

Not to be taken away.

The Common Cause

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

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Notes and News.

The Power of the Vote.

"It will be the duty of the new Government to remove all existing inequalities of law as between men and women." This pronouncement, occupying only three lines of the Coalition Manifesto, signed by Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Bonar Law, may possibly have been overlooked by some hasty readers. We need not, however, point out its immense importance: it will be regarded by women as a pledge, and they will confidently await its early fulfilment.

40 D D.O.R.A.

It is now officially announced that Regulation 40 D D.O.R.A. is withdrawn on the recommendation of the Committee appointed to enquire into its workings. While expressing great satisfaction at the withdrawal, which women have repeatedly demanded, we cannot help regarding the refusal of the Committee to express a final opinion on the merits of this odious regulation as ominous. What has been dropped as a war-time measure can be revived, incorporated in permanent legislation; and against this danger women must be prepared to fight with all the powers at their command. The N.U.W.S.S. holds a watching brief with regard to 40 D and similar legislation; women must be kept informed, and public opinion must be educated. It is therefore essential that the Fund opened by the Union in connection with 40 D should not want for donations.

Demobilisation and Women Workers.

From the Women's Service Bureau and other sources we learn that every day the number of demobilised women calling for advice and for work increases. A great number of these women came into the labour market for the first time with the war. Now that the war has ended they have no trade to return to, and they form a great army of potential workers which may be either wasted and filtered away, or used for the reconstruction of the world. In our opinion the future depends to a great extent on whether the Government in its new schemes for training is preparing for the women as well as for the men. There are all over the country schools set up by the Ministry of Munitions for training women for war work: these schools should be converted without any delay so as to train these same women for the work that lies before us with the approach of peace. The Ministry has now organised a conference on the machinery necessary for the demobilisation and resettlement of women workers; the conference, at which Sir Stephen Kent presides, consists largely of members of the Women's Trade Advisory Committees.

Women Clerks.

What are the Government Departments doing about their women clerks? One would like to know whether they are making any concerted plans for demobilisation. Have the Departments in which women are employed in large numbers made any register of their women clerks, with information as to their pre-war employment and their qualifications for the occupations of peace? Are there schemes of training on foot and are they receiving official support? Will the demobilisation be gradual? Will adequate notice be given, and will there be free passes for travelling home? All these are questions which are tormenting the minds of the women workers and which should be answered without delay. We understand that women clerks are not at present being dismissed in very large numbers and that in some places there is still a growing demand for shorthand-typists, but this does not prevent the very serious anxiety which they are feeling about their future. Even reconstruction itself will not go on for ever. What the women workers want is not a fresh emergency job now, nor more work of the old kind, but some prospect of permanent occupation, which will go on through the years of peace, and make them part of the regular structure of the community. Security is hard to find, but something ought to be done to allay the anxiety of those who work to live, and who for years have been told that they ought only to live to work.

Women Police.

Under an "experimental" scheme sanctioned by the Home Secretary about one hundred women are to be enrolled as patrols under the Metropolitan Commissioner of Police. These patrols which are to replace those organised by the National Union of Women Workers and employed by the Commissioner, will wear the badges of the regular force and will be under the control of a superintendent and woman officers. It is to be regretted that under this scheme the women will not be sworn in, and will not have "the special powers which are given to constables," which means, we conclude, that they will not have power of arrest. It is obvious that a "woman patrol" in these circumstances will not have the same status, nor, therefore, the same power to prevent or quell disorder as a woman policeman with the full powers of a constable would have; her usefulness will therefore be greatly reduced. The good work done by the National Union of Women Workers' patrols in our streets is well-known to all, and we hope that the Commissioner of Police will make full use of those already trained and experienced women who were the pioneers in this work; but we must point out that a status and a limitation of powers which were possibly wise in a new venture, and in a war-time measure, are likely to be preventive of the best results when embodied in an official organisation, even when the scheme is cautiously labelled "experimental"! It is high time that those in authority abandoned this timid attitude towards women who wish to do, and are (as in this case) able to do, the same work as men, and who therefore ought to be given full status, powers and responsibilities. We also wish to point out that the disparity between the pay of constables and that proposed for the women patrols is excessive: constables, £3 13s. 4d.; women police, 30s. plus 12s. war bonus.

The W.R.A.F.

It is rumoured in the Press that the Women's Royal Air Force is to become a permanency. There are said to be many women who, having signed on for the duration of the war, are desirous of remaining in the service, if it continues after the declaration of peace. A circular is being issued to ascertain the truth of this statement; and while this is being done the demobilisation of this force will be delayed.

SEND WOMEN TO PARLIAMENT!

"YEAR One of the World's new Life" some of the Italians are minded to style the coming year. To women in our own country the dawn of the new era has already appeared. The collapse, both abroad and at home, of hostile forces which at the beginning of the year were invested with power, has been a collapse so sudden, so complete as to bewilder even those who rejoice. In both the great fields of struggle we had grown so much accustomed to the exercise of dogged patience, so much habituated to slow progress, interrupted by reverses, that it had become difficult to apprehend good news and to act upon it promptly.

It is our paramount duty to-day to think and act quickly. This is to be for the women of our islands their first General Election. It would have been for them, as women and as citizens of their nation in the hour of victory, a sufficiently tremendous event if they had in some millions been voters only. But hard on the conquest of the vote comes the right to enter Parliament. A second key to human progress has been placed in the hands of women. It must not be allowed to rust.

It is of this aspect of our "common cause" that we wish to speak earnestly now; for there is no time to lose. Let us think both rapidly and sanely; let us use our imagination; let us realise how much the return of some women to the House of Commons can effect. In all parts of the country we do rightly to hold meetings of women citizens and to pass resolutions claiming "equality of opportunity" with men in every field of training and service. But in constituencies where a woman candidate offers herself for election to the House of Commons, women can do much more. Wherever such a candidate stands as a supporter of the main points in the programme of the N.U.W.S.S.*—equality of opportunity and reward, and the removal of all artificial disabilities—women who are adherents of the women's cause should endeavour to secure her return. We say "endeavour" with intention; for we would ask no woman to overrule her conscience. To do this would be to forfeit the very power of political representation which the vote confers. The cause of women has never been separated from the cause of the whole nation. It is less than ever separated now. The whole nation—the whole human concourse in which we work and contend, rule or are ruled—stands or falls together. It were an idle endeavour to gain a position of power in a society which was about to perish. Every woman elector consequently must think out those primary problems for herself and decide which general principles are just and right. But when this decision is taken, her next duty, in our opinion, is to work vigorously for the return to Parliament of any woman candidate who is of the elector's way of thinking on these general issues and who also takes her stand on the "equality" platform.

The presence in the House of Commons of even a few women will do more to secure some of the reforms which are needed than the efforts of many women outside. (This does not, of course, mean that outside labours are to be in any way reduced). One of the difficulties against which women contend at present is a species of invisibility. Women are exceedingly numerous and

* For N.U.W.S.S. programme, see p. 390.

Public Morality: Questions for Parliamentary Candidates.

It is of the utmost importance that at the forthcoming election candidates should realise that no legislation dealing with sexual questions will be acceptable to women which does not ensure at least the following conditions:—

Absolute equality between the sexes in regard to protection, responsibility, liberty, administration, punishment. Most women will agree that these essentials are more likely to be secured if women are freely co-operating with men in the administration of the law and the representation of public order.

By equality of treatment between one woman and another—that is to say, no laws should obtain against immoral women *as such*; all persons who break the laws to be justly and equally dealt with. In addition, there must be no attempt, either directly or indirectly, to enforce local medical examinations upon

some of them are not inconspicuous. But few of them are seen in the important places where affairs of moment are transacted; and not being seen, they are forgotten. They were formerly not seen in the House of Commons and, in the days of the grille, there was even a certain intention in their obliteration. It is much more difficult to ignore the interests of people in the presence of their personal representatives; and we predict that Government officials will be much less apt to forget to place women on public bodies when women M.P.'s are obviously noticing all that is done.

Women need at present to take hold of affairs from the top, if we may so express it. In the top places they are insufficient in number and in power. We have as yet no woman Minister, though, as Lady Frances Balfour has suggested, a woman would make an ideal Minister of Health. Even in Government Departments where women hold paid posts, they are for the most part treated as the subordinates of men officials; and women's committees, when they are formed, are commonly styled sub-committees of men's committees. The prefix "sub" is one of which women are rather tired; it should now cease to be a feminine monopoly. Nowhere is the subordinate position of women more marked than at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge where women are powerless to reform a system in many ways obsolete. The return to Parliament of even a few women with democratic educational ideals would probably impel the older universities to anticipate Parliamentary action by admitting women to full academic equality.

The entrance of women into the House of Commons will do more than any of these specific things or even than the achievement of great legislative results—important though these will be. It will humanise the social atmosphere of political life and rid it, let us hope, of much of its former snobbery and unreality. Those of us who can look back over a quarter-century of the English (and especially the London) political scene know how humiliating was the part frequently assigned to women. The women who did not know they were humiliated were, perhaps, the most to be pitied. Their rôle was to entertain, to please, to dress well, to give crowded parties, to make little mechanical speeches, and to keep their own ideas in the background. Some women, no doubt, shattered the mould and refused to be shaped to it; but the mould was very generally accepted. Many women in the political world were the merest political dolls. At no time were they more "dolly" than at elections. It was then that, with election millinery and election smile complete, they emerged from their band-boxes, and were taken to drive round the constituencies which their respective husbands hoped to capture. Those were ignominious times for women politically, when the women of the people were utilised to make a *claque* at election meetings and the ladies of the drawing room suffered themselves to be exploited for their ornamental smiles and suavities.

