

# The Common Cause

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

## Notes and News.

### Rev. Dr. Anna Shaw.

It is with the most profound regret that we learn of the death of the Rev. Dr. Anna Shaw, at her home at Moylan, Pennsylvania. She is a loss not only to the women of the United States, but to those of all other countries, and she leaves a place that cannot be filled. Miss Shaw's life and work as a pioneer in the Suffrage movement was full of remarkable experiences, and her vivid and delightful personality, no less than her eloquent tongue, enabled her to render efficient work in the early days of the feminist movement. A close friend of Susan B. Anthony, and a fellow-worker with all the American pioneers, Miss Shaw brought to her later work a fund of anecdotes and humorous reminiscences that were the delight of all who met her. During the war Miss Shaw was Chairman of the Women's Defence Committee, and did invaluable work for her country, and in June of this year she received the Distinguished Service Medal from the Government of the United States. We publish in another column a brief history of her life. We extend our truest sympathy to our American fellow-workers, and feel that in losing her we also have lost a friend.

### The Government Blunder.

The defeat of the Government on the third reading of the Women's Emancipation Bill was due to a number of causes, of which the first was the series of mistakes made by the Government itself. Their treatment of the Bill from beginning to end was as if it were a negligible matter brought forward from an unimportant quarter and not worth serious attention. The House of Commons was naturally very much annoyed at such treatment. After neglecting the Bill in Committee, where it went through unamended, the Government came at the last moment to oppose it on Report stage with an eleventh hour promise of a Bill of their own embodying Clauses 1 and 3. This course was worse than useless. The House of Commons felt a justified indignation that they should be asked to vote against a Bill of which they approved, on the promise of a Bill which the Government had not troubled to lay before them. Members, therefore, uttered much sharp criticism during the debate, of which, perhaps, the most cutting was that expressed by Major Lloyd Graeme. "I think," he said, "they must now find it unfortunate that they were not courageous at an earlier date. There is a motto about a person who fights and runs away living to fight another day. The President of the Local Government Board has gone one better than that. He has run away on previous occasions without fighting at all,

in order, apparently, to be in a position to come in and fight at the last moment. I am afraid I do him something more than justice. He has not even turned up at the last moment to defend what I regard as the entirely indefensible position which the Government have taken up in this matter." Even Mr. Fisher, in his lame defence of the Government, could find nothing to say. "I would ask the House to bear in mind," was all he could think of, "the very special difficulties under which the Government has been labouring in the last few months . . . . It has been very difficult to grapple with all the onerous tasks which have devolved upon the Government. Ministers have been worked day and night, and it has been very difficult for them to give the attention they would otherwise desire to affairs in this House." Carelessness like this in matters so important is well rewarded by defeat in the division lobbies.

### Pledges.

The second main cause of the Government defeat was the fact that it was breaking its word. We are not sceptical of the honour of Parliament, nor disbelievers in general political honesty, but never in the history of the women's movement have pledges to women been so treated before. The reason is not far to seek, and the history of this Bill is the best possible practical argument for enfranchisement. Sir Samuel Hoare was the first to raise this point. He said, "Why did the Government give its election pledges? I know that it is a very unprofitable thing to argue what election pledges mean. I am prepared to accept what the representative of the Government said to-day was intended. According to his interpretation, the pledge meant a civil and judicial equality between men and women. Then why did they not make it clear at the time? I was an ordinary candidate standing for a metropolitan division in which the question of women's suffrage has taken a very prominent part, and I naturally followed with great interest the pledge which the Government gave. I understood that to mean equal suffrage rights to men and women. My constituents also adopted that interpretation. I do not think that during the course of my election there was any subject on which I was asked more questions than upon the exact meaning of that pledge. I said—I understand now, wrongly—that that pledge meant equal voting rights for men and women. Having given that pledge to my electors, I shall certainly vote for the Third Reading of this Bill."

### Our Supporters.

A great many other members supported this view. Mr. Lloyd Greame, Sir Maurice Dockerell, Mr. Spencer, Mr. Thomson, and even Mr. Campbell, who supported the Government, could not but admit the fact. "There is no pledge," he said, "which was so pressed home at the last election as that to remove the inequality of the sexes. There was no pledge that brought the Government greater support and more votes, and I hope they will deal with it exhaustively in the measure they have promised us."

Lord Robert Cecil, however, put the case most forcibly of all. "I attach immense importance to our carrying out to the full the pledges we gave at the last election. I am told that the Parliamentary Secretary said that the pledge to give equal rights to women did not include a pledge to give an equal franchise. Surely, that was a most non-natural construction. It was the main thing. I gave that pledge fully, without any mental reservation. If I went back to my constituents and said, 'When I pledged myself to give equal rights to women, I did not mean they should have an equal right to vote,' they would regard me as little better than a swindler. It is a very serious thing that in any circumstances we should play fast and loose with our pledges. I have had some experience of the women's controversy during the last ten years, and over and over again the women have been told, 'Yes, you shall have the vote: we

will give you this and that, but not now. On this particular occasion it is impossible for us to carry out our pledge." That has happened over and over again." Sir J. D. Rees: "Who said that?" Lord R. Cecil: "The Government of the day. Bills have been brought in, but for some reason or other they have been failures, and people who were pledged to support the women's vote had some excellent reason why they could not support them on that occasion." Major Hills: "Hear, hear!" Lord R. Cecil: "My hon. and gallant friend, who was always a straightforward opponent of votes for women, knows that what I am saying is absolutely true." Sir J. D. Rees: "They were Private Bills." Lord R. Cecil: "What does it matter whether it was a public Bill or a Private Bill? Is the obligation to carry out your pledge greater because you are dealing with a Government Bill or a Private Bill? I cannot understand any distinction of that kind. In all seriousness, I say to the House it is vital for its good name in this country that it should take especial care not to play fast and loose with the pledges given to women." Sayings like these are good to hear. We thank and respect our friends for the courage with which they keep their word.

