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Notes and News.

The Sex-Disqualification (Removal) Bill.

We publish this week a full report of the representative deputation from women's societies which waited on Mr. Bonar Law and the Lord Chancellor last Monday. As we remarked last week, the greatest blemish on the Government's Sex-Disqualification Removal Bill (except, of course, its omission of votes for women under thirty) is the provision which limits the admission of women to the Civil Service. If this provision were to be interpreted in the light of the Gladstone Committee's Report, it would practically destroy the effects of the first clause of the Bill. The Government would be taking away with one hand what they are giving with the other. Considering the statements which have been made on behalf of the Government in connection with this Report, it is not surprising that the women's organisations have read the whole Bill in the light of it. It is a great relief to know that the Government do not put the same interpretation on their measure, and realise that to do so would be to contradict the intentions which they expressed in introducing the Bill.

A Basis of Discretion.

We understand that it is strongly felt by Ministers that the authorities must reserve to themselves some discretion in making appointments to the Civil Service. Such discretion they have always had, and no one has proposed to take it away; but we still feel that it should not have a sex basis. In filling administrative posts it is obviously most important that the special qualifications of *individuals* should be regarded, and that these should not be judged entirely by competitive examination. It is argued that there are some posts for which women are obviously unsuitable. We understand that this refers to the Indian Civil Service, and we imagine that few women would deny that at present, at least, there is some strength in the argument. But even at present there are probably some posts in India which could be better filled by a woman, if she were the right kind of woman, than by a man. And if this is true of posts that actually exist, it is still truer of posts that might be and ought to be created. We believe that the Indian Civil Service would be much strengthened if those who are responsible for the arrangements in it knew that in filling the administrative posts it would be possible to select from among the best women as well as from among the best men. As for the Home Civil Service, we find it impossible to believe that there are any posts there from which women should be excluded as women, though there are many which ought only to be offered to individuals of proved capacity and judgment.

The Best Women.

The whole point, of course, is to get the best women; and we think that Ministers cannot fail to have been impressed by the able and serious statement made by Miss Penrose, Principal of Somerville College, Oxford, on behalf of the Federation of University Women. Miss Penrose said that if the Government had *wished* to provide evidence that women were inferior to picked men, they could hardly have hit on a better scheme for the purpose than that suggested in the Gladstone report. Such a method of appointing women would make it almost impossible to get the best women. "I can guess," said Miss Penrose, "the type of many of the candidates who would appear on such a list. The less enterprising, the less wide-awake, the mediocre. It is the young woman who does not know exactly what she wants to do, except that she does not want to teach, who would be content to dangle, as it were, at the end of a string, until the men in some department found a job which they considered suitable for a woman. But I think you would find that her shrewder and more highly-gifted sisters would walk warily past the door labelled 'For Chinamen Only,' and would be apt to suspect that 'Suitable for Women' might often be a polite paraphrase for a dull billet. I think the Government should make up its mind what type of University woman it would like to recruit," said Miss Penrose gravely. It is a warning which we must echo here. The Government has not so far, given itself a chance of getting the best women (except by accident) or of using them in a way which would really test their capacities. It is of enormous, nay inestimable, national importance that in the coming years the State should use all the capacity and all the wisdom that it can draw into its service. It is we think, quite impossible to exaggerate this point. It certainly was not exaggerated in the calm and well-weighed words of the women's deputation. We earnestly hope that the men who have our country's future in their hands will take heed.

Women as Jurors.

The deputation concentrated on the Civil Service clause of the Sex Disqualification Removal Bill, but there is another point which many of the women's societies are discussing, and that is the clause which deals with women as jurors. The Bill provides that a person shall not be exempted by sex from the liability to serve as a juror. But this is qualified by the provision that any judge or other person before whom a case is heard, shall have discretion to exempt a woman from jury service in respect of that case "by reason of the evidence to be given or the issues to be tried." Lord Reading had down an amendment which was moved by Lord Muir Mackenzie on July 31st, providing that "the judge shall have discretion in certain cases and on application to the parties concerned to direct that the jury shall be composed of men or women only." With regard to this amendment the Lord Chancellor said that there were certain cases in which not merely in the interests of women, but equally in the legitimate interests of men, women would be unwilling to sit on a mixed jury. He said: "This is not a sex distinction at all; it is a question of mutual and balanced sex consideration." The amendment was accepted. "Mutual and balanced sex consideration appears to be something in the nature of a new growth; at any rate, as far as politicians are concerned. It is a very necessary part of sex relations but we cannot help reflecting with some bitterness how entirely it was ignored until the men found themselves in danger of laceration in their own most intimate feelings. Terrible cases of sex violence and indecency have been tried in the past by juries entirely composed of men, and the girl victims have too often not been allowed even the support that could be given by the presence of members of their own sex. The National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship has protested against this clause of the Bill on the ground that it is likely to tend towards the exclusion of women in many cases in which their services, as women, would be particularly valuable.

Wives of Jurors.

The N.U.S.E.C. is also of opinion that liability to serve as a juror should devolve not only on women who are qualified on the same ground as men; but also on wives of husbands who are qualified to act as jurors. As the Bill stands at present the liability to act as jurors will fall entirely upon widows and spinsters and not on the married women who form by far the largest proportion of our female population and whose experience would make them valuable as jurors. Jury service is a burdensome public duty and not a privilege, and the firmness with which women are insisting on taking their share in it is typical of the spirit in which their claim for full citizenship is made. There may be something to be said for exempting married women; for in the case of a working class mother, a week's jury service might be a severe trial, but the call to serve on juries does not come very often. Individuals can always be exempted if necessary. The experience of married women cannot very well be spared, and it would probably be better to extend this duty on the same lines as the right to vote.

The Aga Khan on Women's Suffrage.

The Aga Khan, who has for some time been a strong supporter of Women's Suffrage, has written to the *Times* to protest against the attitude of casual negation on the question adopted by the Southborough Report and endorsed by the Government of India. He points out that Lord Southborough himself admitted his astonishment at the volume of evidence in favour of female enfranchisement, but afterwards brushed it aside as so much political idealism. "It seems," writes this Indian idealist, "that Lord Southborough has forgotten that the world is governed by ideas." The Aga Khan goes on to say: "One member of the Franchise Committee, Mr. Malcolm Hogg, was in favour of the removal of sex disqualification, but not of making special arrangements for recording women's votes. I entirely dissent from Lord Southborough's opinion that the reservation 'robbed the gift of all its merit.' We are not setting up the public hustings and open voting of a past age in England; nor is the number of male electors—some five million for the whole of British India—large enough for the jostle of the ballot station to be so serious as Lord Southborough and Sir James Meston suggested. The great majority of Indian women of the well-to-do classes, e.g., the better class of cultivators, are not in real seclusion. The official witnesses who hold that very few women will go to the polling booth forget that purdah ladies go into the law and registration courts all over the country, and give evidence in relation to the transfer of property, etc. As owners of land and other property, purdah women play parts in the affairs of the countryside day by day which make ludicrous the suggestion that there would be anything revolutionary in recording a vote once in three years or less."

No Shock to Indian Men.

The Aga Khan regards Sir James Meston's statement about the difficulties of putting Women's Suffrage into practice in India, as a deplorable instance of the lack of knowledge of the people they serve shown by some conscientious officials. He writes indignantly: "It is painful to Indian readers that men who have attained high distinction in the Civil Service should have to be seriously asked if they would be shocked at the inclusion of women in the electorates. No Indian, not even the most conservative, will be shocked by the proposal that now that the sacred right of enfranchisement is to be given on a substantial scale to men, women should share it, just as they share the sacred rights of property."

A Question of Justice.

Finally, the Aga Khan turns from the argument of expediency to that of justice, on which the upholders of Women's Suffrage in every land have based their claim. He says:—"I do not believe that Sir James Meston and Lord Southborough are right in the opinion that very few women would exercise the franchise; but the point is not pertinent to the issue. The question is one of justice, and not of the degree to which the right would be used. The logical deduction of the assertions of Sir James Meston and Lord Southborough about Indian womanhood would be to take away from them the rights of property and of equality before the civil law they have enjoyed for centuries. My general views on this question can be seen in some detail in my book, 'India in Transition,' published before the issue of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. But I feel it my duty to the hundreds of venerable and

sensible purdah ladies of position I know in India to register this protest against the obsolete views of men who have attained to place and power in India, but who have never taken the trouble to know the people among whom they do office work." We are glad to have occasion to quote once more from the Aga Khan, whose enlightened views on the question of Women's Suffrage have often been referred to in our columns.

Indian Education.