To have won through that dark era were of itself a triumph. Woman is no longer politically offered the alternative of being a *mannequin* or a cipher. If women will use all their power to send some real "women's women" to Westminster, they will be carrying a stage further the liberation of the people and the progress of the world.

women for the purpose of ascertaining their freedom, or otherwise, from venereal disease.

It is useless to suppose that most of the prospective candidates have given much thoughtful consideration to these subjects. With the exception of those who have served upon Committees in connection with the various Criminal Law Amendment Bills, there will not be many who are conversant with the difficulties and possible dangers which underlie most legislative proposals for dealing with venereal disease and prostitution by penal measures. These subjects are exceedingly complicated, and do not lend themselves readily to being dealt with by simple question and answer, yet it is obvious that the education of candidates in the right direction must be undertaken at once. For public meetings questions must be short, laying down

general principles rather than going into details. For this purpose the following may be useful:—

1. Will you pledge yourself to oppose all legislation which deals unequally between men and women, particularly in regard to sexual morality?

2. Are you in favour of the immediate abolition of all enactments for the suppression of sexual immorality and disease which penalise one party in an attempt to protect the other?

3. Women will do well to withhold their support from any candidate who cannot give a full and immediate assent to these two simple principles. Where it is possible to meet the candidate in deputation, or have a personal interview, something rather more elaborate may be useful. Even if assent cannot be obtained to every question, they will at least serve to bring home to candidates the lines upon which women voters are thinking. It may be simpler to set down the questions separately with some notes on each.

Age of Consent.

1. Will you support the raising of the age of consent to unlawful sexual intercourse from 16 to 18, and the abolition of the plea of "reasonable cause to believe" the girl was over the prescribed age?

2. Will you support a provision on the same lines as 1 for the protection of boys under 18 from unlawful sexual intercourse?

These two questions need little explanation. At present, girls of sixteen can "consent" to their own seduction and no charge will be against their seducer. We want the age of consent raised to eighteen, and equal protection afforded to boys as to girls. Hitherto men have often been acquitted because it has been legally allowed to be a complete defence if a man can show he had "reasonable cause to believe" the girl was sixteen or over at the time of the offence. We want to give absolute protection to the sexual immaturity of boys and girls under eighteen, and believe this measure will have a strong deterrent effect upon both men and women who deliberately seek to corrupt young people. To be effective the protection must, however, include the abolition of the plea of "reasonable cause." This may be some mitigation of the offence, but it ought not to be a full defence.

Compulsory Medical Examination.

3. Will you pledge yourself to oppose any statutory or other enactment which

(a) Gives any court, or any official of a court or prison, power to order the local medical examination for venereal disease of any girl or woman, or as in Regulation 40 D.D.O.R.A.* puts pressure upon a woman to submit to such medical examination?

It is necessary to include this question because some people seem to think that there is no ground for complaint if legislation is passed which enforces local medical examination on both sexes. It ought not to need emphasis that such an examination can never be equal for men and women. There is much to be said against the compulsory medical examination of men for venereal disease, but this is a simple and decent matter compared to the compulsory examination of women. Speaking in the House of Lords, on April 11th, 1918, during the debate on "Soldiers' Morals and Health," the Archbishop of Canterbury, speaking of the manner and process of examining soldiers for venereal disease, said:—

"I have been quite startled lately by the information I have received regarding the difficulties found in breaking down the natural reserve or modesty on the part of the men."

Under no pretext of public health will we tolerate legal power being given to the courts for this purpose. It is one thing when women voluntarily and confidentially put themselves under the expert knowledge of their doctor, but quite another to give power to magistrates compulsorily and publicly to compel a woman to submit to an examination which no doctor is allowed to undertake, except by the full consent of a patient or her guardian.

Solicitation Laws.

3 (b) Punishes women for offences which are not punished in men, e.g., for

- (1) Loitering in any street or public place?
- (2) Indulging in promiscuous sexual intercourse?
- (3) Extends or is based upon the present solicitation laws, which do, in fact, punish a woman for indulging in promiscuous sexual intercourse, but ignore the man who is a party to such intercourse?

In theory only "common prostitutes" have hitherto been liable to fine or punishment for "loitering" for the purposes of prostitution, and this seems quite simple until one tries to discover what, in the legal sense, constitutes "prostitute" and "purposes of prostitution." We have the statement of the Lord Advocate in the House of Commons (the 1917 Criminal Law Amendment Bill):—

* Now withdrawn.

"It is not a crime or an offence to loiter or importune and it never was. It is an offence, *being a common prostitute*, to loiter with a view either to importuning or to solicit. It is only on those terms that the thing is an offence at all."

Thus the offence does not consist in loitering or importuning, but in *being a common prostitute*. How, then, does one distinguish a "common prostitute" from any other woman? By the fact that she loiters and importunes! This is argument in a circle with a vengeance. What it really comes to in practice is that any woman who loiters in the streets or accosts men is likely to be arrested for solicitation, and if anything can be brought against her moral character, she is extremely likely to find herself classed as a "common prostitute," and so in actual fact punished not for her behaviour in the streets, but for her doubtful moral character.

4. Will you support the abolition of the solicitation laws with the substitution of laws against molestation equally applicable to either men or women?

Taken in conjunction with 4 (b) and (c), this question is self-explanatory. We do not, however, want the words of the law altered and the practice to remain the same. If men molest women, or women men, let the law deal with them, but let us not continue the present practice of arresting certain women time after time for a charge which is never properly proved while leaving men severely alone to annoy women as much as they please. If women must charge men before the police will make an arrest, then let the same process apply to men who are annoyed by women. There seems no reason why a man or woman who has come forward in the public interest to give evidence should have his or her name published so long as it is given to the court as a guarantee of good faith.

Compulsory Rescue of Girls.

5. Will you oppose any legislation which provides for the compulsory detention of girls in Government Homes or Institutions, on the ground of their sexual promiscuity?

The arguments against "compulsory rescue" rest, to some extent, on those against 3 (b) and (c) above. In both the 1917 and 1918 C.L.A. Bills powers have been sought for detaining in Institutions "common prostitutes" under eighteen for a period of years. It is claimed that this is not intended as punishment, but for reformatory purposes. It is useful to ask ourselves what we should do with a boy under eighteen who was indulging in promiscuous habits. Should we believe that the best course was to shut him up in a rescue Home or Institution for a year or two in the close company of others of the same character? Yet the man who goes about seeking illicit relations with women is quite as difficult a problem as a girl of the same type, and as long as he remains unchanged in character, and at large, it is futile to lock up one set of girls in order that they may be replaced by another. Promiscuity, even if it be only occasional promiscuity, in large numbers of men, must inevitably result either in a corresponding promiscuity in women or in a comparatively small number of women giving themselves up to irregular intercourse to meet the occasional lapse of many men. Obviously, the reformation of girls only will not mend matters. The community must set its face rigidly against the promiscuity of young people of both sexes, and to do so it must give them equal protection and equal justice. If the age of protection be extended to eighteen for boys and girls alike, it will have an educative effect in that it lays down the principle that we recognise the immaturity of both, and mean to safeguard, not to punish it, up to that age. Further, such a law shows that we recognise as of equal value the chastity of both boys and girls. It is a strange anomaly that while we have hitherto been supposed to consider the chastity of a woman so much more important than that of a man, yet we have always laid our penalties on the woman with no corresponding deterrent upon her partner.

There are, however, other reasons against the compulsory detention of immoral girls, apart from the fact that it gives the impression that we consider promiscuity reprehensible only in them. Rescue work has never been altogether satisfactory; it is only a few Homes that had anything of the spirit of home about them, and the great safeguard to the girls against harshness and fanatical persecution was that they could leave when they pleased. Some rescue workers have achieved much good and given much kindness, but even they, perhaps, do not altogether realise how much their results are due to the fact that the only power of compulsion they possessed lay in the personal appeal of love, and their own fine characters. Substitute for these the power of legal compulsion given to unsuitable, as well as suitable, heads of institutions; turn the voluntary wardens into the State gaolers; punish girls for a thing which is cynically held to be necessary to the life of men; and how much reformation will be achieved then?

ALISON NEILANS.

Demobilisation and the Voluntary Worker.

From the King and the Prime Minister to the youngest wounded Tommy the whole nation has paid a well-deserved tribute to women's patriotic and devoted work during the war. Few, however, have suggested that the country needs patriotic work during Reconstruction, and that women's share should be just as great and valuable in peace as in war.

When speaking of women and Reconstruction it is always said: "Those women who are not dependent on their earnings should return home." It should, I think, be a point of honour with those women who have enough to live on, and provision for old age, to leave the labour market for the next two difficult years when unemployment is bound to be rife. One excludes, naturally, those women whose exceptional talents or abilities make them indispensable and who are irreplaceable—scientists, artists, doctors, experts in various directions, for instance. It is most important in all cases when a woman continues in paid employment that the fact that she can do without it be an inducement to her to stand out for a fair living wage, never to undercut or accept pocket-money wages. Many a young girl who might say, thoughtlessly, "I don't mind accepting less; you see, father pays my board and lodging; I only want my fares and lunches," has only to have the disastrous probable effect of her action in depressing wages and its moral and physical effect on other girls pointed out to her to refrain from such unsocial conduct.

Are women, whose training and experience during the war have made them really valuable workers, to sit at home and twiddle their thumbs; as one paper puts it, "to return to tennis and crochet?" Of course, many will need a rest, many will assume or return to domestic duties. But those who have no such ties? They like to feel they are doing something useful, but they will hesitate to take jobs that are sorely needed by the girl who must work or starve.