#### Decline of Parliamentary Government.

The third main cause for the defeat was the determination of Members to vindicate the rights of the House of Commons. The argument, which is indeed a very weighty one, was admirably put by many members, in particular Mr. George Thorne, Sir Samuel Hoare, Mr. Spencer and Dr. Murray.

Speaking on this point, Lord Robert Cecil said:—"The great thing before us is to establish in the country the reputation of this House. I regard that as of vital importance. You must not try to overrule the House by your mechanical majority, by exercising your authority or by disregarding your Committees. You must allow it to have fair play, and its proper play in the Constitution. Technically, the House of Commons is all-powerful, but if you destroy the belief in the House of Commons there is nothing left. You have no answer to the plea for direct action unless you can say that the House of Commons can be trusted to exercise and carry out its constitutional functions. That is vital. I appeal to the Government not recklessly, in order to meet some particular Parliamentary emergency, or it may be some Cabinet difficulty, to flout this House and reduce its reputation in the country."

#### The General Election.

Two cross currents cut across the debate, causing brisk interchanges of repartee and personal and political sallies. The first, namely, the effect of the passing of the Bill on a General Election, was raised by Major Astor himself, who said that the Government was not prepared to support the franchise clause, because the passing of a Franchise Bill was always followed by a General Election. This weak argument led at once to an attack by the Labour Party, which was vigorously opened by Mr. Spoor, who spoke of the imminent break up of the Coalition and the lack of cohesion on the Government Benches, and on all sides Members roused to this topic; references to it flavoured the whole debate, but in the present state of political affairs it was obvious that it carried little serious weight. As Lord Robert Cecil said, "There are circumstances in connection with this Parliament which are quite familiar to everybody, and which do not seem to make Parliamentary longevity an absolute certainty. I will not put it higher than that." It is not necessary to do so. Everyone knows that, Franchise Bill or no Franchise Bill, an Election may come at any time.

#### Pre-War Practices.

The intervention of the question of pre-war practices into the debate was, of course, an inevitable matter. The two Bills, side by side, have indeed an odd look, and it is not surprising that professional men should taunt Labour men with failing to practice what they preach. It was, however, deplorable that those who took this line were themselves open to the same reproach. Both Colonel Greig and Captain Loseby attacked the Labour Party on this point, and found in it a reason for voting against the Bill—a process of thought surely somewhat obscure! For our part it seems as fantastic to oppose the legal and professional emancipation of women while advocating their industrial enfranchisement, as it is to oppose their right to work while upholding their right to vote. And the latter course at least gives something; indeed, in the long run it gives it all, as Labour Members clearly recognised and Mr. Jack Jones admitted in his speech. He said: "We say that this Bill giving to women equal political rights with men establishes the possibility of equal industrial rights,

because no Parliament in the future, which will have to deal with economic as well as political questions, can refuse to recognise the strength that women will possess. Therefore I appeal to the hon. Member opposite, if he is enthusiastic about women's rights in industry, to give them first the political means of achieving the rights they are entitled to." We do not fully agree either with Col. Greig or with Mr. Jones; they are in the same boat, but of the two the Labour man seems the more helpful.

#### The A.S.E.

The Amalgamated Society of Engineers has lost its great opportunity, and by an act as senseless as it is benighted, it has itself begun the task of its own destruction. The Delegate Meeting at Manchester (which meets only once in five years), having before it resolutions for the admission of women to membership, and after full consideration and consultation both with a skilled and an unskilled Women's Union, has decided by an overwhelming majority not to admit them. Wrapped up in the rigid class narrowness of the skilled man, puffed up with the aristocratic notions of a powerful Trade Union, lapped in the security that comes of narrow ignorance, these able and important men have committed a fatal blunder, and struck a vital blow at their own interests. The exclusion of women from their industry is an impossibility, and not even the Delegate Meeting of the A.S.E. can put back the hands of time. For one year women may be legally barred out; for another they may be fought over; for a third they may be harried and hindered; but even so, long before the A.S.E. meets again, women will be well entrenched in the engineering trades. And now, owing to the blindness of those who should know better, their future colleagues have become their present enemies. Women will come in now, unhelped and unprotected by the official Trade Union movement, and since this is so, they will incidentally undermine the rates of wages and the other victories the A.S.E. has won in the past. It will be fortunate for the men—and perhaps more than they deserve—if the women do not do this deliberately and of set purpose. That they ought not to do so we are sure; that they will not we trust; but time will show. Meanwhile we cannot overestimate the gravity of this decision, nor the suicidal folly of the men who took it. We believe it to be as shrewd a blow as was ever struck at Trade Unionism in this country, and we shall look for its fatal results some three years from now.