The Report of the Calcutta University Commission, presided over by Sir Michael Sadler, was published on August 8th, in Calcutta. It is in five stout volumes, and we understand that it gives a very gloomy account of the present state of things. The *Times* correspondent says: "The first part brings out the good points as well as the defective points in the present system. The account of the working of the secondary schools and the arts colleges is a grave and depressing picture, but it indicates the almost religious faith which Bengal holds of the benefits to be derived from education. One chapter deals with the immense social importance of the education of women, and another chapter shows that the domination of examinations is more withering in Bengal than perhaps anywhere else in the world." Among the recommendations of the Commission is one proposing a special organisation for the encouragement of women's education. Our readers will remember that at the time when this Commission was formed (that is in the autumn of 1917), Mrs. Fawcett wrote to Mr. Montagu, suggesting that it might be advisable to add at least two women to the Commissioners already appointed. She said: "It is generally admitted that there is a great and crying need for facilities for the education of girls and women of India; the importance of providing for girls' education has been repeatedly recognised by the Government of India. As long ago as 1854 a despatch of the East India Company spoke of the great importance of girl's education, and the moral obligation of the rulers of India to provide for it. But little progress has been made. Several native States are now in a more advanced position in this respect than is British India." Mr. Montagu replied that the object of the Commission was to enquire not into University education generally, but into the special circumstances of the Calcutta University. We now see how right Mrs. Fawcett was in believing that even among these special circumstances the condition of women's education would need very special attention.

Women under Thirty.

We hear that great indignation is being expressed by the young women workers throughout the country at the way in which the Government have treated the Women's Emancipation Bill. It cannot be too emphatically stated that the Government's new Bill, which leaves the franchise untouched, cannot be regarded as a satisfactory substitute. The exclusion from the franchise of all women under thirty is the most important sex disqualification of all. No one has brought forward a single argument against the enfranchisement of the young women; for the statement that it would necessitate the election of a new Parliament sooner than would happen otherwise, cannot be regarded as an argument. As we have repeatedly pointed out, there is no class of the population which needs the protection of the vote so badly as the young women whose livelihood depends on the policy of the Government in industrial legislation, and as employers. By refusing the vote, the Government are adding to the spirit of dissatisfaction which is already abroad, and laying up trouble for the future.

Women Members of Parliament.

We make no apology for reverting to this—one of the most important questions with which women can concern themselves at the present time. The interest aroused by the debate upon the subject at the Cambridge Summer School makes it evident that the right policy now is to get the thing "into the air." A general or a bye-election must find women prepared. The problem of how best to ensure the election of women is difficult, but it is full of interest. It calls for intelligence, for grit, for organising ability, for the exercise of the imagination and the will—it calls for just those qualities which thousands of women possess. There is no time for delay. Plans must be laid now. We urge that women should at once set about forming groups "to grasp the nettle," each in their own district, that they should promote conferences, form study circles, acquire technical knowledge in regard to the machinery of elections, that they should get into touch with all the political agencies, that they should plot out the political geography of their respective constituencies

and begin cottage meetings and house-to-house visiting, and organise the visit of distinguished women eligible for election—and do a thousand things their own native wit will suggest if only they are resolved to be prepared. We urge that these things should be done in the full conviction that women can, and shall, be elected next time, and that if they are not the fault lies, not in the stars, but in ourselves.

Women M.P.s. and Proportional Representation.

We have said that women must, and can, be elected under the present system, but we hold, nevertheless, that women should be indefatigable in promoting the system of Proportional Representation, not only for its intrinsic excellence, but because it will immensely increase the chances of women candidates. Such mock elections as that conducted at the Summer School, by Major Morrison-Bell, M.P. and Mrs. Humphries, of the P. R. Society, should be organised by the women in every locality, and they should unite the co-operation of all the political organisations. By this means, not only will P. R. become known and liked, but mutual liking will also be established between the men and women electors which should have the happiest results when the storm and stress of election times descends suddenly upon them.

A Bad Beginning.

Much is expected from the Ministry of Health. It is a new department with no bad traditions to hamper it, and should be able to set a good example in its selection and payment of staff. It is then a grave disappointment to hear that the post of Assistant Sanitary Inspector is being offered to women at the low commencing salary of £100 a year, rising by annual increments of £10 to £300 a year. As the Ministry stipulates that applicants must have had either a university training or practical paid experience, they presumably think that this salary is sufficient to attract persons of a high standard. The salary is exclusive of war bonus, which, however, is definitely stated not to be part of the permanent wage and not to count for pensions. We had hoped for something better from the new Ministry. Perhaps, however, we should try to bear in mind that the Treasury is worse than any tradition, and that it cribs, cabins, and confines a new department as severely as an old one.

Recreation.

In the blazing heat of this August the word "recreation" has seemed more blessed—because cooler—than the word "Mesopotamia." A sexton and recreation seem to have little in common, and yet it is a sexton and no other who has given to the world the classic model of how to recreate. He who dug graves for twelve years and then had a holiday and spent it going to see how the sexton in the next parish dug graves is known to all of us. Some people think he was a foolish sexton and some think he was wise too. There are as many kinds of recreation as there are people, but without doubt there are not a few who love to spend a holiday going to see how the other man or woman does the job. There is an important section of the community which finds true recreation in Summer Schools. At them they meet people of somewhat similar tastes and ideals, but with enough differences to make them interesting. If they are themselves teachers they like to hear how other teachers teach. If they are social reformers—"uplifters" as the Americans have it, they delight to listen to lectures and to see diagrams and demonstrations showing ways of uplifting of which they were before ignorant. If they are politicians—but politics are supposed to be taboo at a Summer School—and yet . . . !

Civics.

The Summer School at Cambridge in which the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship co-operated with the Civic and Moral Education League and the Eugenic Education Society during the last fortnight has afforded recreation to many busy workers in many fields of social regeneration. And the fact that two other independent "Schools," one on the Italian language and one for Biblical study, were also in being at the same time and place created an atmosphere in itself refreshing. Those of the philosophic mind derived strength and encouragement perceiving the underlying unity informing all right human effort. Some there were among the students who had arrived in Cambridge with only the vaguest ideas about what a "Civic" was, believing an Eugenic to be some new way of bathing, and holding

firmly to the doctrine that "now women have got the vote what more do they want?" further, that all who talk a foreign language are alien enemies, and that to read the Bible is no longer "done," in polite circles. But they changed their minds, or rather their minds remained their own but they sloughed off decayed accretions and found themselves free to stretch and take exercise. These students found that women have not got all they need while their minds and bodies and souls are not free to take on the full human stature; they found that Italian is a friendly tongue; they found that quite intelligent people are interested in the Bible, and that what people think about the Bible has a great deal to do with what they think about women and about Eugenics and Civics, and that everything has far more to do with the sort of feathers a cock pheasant wears, or the colour of the egg a hen domestic fowl lays, than they had supposed. They found that "Civics" is after all but a polite word for politics or at the least is the raw material out of which politics is made up. And in all these findings they found recreation.

Welfare Work to be Continued.

A great extension of welfare work has been one of the by-products of the increased employment of women in industry during the war. Before the war, it existed only in a few of the best-conducted factories. Now it is recognised as almost a necessity. The *Times* states that although there is now neither State encouragement, nor compulsion, factory managers are, in a large number of cases, continuing their welfare arrangements. Where women workers have been disbanded, many of the women welfare supervisors are being retained to look after the men's canteens, or to undertake first-aid work, and the panel of supervisors compiled by the Ministry of Munitions is being continued by the Ministry of Labour.

A New Working Women's College.

The Young Women's Christian Association which has done such a magnificent work for women during the war has now put forward a scheme which ought to command, not only the sympathy, but the enthusiastic support of every Suffragist. The desire for education as one of the greatest of human goods is abroad in the land, but many of us feel that there is a danger now (as there was a danger a century ago) that women will be left out. The higher education of working women is in some ways an extraordinarily difficult matter. It is hardly yet recognised as a need by the public generally, any more than the higher education of middle-class women was recognised as a need in the days of our grandmothers. Working girls for the most part marry early, and are absorbed in domestic cares from the time when they are little more than children; or they go into factories and work for long and weary hours, which leave them without opportunity of learning anything outside their trade. In one way or another, the struggle for existence absorbs them more remorselessly, body, and soul, than it does even men of the same class. Yet there are girls of the working class who long for education and knowledge as much as any man, and girls perhaps need the special opportunities which are given by college life even more than their brothers, who have more openings not only for mental development, but for the comradeship of their equals elsewhere. The Young Women's Christian Association, on the advice of its Committee of Education Experts, and of women workers, has formed a scheme for starting a residential college for working women in the neighbourhood of a university, probably either Cambridge or London, where it will begin by taking twenty students. The object of the college will not be to give vocational training, but rather to give pure education without denominational or political bias. The basis of the curriculum will include all those subjects which girls of the middle-classes are already studying at Oxford and Cambridge and the other universities. No difficulty will present itself in finding students eager to avail themselves of this opportunity. We understand that the Y.W.C.A. already knows of a number of girls who are longing for the moment when the college can open. Nor will there be any difficulty in finding teachers, some of the greatest teachers and the greatest educational enthusiasts of the country have offered personal service. The college could be opened to-morrow if the necessary funds were in hand. Only about £3,500 is required, and of this about half has already been guaranteed. We think that women who have known the joys of college life themselves, will be glad to have the opportunity of helping to supply the rest.

THE WOMEN OF INDIA AND EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

THE women of India, like the women of Great Britain, are seeking for equal citizenship. This fact is well known to regular readers of THE COMMON CAUSE who have followed the history of the demands for the higher education of Indian women and for Women's Suffrage in India in our pages; but many English people are unhappily still so ignorant of all that concerns India, that the news of the Indian women's appeal, which appeared in the daily papers last week may have come to them as a surprise. It was briefly reported in the *Times* and other papers that on August 6th, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu had presented a Memorandum to the Joint Committee of the Lords and Commons, which is considering the Government of India Bill, and had followed it up by giving evidence herself before that Committee; and that on the following day she had headed an important deputation of Indian men and women to the Secretary of State for India. The object of the Memorandum, of Mrs. Naidu's statement to the Committee, and of the deputation, was to urge that there should be no sex disqualification in the measure of self-government which is about to be offered to the people of India.