There is enormous scope for women of every kind in public work which can never be paid and is of enormous value to the country. For the experienced older women who have held administrative posts during the war there is the great field of Local Government, Women County Councillors, Borough Councillors, Members of Education Committees, and Poor Law Guardians are urgently needed, and men are far more ready for women's co-operation in these directions than before the war. Then comes the enormous demand for War Pensions Committees. Women of tact and understanding are urgently needed to see that the recognition and compensation given to the soldiers should be fairly and sympathetically administered. For those who have done hospital work, if they have some knowledge of working-class conditions, what better work than this continued care of the men whose lives they have perhaps saved?

Then comes work for which the demand is so great that no appeal can be too strong—the Care Committees. All the work of school doctors and nurses, all the arrangements for the after-care, which should be of such immense benefit to the future citizens of the country, are hampered for lack of voluntary workers. The Authorities of the London County Council say that 4,000 additional workers of Care Committees are needed now.

Then there is the ever-extending field of Maternity and Infant Welfare Work which can find interesting occupation for all types of workers who can give much or little time. This work should appeal strongly to young war-widows and those who have lost their fiancés, who therefore can hope for no babies of their own to mother, and may find not only usefulness but consolation in helping to save the lives of the babies of the nation. For younger girls the Girl Guides, Girls' Clubs, and Children's Play Centres offer a suitable and extensive field.

In the rural districts there have been few openings, but the village institutes offer great scope for educational and other work of an interesting kind.

The V.A.D. who has loved nursing and lives miles from any hospital would probably find the local district nurse, overworked as she is, often most grateful for assistance under her direction, and would be surprised to find the number of village homes where nursing-help is needed, and the great gratitude of the cottagers for such help.

One thing is to be hoped, the war-worker has learnt punctuality, obedience to regulations, concentration, and unselfishness. Let her not forget these when doing unpaid work. As a general rule, societies appreciate more a worker who promises six hours a week and gives them than the one who promises seven hours and gives six.

It is hoped that a movement suggested by the Joint Com-

mittee on Post-War Unemployment called by the Women's Industrial Council may be started shortly. The idea is to form local committees which will stimulate an interest in voluntary work, give the necessary advice to intending workers as to what is most needed and would suit them best, and attempt to supply all societies with the right kind of workers, and, in addition, make a strong public appeal for workers.

Many men who gave much of their time to useful social work have fallen. Is their work to remain undone? A friend of mine, a well-known suffragist, said to me before he left for France, wherco he never returned: "We've got to go and fight, you must stay behind and pick up the pieces." Let us all determine to pick up the pieces and construct from them a better and happier England.

JEANNETTE L. FRANKLIN.

Some Aspects of the Election in Ireland.

The situation in Ireland on the eve of the General Election is interesting, if somewhat confused. Nominally, there are four parties in the field—Unionist, Nationalist, Labour, and Irish Republican. The last has worked energetically for some time, its candidates are ready, constituencies have been canvassed, and the party programme has been formulated. Whether it will meet with the success on which it counts no one can tell: "you never can tell" in Ireland! There is no doubt many of the younger women are to be found in its ranks, and it may well be that the woman's vote in certain districts will help the party which, to do it justice, has stood for equality between men and women. On the other hand, both the official parties, Nationalist and Unionist, have put social reform in the second place. Their formula has been either "First get Home Rule, and everything else will follow," or "First defeat Home Rule, and then attention can be given to other matters." The difference between them, from the feminist standpoint, lay in the fact that Unionists showed more ingenuity in enlisting the active co-operation of women, not for any feminist programme, but for party purposes. The activities of the Women's Unionist Association bear witness to the temporary success of the policy. The consistent disregard of social reform has, however, led to a very serious disaffection in the Unionist ranks. At the present moment, in two Belfast constituencies, Independent Unionist candidates have taken the field against the official nominees. Both declare their adhesion to the principle of the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland; both put forward social reform, and both hope for the Labour vote. On this point of the need for social reform one comment must be made on recent speeches of Sir Edward Carson. A politician of his ability and practical experience knows very well that such a bill as that establishing the Ministry of Health in Great Britain could only be made to apply to Ulster if the province were taken out of the Irish system of Local Government and of education and included in that of Great Britain, since this measure presupposes machinery which does not exist in Ireland, such as the Education Committee—dealt with in the last issue of this paper. There is no local Education Authority in Ireland, and none could be set up without revolutionising the entire educational system. The social reformer in Belfast is therefore forced to turn to the Independent Unionist candidates or to the Labour Party. The latter is represented by a committee organised on non-party lines, with a programme of social reform. The Labour Representation Committee urges the working men and women of Belfast "to turn aside from political and religious strife and to consider calmly and sensibly ways and means of putting their house in order," an appeal which it can only be hoped will not fall on deaf ears. In the midst of it all, the Women's Political League has decided to adhere to the non-party attitude. No candidate put forward by either official party will be supported by the League as an organisation, but where Independent candidates who have promised adhesion to the League programme are being opposed by official nominees cordial support will be given.

The Ulster Unionist Council is thus faced with a serious revolt. The old policy of "We will not have Home Rule" and nothing else has been tried and found wanting. Sir Edward Carson's new policy of closer union in Great Britain presents difficulties of the gravest kind, since bills of the character to which he referred depend for administration on a whole mass of previous legislation, which does not exist in Ireland. Something, of course, might be done. Bills such as those empowering women to act as solicitors or qualifying them to serve on juries

might be made applicable to Ireland at once, but these were not the measures present to the mind of the Ulster leader!

Democracy in Ulster demands a policy of definite social reform, and the formation of a Democratic Unionist Association, opposed to the official body, in three of the nine Belfast constituencies, and the presence of Independent Unionist candidates, prove the strength of the movement. The present position of official Nationalism is an example of the danger of riding constituencies too hard and exacting entire submission to the official machine. It would be well for official Unionism to take warning and set its house in order. Sir Edward Carson expressed the hope that the women would vote for him, though he had consistently opposed enfranchisement. It is probable the majority of Unionist women will hold to their allegiance during the coming election, but how long they will continue to do so, in the absence of any real programme of social reform, is a question which only the future can decide. In view of the present revolt in the Unionist ranks and of the determination of Unionists themselves to bring forward questions other than that of Home Rule or no Home Rule, it is one which the Unionist headquarters would do well to ponder.

For the feminist the situation is full of hope, however difficult it may be for the present. Anything which helps to widen the party issues strengthens the position of the non-party organisations, and there is no doubt the present breakdown of party discipline will have that effect. Individually, women may be Home Rulers or Unionists, but those who are members of the Women's Political League desire, above all, measures which will promote the moral and material welfare of their city and country, and from this point of view the revolt against official autocracy is all to the good.

DORA MELLONE.

Some Thoughts on our Shortcomings.

We may find legitimate pride and satisfaction in the thought that, during four years of quite unparalleled industrial activity, the industries of this country have been so largely carried on by feminine hands. But it will also be useful, especially in view of the problems bound to occur during the period of demobilisation, to consider what are the defects most commonly attributed to the female employee; to consider, moreover, just how far these may be due to a natural disability, and how far they may simply be due to faulty training and environment which we may hope to see remedied.

My own experience is that the average employer is extremely well pleased with "his girls"; and that, when he grumbles, his grumbling invariably follows one of two well-worn lines. Either he complains that the girls take too much time off on account of sickness, or else he says that they do not "settle down to their job" as a man would do; that, even when he, their employer, would be glad to regard them as permanent hands, they persist in regarding themselves as purely temporary workers whose business prospects are liable to be upset or cancelled altogether at any time; he "never feels quite sure of them."

Now there is some truth in this, and the cause is not far to seek. For generations past every girl has had it dinned into her head that the highest summit of a true woman's ambition is to become a wife and mother. Even if the girl herself has no particular aptitude or inclination for domestic duties, her imagination is continually worked upon through the medium of gossip and stories, plays and novels and cinema films, until it is no wonder if her mind runs, at times, upon her own matrimonial prospects. And if she intends to get married, and has every reason to expect that she will be married in a year or so, it is plain common-sense upon her part not to waste her time over the acquisition of knowledge which will be of no use to her in the future. But of course there are hundreds of girls who are perfectly content to remain single, or who have other claims upon them which exclude the idea of marriage—and here, I think, we come to the reason which lies at the root of all the alleged feminine lack of "keenness" and business ambition. For a working girl with no prospect of matrimony before her is still expected to be perpetually at the beck and call of all her relatives at home; and if her mother wants her help about the house, or if one of her sisters is ill, or if her father gets work in another part of the country, or if her brother needs a house-keeper, she may be called upon at a moment's notice to throw up her own job in order to oblige them. Indeed, if she hesitates she is commonly considered a very selfish and hard-hearted young woman. How many valuable careers have been wrecked in this way will never be known; nor how many women have contrived

to struggle through somehow against incredible handicaps, carrying on their business or their course of study, and acting as unpaid cook or nurse or charwoman in their leisure time. Dickens has described with wonderful fidelity (in *Bleak House*) the unsettled frame of mind, the aimlessness, and the final deterioration of character in a promising lad who lives in continual expectation of some violent change in his own fortunes. There is hardly any modern young woman who does not suffer to a certain extent in the same way, and for the same reason. Even if she is the child of fairly prosperous and enlightened parents, even if her path in life appears clearly mapped out before her, there may always be the lurking thought at the back of her mind: "If such and such a domestic crisis occurred, I should have to give all this up!" The wonder is, in these circumstances, that she does so well and goes so far.

