution, forcing men to realise that their sisters cannot and will not tolerate the unevenness of justice with regard to sexual crime.

Though it is an offence for a man to solicit a woman for immoral purposes, the law in this respect seems to be a dead letter. How often does a man appear in the dock accused of this offence? A man is not photographed and branded as a "common prostitute," and therefore he has only to say to the policeman that the woman solicited him first, and ten to one his word will be taken against hers.

Of what use to the community is this endless persecution and punishment of prostitutes if the men who use them are allowed to go free? If prostitutes are to be sent to prison so should profligate men; if Homes for "fallen" women are necessary, then Homes for "fallen" men are necessary also.

The laws relating to sexual crime are unbalanced and unjust—obsolete. The mere existence of Homes for "fallen" children is an ulcer on the face of society. The disgracefully light sentences passed on men for child-rape and attempted child-rape are only part and parcel of the whole infamous system of inequality. Laws framed exclusively by men can never deal fairly and efficiently with sexual offences committed against women and children.

There is not the slightest use in arresting a prostitute unless the man who has consented to her solicitation stands in the dock by her side. Only when men are made to feel shame and degradation equally with women will the world be made to realise the full horror of the sin of fornication.

In church halls, in doctor's consulting-rooms, in schools, and in family life, the doctrines of chastity and continence must be instilled into our boys equally with our girls, and high ideals of marriage and parenthood must be set before them. Away with this system of fumbling with the effects of lust; society must rather strike deep at the very root of the greatest of all sexual tragedies—the double standard.

If the common prostitute is a hideous menace to the community—as indeed she is—the only way to snuff her out of existence is to stop the demand for her; but, at present, the supply, vast though it is, is not so great as the demand. A prostitute on the streets of Glasgow admitted to a policewoman in November last, that she earned from £14 to £15 per week—surely a sinister indication of her importance!

An equal code of morals for both sexes, equal punishment for both sexes, perhaps even a law passed making the sin of fornication a summary offence for men and women—these are some practical suggestions for stemming the tide of hopeless degraded and diseased women from washing in and out of our prisons, cast up again and again on our streets to sow there the seeds of many an unhappy home by disseminating her frightful heritage and her moral corruption. The prison system won't do it, the Home for Fallen Women won't do it, but the single standard, blessed by the grace of God will succeed ultimately where all these miserable injustices and half-measures have hopelessly failed.

IVEIGH CLYDE.

"Penitentiary," or to label him or herself "penitent" before the world? The word is already abolished in the minds of those who in their very souls have abolished all traces of the ideas central to the C. D. Acts. On all sides, work is springing up in harmony with this abolishment. Normal, voluntary homes, where the sick soul can recuperate itself; houses without locks and bars, filled with a happy family life—that great and eternal antithesis to immorality and prostitution.

Valuable as the COMMON CAUSE note is, we do not really need articles or pamphlets to teach us that all is not well. Any one with even a slight knowledge of facts knows that the system of compulsion—a system totally devoid of moral value—still exists in rescue work. All of us know of places where uniform must be worn—again setting certain sinners in a class apart; where doors are locked; where a girl's letters are read; where she may not leave a sitting-room without permission; where a spring button under her door communicates with a bell in the superintendent's room, so that she cannot leave her room for any purpose unnoticed at night, and so forth. The increasing difficulty of getting girls to go to "Homes" is the best commentary on this system. Yet we are told that this must be; that it is "impossible to manage" the girls in any other way. The truth is, that kind of management gives least trouble to the institution, not that it is "impossible to manage" any other way. What is needed is the right manager. "Find us the right staff," was at one time the constant appeal of a successful home run on voluntary lines. "It is quite easy to be a Pope," said a worker the other day. "The difficult thing is to stand aside and let a girl fight her own battles." Yet it is the only way, if any strength or initiative is to be developed. And it calls for a new type of worker, with the long-range vision; who, in the words of an article in the pamphlet we mentioned, "will deliberately refrain from action and appear to fail, and let the girl follow her self-chosen way; who will recognise that what is essential is effected through the girl herself, through the Divine Spirit, who may or may not choose the worker as His human agency." Till we have found and trained such workers, till the common mind accepts the necessity for them, we shall not have completed Josephine Butler's work. We shall still be under the bondage of the ideas central to the C. D. Acts, even in the work of reclamation.

L. HAY COOPER.

Ghosts.

A stranger in a strange town—one of our biggest and most prosperous provincial towns—my attention was arrested as I went about my business by a large placard announcing a meeting on Housing under the auspices of the Town Planning and Garden Cities Association, the meeting to be addressed by an expert from the Local Government Board and "Other Speakers." Here was something of vital interest—here the burning question of the hour was to be discussed; here those who were smarting under the injustice of no homes, or, what is worse, degrading homes, would meet and join hands with those who now at last were anxious and willing to provide the very homes that were required; it would be a meeting doubtless crowded to the doors, representative of every class, throbbing with ideals, hectic with personal requirements, magnificently superior to every difficulty, and utterly intolerant of delays.

So thinking, I turned back to my hotel, ordered my dinner early, cut out my usual cup of coffee, and hurried off to be in time—at the end of the day I prefer a seat to "standing room only." How now? Have I mistaken the hall? No queue, no motors, no excitement, the entrance dark and difficult to find—the populace, whether those who wanted to get or those who wanted to give, where were they? Alone and a little apprehensive, I found my way in.

Let me state the worst at once—that meeting was attended by forty men and seven women! Mark you, seven women! I sat down at the back of the hall, wondering at the queerness of things. Bit by bit, as I gazed about me, I saw that the hall was filling—filling with eager, shadowy forms, but they were ghosts—the ghosts of those who were not present. Gradually I made them out—reckoned up who they all were—a small knot of business men, evidently discussing ways and means, contractors and builders, doubtless; men and their wives, all with rather angry faces, telling one another their grievances; women alone, rows of them (probably their husbands cared little enough what the home was like), sullen and dangerous-looking, knowing as they did how their homes were becoming daily more indecent and immoral for themselves and their children; sweethearts here and there coming to hear how soon they might have the ban-

called; soldiers to ask about the homes they fought to keep British; clergy worried for their flocks; rich men anxious to help. And women—more and more women I saw, yet all of them ghosts—oh, the pity of it! I saw women social workers, keen, unselfish, determined; women, happy and well-to-do, coming out of gratitude for their own spacious, begardened houses, anxious to forward the day of decency for all; Church Sisters, sweet-faced and intelligent, bringing with them some of the too submissive slum-dwellers who needed rousing to a more Christian impatience. Everywhere I looked I saw women, women—and then they faded out. They were but ghosts, ineffectual, powerless ghosts!

Why were they but ghosts? Did they not care enough—not love the good enough? Or were they not told? Were they too deaf to hear? Why were not their real selves compelled to come in? I sat up to attention. The platform was filling. There was the Chairman—a Town Councillor—there the L.G.B. expert, and there the "Other Speakers" (more Town Councillors and an architect), and, will you believe it, the "Other Speakers" were every one of them men? Not a single woman to speak for the home! What did it all mean?

Woman's place is the home—woman is the housekeeper—woman is responsible for the well-being of the children (all the old stock phrases rushed to my mind), and yet here was a meeting called to demand, discuss, and plan the very houses woman was to keep, and yet woman was not present to express her wishes, to be consulted, to give her weight to the resolutions—woman was not even honoured with a seat on the platform! *C'est pour rire!*

But more ghosts came along—they crowded up the platform steps, they filled the empty chairs, they overshadowed the men. Ghosts of women citizens, ghosts of women guardians, of women councillors, ghosts of women doctors, ghosts of settlement workers, of co-operative guild women, of teachers; ghosts of the Lady Mayoress, of the Bishop's wife, of the gracious lady of title, of the big-minded lady of wealth, ghosts of those most concerned, the brave mothers of large families. And these ghosts faded not away. All through the meeting I saw them there, and I heard them, too: "You should have bidden us come, you should have sent for us; all too gladly would we join and help, for without us you cannot succeed."