Mrs. Naidu is a poet and a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature of Great Britain and Ireland, but she is also a political reformer and Vice-President of the Bombay branch of the All-India Home Rule League. To her, and to those who work with her, the demand for Women's Suffrage in India does not appear as a revolutionary proposal, or a radical departure from the accepted custom of a sensitive and conservative race, but rather seems to be the natural outcome of the past history of the Indian people, and of the extraordinary renaissance which has taken place in India in recent years. In her Memorandum to the Parliamentary Committee, Mrs. Naidu described the share that women are already taking in the national life of India. She pointed out that in the universities women have won brilliant distinction in arts and sciences, in medicine, in law and in oriental learning. They also hold offices in the Courts and Senates, as in the Bombay University, the Hindu University of Benares, the Women's University at Poona, and the National University. Women are taking part not only in the arts, but in complicated administrative work, the management of vast properties, the control of educational institutes, and the direction of philanthropic missions. Nor have women shown themselves indifferent to the political movement in their country. They have protested against such reactionary measures as the Press Act, and the Rowlett Bills, and have given their support to such reforms as Gokhale's Education Bill, the Civil Marriage Bill, and the Inter-Caste Marriage Bill. They have taken part in the National Congress, in the work of the Moslem League and Educational Conference, and in social reforms and social service conferences of all kinds; and they have done more than take part, "they have not infrequently been called to guide the deliberations of these bodies, direct their policies, harmonise their differences and unite their ideals towards the attainment of a common goal of self-realisation." The political franchise would be a natural development of these efforts, and the refusal of it on the ground of sex would be regarded as a harsh set-back to the wishes of one great part of the Indian people.

English Suffragists will not be surprised to hear that Indian women desire the vote not only on its own account, but even more as a symbol of citizenship. When Mr. Montagu made his historic announcement in the House of Commons on August 20th, 1917, that Great Britain proposed to offer self-government to India, and when from end to end India was stirred with a new hope, Indian women felt that they also must take part in the development of the national life which was before their country. The idea that the women's demand should be for the political franchise was, we understand, first broached by certain University women. They were at once vigorously supported by English Suffragists. Lord Chelmsford and the Secretary of State were asked to receive a Suffrage deputation. The deputation, which was a representative one from all sections

of the Community was received, and was asked whether Mrs. Naidu would bring a resolution before the Indian National Congress with a view to ascertaining the feeling of her countrymen. The Congress was to meet in a week or two, but Mrs. Naidu had her deputation ready, and only put it off in deference to the opinion of some of the reformers among her own countrymen, who thought that the question of Women's Suffrage should first be more ventilated in the press. A few months later, at the Bombay Congress, convened to consider the proposed reforms, Mrs. Naidu moved a Suffrage resolution which was carried by a large majority, and six months later in the city of Delhi (under the presidency of a Hindu leader who is regarded as the great guardian of conservative social tradition in Northern India) the same resolution was carried unanimously. Mrs. Naidu's public work in India has brought her into relations with all sections of the Community, and she feels, therefore, that she can speak not only on behalf of Hindu women, but of Moslems, Parsees, Christians, Sikhs, Jains and women of the depressed classes. Nor is it among women only that she has met with support. We understand that every political deputation which is now in England working for Indian Reform, supports Women's Suffrage. Mrs. Naidu herself has spoken on the share of women in the national life both to Hindu and Moslem communities. At and almost monastic Arya Samat institute for young men she was allowed to enter the Holy of Holies, and speak to the students there on behalf of women. She has repeatedly addressed the Moslem League, and all great national assemblies, and she says that everywhere she has met with sympathy and support.

It would seem then that the fear which is entertained by some British statesmen that Women's Suffrage would be a novelty and a shock to the mind of Indians is an exaggeration. Large sections of the Indian population have, at least, heard of the political desires of women, and are not in any way shocked or astounded by them. But it is urged by distinguished Anglo-Indian officials that women have not shown any very active desire for the vote, and that the Purdah system would so complicate elections that Women's Suffrage should not be thought of at any rate for the present. In reply to the first of these points, we would point out that it is very difficult indeed for British officials to know anything about Indian women. The double barriers of sex and officialdom shut them out from that section of the people they rule, and the vote is all the more needed because it is so difficult for Indian women to express their views unofficially to those who govern their country. The same argument about people not wanting the vote has, moreover, been used in every country in Europe, and about every unenfranchised class. As for the Purdah, only a portion of India observes it, and since it has been found possible in such cities as Hyderabad to arrange that women should go up for University examinations, and attend sports and parades and theatres, without breaking the Purdah, it would surely be possible for it also to be arranged for them to vote. Special arrangements might be left in the hands of local authorities. They might even be deferred. The great point now is that the principle of equal citizenship should be admitted and that no sex disqualification should blemish the reforms which are about to be offered to India.

Indian reformers feel strongly about this, for they realise that the great internal problem that India has to face is the harmonising of the Hindu and the Moslem populations; they believe that the women will introduce an element of solidarity which will make all the difference. British reformers should also feel strongly, for is not one of the greatest imperial problems before us, the question of whether India can develop her national life, and at the same time remain an integral part of our Empire? We believe that the solidarity of women is a real element of hope for the solution of this problem, and we, therefore, urge Englishwomen to remember the great responsibility towards India which they took over with their own citizenship. About a year ago the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship (then the N.U.W.S.S.) addressed a letter to the Imperial Conference urging the principle that the share of women in national and political life, and their special responsibility for certain aspects of it, should be recognised in India. The cause of Indian women in India has been repeatedly upheld in our columns by Mrs. Henry Fawcett. The moment has now come when British Suffragists should make a fresh effort in this matter, and we earnestly trust that all our readers will give study and thought to the question, and will do what they can to support the Indian women's demand.

Sex - Disqualification (Removal) Bill.

DEPUTATION FROM WOMEN'S SOCIETIES TO MR. BONAR LAW AND THE LORD CHANCELLOR.
August 11th, 1919.

A deputation waited on Mr. Bonar Law, Leader of the House of Commons, and on the Lord Chancellor, on August 11th, to lay before them the objections felt by women's organisations to Subsection (a) of Clause 1 of the Government's Sex Disqualification (Removal) Bill.

It will be remembered that Clause 1 of the Bill, and Subsection (a), run as follows—

1. A person shall not be disqualified by sex from the exercise of any public function, or from being appointed to any civil or judicial office or post, or from entering or assuming any civil profession or vocation, or for admission to any incorporated society (whether incorporated by Royal Charter or otherwise), and a person shall not be exempted by sex from the liability to serve as a juror:

Provided that—

(a) notwithstanding anything in this section His Majesty may by Order in Council authorise regulations to be made prescribing the mode of admission of women to the Civil Service of His Majesty, and the conditions on which women admitted to that service may be appointed to posts therein, and providing for the exclusion of women from admission to any branch of the Civil Service in any of His Majesty's possessions, or in any foreign country.

The deputation was introduced by Mr. Graham Wallas, and represented the following Societies:—

Federation of University Women, represented by Miss Penrose.
Association of Head Mistresses, represented by Miss Major.
Federation of Women Civil Servants, represented by Miss King, and Miss Caldclough.

Association of Women Clerks and Secretaries, represented by Miss Maguire.

Civil Service Alliance, represented by Mr. Milne.
Association of Senior Women Officers in the Central and Divisional Offices of the Ministry of Labour, represented by Miss Gardner and Miss Sanday.

Civil Servants Typists' Association, represented by Miss Charlesworth.

Association of Temporary Clerks in Government Offices, represented by Miss Alice Franklin.

National Union of Clerks, represented by Miss Somers.
Association of Women Sanitary Inspectors and Health Visitors, represented by Miss Dick.

National Council of Women, represented by the Lady Emmott.
National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, represented by Mrs. Game and Miss O'Malley.

Women's Local Government Society, represented by Miss Kilgour.

London Society for Women's Service, represented by Mrs. Oliver Strachey and Miss P. Strachey (secretary).

Mr. Graham Wallas, in introducing the deputation, expressed their agreement with Lord Haldane's statement (House of Lords, July 22nd, 1919) that "Subsection (a) . . . takes away the right which is given in the initial part of Clause 1, going back on the principle there expressed, and saying that, so far as the Civil Service is concerned, women are not to be eligible to it in the same way as they are eligible to other public positions."

He called attention to the statement of Major Astor in the House of Commons on July 4th, 1919, when explaining the Bill which the Government intended to produce, "to redeem their election pledges," Major Astor said, "There will be an important proviso. . . . Generally speaking, we propose to adopt the recommendation of what is called the Gladstone Committee, which deals with this subject."

The Gladstone Committee was a Treasury Committee, and consisted of a chairman and six male officials belonging to "Class I." If the Order in Council provided for in Subsection 1 (a) followed the Gladstone Report, it would be divided into two parts, and in both parts it would be inconsistent with that "equality in civil and judicial matters" which is the present Government policy.