Probably this state of things will persist for some time yet; a "change of heart" is what is required, and a change of heart takes time! But as it undoubtedly originated in the tendency to consider a girl's work, a girl's brains, and a girl's ambitions as things of very small account, everything which raises the general status of wage-earning women is a move in the right direction.

With regard to the other charge against the female employee—the excessive time lost through sickness—it also has a certain foundation of fact. The average level of health amongst women is undoubtedly slightly lower than it is amongst men. This again is partially due to the fact that so many working women are burning the candle at both ends, and going straight from the shop or office or factory to housework and laundry work at home. Then they are less well fed than their brothers; they are, as a rule, very badly and insufficiently clothed and shod; and, far too often, they never have the leisure or opportunity for properly regulated physical exercise. But, apart from admittedly dangerous trades—which are equally unhealthy for both sexes—our recent experiences seem to have established the fact that manual labour, especially manual labour in the open air, actually suits the feminine physique better than some sedentary employment indoors.

It may be that we shall have to revise a good many of our grandmothers' ideas upon this important subject. It may even be best for the future welfare of the race that the man shall come back to the counting house and the ribbon counter, keeping himself fit by football or allotment gardening in his off hours, whilst the woman continues to drive motors and build ships. The Waacs, the Wrens, and the girls employed on Government munition work are all now required to "pass the doctor" before their services are accepted; we therefore have a great many of our women workers definitely grouped in "Class A1." And this is a fact that should be carefully borne in mind in considering their future occupations when they come to be disbanded. It would be as foolish to put the A1 girl on to the C3 job as to put the C3 girl on to the A1 job. At present the ordinary employer gets an undue proportion of C3 girls; but there is no reason why he should do so in normal times. Nor is there any reason at all why the proportion of C3 girls should remain at its present level. Better housing, better food, a healthier environment in childhood, and youthful recreation which shall no longer be confined to playing about the streets, running errands, or nursing the baby, will make a wonderful difference in this respect. The growing girl needs every bit as much consideration as the growing boy; but it is important that she should receive this, not solely because she may some day become the mother of a British citizen, but first and foremost because she is a human being with a right to as much happiness as her life upon this troublous planet can afford her.

MADGE MEARS.

Victorian Heroines.—XI.

THE WOMEN OF HENRY JAMES'S NOVELS.

One might as well say: "The Trees of the Forest"! There are so many women that I can make no protest, no apology or explanation. We are in presence of Leviathan; I cannot "draw him out with a hook"; I can give you only glimpses of him, and I must begin at once, or there will not be many glimpses.

I begin with the Young Girl as he presented her . . . but, even as I write, attendant classifications raise their heads. The only way will be to seize on *one* young girl, and see to what she points us. I seize, then, on the heroine of *The Portrait of a Lady*—Isabel Archer, whom we know first as a young girl and later as a married woman. Observe her name; it is, as

all names were to Henry James, of cardinal importance. Clear and joyous, yet with pathos in its bell-like ring—the "dying fall" that echoes when the music is no more—this name, Isabel Archer, holds within it all the nature, and hence all the doom, of her on whom, from first to last of the long story, our attention is directed with a fixity not always Henry James's choice for us. None of his long books has the "plain-song" that this one has. *Washington Square* is the nearest to it, but in that masterpiece the theme is not complex at all; while in *The Portrait of a Lady* what he did was quite the subtlest of his many feats of subtlety. The intricacy is concealed, not flaunted, as it was too often and too much, in later novels; to say that is another way of saying that in this one he excelled himself. It is indeed a portrait of a lady—one of the most exquisite and moving ever drawn by novelist or painter. Henry James found in this girl the most evolvable of all his heroines; she expands before our eyes, as sometimes we may watch a flower expand:—

"Isabel spent half her time in thinking of beauty, bravery and magnanimity; she had a fixed determination to regard the world as a place of brightness, of free expansion, of irresistible action; she thought it would be detestable to be afraid or ashamed; she had an infinite hope that she would never do anything wrong."

This girl it is who marries a "sterile dilettante," a man of whom Ralph Touchett, her delightful cousin (the most delightful man, by far, that Henry James ever portrayed), has to say to her: "I can't get rid of the suspicion that there's something small in Osmond." He says this, in distressful warning, before Isabel is married; he sadly sees her learn how right he was. Her idealism turns to dust between her hands: not one thing she believed of Gilbert Osmond but was piteous, generous error. Isabel is "ground in the mill of conventionality"—and that a hating, not a kindly, dull conventionality. Osmond hates "the world" because he is a failure in it; yet his eyes are ever fixed on it, his every action is conditioned by it; Isabel, for instance, must pose as "exclusive," because thus she can wound those whom, by his wish, she seems to scorn. And he hates her—has come to hate her for her individuality, her free play of mind and heart (of heart especially), her friends, her faiths and hopes, her love of the world as she has seen it, and still sees it when she looks away from him. His daughter, Pansy, offspring of his worn-out *liaison* with Mme. Merle, but passing as the child of his first wife—Pansy, sweet and docile, but with depths in her pure little nature that surprise and anger him. Pansy falls in love with Edward Rosier, detrimental, and is crushed in the same blighting hand, while Isabel can but look on and see the child lose hope and courage. Pansy loves and trusts her, but Isabel can do nothing for Pansy—or thinks she can do nothing till at last, in a supreme revolt, she takes her own life in her hands once more and openly defies her husband. Ralph is dying in England, his mother sends for Isabel to come to him. She goes; leaves Rome against Osmond's wish. It is the end; both know it. She will not return to him. But she does return to Rome—returns to rescue Pansy. This is not expressly stated, but Henry James, to whom each word was charged with vital meaning, did not make the hundred implications that he does make in that sense without very definite intention. The fate of Isabel, "ground in the mill of conventionality," is the fate of many men and women. Her circumstances are exceptional, though not startlingly exceptional; the truth they stand for is a universal truth. Compare this with the fate of Milly Theale, the no less exquisite heroine of *The Wings of the Dove*. Here the circumstances are unique in sinister and maddening crookedness. The book is, to my thinking, spoilt by this excessive strangeness, this lack of reference to any other human being's doom. It is, to speak out frankly, unbelievable; hence we are not moved as we desire to be by its great beauty. Henry James reached empyrean heights in many passages of this extraordinary story; our grief is by so much the deeper that we cannot take it to our heart of hearts, for all its piercing loveliness of pity.

In these two girls we see in *excelsis*, as it were, what Henry James most prized in women: devotion, courage, and simplicity of heart. No greatly cherished heroine of his but has these marks; and nearly always there is placed, in close juxtaposition, another woman who has courage and devotion too, but not the quality which (from this one may judge) he prized as the "peculiar grace." This contrasted figure never has the halo of his own love round her head; he treats her royally, he gives her all her fineness; but implicit in the portrait there is always holding-off—he does not love her. In those whom he does love, simplicity of heart makes all their choice of action, and their still more frequent choice of the more difficult *in-action*, exquisite. Not simplicity of *mind*—that, never. Each has such divinatory and perceptions as confound her fellow-mortals—

including those who read about her! Nanda in *The Awkward Age* is his extreme in these uncanny creatures. She "knows everything" in every sense. Nobody need ever tell her anything that he or she has said, or done, or even thought. Yet Nanda too is of the simple-hearted; no gross initiation can defile her spirit. She is a "little drain-pipe" as she says—the counsellor of married men and women, shivering on the brink or wallowing in the depth of their adulteries; the taster of corrupt French novels for her imbecile friend Tishy Grendon, for whose innocence she vouches, knowing every turn of Tishy's so-called mind. Tishy must not read the novel; nineteen-year-old Nanda has decided that it is too "bad" for Tishy; and in one of the most complicated *scènes à faire* that even Henry James has ever put together, this incident brings on the climax of the story. For all this knowledge, this initiation, the young girl must pay by losing Vanderbank, the man she worships. He could love her were it not for two things—this, and Nanda's mother's hold upon him. The girl is doubly offered him: by her devotion, silent but profound and unmistakable; and by Mr. Longden, the old man who loved her grandmother, and who makes Nanda rich avowedly that she may marry Vanderbank. Mr. Longden formally lays Nanda and the dowry he will give her at the young man's disposal; Vanderbank tries hard to overcome the dual obstacle, but fails, and fails in part because the girl too deeply shocks him—him, who is her mother's lover! In the closing scene she urges him to go back to this mother, from whom Vanderbank's half-hearted love and pity and whole-hearted shame have parted him. He accepts the mission from her hands; he will go back to "Mrs. Brook" so pretty, and as Nanda pleads "so frightfully young," down there in the deserted drawing-room. "Good-bye, then," he calls gaily from the door of Nanda's sitting-room to Nanda when this amazing interview is over. "Good-bye," she said *when he had closed it*. And then, with Mr. Longden afterwards, she breaks into a storm of tears. She loves this Vanderbank so terribly; but "What difference does it make? What difference ever?" And he is right, she says, so to reject her. "Girls shouldn't be like me." Though it is clear that Henry James agrees that girls should not be like her, he gives us here again a companion picture. It is of the girl "deliberately prepared for consumption," like a peach upon a southern wall. Little Aggie, as a girl, "knows nothing," not the least, first thing; and in her subsequent development, when she is married, we are shown the fruit of that. Aggie's innocence was a "made" innocence, and she divests herself of every trace of decency as soon as, technically, innocence is gone; Nanda's, the real thing, but grows in grace through all her foul initiations.