Sometimes the men faded to the background, and the platform, to me, was occupied by women only—women clamouring for homes. But no one heard them. They had not been asked to speak. They were but ghosts! I sat up to attention again, and listened to the speeches. The Chairman was lurid in his description of the discomfort the working man suffered, the architect pleaded for beauty, the Town Councillors blamed various departments for unnecessary delays, and promised a probable hundred and fifty houses by Christmas out of the ten thousand urgently required. But the L.G.B. expert cut the most ice: "Let the people themselves see to it. Let the people who need the houses clamour unceasingly. Let public opinion be organised and be noisy. Let the philanthropic associations—especially the women's associations" (ah, now we are coming to it!) "be ever on the war-path. Let the Women Citizens' Associations sit in the galleries of Council Chambers, watching, listening, and by their very presence influencing; and then let them question and criticise. Asking is not enough; you women have now the right to insist." Perhaps, being an expert, as I judged him, of heart as well as of head, the L.G.B. representative also saw the ghosts. Perhaps he was calling them to life, responsibility, achievement.

Politeness and thanks closed the meeting. The forty men and seven women had been informed, but, like myself, seemed unimpressed. Ten thousand houses were needed—one hundred and fifty would be ready by Christmas. Oh, ghosts—ghosts of women citizens, come out of the shadows, and be visible, strong, determined, in a word, victorious, for "hereunto were you called."

ETHELDRED BROWNING.

The Enemy Within the Gate.

Far away on the West Coast lie the twin villages of Y and X, each possessing its own blue bay and its own particular silver strand. The green downs, intersected by narrow lanes—where high grass banks are covered with wild flowers—reach to the edge of the cliff, whence lovely views of the distant hills are seen. The grassy slopes creep down to the shore itself, and from the beach one can gather primroses, the orchis, or the marsh violet. The air is untainted by railway smoke, for the nearest station

is miles away—neither are there any manufacturing towns anywhere near—straight from the mountain and the sea it bathes these villages in its purity and freshness. Add this attraction to the natural beauties of the neighbourhood and you will not be surprised that visitors who have "discovered" Y or X come year after year—the long distance from station and town notwithstanding. In the month of August nearly every house receives its quota of holiday makers—small cottages are let for 30s. weekly.

To outward appearance the inhabitants of this and the surrounding villages would seem to be especially fortunate, for not only is the purity of the air beyond question, but the water supply is good and abundant, the soil fertile, and milk, butter, and eggs are plentiful. The people all appear prosperous and well-to-do—the pinch of poverty, if anywhere felt, is not outwardly apparent.

"Why then," I asked myself "are there so many under-sized, obviously unfit, 'class C' persons among the adult population? Why are the children, bred and born in this healthy atmosphere, so small for their age, so wizened in appearance, though mentally bright and intelligent?"

The cause, or, if not the only one, yet certainly an important contributing factor, was not far to find, though skillfully concealed behind gaily painted doors, highly polished brass knockers and flower-decorated and curtain-screened windows—if an aperture two feet by three feet, or less, can properly be called a window.

Whether local public opinion is awake to the importance of the Housing question I do not know. I relate only what I saw, and, unhappily, such conditions are not confined to one village or one county—they exist in a lesser or greater degree all over the kingdom. During a stroll through the village of X, I counted twenty-two derelict houses—mere hovels of stone, and containing two rooms only. Presumably, they had not been officially closed. So far, so good. But is it really sufficient to shut up these filthy, germ-laden premises? Might not the local authority be well advised to go a step further and order their demolition, preferably by fire, which would purify all it could not consume? Twenty-two in the village itself, many others in the country around, closed by order; but how many, very little better in condition—some containing only two rooms, one living and one sleeping room, while others a shade better boast of two lean-to bedrooms under the roof, lighted by a two-foot square pane of glass let into the latter—are still being occupied, not only by old couples or single women, but by families with two, three, or more children? Slum areas too, are to be found even in this village of the mountain and the sea.

"Oh, in Y," said a resident of X, which considers itself superior in this and most other respects, "it's all disease there. You go up the mountain a little way and look down on the cottages, and you see so many of them are 'back to back.'"

Yes, the enemy to individual and national health is esconced securely, not only within the gate, but within the very house itself; barricaded in behind microscopic apertures apologetically called windows, secreted in cracks and crevices, hidden in the paste with which one layer of wall paper has been superimposed upon another till five, six, or more lie upon one another, and more cunningly hid than ever in the space between the ceiling of one room and the floor of the one above. Here skeletons of rats and mice are often found when the old premises are at last pulled down.

Is the connection between bad housing and disease even yet fully appreciated? Are there not all over the country, in urban and rural districts, cancer cottages, consumption cottages, and who knows what besides, death traps for the ignorant and unwary?

The majority of the people (happily perhaps) have no conception of the danger they run. If one of the family fall a victim to the "white scourge" they seek everywhere for the cause but in the right direction. Without question they accept the theory of heredity as beyond dispute, and how to the inevitable and, to their mind, unconquerable verdict of Fate. Oftentimes such a family will leave one cottage for another, and unless the sick member was in an advanced stage of disease probably the case will not have been notified, no disinfection will be done, but another family, perhaps with young children, will come straight into the house, and in all probability reap the harvest unwittingly sown therein.

But to return to the villages by the sea. A pretty young woman, well grown and healthy, leant over her garden gate, holding in her arms a precociously intelligent, but, for its age, very small baby girl. "Yes," she said, "the air here is lovely. I come from the other side of England and I feel heaps stronger here—and baby is well too—but my

husband's an invalid; he was a widower with three children when I married him and one of them is in consumption."

But it avails nothing to repeat these stories—true though they are. The question is—"What is to be done?" New cottages for the working classes are soon to be provided by hundreds and thousands, but will this in itself be sufficient? I think not. Not only should houses, convenient and of proper size, be supplied in sufficient numbers, but the people who are to occupy them should be taught the *art of living in them*. If this is not done the full benefit will be lost. The poor, as a rule, do not object to overcrowding, they are so used to it, and until they are educated to appreciate the necessity of proper bedroom accommodation from the point of view of health and of morals, the family will continue to herd together at the back of the house, and the front sitting and bedroom will be let to the highest bidder.

In justice to the cottager, it is only fair to say that the preference for small back rooms, which often possess but a modicum of light and admit but little fresh air, is not confined to their class alone. The villages of X and Y, for instance, have a plentiful supply of good, substantial, well-built houses of various sizes. In the season the large front rooms are let to visitors. No sooner is it over than, in most cases—and the same thing is noticeable in all sea-side resorts—the windows are closed, the blinds drawn. The owners, however proud they may be of their fine houses, have no wish to use the best rooms themselves. There may be many reasons for this which cannot be entered into in this article. But does it not point to a state of mind not yet educated to appreciate the immense improvement which would soon be seen in the national health if every householder realised the importance of light, space, and pure air? Then, and then only, will the enemies that lurk within the gate be within measurable distance of defeat.

M.E.B.

Reconstruction in Ireland.

V.—THE PROBLEM OF THE DOMESTIC WORKER.

The title is not too high-sounding, for the issues involved are serious. Married women with young children, busy professional women, older women with semi-invalids to care for, cannot dispense with the services of a help in the house. For the professional woman without children, the flat may supply a way out, but this only removes the difficulty a stage further, for how is the work of the flat to be done? Again, the flat system is not satisfactory for children, whether the building be model lodgings or mansions, not "in the skies," but in the most fashionable quarter of the city. The members of the Baby Clubs vote unanimously for single cottages against the most commodious model lodgings ever erected, and other women would do the same.