The first part of the Order in Council would deal with the interim methods to be adopted in filling vacancies in the Civil Service during the next two or three years.

Mr. Graham Wallas, while admitting the right of ex-Service men to receive priority in Civil Service appointments, urged that the claims of women who have done public work during the war should be considered equally with men who have not served, but "have been pronounced unfit on grounds of health for general service."

The second part of an Order in Council, based on the Glad-

stone Report, would deal with the conditions of the appointment of women to permanent posts after the interim period. In this respect, the whole scheme of the Gladstone Report is based (as far as administrative service is concerned) on the distinction between "general" and "special" administrative work (e.g., Final Report, par. 27, and Summary, par. 12) and on the principle indicated in par. 36 (headed "Segregation") that "mixed staff may lead to difficulties in regard to promotion," and that "neither the experience of temporary departments nor the experience of business houses is sufficient to decide whether it would be conducive to efficiency in permanent departments to place men under the control of women" (Final Report, par. 36).

The effect of these two principles would be to keep the "segregated" women as technical officials having no responsibility and no power in the general direction of the offices to which they are attached. Nor could any woman become an Assistant Civil Service Commissioner, or be made a member of that section of the Treasury which deals with the organisation of the Civil Service. Mr. Graham Wallas urged that women under such an order would be given no real chance of efficiency, even in their specialised work. They would be worse off than the engineer officers, denied throughout their careers, in the former organisation of the Navy, that executive rank which was given to the youngest executive officer. If engineer officers had had to wait for executive rank till a representative Committee of Executive Officers recommended it, they would have had to wait for ever.

He further pointed out that Major Astor, on July 4th, 1919, promised that there should be a schedule referring specifically to the Statutes and parts of Statutes repealed, so that "there should be no doubt or ambiguity about the intentions of Parliament." The deputation were legally advised that Subsection 1 (a) if passed, would repeal Subsection B (1) of the Ministry of Health Act, 1919, which gives power to the Minister to appoint his officers "subject to the consent of the Treasury as to number," and subject to the proviso that "in the making of such appointments 'he' shall give equal consideration to the suitability of persons of both sexes." That part of the Ministry of Health Act does not, however, appear in schedule.

Miss Penrose, of the Federation of University Women, spoke on the mode of admission to the service, and expressed a widespread disappointment that the Government had asked in Subsection (a) for powers to disqualify women from the normal modes of admission. She referred to the Report of the Royal Commission of 1914, and pointed out that the summary of its views in the Gladstone Report was misleading by its brevity, that six Commissioners had expressly recommended the admission of women to Class I. examinations, that the same course had been recommended with one dissentient (in the Report on the Machinery of the Government, 1918, and also in the Report of the War Cabinet on Women in Industry, 1919). Lord Gladstone's Committee, on the other hand, had recommended a special door for women, but their objections to the normal methods were difficult to follow. Their plan was that the Civil Service Commission should make up a selected list of women with high University honours and other high qualifications, from which all vacancies notified by any department as specially suited to women might be filled.

From her experience of University women, Miss Penrose pointed out that it would probably be the less enterprising and the somewhat aimless University women who would drift on to such a waiting list, that their shrewder and more gifted sisters would look warily at a back door, and suspect that "suitable for women" might be a polite paraphrase for "a dull billet." If the Government wished to secure some of the finer minds and personalities of each generation of University women, their best way was the simple way of removing sex disqualification by admitting them to the same tests as men, and letting them go through the same mill.

Miss Major, speaking for the Association of Headmistresses, took up the case of those girls who do not go to a University, and she pointed out that headmistresses, who may be considered as regulators of supply, are now unable to advise really able girls to enter a service in which they have no clear prospects of future initiative and responsibility.

Mrs. Oliver Strachey said that while they fully realised that it might be inadvisable for certain posts to be held by women at present—for example, in India—they also felt it was inadvisable for others to be held by men, and that whatever discretion the Government were given under that Bill it should apply to both sexes.

Lady Emmott, speaking for the National Council of Women, pointed out that the deputation had the support of the large organised bodies of women represented in the N.C.W. and its branches all over the country, as well as of the numerous Civil

Service and other Associations represented in the deputation itself.

Miss King, the representative of the Civil Service Alliance, which includes men as well as women, stated that her Alliance recognised that equal recruitment and conditions of service would lead to the supervision of men by women, and that they accepted that position.

Mr. Bonar Law and the Lord Chancellor, speaking for the Government, informed the deputation that they were mistaken in supposing that it was the intention of the Government to give effect by their Bill to all the recommendations of the Gladstone Committee.

They said that the object and intention of the Government were to be found in the Bill itself, but that they felt it necessary that the Government should be given a certain amount of discretion as to the manner in which that principle should be carried out, and in particular (1) as to the special difficulty presented by the case of married women and (2) as to what appointments women should hold overseas. They were, therefore, not prepared to agree to the deletion of Sub-section (a) without the insertion of a proviso giving this degree of dissent to the Government. With regard to the subsection as drafted, they would be prepared to consider any amendment brought forward in the House of Commons on behalf of the societies represented on the deputation to limit or make more definite these discretionary powers.

The proceedings of the deputation were shortened by the urgent engagements of Ministers, otherwise Miss Caldeburgh, on behalf of the Federation of Women Civil Servants, would have called attention to the fact that at present the highest grade which women can enter by open competition is that for women clerks—18 to 20 years, all other permanent appointments for women being made by some form of patronage.

Miss Maguire, on behalf of the Association of Women Clerks and Secretaries, would have emphasised the dangers of admission otherwise than by open competition.

Miss Somers, on behalf of the National Union of Clerks, would have brought forward examples of cases in which men and women were already successfully working on an equality in administrative work.

At the end of the interview the Ministers invited an expression of opinion from the deputation upon other points in the Bill. This has since been sent in in the form of a memorandum in which societies represented record their unanimous opinion that the automatic dismissal of women from the Civil Service on marriage is a serious mistake in the interests of public efficiency.

They also call attention to the extreme seriousness of the fact that the Treasury has now for a good many months acted on the Gladstone Report both in removing temporary women officials from the service, and in filling all new vacancies.

If the Gladstone Report does not represent the present policy of the Government, and if the present policy of the Government is, as the Lord Chancellor told the deputation, "Subsection 1, viewed in the light of Clause I," this practice ought, it is urged, to cease at once.

Women Citizens' Associations.

THEIR FUTURE WORK AND POSSIBILITIES.

(By Mrs. Margaret Heitland.)

Looking about us in the present clouded and perplexing world, many of us must ask ourselves, "What is there for which I can continue to work with faith and hope? Where is there a task to which I can apply myself without misgiving?" The lassitude, the tiredness of spirit from which many of us suffer could be shaken off if only some goal shone brightly enough to urge us towards it.

In public work, no less than in the factory or the household, we shun the "repetitive;" we seek something which has a "future"—something in which we can make progress.

It is because I see a future before the new Women Citizens' Associations that I should like to say something about them to THE COMMON CAUSE readers, while they are musing, perhaps, on their programme for next autumn.

We have two special needs. One is a training school in public affairs; the other is a common meeting ground for persons of all classes. So far as women are concerned, both these needs may be fulfilled by the Women Citizens' Associations. "A training school," I say, using the term collectively. In reality we shall find our school, I hope, in a vast number of small friendly and informal meetings. I press more particularly for the development of Ward organisation in towns and of village gatherings in the country districts. Whatever is the

unit for representation in the local governing body, let that be our unit for the small meetings; and let the area covered by the whole local body be also the area for the whole women's organisation. In a town, that is to say, there will be large meetings of the whole Women Citizens' Association of that town; and there will also be from time to time meetings of ward committees and ward members. In the country (so far as the work is not already done by Women's Institutes or Village Women's Councils) I hope there will be village committees and village meetings of women; next, perhaps, a committee to bring the village "citizens" in touch with their Rural District Council; and then, again, a larger body of members and committee for the whole County Council domain. This county and country side of our scheme has not yet, I think, been anywhere thoroughly planned out; but I am convinced that if we are to get the most effective results from our labours, we ought to keep closely to the geographical boundaries of our various local governing bodies, small and big. I am also no less certain that we shall for the present be wise to restrict the membership of all these associations to women.

In making this last remark I know that I come into conflict with many large-minded and excellent persons. But it is sometimes better to think clearly than largely; and let us now be clear concerning the chief object of these associations. This chief object is surely to obtain the fuller realisation in public affairs of the needs of women, and to bring about the inclusion of a larger number of women in the membership of public bodies. We are hoping that many women will work with men in public life, and for that, among other things, we are striving. But in the school of public life we must climb from station to station. If we are to make the right beginning, we must have the small training and practising school in which we can discuss our ideas with a few other colleagues and be able to amend our notions (and perhaps even our phrases) without shyness. Women acquire both knowledge and confidence from talking to each other. Knowing what their friends in a ward desire, they are ready at the next stage to express those desires at the committee meeting of the whole Association, where matters are further threshed out and the general local policy of the Association is framed. Lastly, when they have spoken at a general meeting of the Association and gained the adherence of the majority, they are ready to enter a council chamber of men and women, feeling not only able to hold their own, but—which is of more importance—able to act as the accredited speakers for many other women.