Daisy Miller, the short story which was his first great success, shows forth in a quite different example the same sense of purity of heart as vindication for all errors. Do what women will, if they have this they are absolved. Winterbourne, a young American who lives in Europe, has met Daisy—pretty as a picture, very foolish, and a little vulgar—and has never been able to make up his mind how he shall think of her, until he comes upon her sitting in the Colosseum at midnight with a Mr. Giovanelli, who is "not a gentleman." He now decides without delay; then and there he brutally insults her. Standing at her grave a week later—for that night she caught malaria, and she dies—he learns from little Giovanelli that she was "most innocent." When she died she left a message for this Winterbourne: her mother gives it. "She told me to tell you that she never was engaged." He interprets it: "She would have appreciated one's esteem." The story is a masterpiece of subtlety. Through every word the author's irony for Winterbourne is shot; it is by this we know from the beginning that the girl is innocent—by this alone, until the meeting at her grave. For her behaviour, judged by the standards of the time (we must remember the time: *Daisy Miller* was first published in 1879), was quite outrageous; and only by the manner used in giving Winterbourne's impressions is any indication made of Daisy's "innocence." Such a story told by such a method was the first thing of its kind in English literature; Henry James was recognised as a master from that hour by those who knew the signs, and tokens of a master.

I have not given you even the half of what I hoped to give—it was impossible, unless enumeration were to take the place of comment. But could I marshal for you the procession of his heroines, we should end as we end now, with his idolatry of simple-heartedness contrasted, for the most part, with the more immediately "successful" gifts of great intelligence and courage lacking that peculiar grace. Those who have the simple heart may seem to "fail" but they do not fail, though the concrete prize be snatched from them. We find it in the lucid subtlety of early work no less than in

the complex subtlety of those astonishing achievements: *The Golden Bowl*, *What Maisie Knew*, *The Ambassadors*. Maggie Verver, married to her Roman Prince, and Maggie Verver's father, married to the Prince's former mistress, Charlotte Stant, who has resumed her "morganatic" office with the Prince . . . these, in *The Golden Bowl*, are perhaps the cardinal exemplars of the scheme, the last words of the contrast. But in *Maisie*, too, only the little girl's limpidity of love and faith makes such a pack of fools and knaves endurable to read about. In *The Ambassadors*, Lambert Strether, for this grace in Mme. de Vionnet, abandons all his former prospects and his later hopes, because perceiving this in her he stands by her in her doomed love for the young man whom Strether has been sent to Paris to "reclaim" from her. But *The Ambassadors* falls short, as I think (I don't care for it; I find it difficult and tedious, and a little empty), because in this book Henry James did not employ his fine device of contrast; and it is the proof, to me, of how essential that was to his best success. Mme. de Vionnet, in that sense, stands alone; in *The Ambassadors*, no other woman counts at all. Maria Gostrey, the "uncanny" one, the cosmopolitan old maid whom Strether comes to love, but must give up for his strained honour's sake, is barely saved from utter tediousness by the gay dialogue,—I do not know that she is saved; the young American girl, Maimie, fails to interest or charm us; even Mme. de Vionnet, in one important scene, breaks up deplorably; and I attribute all to the abandonment of that which in all other books but the quite unrelated *Tragic Muse* (absorbing and amusing, but "unlike" him in an almost unbelievable degree) endowed him with the special values which made his whole picture "come." *The Figure in the Carpet*, a short tale, tells of an author through whose work a pattern ran, each thread in which worked to the one intention. In Henry James's carpet the figure is a complex one; yet it seems to me to be epitomised in this: "The pure in heart shall see God." In every book and every story this "answers the question," so to speak. I have said elsewhere that he made the drawing-room "a working-model of the universe." I might have said besides that he raised it to the skies. Amid all the humour and the fine, keen irony, the satire and the sadness and the scepticism, one faith lit the way: that always, somehow, somewhere, somewhen, the pure in heart shall see God.

ETHEL COLBURN MAYNE.

Dr. Elsie Inglis.

Dr. Elsie Inglis. By Lady Frances Balfour. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6s.)

Lady Frances Balfour's simple narrative of the life and work of Dr. Elsie Inglis tells a story already engraved on the hearts of her British countrymen and women, and flowering into the legend of a saint and heroine in the gallant land for which she died.

Sometimes biographers' accounts of the ancestry and relations of their subjects are wearisome, but Dr. Elsie's family was so much a part of herself at all times that it is essential we should know them if we are to know her. We read, therefore, with due interest that her great, great grandfather emigrated from Scotland to Charleston, and became there a successful merchant owning such things as "a hundred and twenty-five head of black cattle, £125; sixty-nine slaves, at £60 a head, £4,140; a pew, No. 31, in St. Michael's Church, Charleston, £150; and eleven house negroes, £700"; and a library of books; also that he left these things and children, to whom he was devoted, to fight and fall in a duel, on a point of honour. Other ancestors distinguished themselves in India. Her father, her dear friend and comrade, fought through the Indian Mutiny with John Lawrence, and, with him, helped in the after-settlement of the Punjab. Elsie herself was born in 1864 at Naini Tal, a beautiful hill station in the Himalayas. On the retirement of her father from his position as member of the Legislative Council under Lord Lytton and officiating Commissioner in Oudh, the family spent two years in Tasmania, and then returned home and settled in Edinburgh.

Here is a pleasant reminiscence of childhood from Eva Inglis:—

"We had forty dolls! Elsie decreed once that they should all have measles—so days were spent by us three painting little red dots all over the forty faces and the forty pairs of arms and legs. She was the doctor and prescribed gruesome drugs which we had to administer. Then it was decreed that they should slowly recover, so each day so many spots were washed off until the epidemic was wiped out!"

And another, from Mrs. Inglis, writing on board the "Durham," homeward bound from Tasmania:—

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"Baby has thriven exceedingly well," writes an Enfield mother about her little boy 9 months old; "I have never had one day's trouble with him since putting him on Nestlé's Milk. I fed him myself for the first two months, but he did not seem to get on well at all, so I decided to put him on Nestlé's Milk, and am ever thankful. Baby's health is excellent. He is a big and bonny boy, very strong for his age, very good all night, and very contented."

Why did this mother put her baby on Nestlé's Milk?

Here is the answer in her own words:

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"Elsie has found occupation for herself in helping to nurse sick children, and look after turbulent boys who trouble everybody on board, and a baby of seven months old is an especial favourite with her."

Thus the coming event was foreshadowed, and after a school career in Edinburgh and Paris, Elsie "came in one day, and sitting down beside father, divulged her plan of going in for medicine." The chapter telling of her struggles and triumphs is intensely interesting, and should be read in full. Suffice it here to note that even during that period her tastes were by no means exclusively professional:—

"In the active months of her residence she resolutely tramped London, attended most of the outstanding churches, and was a great sermon taster of ministers, ranging from Boyd Carpenter to Father Maturin. Innumerable relatives and friends tempted her to lawn tennis and the theatres."

The following surprising extract speaks of delightful relations between her and Mrs Fawcett's distinguished sisters:—

"Mrs. Garrett Anderson is a capital chaperone. . . . I danced every dance; it was a lovely floor and lovely music, and you may make up your mind, papa dear, that I go to all the balls in Edinburgh after this. They had two odd dances called Barn-door. . . . I came home with Miss Garrett."

Chapter six shows Dr. Elsie not only a social, but also a political "animal," it reveals her as the fearless champion of the political enfranchisement of her sex, willing for this cause to sacrifice income and professional success and home comfort, the outstanding figure in the Scottish Federation of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, and, as Lady Frances observes, "one of the finest types of women produced by the ideals and inspiring purposes of the generation to which she belonged."

In immediate connection with this suffrage work came the call that reached her at the beginning of the war, and without the inspiration and organised support of that movement she could not have carried out her purpose:—

"The suffrage organisations, staffed and equipped with able practical women Jacks-of-all-trades in their midst, put themselves at the call of national service, but were headed back from all enterprises. It had been ordained that women could not fight, and therefore they were of no use in war-time. A few persisted in trying to find openings for service. Among these was Dr. Inglis."

The story of the elderly War Office official who replied to her offer, "My good lady, go home and sit still," is historic, and not less so now:—

"She went home to her family, who so often had inspired her to good work, and as she sat and talked over the war and her plans with one of her nieces she suddenly said 'I know what we will do! We will have a unit of our own.'"

From that day the scheme for the "National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies' Scottish Women's Hospitals" went forward, and week by week the progress of the work has been chronicled in THE COMMON CAUSE, and is set out in due proportion in the biography before us. The essence of the whole appears in the words of Colonel Hunter, A.M.S., written after Dr. Inglis's death:—

"It was my privilege and happiness to see much of her work in Serbia when I was officer-in-charge of the corps of R.A.M.C. officers sent out by the W.O. to deal with the raging epidemic of typhus and famine fevers then devastating the land. I have never met with anyone who gave me so deep an impression of single-mindedness, gentle-heartedness, clear and purposeful vision, wise judgment, and absolutely fearless disposition. . . . No more lovable personality than hers, or more devoted and courageous body of women had ever set out to help effectively a people in dire distress than the S.W.H."

During the last months she became more and more not only the medical adviser, but a guide to whom responsible Serbians turned in all sorts of difficulties—even those of a political or military character—and it was with a large Serbian detachment that she returned at last to England. To them it was she said good-bye "in her worn uniform coat with the faded ribbons that had seen such good service" a few hours before she died.

The story of the last years of her active service is found in her frequent letters to the Hon. Secretary of the London Unit's Committee (initiated by the London Society for Women's Suffrage), for it was as their commissioner she was serving during all this wonderful time, and to the members of that Society it will be a matter of delight to recall this special bond of union. The book, however, will appeal not only to the Scot or to the Londoner, but, we believe, translated into other languages, it will find acceptance in all the countries of the Allies, and indeed wherever efficiency and humility, self-forgetfulness and initiative, gentleness and courage are valued.