#### Courage.

The following extracts from a letter sent out by the Society of Women Welders to its supporters are of interest in this connection:

"The results of our work are profoundly discouraging, but we are not in the least discouraged, for we realise that the industrial freedom of women is a great cause at present in its very pioneer stage. During the war we built up a Union whose members were loyal and enthusiastic. A few weeks before the Armistice our membership and the contributions paid by women welders had risen to the point at which the organisation was financially self-supporting. We had also succeeded in winning from the Ministry of Labour the offer of a General Order regulating the wages in our trade, and for a brief moment we felt that our position was secure. The Armistice, however, was signed a few days before the General Order could become operative and it was at once withdrawn. Our members, who flocked to us for help during the difficult weeks following November, 1918, continued to support us until their own financial position made this impossible. We continued to work through our Union to protect the wages of members still employed and we made every effort to encourage and help the members thrown out of occupation. We felt, however, that our further existence as a separate Union of women was becoming increasingly difficult, and we were encouraged to hope that our troubles might be ended by the fact that the five-yearly Delegate Meeting of the A.S.E. was being held in Manchester at Whitsuntide. We therefore hung on in spite of growing debt and made application to them for admission into their Union. We have this week heard that they have refused to consider our application. The imminent passage of the Restoration of Pre-War Practices Bill is likely to make the employment of our members as welders contrary to the law of the land for the space of one year. Our position could not well be worse. We are, however, convinced that the free entry of women into the engineering trades, as well as into all the other professional and industrial occupations, is merely a matter of time, and we are absolutely determined to do our share in securing that our entry shall be upon fair and honest terms. In spite of the fact that

the A.S.E. will have nothing to say to us, we will not be parties to the undercutting of men's rates by women. In spite of the fact that the Trade Unions are demanding our expulsion from work, we will not abandon the ideals of Trade Unionists; and, therefore, we intend to keep our organisation in existence so that when the time comes that we can again be useful, our wartime experience shall not be lost. The position of women in industry is bad, the personal position of our members is well nigh desperate; but our faith in our cause remains undimmed." We think that the appeal for money to clear themselves from debt which accompanies this letter, will not be made in vain, and contributions may be sent to this office.

#### Ruskin College Open to Women.

A very interesting sign of the times is the suggested establishment of a hostel for women in connection with Ruskin College, Oxford, to which Trade Unions and other Labour organisations will be able to send their women members on payment of the same fees as for men. The curriculum is to be the same for men and women, who will attend the same classes and lectures. Such an opportunity of securing for women in the Labour Movement the advantages which up to now have been available for men only will be widely welcomed, and will afford to many women a chance of realising an ambition which has been the dream of their lives.

#### The Ministry of Health.

On July 1st the Local Government Board ceased to exist, and from its ashes rose the new Ministry of Health, under whose ægis will be brought together the work both of the Local Government Board and the National Health Insurance Commissioners; and later on, of various other branches of the Civil Service, whose main concern is with health. Sir Robert Morant, who was vice-chairman of the National Health Insurance Commissioners, is to be the first Permanent Secretary of the new Ministry. Whilst the country may perhaps congratulate itself on having at last done something towards grappling with the most fundamental problem of the day—and one which has hitherto been woefully neglected—it would be as well for us all to bear in mind that this is but the first step. The actual work still remains to be done, and, indeed, even the necessary preliminary steps to action are by no means over yet, and cannot be successfully accomplished by the Department concerned without the close co-operation of the general public.

#### The Consultative Councils.

The Order in Council setting forth the details of the Consultative Councils which are to be set up in connection with the new Ministry, is now on the table of both Houses, where it has to lie for thirty days. The Councils which it is proposed to set up are four in number: (1) Medical and Allied Services, (2) National Health Insurance (Approved Societies' Work), (3) Local Health Administration, and, (4) General Health Questions. It is greatly to be hoped that no exception will be taken in either House to the suggested Councils before the expiration of the thirty days, as these Councils will contribute greatly towards the smooth working of the new Ministry, and are absolutely essential if it is to keep in close touch with public opinion, both expert and lay.

#### Union of Jewish Women.

The Union of Jewish Women is the first Women's Society to be invited to send representatives to the Board of Deputies of British Jews. This Board is a sort of Jewish Parliament, and deals with Jewish affairs both at home and abroad, and it has hitherto only elected men to serve on its Councils. The Union of Jewish Women is allowed three representatives. We congratulate the Board of Deputies of British Jews on this broad-minded departure. It is interesting to note that everywhere the line of advance for women just now is tending to take the same form—the right of voting, for which we fought so long, is found not to be sufficient in itself unless it entails sending women to represent us on the various Conferences, Committees, and Boards where important decisions are taken. The differences in the point of view of men and women, largely the result of custom and training, are still so marked as to make it generally speaking, impossible for a man adequately to represent women on all occasions.