Again, if there has really been any simplification of life since the war, the saving of labour thus effected has been balanced by the increased cost of living, which has necessitated much more work being done at home. Laundry prices render home washing unavoidable: an amount of mending and making has to be done which was not thought of when prices were moderate and good material could be had, and if the household is to be sufficiently and economically fed, expert cooking is necessary. The days of the simple roast and boiled for dinner are over, and the breakfast of eggs and bacon has become a dream of avarice. The Chairman of a Food Committee, impressing on a women's deputation the economy practised in his own house, mentioned that his breakfast had consisted merely of porridge, eggs and a rasher, fried potatoes, and hot scones. (One member reminded him that if the English rationing of fats had been in force, his week's allowance would have been used that morning.) Such economy is, however, beyond the reach of most people.

The introduction of labour-saving appliances into households where a staff of three has been reduced to one or two, has brought fresh difficulties. These things need skilled use, and even a carpet sweeper, if energy be untempered by discretion, may blaze its way round the drawing-room on the legs of chairs and tables, and the more complicated devices can be put out of action with incredible ease. Stories of wasteful maids were always familiar, but now the matter is serious. With coal at £3 a ton, a domestic conflagration may be kindled by over generous stoking of the kitchen fire, and with soap steadily mounting in price, a bit left in the scouring bucket may precipitate a crisis. Thus, from the employer's point of view, causes of friction are increased, and it is also impossible in many cases to obtain help

at all. The employees, on the other hand, complain of long hours, restrictions on personal liberty, and low wages. Both sides consider themselves injured; women are terribly over-worked in the effort to run a house with insufficient help or money, and the workers are deserting an occupation which, if rightly organised, should provide good and healthy employment for the girls who have not the physique for factory life under modern speeding-up conditions.

Efforts are being made everywhere to arrive at a solution. In Dublin, last February, as an outcome of a public meeting, a Domestic Workers' Union was organised as one of the sections of the Irish Women Workers' Union. An office was taken in a residential neighbourhood, in addition to the headquarters of the Union, and a successful meeting was held in the Mansion House, resulting in a large increase of membership, the total now being over five hundred. "Campaign meetings" will be held in watering-places during the summer months. It is hoped to form a cycling club, and other efforts will be made to provide that recreation which is so much needed among workers of this type.

The Domestic Workers' Union has its own Committee and Secretary, and is represented on the Executive of the Irish Women Workers' Union. This latter body is directly represented on the Dublin Trades Council and also on the Trades Congress. Thus the new Union aims at the organisation of domestic workers, as they wish to be called, into a skilled trade, on similar lines to any other and with an equal status. The promoters state their first object is to deal with the large number of women and girls already in service not included in any of the recognised schemes of training. The last census gave the number of these in Ireland as one hundred and sixty thousand. Many of these girls feel keenly that the mistress' recommendation is their only credential, and they point out such is not the case in any other skilled trade, and they want to establish diplomas which shall have a recognised and increasing value. By this means those already in service would be classified.

They advocate the establishment of short courses of practical training, and the suggestion has been made that some lady in sympathy with the scheme might lend her house for the purpose. This proposal is double-edged, for while, on the one hand, it would safeguard the employee against injustice, it would give the employer a choice among girls of varying degrees of efficiency and training and also some guarantee that the class of service paid for would be given.

The Union is willing to recognise living-in, but only under altered conditions. They prefer to have the hours of work fixed, and the hours of leisure left undetermined, and at present stipulate for a maximum of a twelve-hour day, with two afternoons per week off duty, and one whole day a month. On this last point opinion is very definite. The half-day twice a week is not accepted as any substitute for the clear day once a month.

DORA MELLONE.

International Labour Regulations.

At the beginning of this year a draft scheme for International Labour Regulation was considered by the Labour Commission to the Peace Conference. The result of these deliberations is that a scheme has been formulated, which, briefly stated, will provide for:—

The Establishment of a Permanent Bureau, at the capital of the League of Nations, controlled by a *Governing Body*, consisting of twenty-four members, five appointed by the Governments of Great Britain, France, United States, Italy, and Japan; seven appointed by the remaining Governments in the League of Nations; twelve consisting of six employers' representatives and six employees' representatives, selected by:—

The Annual International Conference, consisting of two delegates for the Governments of each State, one delegate representing employers in each State, and one delegate representing workpeople in each State.

Each delegate has not more than two advisers, for each item on the Agenda, who may act in his absence, but *not vote*. This allocation, while it does not specifically exclude women, will practically do so, as the machinery set up to organise the first Conference shows.

An Organising Committee for the first Conference, to be held at Washington in October, is now established, with an office in London, and is composed entirely of men. While these gentlemen are all no doubt eminently suitable to carry out the new and difficult work of organisation, it is obviously unfair that they,

unaided by a woman member of the Committee, should compile, investigate, and tabulate evidence on such definitely women's questions as:—

The Employment of Women,

- (a) Before and after childbirth, including the question of maternity benefit.
- (b) During the night.
- (c) In unhealthy occupations.
- (d) Except within certain hours.

On these questions and those concerning the employment of children also, it is gravely unjust that women, with their special and expert knowledge, should be excluded. It may here be noted that two experienced women are assisting the tabulation of matter concerning women workers, but are not members of the Committee with the right to decide issues, but servants of the Committee.

While recognising the paramount importance of some such scheme as this to ensure the security of States with progressive policies against States unwilling to adopt humane conditions of labour, those watching the interests of women workers cannot but regard with alarm the development of a network of International machinery composed exclusively of men.

The constitution of the Conference to negotiate international conventions gives cause for even more anxiety. While the framework of the scheme throughout provides for no representation of women, this is particularly noticeable in the case of the machinery for the Conference. The official delegates from each State are two in number, and we admit the remote possibility, in one or two instances, of women being chosen, but the provision of one delegate from each State to represent employers, and one to represent employees, and the fact that the nomination of these latter delegates lies with the Governments in agreement with the national organisations of employers and workpeople, has the practical effect of excluding women delegates; it is hardly to be doubted that the one delegate in each case will be a man, for while men do not understand women's objection to being represented by men, they would be scandalised by the notion of women presenting themselves for election to represent men. It would be an incident without a precedent, and we women have suffered too long from this "British safeguard" not to realise its import and intention here.

It is understood that this scheme was mainly drafted by the British Delegation, after consultation with men representatives of organised labour, who, we are told, consisted of nominated representatives from the Trade Union Parliamentary Committee. On hearing of this meeting, at which no women were present, the Women's Industrial League, and, it is understood, other women's organisations, made a protest at the omission, and a second meeting was convened after the scheme was drawn up, at which one woman, Miss Margaret Bondfield, was present. She secured the concession that, when questions specially affecting women are to be considered by the Conference, one at least of the advisers should be a woman. This concession was announced later by Sir Robert Horne, in the House of Commons, but as the adviser's power is strictly limited, and excludes speaking and voting, the Women's Industrial League continued to press for direct representation of women by women. To this end, they organised a large and widely representative deputation composed of women representing over 300,000 organised industrial, professional, and commercial women. The deputation was received by Mr. Barnes, and introduced by Mr. Clynes, whose valuable support in this connection and earlier in the House of Commons, has earned the gratitude of many thousands of women.

Mr. Barnes gave sympathetic consideration to the case, as they were able to put it, and made the valuable suggestion that delegates selected by the State as State representatives will go with the addition of advisers, who might include five or six women, and for the time that questions directly concerning women are under discussion, the women advisers might take the place of delegates and exchange places with them, the delegates remaining in the capacity of advisers.

This proposal provides some form of direct representation of women, and Lady Rhondda, for the deputation, is corresponding with Mr. Barnes on the subject, and it is hoped a proviso on these lines will be added to the scheme, even at this late hour.

Reviews.

More About Houses.

The Nation's New Houses. Edited by Raymond Unwin, F.R.I.B.A. (Published by "The Sheffield Independent." Price 6d. net.)
The Studio Year Book of Decorative Art, 1919. Cottage Design, Decoration, Furnishing, &c. ("Studio" Office. 5s. net.)