A. H. W.

A Bird's-Eye View of the Health Services.

The Ministry of Reconstruction has recently issued a report,* at the modest price of threepence, which we urgently commend to the notice of all members of Suffrage Societies and Women Citizens Associations. They will doubtless be repelled by its physical features. It takes the form of an ordinary parliamentary White Paper of the size and shape which will neither stand upright in a bookcase nor lie symmetrically among pamphlets; it bears the ponderous title of "Memorandum on Subsidiary Health and Kindred Services for Women"; and its general aspect is such that no bookseller would conceivably consider the possibility of exhibiting it for sale alongside of the elegant little grey reconstruction pamphlets which the Ministry is offering to the public throughout the country at 2d. a-piece.

The author of the publication in question is Miss Adelaide Anderson, well known to suffragists as H.M. Principal Lady Inspector of Factories. In compiling it Miss Anderson has achieved a double task. In the first place she has presented a clear and comprehensive summary (in the space of twenty pages) of all that is being done by public and voluntary agencies in the cause of public health and infant welfare, of the Acts at present in force and of the use which is being made of them. In the second place she indicates possible schemes for the development of these activities in such a way as to open up a vitally important sphere of action for a vast number of trained women workers drawn from all classes of the community, more especially from those industrial classes among whom their work would for the most part lie. The report therefore embodies not merely a series of proposals bearing directly upon the future position of women in the labour market, it constitutes a positive mine of well-ordered information for the average ignorant reader who, like the present reviewer, has not hitherto succeeded in grasping the scope and ramifications of the existing system.

Miss Anderson surveys her subject under fifteen headings: Midwives, home helps, sanitary inspectors and health visitors, day nurseries and nursery schools; mothers' pensions and maternity and infant welfare centres and schools for mothers; maternity allowances; children's happy evenings, pay centres; public baths, &c.; pure clean milk supply; invalid and co-operative kitchens; superintendents, forewomen, and supervisors in factories; care committee organisers, and boys' and girls' clubs; women employed on or in co-operation with police forces, &c.; probation officers and preventive institutions; orderlies in hospitals. This group of services embodies, as the writer points out in her introduction, "one of economically the most important industries of the future," and in the development of this industry, "that of adequately bringing the gifts and resources of civilisation to the support of motherhood in its task of bearing and rearing healthy and morally sound citizens, it seems evident that the primary agents, under whatever necessary skilled direction, must be women themselves." It is suggested therefore, that a national call should be made for an army of paid and trained workers, to the tune of tens, perhaps later, of hundreds of thousands. But in order that all the abilities of heart and mind, the "undeveloped estate" of women, may be fully drawn upon, Miss Anderson considers it necessary that those subsidiary services should be "linked up in a chain leading to the higher ranks of State service."

To readers of THE COMMON CAUSE Miss Anderson's report has a peculiar interest connected with a problem which at present fills the minds of suffragists—the problem of equal pay for equal work. In foreshadowing the opening up of an extended field of highly skilled work which women are unquestionably better capable of performing than men, it strikes at one of the fundamental causes of the present wage discrimination—i.e., the comparatively restricted field of endeavour in which women are at present competing. The proposals, if adopted on a generous scale will influence the demand side of the present supply and demand relations of the labour market in a direction favourable to women.

For many reasons therefore, we beg to offer our congratulations and thanks to Miss Anderson for a valuable contribution to the library of the woman voter.

MARY STOCKS.

* Memorandum on Subsidiary Health and Kindred Services for Women. Prepared by Miss A. M. Anderson, O.B.E., at the request and for the consideration of the Women's Employment Committee, Ministry of Reconstruction. Price 3d. net.

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Those who are in closest touch with the pulse of the country—thinkers in every phase of life—are convinced of the necessity of strengthening the forces of religion, and urge all those who have the future welfare of their country at heart to send a donation or subscription as a token of gratitude for VICTORY and PEACE.

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Gifts may be made if preferred, in the form of National War Bonds or Stock, and may be spread over a series of years.

Cheques should be made payable to the Church of England Central Fund, and sent to

Canon F. PARTRIDGE, Sanctuary House,
33, Tothill Street, Westminster, S.W.1.

Correspondence.

WOMEN AND DOMESTIC SERVICE.

MADAM,—As an old and steadfast supporter of the cause of women I venture to offer a few words on the subject of your leading article and note in last week's issue. The fact that no women have been appointed to sit on the Demobilisation Board must be regarded as an oversight which ought to be, and surely will be, rectified. But it is going a little ahead of the facts to assume that the dictates of justice and prudence are going to be disregarded. Neither the Government nor anyone else has yet told "the woman worker" that she must go back into idleness, or into sweated industries or into unproductive luxury trades. The makers of munitions, men and women, have been receiving for the best part of four years a rate of wage which far exceeds anything previously heard of, and which it would be impossible, for many reasons, to continue. The country has been in serious danger, and the women workers flocked from their previous employment into the munition factories, impelled not only by the urgent call for help, but by the attractions of so much money weekly have saved a little for the time when they knew it would and must cease. Whether this is so or not it is plain that munitions are no longer wanted on such a scale, and the women, like the men, must seek a living from other kinds of employment. It is true that many girls have found their way into fields of work where they had been previously unknown, and of those who have shown themselves fit for the new sphere many will no doubt remain in banks and offices, in transport, replacing some of the men, and on the land. But there is one field which you do not mention in your columns where there are at the present time tens of thousands of vacancies, which must ultimately be filled by young women, unless family life in England is to come to an end altogether. More than half the girls who took to munitions were tempted out of their previous secure position as domestics by the exorbitant rate of pay offered by the country when under stress of national danger. In the meantime wages generally have gone up, and any respectable girl can have at very short notice good lodging, board, washing and light, which as an independent worker, even at munition wages, she cannot command of the same quality. Besides security for food, shelter, and health, she can have £20 to £50 a year in her pocket, according to the experience and qualifications she has at her command, besides a considerable proportion of time at her disposal.

Why, then, is domestic employment at present unpopular?

W. A. T.

"IN ITS PRESENT FORM."

MADAM,—The announcement that 40 D of the Defence of the Realm Act, in its present form, is now repealed is satisfactory, not because it means the victory of a great principle, but because it gives time in which to ensure victory and to build it upon a sure foundation. That sure foundation is a sober and enlightened public opinion, made effective by the systematic organisation over the whole country of religious, political, and social forces. Each time panic legislation is threatened it can be averted by means of such educated and organised forces. But that will not be victory. Victory will be sure only when the forces of right have become so stable that Governments, finding it unthinkable to propose legislation upon an outworn and discredited basis, build up a wholly new legal code, knowing no differentiation of class or sex, and remedial, rather than penal, in its methods. If the first generation of enfranchised women, in co-operation with their male fellow-citizens, achieve this victory, they will have justified the highest hopes of the pioneers who toiled for the weapon of the vote.

A. H. W.

IN MEMORIAM.

NOVEMBER 26TH, 1917.

This week—when readers of THE COMMON CAUSE have so many pressing calls upon their attention—this week, full of the new exhilaration, when flags fly proudly over the Land from North to South and everywhere are heard the trumpets of victory—let us not forget to withdraw into a silent place for a little space to honour our great dead.

On Saturday, November 24th, a year ago, Dr Elsie Inglis reached port at Newcastle, her voyage of life ended.

We all know the great story of her return, with the little Army of the Jugo-Slavs, brought by her to England on their way to the final triumph we have so recently rejoiced over. The Serbian Staff, down there in the South, will not have forgotten her last farewell the day they disembarked.

"It was a wonderful example of her courage and fortitude," wrote one who was with her, "to see her standing unsupported—a splendid figure of quiet dignity. Her face, ashen and drawn like a mask, dressed in her worn uniform coat, with the faded ribbons that had seen such good service. As the officers kissed her hand, and thanked her for all she had done for them, she said to each of them a few words accompanied with her wonderful smile. After that parting was over Dr. Inglis collapsed from great weakness."

The next day, Sunday, she was carried ashore to die, surrounded by those she loved, fully conscious to the end, glad, and of high courage. The 26th of this November is the first anniversary of that passing; a day on which all who were privileged to know her, all who honour her, may well give thanks for a noble life and death.

"Her cabin'd ample spirit
It flutter'd and fail'd for breath.
To-day it doth inherit
The vasty hall of Death."

M. L.

Reports, Notices, etc.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

President: MRS. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

Hon. Secretaries:

MISS MARGARET JONES.
MRS. OLIVER STRACHEY (Parliamentary).

Hon. Treasurers:

MRS. H. A. L. FISHER and
MISS ROSAMOND SMITH.

Secretaries:

MISS AGNEW, MRS. HUBBARD (In-
formation and Parliamentary).

Offices—Evelyn House, 62, Oxford Street, London, W.1.
Telegraphic Address—Voiceless, Ox, London. Telephone—Museum 2668.

Headquarter Notes.

The N.U.W.S.S. is supporting the candidature of:—

- (1) Mrs. Oliver Strachey (Independent Coalition), Brentford, Chiswick.
- (2) Miss Margery Fry (Independent), West Bristol.
- (3) Mrs. Corbett Ashby (Liberal), Ladywood, Birmingham.

It is possible that a further list of candidates supported by the N.U.W.S.S. will be published next week.