#### Conference on Widow's Pensions.

A Conference arranged by the N.U.S.E.C. to discuss the basis of the Bill for giving pensions to widows with dependent children, was held on Tuesday afternoon, July 8th, in the Fabian Hall. The following Societies were represented: Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, Board of Guardians

for the Relief of the Jewish Poor, British Women's Patriotic League, Brighton and Hove Women's Enfranchisement Society, Catholic Women's Suffrage Societies, Charity Organisation Society, Free Church League, Mothers' Union, National Council of Women, National Federation of Women Teachers, National League for Health, National Baby Week Council, Maternity and Child Welfare, National Union of Trained Nurses, Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women, Union of Jewish Women, Women's Industrial Council, Women's International League, Women's Municipal Party, Young Women's Christian Association, Wimbledon Pensions Committee, the Birmingham, Chiswick, Croydon, Farnham, Watford, and South Kensington Societies for Equal Citizenship, and the Kensington, Teddington, and Wimbledon Women Citizens' Association. Apologies for absence were received from the State Children's Association, Major-General Sir J. H. Davidson, K.C.M.G., C.B., D.S.O., M.P., Mrs. Mylne and others. Miss Rathbone was in the Chair, and in her opening remarks sketched the rise of the movement in favour of pensions for widows with dependent children. She pointed out how the greatest stimulus had been given to this scheme by the Mothers' Pensions which had been started in America, and how much we owed to the inspiration of Judge Neile. On April 8th the House of Commons had declared itself in favour of the principle, but Dr. Addison, on behalf of the Government, pleaded for a carefully thought-out scheme. The object of this Conference was to prepare some such scheme, though none of the organisations present were to consider themselves in any way bound by the proceedings. As a basis for discussion, it was proposed to take a scheme which had been very carefully drawn up by the N.U.S.E.C., and which has already been published in these columns. A very keen discussion took place as to (1) who should be included in this scheme (in particular, whether the mother of an illegitimate child should receive the pension on behalf of that child.) It was decided, however, that the Bill would stand a much greater chance of practical success if it was kept as simple and non-contentious as possible. (2) Income Limit. The meeting was in favour of there being no income limit at all. It is known that the cost of the scheme would be very little increased by the inclusion of all widows; and that a great deal of administrative work and many vexatious enquiries would be saved. (3) Whether the pension should, or should not, be contributory. Many speakers thought it would be more popular on a contributory basis; this was, however, not the general opinion of the meeting. Keen discussion was aroused on the advisability of subjecting the widow to supervision. Some of the speakers holding that widows should be exposed to no further supervision than is the ordinary married woman; others that the State must insist on proper services being rendered in return for payment out of public funds. The Scheme, as passed by the Conference, will appear in our issue next week.

#### An Advance in Greece.

When the British delegates visited the Plenipotentiaries to the Peace Conference, one of the most helpful and sympathetic was M. Venizelos. He was an absolutely convinced Suffragist, ready, as he said, "to be a father to the movement," as soon as it should begin among Greek women. Apparently, it has begun, from the economic end at any rate, for we learn that, by a legislative decree, women having the same qualifications as those required for men are eligible for places in the Greek Finance Ministry's Audit Department. Women may be appointed, in future, to posts as Customs House Officers, legal advisers, cashiers, and coastguards. This is a curious end from which to begin the movement in a country that has hardly accepted female higher education.

#### News from Canada and Switzerland.

With the exception of South Africa and Newfoundland, all the self-governing British Dominions now have Women's Suffrage. Canada, the most recent to fall into line, has now given the Federal vote to its women citizens. The way for this step, which had been confidently expected for some time, was paved by the Suffrage victories in five provinces in 1916 and 1917 by the granting of the Federal vote to a limited selection of women by the War Times Election Act. We understand that an Eligibility Bill is also on its way, and already through the Dominion House of Commons. So far so good. From Switzerland the news is not so good. The Referendum in Neuchâtel—the first taken in Switzerland on Women's Suffrage—has resulted in a defeat. But we count on better luck next time.

## INDEPENDENCE AND ENFRANCHISEMENT.

THE fourth of July, 1776, was the day on which the American colonies declared their independence of Great Britain, and every year since then Independence Day has been a public festival throughout the whole of the United States.

The fourth of July, 1919, was Independence Day in Great Britain. It was the first day after the Proclamation of Peace, the first day of that new world which we all hope is being created, and the British House of Commons, true to its hereditary freedom, celebrated on that day its own independence by handsomely defeating H.M. Government over the Women's Emancipation Bill.

It is a good and wholesome augury for the new régime, and we are rejoiced that the passing of so lucidly just a Bill should be the first act of Britain at Peace. We trust that it is the beginning of our good future, when independence and true enfranchisement shall be the law and custom of the land, and shall be the prerogative of men and women, rich and poor alike. It is of good augury, too, that this war-time Parliament, "machine made," as Lord Robert Cecil called it, should select this great subject for its declaration of independence, and should admit so freely and so definitely that justice cannot stop half way.