Mr. Unwin's booklet must surely contain in its thirty pages of text and illustration the greatest quantity of valuable and interesting knowledge ever offered to the public for sixpence. Any person who reads it attentively—and dull must be the reader whose attention it fails to grasp—will learn, once and for ever, the essential principles of planning and building. Never again will that reader be deluded into believing that monotonous, close-packed, horrible slum-streets are economical, even of money. Never again will he believe that a cottage whose only sunshine is in the larder could not have been so built as to secure at least one sunny room on each floor. That an architect of Mr. Unwin's gifts and acquirements should also possess the power of writing clearly, tersely and readably is indeed, extraordinarily fortunate for his fellow-citizens.

The larger part of *The Studio Year Book* is occupied by Mr. Sydney R. Jones's article upon "The Designing of Cottages and Small Houses," a survey which includes some account and several illustrations of cottage furniture. As a writer, Mr. Jones is not the equal to Mr. Unwin. He preambles, generalises—even fumbles—before he comes to the real matter in hand; and it is to be feared that some readers will fall off, discouraged by such phrases as:—

"Reconstruction is the popular theme of the moment, and if the ideas implied by this word are carried into practice, great results will be possible in the fruitful time that is to follow the barren days of war."

But as he advances and deals with actual practice, Mr. Jones's style improves, and his own evident interest in what he is discussing awakens ours. Much that he says about materials suitable to particular localities will be new to many people who have thought of a house rather as "a house" than as a part of the general scene. He might well, perhaps, have dwelt more strongly upon the advantages of plaster—smoothed plaster—as a surface for town houses. Its smoothness offers no lodgment for dirt, and its cheerful white colour, easily renewable, offers a background against which every flowering thing looks well.

In both publications the plans are mainly those of the Local Government Board, in several of which a bad fault occurs—already pointed out to our local authorities by the Women Citizens' Association in my own district. Access to the w.c. from the stairs is obtained only through the scullery, and to the scullery only through the living-room; therefore all bedroom slops have to be carried through the living room. This defect may be observed in plans on pp. 17, 19, and 20 in *The Nation's New Houses*, and on pp. 18 and 19 in *The Studio Year Book*. On p. 21 of each is a plan (from New Earswick), in which the fault could be remedied by the mere cutting of a door in the wall between scullery and coal-house. It seems amazing that any architect should have overlooked the need for this.

In addition to the furniture shown in the first article of the *Year Book*, there are illustrations from the designs of Mr. Percy A. Wells, which have been executed by boys at the Shoreditch Trade School of the L.C.C. The firm, yet compact, towel-horse, the good, plain wardrobe, with its "three-ply" panels, and the chest of drawers with its upper cupboard for hats, would be welcome in any bedroom; and of the three dresser patterns, all are good. So are the useful dwarf cupboards of which two, slightly differing, appear in Mr. Jones's pages. He shows also an admirable scullery sink, designed by the Local Government Board, deep, plain on the exterior, fitted on both sides with double shelves and amply surrounded by tiles. The fixed plate-rack, however, though well placed, is hung too high for a woman's use—as plate-racks so generally are. At least one row of tiles should be removed, at this point, and the rack brought lower.

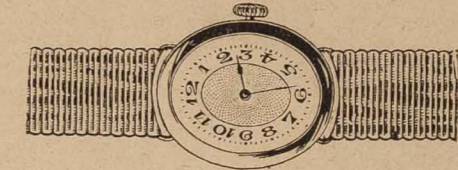
Space fails for a record of all the attractive illustrations in the later pages of the *Year Book*. Taken together with the earlier ones they encourage hope for a coming period of good sense—which is also good taste—in domestic arrangements.

C. B.

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Obituary.

MISS BESSIE FORD.

The women's cause has lost another life-long supporter within this last week by the death, after a few days' illness, of Miss Ford, of Adel Grange, Leeds. She and her sisters, and their mother before them, have been staunch and valiant upholders of everything the N.U.S.E.C. stands for, not only political equality for men and women, but for the equal moral standard and for a real equality of liberties, status, and opportunities between men and women. To many of us Adel Grange will ever remain in our memories as one of our sacred places. It breathed peace and restfulness to those who were weary, while it also inspired new courage to go on with the necessary fight to obtain a nearer approach of fair play for the woman worker and the woman citizen. Our deepest sympathy is extended to the sisters and brother left behind. Those of us who knew Bessie Ford can realise what their loss must be, for in part we shall share it with them. She possessed the undying fire, the unquenchable zeal for justice which made and makes our cause invincible. To her, George Meredith's lines can be fitly applied—

"She can wage a gallant war
And give the peace of Eden."

M. G. F.

ELIZABETH HELEN FORD.

It is a very sad realisation to those who knew Elizabeth Helen Ford, the great loss that her death has brought to good works of local and national importance, and particularly is the loss great at a time when workers in many directions prior to the war have, during its continuance, centred their efforts on the special work needed during war time at the expense of abiding needs.

Throughout the long, distracting, and exciting four and a half years, while also watchfully contributing to the necessities of the soldiers, Miss Ford steadfastly continued her devoted efforts of many years, always in that quiet effective way which won the love and gratitude of those who worked with her, and for whom she worked.

For many years, while suffering from a delicacy of health which would have invalidated less dauntless women, she bore the fatigue of personal attendance at meetings in Leeds—some miles from her country home—and also in other towns, returning at night tired and exhausted.

Her devotion to the "Woman's Cause," in all its branches of necessity, dated from the formation of the Women's Suffrage Society in Leeds, years ago, and it was at her mother's side that she learnt the lesson of how great those necessities were, and, following in her footsteps, steadily continued her work of achievement. Those who love her, rejoice that before she left them, E. H. Ford had gained the only reward she anticipated or desired—the granting of the Parliamentary franchise to women, the first really great step towards sex equality, which is now coming naturally and steadily along.

Since 1893, during the winters, E. H. Ford held ten free concerts monthly in some of the poor quarters of the town, giving only the music of the best composers, believing that in the hearts of all men and women is the love of good music, only needing to be awakened and cultivated. The expressions of gratitude from the hearers were very many, and often very touching. One railway man brought his evening meal and ate it in the hall that he might not miss the treat.

E. H. Ford was devoted to animals, watchful and anxious for their comfort and happiness. She founded a "Cats' Home" in order to prevent the lonely suffering of these creatures, turned out when households went holiday-making, &c., and with practical devotion made arrangements whereby the poor creatures could be collected for the Home. It has been said of E. H. Ford, by one who knew her well, "She was the most selfless soul I ever met," and one may add, while so practical and effective in all her work she was very lovable and loving. Unknowingly to herself she led, while willingly and intentionally she served.

RHODA A. CONNOR.

Leeds, July, 1919.

Correspondence.

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

WOMEN POLICE.

MADAM.—I fear that the statement in THE COMMON CAUSE of July 18th, that "The Home Secretary has stated that at a later date a Committee will be appointed to consider the appointment of women on police duties," goes slightly beyond the fact, although not beyond the statements made by other organs of the Press.

As your readers are doubtless aware, a Commission was recently appointed to consider the status, pay, and conditions of service of men in police forces. Arising from the fact that, if women's position were not also dealt with, the present variable and often unsatisfactory conditions would continue indefinitely, the following question was asked in the House of Commons on July 14th, 1919:—

Mr. GIDEON MURRAY asked the Home Secretary whether a Bill would be introduced during the session to give effect to the recommendations of Lord Desborough's Committee on the pay and conditions of the police throughout England, Scotland, and Wales; whether the Committee had under consideration at the same time the question of legalising the status and conditions of policewomen; and, if not, whether he would consider the desirability of its early consideration by Lord Desborough's Committee, or by such special Committee as he might appoint for the purpose, with the object of including any recommendations in respect to policewomen into the Bill to be introduced?