Headquarters have also sanctioned the proposal of the Glasgow Society to support Miss Eunice Murray, as Independent Candidate for Bridgeton Division of Glasgow; that of the Hendon Society to support Mrs. How Martyn as Independent Candidate for Hendon, and that of the Birmingham Society to support Mrs. Corbett Ashby.

Societies which are near enough to supply workers, more especially speakers, to help any of the above candidates are strongly urged to do so, and all societies are urged to collect money for the Women M.P.'s Fund, in aid of which the N.U.W.S.S. is issuing the following appeal:—

DEAR MADAM,—The passing of the Eligibility of Women to Parliament Bill has opened a new field of political activity for women. The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies has decided to support the candidature of suitable women candidates for Parliament and wishes to establish a fund to be used in supporting women candidates who are not in a position to pay their own expenses.

Two donations of £50 have already been promised.

The position of the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies with regard to women candidates is a difficult one, for the Union as a matter of course must preserve its non-party character. After much thought it has been decided that the only means of being effectively both non-party and feminist is to be all party and to support the candidature of women of all parties. But support becomes ineffective if too widely dispersed. The National Union hopes, therefore, to select women candidates from each of the chief Parties and proposes to concentrate its efforts on these candidates.

As far as possible we ask subscribers to allow their money to be used in support of any woman candidate who requires help but where subscribers prefer to help a woman candidate of their own party, they may earmark their donation to be used for that party alone.

We of the National Union feel that no effort should be spared to secure the election of some women at least to the new Parliament which has to settle those problems, political, social and industrial which so nearly concern the women of to-day. If you feel with us, as we greatly hope you do, and wish to join in our work, we would remind you of the urgency of our need. The election is close upon us; we have only a few weeks in which to work; and to be of use our work must be thorough. We ask you therefore not only to send us a generous subscription to the Women M.P.'s Fund, but to send it *at once*.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT, President.
RAY STRACHEY, Hon. Parl. Sec.
MARGARET JONES, Hon. Sec.
LETTICE FISHER,
ROSAMOND SMITH, } Hon. Treasurers.

[Owing to lack of space, Headquarter's Lists are held over till next week.]

Literature Department.

The N.U.W.S.S., in conjunction with the Women's Local Government Society, have issued the following leaflet:—

TO WOMEN—AND ESPECIALLY TO WOMEN ELECTORS.

At this eventful time when women are about to use their new powers we the Undersigned, representing national Societies, take the liberty of asking consideration for the convictions here expressed.

Women, as forming, not far from one-half of the Electorate, can do much to secure the return to Parliament of men and women with a high standard of character and public honour. A House of Commons that



In Peace as in War

THE Blue Triangle must stand by the Girls. They have had their huts and clubs in France, in camps at home, and in munition centres; and are asking if clubs will be ready when they return home.

The Blue Triangle is the symbol of a new and finer life for the women of Britain. Its Clubs will continue to be centres of social intercourse. The dullness of everyday life, the sordidness of many industrial centres, with the lack of social opportunity, have somehow got to be altered if we are to have a newer and better England in the future.

The Y.W.C.A. is ready to help in the difficult period now arising.

Need of the moment—Emergency accommodation required at every port and railway terminus.

Please send a contribution, and please do not for a moment slacken your interest in the girls who have helped to win the war.



Hon. Treas. for London Campaign:

The Viscount Hambleton,
19, Arlington Street, S.W.1.

National Treas.:

The Lord Sydenham of Combe,
26, George Street, Hanover Square, W.1.

Women Wartime Workers' Fund, Registered under the War Charities Act, 1916.

RESTORE the Battleground of VERDUN AS A TRIBUTE TO FRANCE

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The French Government and the local officials are relying on us and providing financial aid.

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We shall receive the refugee as he returns, survey with him the ruins of his home and build a new one, give his wife employment, his children clothing, provide furniture and beds, restock his pens, get his land under cultivation and leave a

PERMANENT INSTITUTION IN THE VERDUN AREA

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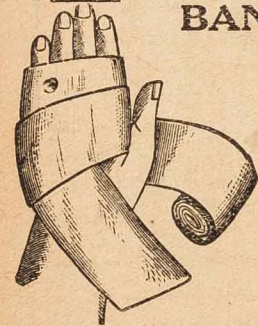
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includes no women Members cannot be representative. Women can help by working actively for suitable women Candidates. Women can refrain from promising their votes until they have satisfactory evidence as to not only the individual suitability but the programme of the Candidates recommended to them. Women can do much to secure that Candidates are asked the most important questions, and it will be well for women to take counsel together as to what these questions should be. Amongst such questions, the Undersigned, avoiding all party issues, suggest the inclusion of the following:—

- (1) Do you believe in upholding the same moral standard for men as for women?
- (2) Will you demand the immediate withdrawal of Regulation 40 D (D.O.R.A.)?
- (3) Are you in favour of the removal of all artificial restrictions on a woman's choice of career?
- (4) Are you in favour of equal opportunities in Education and Training for girls as for boys? and for women as for men?
- (5) Are you in favour of a considerable proportion of women on all Statutory and Government-appointed bodies?
- (6) Are you in favour of equal rights in Guardianship for mothers and fathers?
- (7) Are you in favour of the co-operation of women with men in dealing with all questions of Juvenile Delinquency?
- (8) Are you in favour of Equal Pay for men and women for Equal Work?

JANE M. STRACHEY (Lady Strachey),
President, Women's Local Government Society,
19, Tothill Street, London, S.W. 1.

MILICENT GARRETT FAWCETT (Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D.),
President, National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
Evelyn House, 62, Oxford Street, London, W. 1.

Can be obtained from the above Societies at 2s. a hundred.

THE NATIONAL UNION'S PROGRAMME.

The following are the objects and programme adopted by the Council of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies at its annual meeting, March, 1918:—

OBJECTS:—

- (1) To obtain the Parliamentary Franchise for women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men.
- (2) To obtain all other such reforms, economic, legislative and social, as are necessary to secure a real equality of liberties, status and opportunities between men and women.
- (3) To assist women to realise their responsibilities as voters.

PROGRAMME:—

IMPROVEMENT OF THE STATUS OF MARRIED WOMEN.

- (1) Parents to be Equal Guardians of their Children.
To promote legislation to provide that parents shall be the equal joint guardians of their children, each with the power to name a guardian to act jointly with the survivor.
- (2) State Provision for Widows.
To promote legislation to provide State maintenance allowances for widows with dependent children or those incapacitated by age or infirmity.
- (3) Nationality of Married Women.
To promote legislation to give British women the right to retain their British nationality on marriage with an alien, a right enjoyed by them until 1870, and to give them the same right to choose their nationality as a man, including the right to naturalise independently of their husbands.
- (4) Enforcement of Wives' Maintenance Orders.
To promote legislation making more effective the obtaining and enforcing of maintenance orders on neglectful, cruel or dissolute husbands, with the possibility of making such orders a charge on wages when the man neglects to pay.
- (5) Income Tax and Married Women's Property.
To promote legislation enabling the income of a married woman to be reckoned as separate from that of her husband for the purpose of the rate of Income Tax levied.
- (6) Married Women's Property Acts (Scotland).
To promote legislation to bring Scots law into line with the law of England by abolishing the present right of husband to veto the freedom of action of his wife in dealing with their own property.

II.—OPENING TO WOMEN OF PUBLIC POSITIONS AND PROFESSIONS.

- * (1) Women M.P.'s.
To enable women to be Members of Parliament.
- (2) Juries, Police, Justices of the Peace.
To secure for women the right to serve on juries, and the immediate appointment of an adequate number of women as Policewomen with full powers to arrest, and as Justices of the Peace.
- (3) Legal Profession.
To open the legal profession to women.

III.—EQUAL MORAL STANDARD.

Abolition of Law of Solicitation and Common Prostitutes.

Since law dealing with moral offences should be based on the equal moral standard not only verbally but in its effect, to work for the abolition of the whole law dealing with solicitation and common prostitutes.

Note.—It is sufficient for the purposes of preserving order in the streets that obstruction or molestation should be an offence, and that to prove a charge of molestation police evidence alone should not be enough, but the evidence of the person molested should also be required.

IV.—PAYMENT FOR WOMEN'S WORK.

To promote the economic equality of men with women.

V.—INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE POWERS AFTER THE WAR.

Women Delegates, Women's Suffrage, Married Women's Nationality.

To secure that the British Government shall

- (1) include women among the British delegates to the Conference;

* Italics denote that the object has been attained.

WOMEN'S SERVICE.

It is interesting and important to know how great a demand is being made upon the "Women's Service" since the signing of the armistice. The offices are now crowded by women in deep anxiety respecting their future: women discharged and awaiting discharge from Government Offices, from Woolwich, and munition works of all kinds, to whom help and advice is being given daily. To help the funds necessary for carrying on this work a Christmas Sale is to be held at the Central Hall, Westminster, on December 18th and 19th, and it is hoped that all readers of THE COMMON CAUSE will bear this sale in remembrance and help the good work being done by coming to buy their Christmas presents there.

Contributions to the stalls will be most welcome, and may be sent from December 9th to the Central Hall, addressed to the "Women's Service Sale."

CHRISTMAS SALE

In aid of WOMEN'S SERVICE FUNDS

WILL BE HELD ON

Wednesday & Thursday, Dec. 18th & 19th,

IN THE

CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER.

Please help by sending Hospital Comforts, Needlework, Jewellery, Lavender, Books, Pictures, China, Toys, Jumbles, White Elephants, produce, in fact anything useful for Xmas presents or for the Jumble Sale to follow.

Parcels can be sent to the Central Hall, addressed to Women's Service Sale, from December 9th.