The action of the Government in connection with this Bill has called for and has deserved much serious criticism. The Bill was the second private members' bill of the session, and was introduced by the Labour Party as their first choice. On second reading it was carried without a division, the Government contenting itself with announcing that it proposed to delete the Franchise clause "at a later stage." The Bill then went to Grand Committee, where, under the new procedure of the House, a curious thing happened—it was overlooked. No responsible minister was there to force the Government's amendment, and the Bill went through unamended. After this the Government apparently continued to forget it until the very eve of the Report Stage in the House. Then, too late, they wondered what to do. There were four courses open to them, of which they chose the worst. They could have done the obvious and the honourable thing—have withdrawn their opposition to the Bill and so have redeemed their own pledges. They did not adopt this course. They could have moved to recommit the Bill to a Committee of the whole House, and so secure the opportunity for reasoned amendment. Apparently, they thought that this would lay their new procedure open to severe criticism, and they did not adopt this course. They could have brought forward amendments on the Report Stage itself, and taken their objections one by one. Apparently, this was too much trouble, and they did not adopt this course. They were left, therefore, with only one line of action, to oppose the Bill, and this course they adopted, in a half-hearted and incompetent manner well suited to so lame a proposal. They announced that the Bill was badly drafted, that they were

unable to accept any reform in franchise so soon after the compromise of 1918, lest it should precipitate a General Election. As a solution, therefore, they offered immediately to bring in a Government Bill to give effect, in more concrete terms, to the substance of that part of the Labour Party Bill which did not deal with franchise. They said that they were afraid of such sweeping generalisations as the removal of all legal disabilities based on sex or marriage, and that the thing must be done piece by piece, taking each disability by itself and specifying what previous Acts needed to be repealed; they said that they were not prepared to open the Civil Service to women on precisely the same terms as to men, but would do it "in accordance with the well thought out and excellent recommendations of Lord Gladstone's Committee," (which recommendations alone among Government committees definitely advocate the non-employment of women in Class I). They made this bad offer with a bad grace, and were well rebuked, not only by its rejection, but by the speeches and the votes of their own supporters. One after another, Coalition members asserted that they had personally given the election pledges and would stand by them; that the Government had behaved foolishly and had slighted the House, and that in the cause of the honour of Parliamentary Government, as well as of that of Women's Enfranchisement, they would support the Labour Party's Bill. Lord Robert Cecil in particular, in a speech of great power, rebuked the Government for its careless neglect of Parliament, a neglect, as he said, which was the surest way to destroy the only bulwark of democracy against the pandemonium of direct action. Mr. Fisher, who had disappointingly consented to be the spokesman of the Government in this discreditable business, could find no satisfactory reply, for indeed there was none, and the division which followed vindicated for the first time the native good sense of even this Parliament. The Bill is through the Commons, and now has to take its fate in the House of Lords. There it can hardly be robbed of its Franchise clause, since that is so little their Lordships' affair. But it will be interesting to see what happens, and with what face Lord Curzon will greet the situation. We do not believe he will make a better job of it than Mr. Fisher (though we suppose he will have an easier conscience), but if he does, and if the Bill comes mutilated back to the Lower House, it may be that we shall see a rapid General Election after all.

Meanwhile, the Bills admitting women to the Bar and as Solicitors and Justices of the Peace are presumably held up. The complete emancipation of women covers these smaller matters, and much more, and we suppose that they await the fate of the more important measure. It is to be hoped that they will not slip out of sight; their long-awaited day of Parliamentary time had actually been secured last week, and they were to have proceeded on their way at once. It looks now as if their fate and that of the Enfranchisement Bill were indistinguishable, but we trust that both are safe.

## GOVERNMENT DEFEAT.

## THE OFFICIAL LIST.

The official list of the division in the House of Commons on the Women's Emancipation Bill, in which the Government were defeated by fifteen votes, is as follows:—

## FOR THE BILL: 100.

Adamson, W.  
Arnold, Sydney  
Barrand, A. R.  
Billing, N. Pemberton-  
Borwick, Major G. O.  
Bowerman, C. W.  
Bowyer, Capt. G. W. E.  
Breese, Major C. E.  
Bromfield, W.  
Brotherton, Col. Sir E. A.  
Burdon, Col. R.  
Burn, T. H.  
Carter, W.  
Cecil, Lord Robt.  
Clynes, J. R.  
Coote, C. R.  
Cowan, D. M.  
Crooks, William  
Devlin, J.  
Dockrell, Sir M.  
Donnelly, P.  
Doyle, N. Grattan  
Duncannon, Viscount  
Edge, Capt. W.  
Edwards, C.  
Elliot, Capt. W. E.  
Entwistle, Major C. F.  
Farquharson, Major A. C.  
Galbraith, S.  
Ganzoni, Capt. F. C.  
Glanville, H. J.  
Goff, Sir R. Park  
Graham, W.  
Greame, Major P. Lloyd-  
Grundy, T. W.  
Harbison, T. J. S.  
Hartshorn, V.  
Hayday, A.  
Hennessy, Major G.  
Hills, Major J. W.  
Hoare, Lt.-Col. Sir S.  
Hodge, John  
Hogge, J. M.  
Holmes, J. S.  
Hughes, S. Leigh  
Hunter, Gen. Sir A.  
Johnstone, J.  
Jones, John  
Kenworthy, Lt.-Com.  
Kiley, J. D.  
Locker-Lampson, G.  
Lunn, William  
Lyle-Samuel, A.  
Lynn, R. J.  
McDonald, Dr. B. F. P.  
McLaren, Hon. H. D.