Mr. SHORTT: "I have already introduced a Bill which will enable the Government to give effect to the recommendations of Lord Desborough's Committee so far as legislation is necessary for that purpose. The employment of women on police duties is not within the scope of Lord Desborough's Committee, and I think it will be well to defer till later the appointment of a Committee on this subject. The matter is still in an experimental stage; it has achieved some measure of success under war conditions, but we have as yet very little experience of how it will work in peace conditions."

Your readers will agree that, in view of the fact that a Police Bill is now actually before Parliament, and has passed its second reading, Mr. Shortt's reply is hardly satisfactory. It is not too late, however, for the insertion of an amendment. If clause 4 of the Bill, which gives power to the Home Secretary "to make regulations as to the government, pay, allowances, pensions, clothing, expenses, and conditions of service of the members of all police forces within England and Wales" is made definitely applicable to women as well as to men, machinery will thus be provided to give effect to the recommendations of a Policewoman's Commission whenever it is appointed. If, further, the amendment puts beyond all doubt the legality of swearing-in women as constables, a real step forward will have been achieved.

It is true that very little experience of how the employment of policewomen will work under peace conditions is yet available, but this much is clear: it will not work much longer under the chaotic conditions which at present exist. Women who were ready to accept such conditions during war cannot be asked to do so now peace prevails; a living wage, a proper status, and a definite future must be available for them if the right women are to be asked to undertake the work.

Any pressure that can be brought to bear by women's societies to ensure the adoption of such an amendment will be of great value at the present juncture.

L. MEADE-KING.

Hon. Sec. Bristol Branch, Federated Training Schools
for Policewomen and Patrols.

THE A.S.E. AND WOMEN IN THE ENGINEERING TRADE.

MADAM.—The position is not quite so terrible as the writer of last week's note indicates: The A.S.E. is only somebody not everybody. The A.S.E. is only one, even if it is the biggest and most important union in the trade. There are others; the Steam Engine Makers is also a craft union of fully trained men.

These two do not and have not for years past covered the workers in the trade. There is one, if not two or even three, unions of machine men, men who have not completed an apprenticeship, but who are able to do certain classes of work in the trade.

In addition to those enumerated there are also the general labour unions, the group comprised in the National Federation of General Workers, who have within their ranks many thousands of men and women, who are, or have been or will be, engaged in the engineering trade. This great group is taking steps to safeguard the position of the women members just in the same way that they have hitherto safeguarded their position. The time and energy of the women officers of my own union—the National Amalgamated Union of Labour—has been largely occupied in getting delinquent firms to live up to Government orders. The fact that the A.S.E. refuses to admit women does not mean that any ill need befall organised women who now, as in pre-war days, work at the engineering trade, doing jobs that the members of the craft unions have hitherto considered not to be "engineers' work, and the unions mentioned are all part of "Official Trade Unionism."

As one who believes in the necessity of the application of motor power to many of the household chores, I feel sure that there is room for women's work, and if it is the work of organised women standing together with organised men there need be no fear that the sweating employer will get the chance to use them for the purpose of undercutting wages. Women will, however, not have to consider themselves superior to the "mere labourer" in the engineering trade, but to realise that with him they form the bottom strata from which the edifice of national prosperity and security must arise.

FLORENCE BELL,
No. 5 Branch National Amalgamated
Union of Labour.

THE GLADSTONE COMMITTEE.

MADAM.—Are you not a little unreasonable in your criticism of the Gladstone Committee? Representatives of Government departments are not infallible, but they are in a position to know the needs and difficulties of their Departments. They are the experts, and although, in all professions and callings, the expert needs the criticism of comparative ignorance to widen his outlook, it is a great mistake to treat him as if he were merely prejudiced and narrow. In this case, the experts, who are bound to consider what makes for the progress and efficiency of Government work, have not yet been convinced that in certain parts of it women will be as useful as men. They put aside the evidence derived from the war period, which plainly makes against the women, and they suggest that now, under more normal circumstances, women should have the opportunity of showing if they have the qualities which would justify their admission to the Service on the same conditions as men, and for the same kind of work. If they prove themselves as capable as men in certain administrative posts of the Class I. type, it will be a strong argument for their admission to others. It appears to me rather childish to write of "nicely closed minds," instead of pointing out the advance that has been made. A demand for qualifications, University or other, or experience, a Selection Board on which women are included, preference for capable candidates who have already served in Government Departments—all these are worth having because they protect women and the country against jobs, and they suggest the lines on which women who desire to serve their country may do so.

It should, however, be remembered, though the Committee does not mention it, that there is a serious objection to the employment of young women in those junior administrative posts to which young men are admitted by examination. Their rate of "mortality" is high. From the point of view of the Government official, who is bound to have in mind the progress and efficiency of his Department, the indiscriminate admission of women to these posts would be equivalent to sending men to India without a medical examination. They would succumb to marriage one after the other. The circumstances of their employment would render them peculiarly susceptible to infection, there would be no possible test of immunity, no inoculation, and effective segregation would be difficult. The more responsible the work for which the woman was fitting herself the greater would be the loss to the efficiency of the Department. A profession is the concern

of the individual. The Civil Servant is under an obligation to the State, which expects continuous and progressive work, and pays for it. Suppose again, that the married Civil Servant claims, and is allowed to continue in the Service. The risk of "sickness" is much greater in her case than in the man's. She has not merely her own risk of ordinary sickness plus the probability of whole or partial disablement for several weeks at fairly frequent intervals, but she has the risk of the illness of her husband and children. Few married women will neglect husband and children in illness for the sake of Government work, and few men will expect them to do so. While a woman is absent, her work, if it is of any special importance, will probably stand still, and would it not be better to realise that in posts of the ordinary Class I. type women are likely to be much less permanently useful than men, and to ascertain in what kind of posts they are likely to be so efficient and indispensable as to compensate for the inevitable drawbacks incident to their being potential wives and mothers? It is natural and right for any one who is responsible for important work being done to prefer a man, whom he can be sure of, to a woman, who is extremely likely to fail him for reasons of which he cannot disapprove.

ONE OF THE OLDER WOMEN.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN.

MADAM,—I notice in the account of the National Council of Women's meeting at Leicester, as published by you, a certain omission. It states that the resolution in support of the League of Nations was passed "nem. con. by a very large majority." The resolution in question opened with the words (if my memory is correct) "Recognising the high purpose and supreme hope" of the League. The fact that an amendment was moved (by myself) is omitted. The amendment was to delete the words "and supreme hope." My reason for asking for a few lines of space to make this known is that otherwise the significance of the action of those who refrained from voting for the resolution is liable to be misunderstood. No one there, so far as I am aware, was opposed to the ideal of a League of Nations, but a small and convinced minority held that, though the League has a "high purpose," the "supreme hope" for its future lies in constructive amendment. No one who heard Lord Robert Cecil's speech at the Albert Hall on June 13th can suppose that he is satisfied either with the terms of peace or with the present constitution of the League. He spoke plainly enough on one or two crucial points. I will quote a sentence or two:—"It is said that this large Assembly [the Assembly representing elements other than the Governments] is too small—that it ought to be more representative, and I am disposed to agree," and again, "As for myself, I want emphatically a League of Nations, a League of all nations, not a mere League of Governments, not a mere fresh piece of diplomatic machinery, but something which will bring into closer contact all the live forces of each of the nations of the world, not a mere alliance of certain nations. If our conception has any truth in it, it means the end of the dividing of nations into separate camps. I see a great deal of discussion about the admission of Germany into the League. I have never concealed my opinion that, if the League of Nations is to be a reality, Germany, not less than Russia, must be included in it." (He goes on to deal with the question of guarantees.)

At present many offer lip-service to the League who believe in alliances and armaments, while others turn wholly away in sick disappointment. It is because I believe that the League ideal is a great one, and that its best friends are those who show their friendship in part by sympathetic and constructive criticism that I ventured to move the amendment in question. I need hardly add that in doing so I stated that I acted as an individual, not as representing any organisation. The resolution was an emergency resolution and did not appear on the ordinary agenda.

A. HELEN WARD.

Reports, Notices, etc.