I emphasise this point because there are people who say plausibly enough, "The interests of men and women are substantially the same; therefore separate organisations are superfluous." I am not a logician; but it seems to me that in this reasoning one item is left out—namely, the combative character of human nature. The human animal either encroaches on others and is regarded as a monster, or allows itself to be suppressed and is scorned as a fool, or it defends itself and is crowned with Freedom's bays. The third of these operations—the defence of women's legitimate interests, which might be overlooked—is the duty of Women Citizens' Associations. It is a sufficing duty for the efforts of any one society; and I do not believe it can be combined with the policy of a political party or of some other society (as, for instance, a Ratepayers' Association) without losing most of its special usefulness. Women Citizens' Associations will have plenty to do if, while they study the subjects which specially concern them, they also put forward their own candidates for local councils (town, county, &c.) and keep themselves in constant intercourse with the women members of such Councils.

Everyone recognises that it is better for the representatives of Women Citizens' Associations to offer themselves for election as "independent" candidates. I shall not labour the obvious. But if a woman is invited by some local party organisation to stand as its candidate and is at the same time a woman well qualified to defend the interests of women in the Council chamber, then I think it should equally be the obvious duty of the Women Citizens' Association to promote her election. It is undesirable to get a woman elected for no better reason than that she is liked by the predominant party in her constituency. We are in danger of being badly punished if we make a blunder of this kind. The woman who is a mere party hack may possibly oust a better man, and she will win no respect from anyone.

One of the most useful duties which a woman councillor can perform is to act as reporter to the Women Citizens' of the doings of the Council. Every woman councillor should speak three or four times a year to the assembled ward members and give some account of the work of the Council. She should also report similarly to the whole Association at its large meetings. By such means a great deal more interest would be

aroused in municipal work than we have been accustomed to see hitherto. Incidentally, the status of our municipal and other corporations would be glorified; and we should find ourselves better prepared as a nation for that decentralisation of government which must soon be brought about.

I have said that Women Citizens' Associations offer a training school in public affairs. In doing this, they will also provide the common meeting-ground for persons of all classes, which I mentioned early in this article as being one of our greatest wants. Both objects may be attained by the one course of action. If those women who have comparatively little leisure are given the opportunity of taking part in public speech and action, the differences between them and women with more free time will tend to disappear. We lack statesmen and stateswomen; and perhaps always shall lack them. But the shortage need not be so marked as it is now; nor should we be obliged to draw our public leaders, with few exceptions, from that very small section of persons who are really well educated. At some not too distant day we ought all to be well educated. Earlier still we should reach the time when every man and woman who has something worth saying should be able to say it. To the Women Citizens' Associations I look with hope as the schools in which women can acquire three great powers:—to know what they want, to say what they want, and to achieve what they want.

Reconstruction in Ireland.

VI.—THE PROBLEM OF THE DOMESTIC WORKER.

The Domestic Workers' Union emphasises the fact that all suggestions are more or less fluid. No attempt has been made to fix a standard of wages, the movement is too new for this, and the conditions of employment vary so greatly. This absence of an effort to fix a hard and fast standard is one of the hopeful features of the new Union: the whole idea of organisation among domestic workers is so new, both for employers and employed, its adoption will necessitate such drastic changes in the conditions of work, that it is to be hoped tentative measures will be adopted until the workers can feel their feet as members of a skilled and organised trade, and mistresses can adjust themselves to the condition of employers, paying a standard rate of wages, and receiving a fixed amount of service. The leaders of the Union contemplate the establishment of a Registry Office, of schemes of unemployment and sickness benefit and of a pension fund. These they wish to organise for themselves; they do not want either the employers or the State to play Providence for them. They admit that often the mistress did consider herself responsible for the girl's welfare, but the high sickness rate proves the system did not always work, and in any case they regard it as a relic of feudalism. Once upon a time the mistress would notice the maid's swollen face, would visit the kitchen after breakfast, and coax her in vain to see a dentist. In the future the Welfare Supervisor, appointed by the Trade Union Committee, will insist on the girl going immediately to the society dentist, and she will go.

While domestic workers are forming an organisation, a similar movement has commenced among the employers. The Domestic Employers' Association was formed with the object of securing "better household conditions and happier relations between mistress and maid." After a well-attended meeting in the Mansion House, and several small gatherings, the Association is in a position to consider the adoption of some permanent organisation and definite rules. The promoters do not aim at the formation of a defensive federation, to fight the already existing Workers' Union, but hope for co-operation, which they consider an essential factor. A Standing Joint Committee has been suggested, which would grant the certificates of efficiency desired by the workers, and which might develop into an Arbitration Board and an Advisory Committee. A difficulty lies in the provision of satisfactory training. The elaborate courses at the Technical Schools and all the different residential schemes suffer from one common drawback. The work is invented for the purpose, and the girls feel an unreal element in what is set for them to do. Really thorough training can only be carried on under natural conditions, and for this purpose it has been suggested that some form of Hostel should be established, where the girls could receive a course of training. Such a Hostel would need a housekeeper and a competent and well-paid instructress. Are the women employing domestic workers yet sufficiently alive to the advantages of training to capitalise such a scheme? The whole idea of the Association is, however, interesting as an experiment in co-operation in a new field and under very difficult conditions.

The alternative would appear to be the introduction into domestic service of the miserable business of strikes and hostile combinations among employees, opposed by similar combinations on the part of the employers. The old order has gone, and, regret it as we may, it will not return. In many ways it was delightful. The old retainers of forty years ago are extinct; their wages were low, £6 a year for a good general servant in Dublin in 1870, £10 a year in 1878, and their hours were long, but they were content and there was a cheerful atmosphere in the home, which reacted on the children. We think of old Jean in the North, devoted to master and mistress. When the latter asked for some more of Jean's lovely floury potatoes, boiled, peeled, (with the fingers), and toasted on the "brandher," "There's nae mair prettas for you, mem, them's for the maister." When she found the old lady on the sofa one morning, she cried: "Och, mistress dear, dinna you gie up till Jean gets awa!" Then there was "Big Ann" from Tipperary, always laughing and singing and dancing, work no trouble to her, cooking, washing, housecleaning, and taking the younger children out for walks, so proud of them, and their nice hair and well starched print frocks, all a labour of love. When she left to be married, great was the sorrow, one of the little ones sobbing, "Dan's gone," and refusing to be comforted. And there was old Theresa, up at five in the morning, her kitchen as neat as a doll's house, full of funny stories, and, though there was lots of merriment in a house full of young people, saying, "If it wasn't for Theresa the house would be aigal to a silent tomb." Dying of old age, she was succeeded by "Little Ann," who found the sea air very embracing," and though she had plenty of blankets, said, "I do like a weight over me, and on cold nights I do put a chair over me to make weight." She would never take another place, but qualified as a nurse. There were no hard-and-fast rules, live and let live, do as you would be done by, were a satisfactory working creed for both sides. Bridget speaks for herself. "I was at sarvice myself, ma'am, and thought every minyit an hour till I got married; but if I'd a known what was before me, I'd have sted where I was; but bedad, we niver know whin we're well off. I don't know what the young girls does be thinkin' of, runnin' about from wan place to another and niver satisfied, only givin' the hoighth of impidence, and strivin' to do as little as they can. The poor ladies does be heart-scalded wid them—a lot of young whipshters, that's what they are. I niver was in anny place but the wan; ten years I was in it, every thing like clockwork to the minyit, and no scoldin' nor argy'nin', 'Biddy,' says the mistress, 'I want the housekep' clane, and the maister niver kep' waitin' for his breakfast, and I give a hand wid the cookin' and ironin', and sure enough, the work was done in no time, and thin I sat down affther dinner, and she larned me to sew, God bless her, and the maister would give me material for a dress, and one of the young ladies would cut it out for me. The childher was like steps of stairs, eight of them, sure, I rared the little wans, and they grew up like the flowers in May, blessin's on their pretty faces, and thin Maister Jim went to the war, and got killed, sorrow mend them Germans! I hope the Kayser rests onaisy at night. Och, but the grief that was to me poor mistress, God help her, and sure I feels it as if it was my own boy; may the light of Heaven be upon him this day!" This love for the children of the house was shared even by the old window cleaner, who, when sending in his bill, used to congratulate the mistress on "the childher growin' up like the early young potatoes." Alas, it sometimes met with no better return than that given by the old lady in County Antrim, whose will leaves "my third bedstead and two pairs of my worst blankets to my faithful servant . . ."

In the old days the maid felt the mistress's joy and grief as her own; in the future, the girl, engaged in her own registry office, will render efficient service for a stipulated number of hours at a fixed rate of wages. There will not be the colour and picturesqueness of the old order, but neither will there be the injustice and overwork from which those less fortunate than Theresa or Bridget often had to suffer.

DORA MELLONE.

Houses in the Air.

Tom and I have been married six years; there are three babies—Tommy junior is five, Nancy three, and Margaret just a year old. When we were first married we lived in one of a row of deadeningly "respectable" houses, jerry-built, and as inconvenient as the heart of contractor could desire. It was almost a relief when the war compelled us to give that up, though ever since I've drifted about in lodgings with the children, buoyed up by the hope of a really comfortable cottage when peace came.