McLaren, R.  
Maclean, Sir D.  
Maclean, Neil  
Moles, T.  
Morgan, Major D. Watts  
Mosely, Oswald  
Murray, Dr. D.  
Murray, John  
Norris, Col. Sir H. G.  
O'Connor, T. P.  
O'Grady, Capt. J.  
Palmer, Brig.-Gen. G.  
Parkinson, J. A.  
Parry, Lt.-Col. T. H.  
Richardson, R.  
Roberts, F. O.  
Rose, Frank H.  
Rowlands, J.  
Royce, W. S.  
Scott, A. M.  
Sexton, J.  
Shaw, T.  
Simm, M. T.  
Sitch, C. H.  
Smith, Capt. A.  
Spencer, G. A.  
Sporer, B. C.  
Sugden, W. H.  
Swan, J. E. C.  
Thomas, Brig.-Gen. Sir O.  
Thomson, F. C.  
Thomson, T.  
Thorne, G. R.  
Tryon, Major G. C.  
Wallace, J.

Walsh, S.  
Waterson, A. E.  
White, C. F.  
Wignall, James  
Williams, A.  
Williams, Col. P.  
Wood, Major, Hon. E.  
Wood, Major M.  
Young, Robert  
Tellers: Tyson Wilson and  
Frederick Hall.

## AGAINST THE BILL: 85.

Adair, Rear-Admiral  
Amery, Lt.-Col. L.  
Archer-Shee, Lieut.-Col. M.  
Astor, Major Hon. Waldorf  
Baird, J. L.  
Baldwin, Stanley  
Balfour, G.  
Barnes, Major H.  
Barnett, Capt. R. W.  
Barnston, Major H.  
Beck, A. C.  
Bellairs, Com. Carlyon  
Betterton, H. B.  
Boscawen, Sir A. Griffith-  
Bowles, Col. H. F.  
Swan, J. E. C.  
Bridgeman, W. C.  
Briggs, H.  
Bull, Sir W. J.  
Campbell, J. D. G.  
Campion, Col. W. R.  
Carr, W. T.

Coates, Major Sir E. F.  
Conway, Sir W. M.  
Craig, Col. Sir J.  
Craig, Sir H.  
Davies, Sir David  
Dean, Com. P. T.  
Dixon, Capt. H.  
Edgar, C. B.  
Eyles-Monsell, Com.  
Fell, Sir A.  
Fisher, H. A. L.  
FitzRoy, Capt. Hon. E. A.  
Forester-Walker, L.  
Forster, H. W.  
Fraser, Major Sir Keith

Gibbs, Col. G. A.  
Grant, J. A.  
Green, J. F.  
Greenwood, Col. Sir Hamar  
Greig, Col. J. W.  
Harris, Sir H. P.  
Haslam, Lewis  
Hope, J. F.  
Hopkins, J. W. W.  
Illingworth, A. H.  
Jodrell, N. P.  
Kellaway, F. G.  
Law, A. J.  
Law, A. Bonar  
Forester-Walker, L.  
Lewis, J. H.  
Lloyd, G. B.

M'Curdy, C. A.  
Magnus, Sir Philip  
Morrison, H.  
Murray, Lt.-Col. Hon. A.  
Murray, Hon. G.  
Parker, J.  
Percy, C.  
Pellock, Sir E. M.  
Pownall, Lieut.-Col. A.  
Pratt, J. W.  
Raeburn, Sir W.  
Rees, Sir J. D.  
Roundell, Lt.-Col. R. F.  
Samuels, A.  
Sanders, Col. R. A.  
Stanley, Lieut.-Col. Hon. G.

Stewart, G.  
Strauss, E. A.  
Sturrock, J. L.  
Surtees, Brig.-Gen. H. C.  
Sykes, Sir C.  
Vickers, Douglas  
Ward, W. Dudley  
Wardie, G. J.  
Warner, Sir T. Courtenay  
Warren, Lieut.-Col. Sir A. H.  
Williams, Lieut.-Col. Sir R.  
Worthington-Evans, Sir L.  
Yate, Col. C. E.  
Young, W.  
Younger, Sir George.  
Tellers: Lord Edmund Talbot  
and Captain Guest.

## A Pioneer's Life.

The Rev. Dr. Anna Shaw, whose life has just ended, was a pioneer by temperament, as well as by circumstance. She lived through years of adventure; her childhood was passed in the backwoods, and her youth in the struggle to secure education, at a time when women could not get it. Her early womanhood was spent as a woman minister, in a parish where prejudice was firmly established. From that she passed through a medical school into the Suffrage work in which the rest of her life was spent. In doing this work, she travelled from one end of the American continent to the other, not once, but fifty times. She "campaigns" in State after State, working ceaselessly, always hopefully, and winning as she went the friendship of thousands of women. And she saw, before she died, the coming of victory and the progress of her cause from State to State, and finally its complete accomplishment.

Greatly as she rejoiced at success, she was one of those who loved the fight. She was a wonderful woman, vigorous, inspiring, and so witty, with an eloquence rarely surpassed, and a power of intense feeling. She had, as she herself used to say, "a tongue so sharp that no one could come near," and when she was indignant, as she often was, she would smite her opponents without mercy, and, in the earlier days of her life particularly, she used this gift to great effect.

Anna Shaw was born at Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1847, and taken by her parents to America four years later. There, after a short period of life in the East, the whole family moved West, into the uncleared woods, and it was in the hard, wild life of the early settlers that her childhood was passed. The family lived in a log cabin, thirty miles and more from any neighbours; without church or school; without doctors or companions, or books, and with the fear of actual want always before them. In these surroundings she made, unaided, the great decisions of her youth, and vowed to win for herself freedom, education, and independence.