"THE COMMON CAUSE" IN LINCOLN.

We have to announce the closing of THE COMMON CAUSE Rooms, Corporation Street, Lincoln, where from December, 1914, to near the end of April last a Committee of ladies ran a canteen for the reception of wounded soldiers by day, and locally stationed troops in the evening. It was a work carried on very beneficially for the men, but against many difficulties and discouragement, so much so, indeed, that in the first year suggestions were made to close the room, and the Organising Secretary actually went to the trouble of finding how many soldiers there were in Lincoln. This makes the following figures the more remarkable:—Meals served (very roughly), 1914-15, 12,000; 1915-16, 100,000; 1916-17, 120,000; 1917-18, 140,000; half year, 1918-19, 50,000. The kindness of Messrs. Dixon & Parker, over whose shop the rooms were situated, in allowing the use of the premises free of rent for one year should be mentioned as one of the helps in the Committee's task.

As time went on the Committee's activities increased. The rooms were opened on Sundays; soldiers were admitted earlier on weekdays, and the rooms were available in the afternoon for wounded soldiers, to whom they gave tea free. This had all along been their peculiar work. The amount of food given them varied according to the funds. At a critical point, by the kindness of Mr. Leslie Melville, the Red Cross gave £40.

Towards the end of 1917, by the kindness of Messrs. Danby & Epton, the Committee acquired the use of an additional room in Corporation Street, close to the other premises, to serve as a writing room. The soldiers certainly appreciated the quieter atmosphere.

Over 200 ladies have helped at the rooms, and the greatest credit is due to them for their unwearied endeavours spread over so long a period.

Three-quarters of the balance of £40 has been divided among local, national, and international charities.

THE COMMON CAUSE Sub-Committee of the Lincoln Women's Suffrage Society recognise very gratefully the support of all their friends who have helped to maintain the rooms either by gifts of money or by personal service. Their difficulty lies in the fact that the workers have so identified themselves with the work as to put them almost beyond the reach of the thanks of the fellow workers. The Committee, however, are pleased that their last act as an executive should be to place on record that the cheerful self-sacrifice and the ready facing of somewhat sordid conditions has not passed unnoticed and unappreciated.

A BOON FOR LADIES.

Ask your Draper for THE FERSTRONG 196 WHITE CAMBRIC, 40 inches wide, the Queen of Lingerie. Words cannot express the merits of this unrivalled cambric. White as snow, soft as silk, its loveliness must be seen to be realised. See "Ferstrong 196" stamped on selvage.

Also ask your Draper for THE CRÊPE DE FERSTRONG 247 Quality, 39 inches wide, in different shades. The best substitute for Crêpe de Chine. Unrivalled for Ladies' and Children's Dainty Garments; also Blouses, Jumpers, Boudoir Caps, Camisoles, &c. This material is the most attractive, fascinating, and economical ever produced, and being made out of the purest and finest cotton the world can produce, also absolutely pure in itself, can claim the highest hygienic property, which contributes health and beauty to the wearer. See "Crêpe de Ferstrong 247" stamped on selvage.

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for free patterns and shade cards, and if any difficulty in obtaining this material, we will send you names and addresses of leading Drapers, who guarantee to execute orders in United Kingdom, by post, postage free, on receipt of remittance for same.

By Appointment to H.M. The King.



"INTELLIGENT CARE"

"It is a well founded belief," writes Dr. J. S. Fowler, in his book on INFANT FEEDING, "that the health of a baby depends just as much on the sort of mother he has, as on the skill with which his diet is regulated by a doctor."

That Nestlé's Milk contains all the necessary constituents of an infant's food is proved not only by chemical analysis—which shows it to consist entirely of full-cream milk preserved with pure cane sugar—but also by the results obtained.

Taking NESTLÉ'S BABY BOOK for 1919, here are the first twelve Parents' Reports on children (aged on an average 2 years and five months) reared on Nestlé's Milk from birth:—

- No. 1. Has thriven very well indeed.
- No. 3. He has hardly ever had a day's illness.
- No. 11. Has thriven excellently.
- No. 16. Could not be better, has thriven splendidly.
- No. 17. Very healthy, and free from most childish complaints.
- No. 20. (Twins.) Fine healthy boys, and do your milk credit. They have always been the same.
- No. 21. She has got on very well, and she is a lovely child now.
- No. 23. Perfectly sound in body and limb.
- No. 24. He is in good health.
- No. 25. (Twins.) Perfect, sturdy, happy little men.
- No. 27. He has been continually improving.
- No. 32. He has thriven splendidly both in brain and body.

For 280 further instances see

NESTLÉ'S BABY BOOK for 1919

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National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship

The National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, President: MISS ELEANOR F. RATHBONE. Hon. Secretary: MRS. A. K. GAME. Hon. Treasurer: MISS ROSAMOND SMITH. Offices—Evelyn House, 62, Oxford Street, London, W. 1. Telegraphic Address—Voiceless, Ox, London. Telephone—Museum 2668.

Headquarters Notes.

Timetable of N.U.S.E.C. Summer School.

UNIVERSITY ARTS SCHOOL, CAMBRIDGE. FIRST WEEK.

Sunday, August 3rd.—6 p.m.: Gathering addressed by Miss Rathbone, M.A., C.C., at Mrs. James Ward, 6, Selwyn Gardens. Monday, August 4th.—9.15 a.m.: Status of Wives and Mothers. I. Rights of Parents over their legitimate children, Miss Chrystal MacMillan. 10.30 a.m.: The Industrial Position of Women. I. Women in Industry before the War, Miss G. Jebb. Tuesday, August 5th.—9.15 a.m.: Status of Wives and Mothers. II. Rights of Parents over their illegitimate children, Mrs. H. A. L. Fisher. 10.30 a.m.: The Industrial Position of Women. II. Women in Industry during the War, Miss Lynda Griep. 6 p.m.: Seminar. The Organisation of Suffrage Work, Miss Hartop. Wednesday, August 6th.—9.15 a.m.: Status of Wives and Mothers. III. The Wife's Right to Maintenance by her Husband, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.A., C.C. 10.30 a.m.: The Industrial Position of Women. Women and Trades Unions, Dr. Marion Phillips. 8.30 p.m.: Public Lecture. National Family Endowment, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.A., C.C. Thursday, August 7th.—9.15 a.m.: Status of Wives and Mothers. IV. National Family Endowment: (a) Its Social Aspect, Mrs. Stocks. 10.30 a.m.: The Industrial Position of Women. Women and Whitley Councils and Trades Boards, Mrs. Stocks. Friday, August 8th.—9.15 a.m.: Status of Wives and Mothers. V. National Family Endowment: (b) Its Economic Aspect, Miss K. D. Courtney. 10.30 a.m.: Proportional Representation, Major Morrison-Bell, M.P. Saturday, August 9th.—9.15 a.m.: Status of Wives and Mothers. VI. Widows' Pensions, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.A., C.C. 10.30 a.m.: Women as Members of Parliament, Conference. 8.30 p.m.: Evening Reception, Mrs. Bethune Baker, 23, Cranmer Road.

SECOND WEEK.

Sunday, August 10th.— Monday, August 11th.—9.15 a.m.: The Equal Moral Standard. I. Mrs. Bethune Baker. 10.30 a.m.: The Industrial Position of Women. I. Equal Pay for Equal Work, Mrs. Oliver Strachey. 6 p.m.: Seminar. The Organisation of Suffrage Work, Miss Hartop. Tuesday, August 12th.—9.15 a.m.: The Equal Moral Standard. II. Miss Alison Neilans (Secretary of Association of Social and Moral Hygiene). 10.30 a.m.: The Industrial Position of Women. II. Equal Pay for Equal Work, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.A., C.C. Wednesday, August 13th.—9.15 a.m.: Women and the Administration of the Law. I. The Work of Women Police, Miss Peto. 10.30 a.m.: The Industrial Position of Women. III. Women in Industry after the War, Mrs. Oliver Strachey. Thursday, August 14th.—9.15 a.m.: Women and the Administration of the Law. II. The Need for Women Solicitors, Barristers, Magistrates, and Jurors, Miss Chrystal MacMillan. 10.30 a.m.: The Industrial Position of Women. IV. The Position of Women in the Professions. Friday, August 15th.—9.15 a.m.: Women and the Administration of the Law. III. The Work of a Police-court Rota, Women's Legal Department, Mrs. Bethune Baker. 8.30 p.m.: Public Meeting. Equal Pay for Equal Work, Mrs. Oliver Strachey. N.B.—Seminars and Conferences will be arranged in the afternoons on subjects desired by the students.