But now that peace has come and Tom is back, we are still in lodgings, and beginning almost to despair of ever getting our own roof over our heads at all.

"So you will understand how I felt when I came across this paragraph one afternoon as I was drowsily reading the newspaper in a rare moment of quiet and leisure. (Luckily Man-chingham, where we live now because of Tom's work, is only a few miles from my old home, and that day Mother had carried off the children with her to give me a rest.)

"We print in another column," it ran, "a letter from the Lord Mayor asking all those in want of houses to give him in writing, as briefly and clearly as possible, their ideas as to how such houses should be built. Our city has always been progressive, and this timely attempt on the part of our first citizen to ensure that the building of the peoples' houses shall be in accordance with the wishes of those who will live in them will but enhance its reputation for sane statesmanship and efficiency.

"We understand that the various plans received will be sorted out at the Town Hall into perhaps about half a dozen practicable types, which are to be voted on by the potential householders. Building is to start as soon as possible after some idea has been gained of the number of each type of house required."

Feverishly I turned to the Lord Mayor's letter, which apparently had been sent to all the local papers with a request for their co-operation in the scheme. Plans and descriptions of the kind of houses wanted, clear, but not necessarily technical, were to be sent in by the 10th—just a week ahead. I got out my writing pad straight away and made a rough draft of the kind of house I've dreamed of, leaving details to be filled in when I had talked it over with Tom, after the children were in bed. I had not got far before Mother and the children came in, and I showed her the letter and my rudimentary plans. She was nearly as excited as I was, for she hates the idea of our living in rooms for so long.

That evening I showed Tom the draft I had made, and asked his opinion. It was past midnight before we had finished talking it over, and got all the details arranged, but the next day I wrote out what we wanted as clearly and concisely as I could, and posted it to the Town Hall.

Soon afterwards a preliminary announcement was made of a mass meeting to be held in a month's time, to which all in need of a house were invited. But a day or two after I had seen the notice of that, I was wildly elated at receiving a letter from the Lord Mayor asking me to meet him, the Municipal Architect interested in the housing scheme, and a few other people, and discuss my type of house. Of course, Tom chaffed me unmercifully about it, but secretly I believe he felt just a little excited himself. The time fixed was in the afternoon, but I got Mother to come over and stay with the babies, and went off.

I had to wait a little when I got to the Town Hall, and had at last found the right room, while another woman finished arranging the details of her type. There had been five others there altogether, each representing a different idea of house building.

The thought of interviewing the Lord Mayor rather alarmed me, and I felt as if I were in a dentist's waiting room! But as soon as I was inside the committee room, it was all right. The Lord Mayor was very nice—courteous and business-like—and seemed to grasp exactly what I wanted. He told me that a good many other women had sent in plans somewhat similar to mine, but he had selected mine as being the simplest and most representative.

There were three other men present: one was the architect, and the others, I think, had something to do with the financial part of the scheme. Official plans had been drawn, and estimates worked out, showing the total cost and the weekly rent of each house. My house really did look nice!—though they had put the scullery, and the bathroom above it, in quite the wrong place. However, the architect agreed to alter that.

I had stipulated for so many "luxuries," such as central heating, plentiful hot-water taps, and so on, that I was a little afraid of those estimates. But it turned out to be just below the limit Tom and I had fixed for ourselves, so that was all right.

Tom was home by the time I got back, and very anxious to hear how I had got on.

"You know, I'm afraid I'd not taken it very seriously before," he said. "It sounded too good to be true. The Council are really going to build the new houses after the six types?"

"If enough people vote for them," I replied. "You see, there is to be a big meeting in the Town Hall, at which they have asked me and the five others to explain our houses, then people will vote for the kind they want, and the Council will build accordingly. Really it is very simple, but no other town seems to have thought of it."

As the time for the meeting drew near, I began to feel frightfully nervous, though I told myself that it was foolish.

Luckily the address had to be read—I was to write it out and submit it to the Committee beforehand. Tom did his best to buck me up, but he couldn't actually be there at the time, because I had to leave him at home to look after Tommy and the others.

The Town Hall was packed to the doors. It was scarcely surprising, of course, for thousands of men and women were homeless, as Tom and I were, and people do like to have something to say about the way their homes are to be made, whatever Advisory Committees may think to the contrary.

I was the fourth speaker, and I was so pre-occupied with the thought of my speech that I had a very vague idea of the first three types of house explained. As soon as my turn had really come, though, I "found myself," and actually enjoyed explaining to all those rows of faces the kind of home I wanted for my children, and that I was sure many of them must want, too. Three or four women asked questions when I had finished, and then I sat down to listen to the last two speakers.

Everyone in the hall had been presented with a voting paper on entering. On these papers each house was given a letter, according to the order in which it had been described—mine was Type D—and a brief description of about three lines. Underneath in each case was a space, and each person was asked to write her name and present address, together with the district in which she wanted to live, in the space underneath the type which most appealed to her. The papers were collected before the meeting broke up, and it was announced that anyone who wished to consider further before deciding might take the form home and post it to the Town Hall later.

While this collection was going on, I noticed the Lord Mayor and some of the others on the platform whispering, and when the Lord Mayor rose to dismiss the audience, he said that so many had been turned away that night that it had been decided to hold similar meetings in various districts, the times and places to be published in the press.

Tom had a ripping little supper ready for me when I got home. He said he was sure I should be hungry after talking so much, but really I was too excited to eat much, and as he was just as anxious to hear all about it as I was to tell him, it was getting into the early hours of the morning before we cleared away the supper things and crept stealthily up to bed, so as not to waken our landlady, who is a jewel taken all round, but holds strong views on the subject of late hours.

The local meetings were arranged quickly. The city was divided into five big districts, and all the meetings were held in one week. Both Tom and I were rather done up by the weekend, for he had to stay in with the children each night, and Baby was cutting her teeth and inclined to be fretful. But he was steadily becoming more and more enthusiastic, and said that the idea was well worth a week's hard labour.

Then the last day on which voting papers would be accepted came and went, and not long after that Tom rushed home early—he had been into town on business—to tell me the result. "Five hundred people have voted for our houses," he said. "And they are going to begin building at once. We ought to be able to move into our new home by Christmas."

But the shock was too much for me. I woke up.

KATHLEEN WADSWORTH.

Reviews.

Yashka. My Life as Peasant, Exile and Soldier. By Maria Botchkareva, Commander of the Russian Women's Battalion of Death: [as set down by Isaac Don Levine]. (Constable, 8s. 6d. net.)

Many books have been written about Russia and the Russians, but few of them have helped to throw light on the psychology of the Russian soldier, and, though we all know that the revolution of 1917 was followed by the disintegration of the army, we cannot realise the actual state of mind of the soldiery previous to and during that period, and this, after all, has been the most important factor in deciding subsequent events. Botchkareva, through the hand of an American journalist, tells a story which sets us thinking.

"This woman, says her amanuensis," is an astounding typification of peasant Russia, with all her virtues and vices. Educated to the extent of being able to scribble her own name with difficulty, she is endowed with the genius of logic. Ignorant of history and literature, the natural lucidity of her mind is such as to lead her directly to the very few fundamental truths of life. Religious with all the fervour of her primitive soul, she is tolerant in a fashion befitting a philosopher. Devoted to her country with every fibre of her being, she is free from impassioned partisanship and selfish patriotism. Overflowing with good nature and kindness, she is yet capable of savage outbursts and brutal acts. Credulous and trustful as a child she can be

The Arrow of Gold. By Joseph Conrad. (Published by Fisher Unwin, 8s.)

"The Arrow of Gold" is a psychological romance, but the psychology is unilluminating, and the romance is hidden under a bushel. The hero is engaged in smuggling arms into Spain for the Carlist fighters of the seventies, not because he cares for Don Carlos, but because he loves a beautiful mysterious girl, once a goat-herd in Spain, then the protégée of a great French painter, and now his heiress. Why the girl, Doña Rita, cares for the Carlist cause, is not clear, unless we are to understand that it is because Don Carlos had been in love with her, and she not having shared the feeling had to make some other return. Nor is it clear why she has to resist the hero's love and her own love for him, or why when she has yielded to it she ends by deserting him. But it may be guessed. Mr. Conrad evidently means us only to guess and not to understand.

If the psychology is a subtle matter resting entirely on inference, the same can be said of the romance. Mr. Conrad disdains to use such obvious material as the hero's adventures in gun-running on the coast of Spain. Once or twice only we find him climbing a precipitous path in the dark, or crouching under the lee of a rock watching a light far out at sea, and waiting for the sound of a shot. All this is only background; what really concerns the chief actor, who is also the teller of the tale, is his soul's adventure with Doña Rita, the woman whose charm was "beyond all analysis, and made you think of remote races of strange generations, of the faces of women sculptured on immemorial monuments, and of those lying unsung in their tombs."

The disappointment of the book is that Rita never comes alive, or appears as a living recollection in the mind of her lover. She is too much the woman of mystery, according to type, and not all Mr. Conrad's magnificence of style can save her from being a little banal. She is like a heroine of Owen Meredith painted by Velasquez. It is true that she is supposed to live in the third quarter of last century, and that she belongs to that period. So does the monstrous Captain Blunt, who has hollow eyes and a delicate moustache, and "lives by his sword." He is so familiar as to be unconvincing. We can hardly believe in the catastrophe he causes. Nor have the minor characters much reality; they are types and little more.