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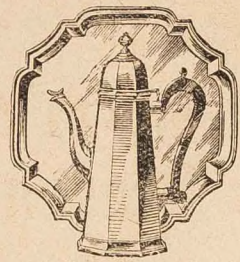
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* Objects already attained are indicated by Italics.

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MRS. CORBETT ASHBY'S ELECTION ADDRESS.

- (a) A LEAGUE OF NATIONS:
(1) To make Another War Impossible.
(2) To abolish Conscription.
(3) To lighten the Burden of Taxation for Armaments.
(4) To substitute Open Treaties, ratified by Parliament, for Secret Diplomacy.
(5) To pool raw materials and food for the hungry peoples of the world.

Just as our common sense makes us agree to live together under a common rule of law and order within the nation, so I believe their common sense will teach the nations to live together in future, and I welcome the practical beginning of the idea in the International Council which will be established at the Peace Table to ration the nations.

- (b) FREE TRADE AND NO FOOD TAXES: We have made two outstanding contributions to the Allied cause:
(1) By our unique Navy and Mercantile Marine we have secured the successful transport of troops, the feeding of our Allies, and the blockade of our enemies.
(2) By our Free Trade wealth we have largely financed our Protectionist Allies.

The Premier's Preference proposals would make the ideal of a Free Breakfast Table impossible and curse the housewife's domestic budget with more profiteering.

- (c) RIGHTS OF LITTLE PEOPLES: Home Rule is imperative to give Ireland the same free choice of government we have demanded for Poland, Alsace-Lorraine, and Serbia.
(d) HEALTH AND HOUSING: I believe the urgency of housing admits of no delay, and that there must be the immediate provision of

- (1) Houses with at least three bedrooms, bath-room, water laid on, within the average wage-earner's means.
(2) A garden or allotment with each house, for those who want it.
(3) State assistance to encourage municipal enterprise; the adequate taxation of land values; and the right of compulsory purchase of land for all public requirements at the rate-book valuation.

I regard the immediate provision of good labour-saving houses as one way of recognising the services of soldiers and workers at home and abroad and of helping to solve the evils of a low standard of health, temperance and morality.

- (e) EQUAL CITIZENSHIP: Real equality between men and women before the law in

- (1) All questions of marriage, morals and the home.
(2) Opportunities of general and technical training.
(3) Equal pay for work of equal value above a sound minimum for all.
(4) All trades, industries and professions.

- (f) LABOUR AND LEISURE:
(1) A shorter working day and adequate minimum wage, enforced by law if necessary.
(2) Regularity of income through universal non-contributory unemployed insurance.

- (3) More freedom and consultation in the workshop.
(4) Public recreations of a wholesome kind.

- (g) SOLDIERS, SAILORS, AND MOTHERS: I believe in Justice without Charity to secure

- (1) Adequate pensions for widows with dependent children.
(2) A real right of maintenance for wives.
(3) Fullest possible help of all kinds to disabled or discharged soldiers and sailors.
(4) Fair treatment for women war workers.

I welcome Mr. Asquith's desire to improve the Old Age Pensions secured by the Liberal Party, and should like to see the pension raised and the age limit lowered.

- (h) CIVIL AND INDUSTRIAL LIBERTY: I support the immediate restoration of

- (1) All British liberties of citizenship; and
(2) All essential trade union rights for men and women to enjoy the full use of collective bargaining, surrendered or lost during the war.
(i) TRADE AND TRANSIT: I favour

- (1) The removal of irksome Government control from private industries.
(2) The encouragement of production by science, canals and railways.
(3) The continued municipal ownership of electrical supply.

In general I should like to see more Municipal Administration and less Whitehall Bureaucracy.

News from Societies.

DEWSBURY.—On October 31st at the Town Hall a meeting was addressed by Mrs. H. A. L. Fisher; Mrs. Edwin Lee presiding. Mrs. Fisher justified the continued existence of women's suffrage societies, pointing out that women had not yet got votes on the same terms as men; and that this was particularly dissatisfying as it was largely due to the war-work of women under thirty that the suffrage was obtained.

FARNWORTH.—A meeting to protest against 40D D.O.R.A., arranged by the Farnworth Society, to which members of the various women's societies in the town were invited, was held in the Co-operative Hall on Monday, October 21st. The Women's Co-operative Guild, who gave up their usual weekly meeting on that night, were present in large numbers. The Hall was well filled and the audience deeply interested. Mrs. Harold Barnes, President of the Suffrage Society, was chairman, and on the platform was Mrs. Openshaw, President of the Co-operative Guild. The speakers were Mrs. Bulley, of Liverpool, and Mrs. Agnew, of Bolton. A resolution, calling upon the Government to withdraw this regulation and not to allow any such regulation to be placed on the Statute Book in future, was carried unanimously.

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

SOLIHULL.—A note respecting an interesting and particularly useful branch of work which the Solihull Society has undertaken may perhaps excite the emulation of such of your readers as are seeking to do something for the national good at the present juncture.

Our small society was the means of instituting an Infants' Welfare Centre here. The object—which, particularly at this point in our national life, will need no words to recommend it—may be stated briefly as a direct effort to ameliorate the conditions of the infant's life from every point of view, and to ensure working knowledge of hygiene and correct treatment of mother and child.

This centre, though itself in an early stage of development, has furnished gratifying results, and already a noticeable improvement is to be seen in many of the mothers and children coming under its influence.

Cheerful sunny premises have been secured, a large room serves as a weekly meeting place for the mothers, teas are obtainable, toys are provided for the children, specially prescribed foods are supplied at wholesale prices, and addresses on sanitation, cleanliness, suitable feeding, general care of infants, &c. are from time to time given by competent volunteer ladies. More than fifty mothers look forward to these weekly meetings with genuine pleasure and interest. In a second room the infants are weighed, a chart being carefully kept and a copy supplied to each mother. These records are highly important, as progress and retardation are at once shown and dealt with.

The Centre retains a qualified Health Inspector and a Certified Midwife: advice is given to expectant mothers and arrangements made for their well being. The medical men of our district give their full approval and support to the work. There is also a flourishing Dental Club and Boot Club in connection with the Centre.

Our Society advanced money to provide for the initial outlay, and funds have been raised by a flag day, local entertainments, garden meetings, &c.

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

NOVEMBER 29.
Danehill—Danehill Women's Institute—3 p.m.
Speaker: Miss May Curwen

NOVEMBER 30.
Camberwell—Datchelor Old Girls' Club, Mary Datchelor School, The Grove, Camberwell—3 p.m.
Speaker: Miss May Curwen

DECEMBER 2.
Birmingham—Selly Oak Institute—Women's Meeting—Speaker: Mrs. Ring 3 p.m.

DECEMBER 3.
Bromley—Young People's Guild—Bromley Congregational Church—Speaker: Miss May Curwen 8 p.m.

DECEMBER 4.
Chester—Haswell's Café—Chair: Miss Clay, B.A.—Speaker: Miss Macadam (of Liverpool University Social Science School)—Subject: "The State and Adult Life" 7.30 p.m.
Bristol—Charfield—Speaker: Mrs. W. C. H. Cross—Subject: "Women's Citizenship and its Responsibility" 2.30 p.m.

Coming Events.

NOVEMBER 30.
Westminster—25, Tothill Street—Public Conference on "International Labour Legislation"—Chairman: Mr. G. H. Stuart-Browning—Speakers: M. Camille Huysmans, Miss Sophie Sanger, Mr. Fred Bramley 3 p.m.

DECEMBER 2.
Westminster—Fabian Hall, 25, Tothill Street—Speaker: Mrs. Stocks—Subject: "Equal Pay and the Family"—Dr. Saleeby and Mrs. Pember Reeves have also promised to speak 8 p.m.

MISS MAUDE ROYDEN preaches in the City Temple, Holborn Viaduct, E.C., next Sunday, at the 6.30 p.m. service. Subject: "Why does God allow us to suffer?"

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

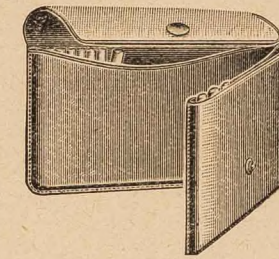
FABIAN WOMEN'S GROUP.
A MEETING will be held on MONDAY, 2nd DECEMBER, at 8 p.m. in the FABIAN HALL, 25, TOHILL-STREET, WESTMINSTER, to discuss The Endowment of Families. Speakers: Mrs. Stocks, Endowment of Families Committee; Dr. Saleeby, Chairman, National Birth Rate Commission; Mrs. Pember Reeves, Fabian Women's Group. Admission Free.

MISS MARY R. MACARTHUR, Labour Candidate for Stourbridge, earnestly appeals for helpers to assist either by speaking, canvassing, or in clerical capacities.—Call or write: Central Committee Rooms, Co-Operative Buildings, Stourbridge.

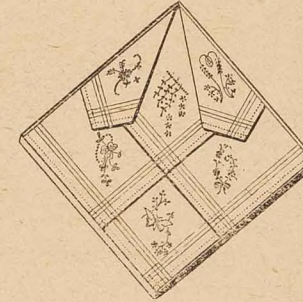
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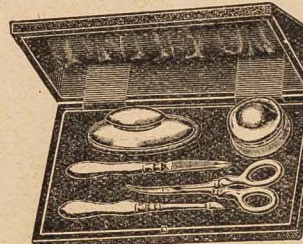
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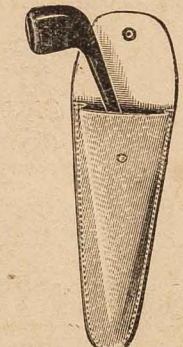
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