NOTES.

The Summer School of the N.U.S.E.C. is being held concurrently with the second Summer School of Civics and Eugenics, whose lectures, seminars, etc., will be open to N.U.S.E.C. students. The fee for the full fortnight's course, including admission to lectures, seminars, etc., of both Schools will be £2 2s. For one week's course it is £1 5s. This fee should be sent to Mrs. Hubback, N.U.S.E.C., as soon as possible. Facilities for recreation, boating, tennis, etc., will be available (see Time-Table of Summer School of Civics and Eugenics). Accommodation for students is being arranged at fees varying from £1 15s. to £3 3s. Ribbon with the N.U.S.E.C. colours will be provided free of charge to students to wear as badges.

Half-Yearly Council Meeting, 1919

The Half-Yearly Council Meeting will be held this year at Glasgow by kind invitation of the Glasgow W.S.S. on Tuesday, October 7th, Wednesday, October 8th, and (if necessary) Thursday, October 9th, from 10.30-5.30 each day.

AGENDA.

Owing to the fact that the arrangements for the Agenda must be made when the Committees of many Associations are dispersed for the holidays, the Executive Committee have decided to dispense with a Preliminary Agenda and issue one Agenda only. The Committee were of opinion that there was no objection to this arrangement, as the business of the Half-Yearly Council is not likely to be complicated and a certain economy will be effected.

AMENDMENTS. Amendments to the Agenda which are sent in accordance with the time-table below, will be duplicated and distributed in the Hall.

REPRESENTATIVES.

Your Association is entitled to send representatives to the Council as follows:—

Table with columns: Associations of, Annually Subscribing Members, and delegates. Rows show various membership levels from 10 to 2,500 and corresponding delegate counts from 1 to 10.

up to a maximum of 20 delegates. Local Correspondents are entitled to a vote. Representatives of an Association must be themselves members of an Association affiliated to the Union, in each case only those members being counted for whom the affiliation fees have been paid to the N.U.S.E.C.

DELEGATES' FEES.

A Delegates' Fee of 2s. is due for each delegate's card applied for. The application for a delegates' card will automatically entitle representatives to be included in the ballot for seats. No tickets will be issued at the door.

PROXY DELEGATES.

The Glasgow W.S.S. has kindly agreed to find proxies for Associations unable to send the full number of delegates, but no one may attend the Council as sole representative of an Association to which he or she does not belong with written guidance from the Association which he or she represents. Associations should apply for proxies as soon as possible to the Secretary of the Glasgow W.S.S., 202, Hope Street, Glasgow, who will be responsible for sending tickets and full instructions to the proxies assigned to them.

Associations are urged to send at least one delegate from amongst their own members, who shall be asked to act in consultation with their proxy delegates.

VISITORS.

Visitors will be admitted to the Council Meeting at Glasgow by ticket only. They must be members of an affiliated Association of the N.U.S.E.C., and should apply for tickets—price 3s. each—to the Secretary, Glasgow W.S.S., 202, Hope Street, Glasgow, before October 4th.

HOSPITALITY.

Glasgow Society has very kindly volunteered to provide hospitality as far as possible. Delegates requiring hospitality are asked to write at the earliest possible date to the Secretary, Glasgow W.S.S., 202, Hope Street, Glasgow.

DATES TO BE OBSERVED.

Monday, September 1st, last day for posting to this office resolutions for the Agenda.

Monday, September 15th, the Agenda will be posted to you.

Saturday, September 27th, the last day for posting to this office amendments to be duplicated and applications for delegates' tickets.

Thursday, October 2nd, last day for posting to the Glasgow office applications for Visitors' Tickets.

Friday, October 3rd, Delegates' Tickets will be posted to you.

N.B.—AMENDMENTS WILL NOT BE POSTED BUT WILL BE CIRCULATED IN THE HALL.

The above dates will be strictly adhered to.

Associations are advised to summon their Committees accordingly and not wait until the Agendas are received.

Women's Emancipation Bill.

A circular was sent to the Members of the House of Lords last week asking them to support the Bill when it came up before them. A special effort was made to obtain the help of our old friends. When it was known that the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Bill was coming up first, another circular was sent protesting against this Bill being brought up before the Women's Emancipation Bill, and urging the House to accept an amendment which would deal with the part of the Bill which proposes to make special regulations for women entering the Civil Service.

News from Societies.

CARDIFF AND DISTRICT.—The Society organised a Garden Meeting in the delightful garden of Mrs. Marychurch, on July 17th, mainly for the voteless women under thirty, notice of which was sent to all organisations of young women in the city. The audience was not as large as had been hoped, but was much interested in the addresses given by Dr. Ethel Thomas, Mrs. Emerson Price, and Miss Mary Jones, and passed a resolution of satisfaction at the passage of the Women's Emancipation Bill through the House of Commons, and the hope of its adoption by the House of Lords.

SUMMARY OF SUFFRAGE WORK DONE IN INDIA.

Demand for the grant of the vote placed before Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu by the representative All-India Women's Deputation on December 18th, 1917. Members: Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Dr. Joshi, Mrs. Saralabai Naik, M.A., Mrs. Srirangamma, B.A., Mrs. Besant, Mrs. Kibe, Mrs. Dalvi, Mrs. Jinarajadasa, Mrs. Lazarus, Mrs. Chandrasekara Aiyar, Mrs. Cousins, Mus.Bac., Mrs. Herabai Tata, Begum Hasrat Mohani, Mrs. Guruswami Chetty, supported by telegrams from Lady J. C. Bose, Miss H. Pettit, Mrs. Rannade, Mrs. Saraladevi Choudhuri, Mrs. Nilakanta, Mrs. U. Nehru, Miss Arundale, Mrs. Padmabai Sanjiva Rao, and Miss Gokhale.

The demand was that "when the franchise is being drawn up women may be recognised as 'people,' and that it may be worded in such terms as will not disqualify our sex, but allow our women the same opportunities of representation as our men."

Bombay Provincial Conference, April, 1918.—A resolution in favour of the removal of sex disqualification from the Reform Bill was moved by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, and passed unanimously and enthusiastically. Bombay Presidency contains nineteen million people.

Madras Provincial Conference, April, 1918.—Similar resolution to above moved by Mrs. Guruswami Chetty, Sister Balambal seconded, and passed unanimously and enthusiastically. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, President. Madras Presidency contains forty million people.

In all these the Requisition asking that the subject should be put on the Agenda was signed by a large number of Women's Societies and prominent ladies of the Provinces.

A Woman Suffrage Resolution was passed by the Provincial Congress Committees of the Central Provinces, the Punjab, the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, and the United Provinces.

The India Home Rule League voted in favour of Indian Woman Suffrage at its Executive meeting in October, 1918.

The Bombay Special National Congress and the Muslim League in September, 1918, passed the following Resolution, after a discussion, by a three-quarters majority:—

"Women possessing the same qualifications as are laid down for men in any part of the scheme shall not be disqualified on account of sex."

The Delhi National Congress, December, 1918, passed unanimously the previous Resolution, proposed by Mrs. Saraladevi Choudhuri and spoken to by several Gujarati ladies.

These two Congresses were the representative assemblies of all India, and at each there were over 5,000 delegates and as many visitors, including hundreds of ladies.