But if the human beings in the story do not live, the inanimate things almost do. The descriptions are as satisfying as the psychology is elusive. The same can be said of the words in which this strange narrative is conveyed to us. There is a magic in the sentences, and every now and then a gleam of transcendental beauty shines through them.

I. B. O'M.

Rescue Work: An Enquiry. Published by "The Committee of Social Investigation and Reform," 19, Tothill Street, S.W. 1. (Price 1s.)

This pamphlet is an attempt—rare in England, but not so in America—to deal with the problem of prohibition on a scientific basis by the collection of data over a wide area. It lays down no laws; it leaves the reader to form his own conclusions. Its pages are so packed with information that—to those not familiar with the subject—it may be difficult to see the wood for the trees. To those who may find such an array of facts a little labyrinthine, it is therefore suggested that a clue may be found in the fact that the work of rescue, as detailed in these pages, falls by infinite gradations into two categories. In the first category, the sinner is *guarded against herself* at every turn and at all costs. In the second, the rescuer takes greater risks; the sinner is not so guarded, but the rescuer deliberately chooses to dare to stake everything on the inherent goodness of human nature. This results in totally different methods. One lays stress on the befouled condition of the sinner: the other on her inextinguishable goodness. It is no new division of thought. The pamphlet makes it possible for the reader to decide which method he thinks best suited to human nature. This decision will depend on his own psychology.

This pamphlet has information and suggestions for training in the work of rescue, valuable care papers, and since, as has been said: "Sooner or later, civilization must strip for the contest" against prostitution, it is a book which should be in the hands of every thoughtful man or woman.

But the pamphlet makes two dangerous suggestions. One is, that the State should aid rescue work financially. Nothing could be more disastrous. State aid means State control; officialism; institutionalism; everything that is farthest removed from the ideal method of dealing with the subtle, sensitive needs of human beings. What is wanted is not State aid, but that, as Josephine Butler said, we should "associate ourselves." More people must care. More people must feel responsible and

R. D. P.

give and spend themselves. Then the heart-breaking struggle for money, only too familiar to all who have touched this work, will cease to hamper the many devoted people engaged in it.

Another danger lies in Mr. W. Alexander Coote's suggestion that the sale or purchase of promiscuous sex-relations should be made a criminal offence. Readers are advised to study Chapter 4, Flexner: "Prostitution in Europe," or at least the summary of reasons against such proposals under "Reports and Notices" in THE COMMON CAUSE for August 1. There was a time when "every Englishman was a sergeant to catch a thief," and the formation of an organised quasi-military power force was resisted, because free men preferred to retain their liberties and risk their possessions. To-day in this suggestion that the State shall provide a vast army of spies and informers to control the most intimate relations of life—matters which lie between the adult and his own conscience—we have the vicious idea that the English citizen should give up his liberties rather than train himself to retain his most priceless possessions: independence, self-government, and sex responsibility. Are we really such poor creatures that the State must see to it that we do ourselves no harm? How ridiculously far this idea of State aid is being pushed nowadays is revealed by an amazing letter last week in The Daily News: a man who, having thrown his civvies "into a trunk with a few camphor balls," discovering on his return to England that they were moth-eaten, writes to say, solemnly, "I blame the Government in this matter. I blame the Board of Agriculture for not having written to me and given me some good advice!" It looks as if before long it will be made a criminal offence to get moths into a house!

L. HAY COOPER.

Correspondence.

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

N.U.S.E.C. SUMMER SCHOOL AT CAMBRIDGE.

MADAM.—The predominant feature of the Summer School is the vital interest of the young folk in the equality items of the programme; whenever these come up for discussion the School is at once aflame and pulsates with life. To those of us who have more days behind than before, it is most inspiring to note militancy in its best form and mood, amongst the young. The picture of the maiden "standing with reluctant feet, where the brook and river meet" is not to be found here. These maidens are not reluctant but know what they want and mean to have it—a larger and fuller life. There are two ways before the older ones in the movement, they must constantly "renew their youth," and give a lead, or be left by the wayside wondering. Some few of the leaders here are beginning to show silver streaks, but judging from their fighting attitude and speeches they intend to go along with and make companions of the young; and in this the hope of the future lies. "They must ever on and upward who would keep abreast with truth." It is not so irrelevant as it may seem for an admirer and a well wisher of THE COMMON CAUSE to pause here and ask if your paper cannot be made more a paper for the young. It has sold like ripe cherries at the Summer School. Let a response come from the directorate. There is a huge constituency waiting to be catered for, waiting for a medium through which it can express itself. But! but! this is a very practical question beset with difficulties. Let the war weary Societies of the Union revive their interest by pushing the circulation; they will thus hearten the directors and soon secure enlargement and a move forward. But there! we started a note on the Summer School, and this is only an outgoing thought.

Cambridge meeting has a message—it is this—Under thirty and over thirty, move forward! and together. It is soon night for us all.

J. R. Cross.

FAMINE RELIEF.

MADAM.—The Government has invoked the help of the British people in relieving the distress from famine in Europe and Asia Minor. Lord Robert Cecil has expressed the hope that the relief agencies appealing to the public under the Government's offer to double all voluntary gifts (up to £200,000) raised in the United Kingdom "will receive response that will bring to some millions of children . . . a message of practical sympathy." "There is no doubt whatever," said Lord Robert in the Commons on the 21st ult., "that in large parts of Central Europe, including some parts of Germany, the children, the babies, are actually dying from want of food and want of milk. I do not believe that can be questioned."

Other distinguished men appeal to us. Lord Curzon sends out "an urgent call to the people of the British Empire to play their part in the great task of reconciliation and mercy." General Smuts asks us all "to exert ourselves to the utmost in the great work of saving the wreckage of life and industry." Sir William Goode, British Director of Relief Missions in Paris, writes to tell us that twelve and a half millions are being spent by our Government in Europe, and this sum will be used up or allocated before the harvest. Still there will be urgent need, he says, for medical comforts and for supplementary food, particularly for the children.

Will you be so good as to allow us space to remind your readers that the Save the Children Fund (Hon. Sec., Mrs. Buxton, 329, High Holborn, W.C.1), has set itself the task of carrying this message to the nation? This is a central relief fund, to be administered through the various excellent relief agencies which are at work in different parts of the famine areas. The Fund does not confine itself within the limitations of the Government grant (Germany and part of Russia are excluded from benefit),

but sends help where help is most needed irrespective of nationality. Donations, however, may be earmarked for any particular country. "What you have already done," writes Mr. C. K. Butler, head of the British Mission to Vienna, "has been and will be of incalculable benefit to the suffering."

This great work is the first life-saving scheme of international scope, and it may prove to be the greatest mission that compassionate men have ever embarked upon. It can only succeed if people of all classes, parties and beliefs will unite and ally their efforts with those of the Government.

HENRY BENTINCK.
BUCKMASTER
MARY R. MACARTHUR.
PAMELA MCKENNA

Reports, Notices, etc.

National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship

The National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship.
President: MISS ELEANOR F. RATHBONE.
Hon. Secretary: MRS. A. K. GAME.
Hon. Treasurer: MISS ROSAMOND SMITH.
Secretaries: MISS INEZ M. FERGOUSON, MRS. HUBBACK (Information and Parliamentary).
Offices—Evelyn House, 62, Oxford Street, London, W.1.
Telegraphic Address—Voiceless, Ox, London. Telephone—Museum 2868.

Headquarters Notes.

Sex - Disqualification (Removal) Bill.

Most of the honorary workers and the majority of the staff are away on holidays, so that those remaining have been kept busy over Parliamentary work created by the introduction of the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Bill. Developments with regard to this Bill may prove to be most interesting, and the daily papers should be carefully watched.

50,000 Shilling Fund.

Will members of the Union and those interested in our work, who are enjoying the present beautiful weather in the country or by the sea-side, send for one or more of our 50,000 Shilling Fund collecting cards, as the work before us promises to be both arduous and expensive?

N.U.S.E.C. SUMMER SCHOOL.

The N.U.S.E.C. Summer School at Cambridge is proving a great success. The interest shown in it alike by members and by those outside has steadily increased day by day, and both the intellectual profit and the pleasure of it has been immensely enhanced by the valuable help and advice and the generous hospitality of Professor and Mrs. Bethune-Baker as well as of Mrs. James Ward, Mrs. Hartree, and other residents in Cambridge. The welcome of the Vice-Chancellor and the courteous co-operation of the officials of the Civic and Eugenic School has also been greatly appreciated.