"I was always very sickly as a youngster," she told me once, "in spite of my wickedness, and I used to spend a lot of my time lying down in the sitting-room. Mother was always very particular to have this look as nice as she could; it was only a log cabin, with two rooms and great chinks between the logs, but she made it look kind of cosy inside. We got the newspapers which came up to us once a month, and pasted them up all over the inside to make a wall-paper. Well, while I was lying down, I had nothing to do but to read those papers, and I got them pretty much by heart. They were mostly political speeches—great, thundering orations, such as they made in those troubled days before the war—and chock-full of history. That's all the education I got!"

On this foundation she left home when she was fifteen, and became a teacher, and, having taught in little backwoods barn schools for a time, she got an opportunity for learning, and spent a year in a school at Big Rapids. There, impelled by the conversion that came upon her, she began her preaching, going, at the invitation of one of the presiding Elders, to preach at all the Methodist chapels in the district. A woman preacher was, of course, an unheard of novelty. Her family immediately disowned her; her friends wept and prayed over her, and her path was quite alone. In the middle of her first public appearance, she fainted dead away, but insisted on going back and finishing, lest she should never be able to do it again. All night she would spend in prayer, and all day in controversy; but it would need more than that to break the spirit of a true pioneer. She won her licence to preach in 1873, and immediately after this she entered a small Western College, where licensed preachers could continue their studies without charge for tuition. She worked her way through college, earning her living by preaching and speaking, and trying at the same time to catch up with the education she had not had, and to master Hebrew and Greek.

After two years she went to Boston, to the Methodist Theological Seminary, and prepared for ordination. She reached Boston in 1875. It was the first time she had been in a big city; she had absolutely no money, and had forced her way into a Theological College where she was entirely unwelcome, and her experiences were bitter.

"I knew an awful lot about the Almighty in those days," she told me once, "and what He would like, and what everybody else ought to do, and about Heaven and Hell, and all that; but I knew mighty little about the world, and I had a hard time in the University."

She won through, however, and in 1877 she graduated. She then applied for ordination, which was refused her in the Methodist Episcopal Church, but finally granted by the Methodist Protestants. She was then given charge of a parish in East Dennis, and there she worked for seven years, burying, marrying, and christening the fisher-people of Cape Cod. In 1882, however, feeling that this work was not sufficient for her energies, she entered the Boston Medical School, and for three years studied medicine, while at the same time carrying on her parish work. She got her degree in 1885, but she never practised medicine, for soon after she responded to the call of the Suffrage movement, and resigned her parish and her medical work, in order to take up that crusade. Then followed many years of severe hard work. Travelling in the out-of-the-way parts of North Dakota, Kansas, or Oklahoma, she was sometimes chased by wolves, sometimes by angry crowds of men; she was often snowed up, often obliged to drive for miles in the face of blizzards, and continually exposed to the exhaustion and hardship of primitive travel. She faced all this physical toil and all the bitter hostility of the pioneer days with the joy that was like the joy of battle, collecting good stories as she went, and always making light of the hardships. I believe she did not miss a single engagement in the whole of her life. Ill or well—and she was often ill—she would force herself to be on time, for she said, "we cannot afford to be slipshod." I have known her rise from her bed with a devastating headache, travel all night to an out-of-the-way village, speak for an hour or more with an eloquence that fairly swept her audience off its feet, and then collapse again when the work was done. Like most great orators, she was always nervous, and intensely critical of her own speeches; but she was the only person who was critical, for a greater orator has not often been heard.

Her deep friendship for Miss Susan B. Anthony was the main happiness and inspiration of her middle life. Together they "took the road," and toiled at the foundations of the enfranchisement of women, and Miss Shaw owed much to the calm serenity of her companion Aunt Susan, as all the Suffragists of the country called her, was a veritable tower of steady strength. Miss Shaw's vividness and vehemence made a good accompaniment for her dignity and wisdom. At Miss Anthony's death in 1905, Miss Shaw became the President of the National American Women's Suffrage Association, then developing into a mighty organisation, and in 1915 she became its Honorary President. She took a great interest and share in the affairs of the International Alliance, and through its meetings was the first ordained woman to preach in public in London, Amsterdam, Copenhagen, Christiania, Berlin, and Buda Pesth. Miss Shaw has written her own life\* with some few of her adventurous stories and some small part of her store of jokes. She has written down a small part, too, of her wisdom, but only a small part. The rest of it lives in the memories of her friends, to whom her loss is irreparable.

RAY STRACHEY.

\* "The Story of a Pioneer." By Anna H. Shaw. (Harper Bros., New York and London. 1915.)