Requisitions expressing women's desire for the vote and explaining their reasons were sent to the Southborough Franchise Committee by all the forty branches of the Women's Indian Association; by the members of the former All-India Women's Deputation to Mr. Montagu; by the Women Graduates' Association, Bombay; by Women's Branches of the Home Rule League; by the Bharata Stree Mandal, and other women's societies.

Municipal Voting: For a number of years the Municipal Vote has been exercised by the Women of the Bombay Presidency intelligently and interestedly. A motion to extend the eligibility of women to election for the Corporation was defeated by a narrow majority. This year the Municipal Vote has been granted to the women of the Madras Municipality. The Corporation were in favour of extending eligibility to women for election to the Corporation, but this was vetoed by the Government of Madras.

The N.U.S.E.C. have received the following telegram from the Indian Women's Suffrage Society:—

Resolution passed at a Women's Public Meeting, Bombay, July 12th:—"That this public meeting of women of Bombay protests against the recommendation of the Southborough Committee and against the Government of India for disqualifying women for the franchise in the reform scheme, on the grounds that social conditions in India make it premature and unpractical to grant it. This meeting draws attention to the fact that women in the Bombay Presidency, and many other parts of the country, already exercise the franchise intelligently in municipal and other elections. It urges that there is no reason to consider it premature and unpractical for qualifying women to exercise the vote for higher elections, and requests that here sex should not disqualify. This meeting considers the postponement of this question as a distinct grievance and a denial of due rights to women, and is likely to be deterrent to their progress. It earnestly urges the Government of India and the British Parliament to reconsider the question of removing the sex disqualification."

BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

On April 8th, 1919, white women in British East Africa obtained with white men the right to vote in the election of the non-official members of Legislative Council, and the next day they were given equal eligibility to become elected members of the Council. This is the first country where men and women have won this democratic measure at the same time on the same terms.

The demand for votes for white men in the Protectorate was made some five or six years ago, the demand for votes for women only two years ago, when the East Africa Women's League was founded for the purpose of winning votes, and also studying and taking action on any question of interest and importance to white women and children of British East Africa. After two years of work—meetings, newspaper articles and correspondence, the organisation of a widely signed petition of men and women, and other similar constitutional work—and after the great victories for the women's movement all over the world, the women of the Protectorate have not been denied their political rights.

The debate in the Legislative Council on April 8th was preceded the evening before by an interesting public debate, at which His Excellency the Governor and Lady Northey and several Legislative Councillors came unofficially.

The Legislative Council discussion showed that out of the seventeen members, only one, Lord Delamere, was really an anti-suffragist, but seven others were of the type which always says "The time is not ripe." After a very interesting debate, the voting was eight-eight, and the motion was carried by the Governor, Sir Edward Northey, giving his vote for the women, on the grounds that he believed a mandate for this reform existed in the country.

It is good to feel that the time of busy women will now no longer be wasted in agitating for a political right, but that they will be able with men to help in positive reforms and reconstructive work. We are interested to learn that the East Africa Women's League is interesting itself in many questions, such as education, and women visitors to the lunatic asylum and prison, and that it is now trying to collect funds to bring out a Plunket nurse from New Zealand to work in the cause of Infant Welfare among mothers and children of all races in this country. In British East Africa, as everywhere else, enfranchisement is but a preliminary to fuller service.

Contributions to the General Fund.

Table with columns: Name, £ s. d., and £ s. d. Lists names and amounts for 'Already acknowledged since Nov. 1st, 1918' and 'Subscriptions'.

Forthcoming Meetings.

JULY 26. Barnsley—Fair Field House—Garden Meeting—Speaker: Miss Rose Hartop. 3.30-6.0 p.m.

Coming Events.

SOCIETY OF WOMEN WELDERS. JULY 26. Caxton Hall (Room 18), Westminster. Important General Meeting of members of the Society. 2.30 p.m.

Advertisement for GEO. WEBB'S DYE WORKS. THE FINEST QUALITY. CLEANING & DYEING of COSTUMES, HOUSE FURNISHINGS, etc. Only the highest skilled labour employed, and absolutely the best colours and chemicals used. VANS COLLECT and DELIVER TWICE WEEKLY THROUGHOUT THE WEST END. Recommendations from all parts of the Country. ORDERS BY POST OR TELEPHONE COMMAND IMMEDIATE ATTENTION. 254, BRIXTON HILL, S.W.2. Tel. 185 Brixton.

THE COMMON CAUSE.

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ALL BUSINESS COMMUNICATIONS to be addressed to The Manager, THE COMMON CAUSE, Evelyn House, 62, Oxford Street, W.1 (Telephone: Museum 2702), and all ADVERTISEMENTS must reach the Office not later than the first post on Wednesday. Advertisement Representatives: West End, Miss F. L. Fuller; City, Mr. S. R. Le Mare.

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NUMBER OF WORDS.	ONCE.		THREE TIMES.		SIX TIMES.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
20	1	6	4	0	7	6
30	2	3	6	3	12	0
40	3	0	8	6	16	0

POSITIONS VACANT.

COMPETENT Mother's Help wanted, for housework in artist's small household; country; companionable happy home; entire responsibility of the two children taken by mother.—Box 8,266, COMMON CAUSE Office.

WOMAN (30), Groom-Gardener-Handyman; pony, goat, poultry, garden; good driver essential; live in, 10s. a week; 2 ladies, country house on motor bus route to Bristol; temporary would suit.—Box 8,256, COMMON CAUSE Office.

THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE, Manchester Branch, requires an organiser, for work in Manchester and District, to begin in September; "speaking" essential.—Reply, stating salary required, Secretary, W.I.L., 1, Princess-street, Manchester.

EDUCATIONAL.

COLONIAL INTELLIGENCE LEAGUE (for educated women)—Assistant Mistresses desiring overseas school appointments after Christmas are invited to communicate with the Secretary of the above League at 251, Brompton-road, S.W.3.

LINDUM HOUSE, BEXHILL-ON-SEA.—Home School on Progressive Thought lines. Large garden, cricket field, sea bathing; all exams. Special care given to backward and delicate girls.—Principal: Miss Richardson, B.A.

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ELECTROLYSIS for removal of superfluous hair, moles, etc. Face Massage and Electrical Hair Treatment. Lessons given and Certificates granted. Address Miss Theakston, 54, Devonshire-street, W. 1.

ISLINGTON DENTAL SURGERY, 89, Upper Street, N.
MR. CHODWICK BROWN, Surgeon Dentist.
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PROFESSIONAL.

AUDITOR AND VISITING ACCOUNTANT.—Miss M. E. Moore (Mathematical Tripos, Cambridge) undertakes Audits, Accounting, and Income Tax Recovery.—Alderman's House, Alderman's-walk, Bishopsgate, London, E.C. 2.

INCOME TAX RECOVERY.—Claims made for return of tax paid in excess.—Apply Miss C. A. Moffett, B.A., 9, Somerset-road, Handsworth Wood, Birmingham.

MAKE provision now for your old age; money is either spent or saved. Save it by investing in a Life Assurance Policy with an old established Society. Absolute security. A few shillings now and your fortune is secure.—Apply Miss Rochford, Woman's Assurance Bureau, 39, King-street, Cheap-side, E.C. 2.

"MORE MONEY TO SPEND" (Income Tax Recovery and Adjustment)—Send postcard for this booklet to Mrs. Ayres Purdie, Women Taxpayers' Agency, Hampden House, 3, Kingsway. Phone, Central 6049.

GARDENING.

GARDENING FOR WOMEN—Practical training, vegetable, fruit, and flower growing. Month or term. Healthy outdoor life; from 68 gns. per an. Gardening year begins in September; students can enter any date. Illustrated prospectus of Peaker-Ridley, Udimore, near Rye, Sussex.

GARDENING.—Free Training offered to two ladies in exchange for indoor help part time daily; comfortable country home, communal life.—"Home Counties," 6, King's-road, Wimbledon.

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