The session opened on Sunday afternoon, August 3rd, with a gathering in Mrs. James Ward's garden, at which an inaugural address was given by Miss Rathbone. The programme during the week included the following addresses and conferences:—

Rights of Parents over their Legitimate Children, Miss Chrystal Macmillan; Women in Industry before the War, Miss G. Jebb; Status of Unmarried Mothers, Miss Rosamond Smith; Women in Professions and in Business, Miss Helen Ward; Organisation of Suffrage Work, Miss Hartop; Wife's Right to Maintenance by her Husband, Miss Rathbone; Women and Trade Unions, Dr. Marion Phillips; Economic Aspect of National Family Endowment, Mrs. Stocks; Social Aspect, Miss K. D. Courtney; Women and Whitley Councils and Trades Boards, Mrs. Stocks; Widows' Pensions, Miss K. D. Courtney; Women as Members of Parliament, Miss Courtney, Miss Helen Ward, Mrs. Vulliamy, Mrs. Cooper of Nelson, Miss Heitland, and others. An address on Proportional Representation, by Major Morrison-Bell, M.P., with a Mock Election conducted by Mr. Humphries, Secretary of the P.R. Society, also aroused immense interest. Questions were asked, and animated discussion took place after each lecture. On Wednesday evening a large and intellectually distinguished audience gathered to hear Miss Rathbone on the subject of National Family Endowment. Professor Bethune-Baker in the Chair gave a warm tribute to the public work of Mrs. Fawcett, and of Miss Rathbone, her successor in the N.U. Presidency.

On Sunday afternoon, August 10th, an exceedingly interesting meeting was held in Professor and Mrs. Bethune-Baker's garden, to consider the subject of Women's Position in the Churches, at which Miss Pictou-Turbervill spoke with convincing force. The presence of Professor Bethune-Baker in the Chair, and his most valuable contributions to the debate, gave much encouragement to those interested in this subject, as did also the presence of a large number of women attending a Holiday Course of Biblical Study in the University. In moving a vote of thanks to Dr. Baker, Miss Rathbone made it clear that the N.U. Council has not yet dealt specifically with the question of Women and the Churches.

Another point of interest during the week was a meeting under the auspices of the local Women's International League in Mr. and Mrs. Crosfield's garden, at which, by their kind invitation, a large number of the Summer School students were present. The meeting was addressed by Miss K. D. Courtney on the subject of "Some Aspects of the League of Nations."

A most encouraging feature of the "School" has been the keen interest shown, and the valuable contributions in debate made by members of the younger generation, and this, together with the pervading spirit of real fellowship in a great work shown by all alike, gives much hope for the future.

Mrs. Hubback, who had made all the preliminary arrangements, returned to town early owing to the political situation, and Miss Rathbone also went up to Liverpool for two days, owing to the state of unrest existing there, but Miss Hartop took over the general organising work in co-operation with Mrs. Cooper and in consultation with Miss Macadam. A. H. W.

VIENNA'S NEED: "DON'T SEND US DOLLARS."

An American woman journalist, now in London, who has recently returned from Vienna has given some striking information to the Save the Children Fund as to the terrible condition of affairs in that city. "Just on the outskirts of Vienna," said this lady, "there is a large hospital camp consisting of shacks built for soldiers, a corner of which is being used by a Viennese lady as a day nursery for babies and young children." Here are to be seen little ones of eight who look no more than three—so great is the effect of continued under-nourishment. While mentally the children are not markedly deficient, says this visitor, they are in a very weak physical condition. The good woman, who, out of her own resources is carrying on the crèche, feeds these children twice a day, and we are assured, she has the joy of registering a great improvement.

Those in England who have been trying for years to persuade our authorities to carry town children into the country free of charge for their daily lessons, away from crowded and dingy surroundings, may take encouragement perhaps from the news that the railway authorities of Vienna never charge these little ones for their morning and evening ride to the crèche.

It is a moving experience to listen to the story of this Vienna woman and her work of compassion among that sad juvenile people. She even contrives to teach them "singing and games!"

Rickets is taking its appalling toll in Vienna; outside the Clinics there may be seen every day long queues of women, each with her child or children in her arms. The heads of the children's clinics are in great distress, for they have the heartbreaking task of trying to make, not bricks without straw, but human bodies without food. "Don't send us dollars," said the doctors to their American visitor, "send us cod-liver oil." Rickets has increased by five times in Vienna, compared with before the war. The children when born appear to be normal, but the distressed mothers cannot nourish them, and in consequence they die. The people of Vienna are spending their capital—if they have any—to buy sufficient food to keep their children alive. If they have no capital—as few working families can have after four and a half years of scarcity—then their children lie down and die. One may reflect if one has a mind to on what such a child must think about the world and his welcome in it!

The condition of the occupied districts is, we are told, very bad, but our informant pays a tribute to the Italian authorities who, she says, are feeding the people in the territories they occupy, comparatively well. "Practically every day I was in Vienna," this lady went on, "there was a demonstration of workers—I do not mean labour union members, I mean people who are employed by the Government—small clerks and so on. All the Parliamentary representatives that I saw wanted to pay them more, but the Government is so bankrupt that they cannot afford it. They are selling at less than cost food which they are buying from the Allies, and even then the poor people cannot afford to buy it."

"There are women in Parliament now," said our informant—who is a warm admirer of the relief work that is being conducted in Vienna—"and this I would specially like you to say; in the districts occupied by the Italians and other of the Allies women are not allowed to vote."

Those who would like to help that merciful woman in Vienna or others who are working, as she is working, for the new Europe, as the generation of children may perhaps be called, should get into touch with the Save the Children Fund, 329, High Holborn, W.C.1, of which Lord Robert Cecil, M.P., has just become Patron.

HOUSEWIVES AND THE BREAD CRISIS.

Harassed housewives may obtain from the Food Education Society, 265, Strand, W.C.2, full information as to how they may bake at home at a much lower cost, with recipes for bread, scones and cakes, and hints on the selection of flour. Prominence is given to the subject in cookery demonstrations by "The Pudding Lady" and her colleagues.

SEX DISQUALIFICATION (REMOVAL) BILL.

The following is the text of the Bill as amended:—

A BILL

[AS AMENDED IN COMMITTEE]

INTITLED

An Act to amend the Law with respect to disqualifications on account of sex.

Enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

1. A person shall not be disqualified by sex from the exercise of any public function, or from being appointed to any civil or judicial office or post, or from entering or assuming any civil profession or vocation, or for admission to any incorporated society (whether incorporated by Royal Charter or otherwise), and a person shall not be exempted by sex from the liability to serve as juror:

Provided that—

(a) notwithstanding anything in this section His Majesty may by Order in Council authorise regulations to be made prescribing the mode of admission to the civil service of His Majesty, and the conditions on which women admitted to that service may be appointed to posts therein, and providing for the exclusion

of women from admission to any branch of the civil service in any of His Majesty's possessions, or in any foreign country; and

(b) any judge, chairman of quarter sessions, recorder or other person before whom the case is heard may, in his discretion, on an application made by or on behalf of the parties (including in criminal cases the prosecution and the accused) or any of them, or at his own instance, make an order that having regard to the nature of the case and the evidence to be given, the jury shall be composed of men only or of women only as the case may require, or may on an application made by a woman to be exempted from service on a jury in respect of that case by reason of the nature of the evidence to be given or of the issues to be tried, grant such exemption.

2.—(1) This Act may be cited as the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act, 1919.

(2) The enactments specified in the schedule to this Act are hereby repealed to the extent specified in the third column of that schedule, and any other enactment, Order in Council, Royal Charter, or provision, so far as inconsistent with the provisions of this Act, shall cease to have effect, and any enactment relating to juries shall have effect so as to accord with the provisions of this Act.

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

Subscriptions are still urgently needed, and should be sent to Mrs. Laurie, Hon. Treasurer, S.W.H., Red House, Greenock, or to Headquarters, 2, St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh. Peace has now been declared, but the Sick and Wounded are still on our hands, and will require care and attention for some time to come. The Committee therefore urge the necessity of continued and even greater support from the public, to meet the many demands that are constantly coming from Serbia. Cheques and Postal Orders should be crossed "Royal Bank of Scotland."

Table with financial details: Forward as per list to July 17th, 1919; Further donations received to July 31st, 1919; Subscriptions from Liverpool, per A. Guthrie, Esq. local Hon. Treas., S.W.H., Liverpool, result of Liverpool Appeal for Hospital Fund, £2,014 17s. 9d.; per Mrs. Laurie, Hon. Treas., S.W.H., Greenock, Jasper M. Wood, Esq., Liverpool, £2 2s.; 2,016 19 9; Staff and Girls, Ware Grammar School for Girls, per Miss M. E. Brough, 5 0 0; Paisley W.S.S., per Miss Mary G. Todd, Hon. Treas., for "Paisley" Bed Fund, 100 0 0; Miss M. Greenlees, Glasgow (Vranja), 5 0 0; Further subscriptions received per Miss M. C. Morrison, Hon. Treas., Glasgow W.S.S. June and July, part proceeds of Jumble Sale, organised by six ladies, per Mrs. Brown, Lanark, £34; Messrs. Yarrow & Co., Ltd., £25; Queen Margaret College Students' Union Association, per Miss V. M. C. Robertson, £25; Anonymous, Belfast, £10; Laurelbank School, per Miss Thomson, £5; Employees, Messrs. Cassel Cyanide & Co., Ltd., £4 15s. 11d.; Ladies' T.F. Church Sewing Guild, Elderslie, per Mrs. Beaton, £3; Total £428,905 1 3

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ANNOUNCEMENT.

MISS A. MAUDE ROYDON will preach at the City Temple, Holborn Viaduct, on Sunday, August 17th, at the 6.30 service.

POSITIONS WANTED.

ORGANISING POST WANTED; four years' political work, non-party; two years' welfare work, women and girls.—Box 8312, COMMON CAUSE Office.

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