### Then and Now.

History is quickly made in these days, not only in the vast upheavals of wars and revolutions, but on the less exciting plane of everyday manners and customs. The women's movement, for instance, has developed wonderfully and great changes have taken place within a couple of generations. For the moment let us consider especially women of the professional and middle classes, and let us pass over the gaining of the vote and the increased opportunity for professional work, which are the more evident and familiar changes, unlikely to be overlooked, and look at the more subtle psychological changes. The social outlook of women has developed considerably. Down to, say, the 'seventies or 'eighties, women of the middle and professional classes led for the most part a rather isolated life, and in looking back the lack of power or desire to act together strikes us forcibly. Education, for instance, as far as girls were concerned, was often carried on in the "domestic system." In small country villages or suburbs we might easily have found each family of little girls with its own governess, or taught by the mother or elder sister. It is easy to see that a pooling of resources would have secured greater variety of attainment in the teacher and would have given the children the inestimable benefit of companionship in work. But any such plan would have demanded a power to look outside the isolation of the home which was possessed by few. Social intercourse, again, was largely carried on among women by means of certain formalities, the afternoon call, with its ritual of the card-case, and—if you could afford it—of the brougham; also the dinner-party, garden-party, or At-Home. All of these might be dull or lively, according to the wit or opportunity of the hostess, but in any case, the guests came together for some purely fortuitous reason—neighbourhood, reciprocity, similarity of position, seldom because of any common interest or purpose. There is a great change from this point of view. Women have learnt to associate and act together, to form clubs, sit on committees, to recognise that social and political aims are not outside their purview, but have indeed an intimate and vital connection with their own homes and their own children. All this had to be learnt outside, for the purely domestic life of women, since industry has been taken out of the family, has given no experience in co-operation, and, strangely enough, middle-class women have given very little thought to the experience of Lancashire co-operators, and made little attempt to apply the principle to their own familiar difficulties. A few such experiments are now being made, but on no great scale. Perhaps another quarter-century may see drastic revolutions of this kind.

It is, however, not merely in the prosaic utilities of daily life that the growth of a co-operative spirit is so valuable. Friendship becomes far more intimate and happy when, as so often now, it arises out of sympathy and feeds on common work, than when it found expression in mere formal visiting, and in so-called gaieties, that were by no means always gay. The countless societies run by women at the present day are undeniably too many; one occasionally rebels at the number of committees to be attended and the variety of forms taken by social effort. But the effort and the work, (which may, let us hope, be simplified and better organised in the future) have been of incalculable use in bringing women together and training them for political life. Women are infinitely more awake and responsive, they are able to view the home and family, not as a unit centred on itself, but in relation to a larger whole, and the whole outlook has broadened correspondingly.

In regard to social work, the change has also been considerable. In old times much energy and devotion was expended in relieving the poor. Suffering was, no doubt, relieved, and real good done by individuals; but it is impossible to deny that, on the whole, these works of charity and benevolence were not animated by a social ideal. Only a few students and agitators were really trying to understand the causes of the frightful social evils that desolated England during and after the wars with France. It was innocently believed that the great thing was to teach the poor to be better, and that, while of course "we" ought to be humbly thankful for the advantages we had enjoyed, there was no sort of doubt that, as a class, "we" enjoyed those advantages as a reward of merit. The effects of the enclosure policy, the development of the industrial revolution, the inner meaning of the trade union movement, to take these instances only, were unknown and little considered by the charitable. The writings of Thorold Rogers, Mr. R. Tawney, Mr. and Mrs. Hammond, and others, have effected a great change, not so much that these authors have ever reached a very wide public, but the results of their work have insensibly permeated a circle

much wider than that of their actual students, and have had considerable modifying effect. There could be no shallower misconception than that which accuses such writers of "setting class against class"; the exact opposite is indeed the effect of studying such works. In learning from the bed-rock facts of history, as distinguished from the biased, superficial history that nourished our youth, we come to perceive how vast has been the contribution of the working classes to civilisation, how great the wrongs they have suffered, and how perverse it is to blame them for the uncivilised conditions in which too many still have to live, but which have been mostly forced upon them by the neglect and incompetence of the classes in control. Thence arises the wholesome frame of mind known as "social compunction." Economic history need not divide or embitter; it is, on the contrary, the great reconciler. *Qui sait tout sait tout pardonner.* One result of this better knowledge of industrial and economic history has been that the women's movement, which started as an individualistic movement, with a certain antagonism to labour and trade unionism, has been in more recent years impelled more and more into co-operation with them, drawn constantly closer by the necessities of the situation. The low wages of women, for instance, are probably connected with the fact that until quite recent years, the employing class thought it necessary to maintain its female relations in a state of dependence. No self-respecting man above a certain social grade, sixty, fifty, or even forty years ago, liked that his wife, daughter, or sister, should work for pay, or appear in public unprotected. The "sheltered life" was supposed to be the only right and proper one for women. Outside employment was a misfortune only to be tolerated from necessity. Thus drawing-rooms full of grown women, sometimes several to a family, with little to do and still less to think about, were characteristic of the Victorian era. In retrospect we are amazed at the self-sacrifice with which the father of many daughters used to shoulder the heavy, and, one would suppose, quite unnecessary burden of their support.

The influence of this custom on the standard of women's wages and salaries has not been given sufficient consideration. It was not unnatural that the professional or business man, who in obedience to an unwritten law supported several full-grown women at home doing next to nothing, should feel that the women he employed in his own office or factory were not on a par with the men. According to his standard, such women would be wholly or partially supported by their fathers, or if they weren't they ought to be; and no very high degree of efficiency or concentration was to be expected of them in work. Hence the "pocket-money wage," which seemed so right and respectable to an older generation. But as the modern woman goes out into the struggle for employment and acquires more knowledge of industrial conditions she comes to understand the iniquity of starvation wages far better than she would have done as a "womanly woman" at home, and insensibly her knowledge helps to modify the class point of view. The outlook of the professional and business classes on these matters is now considerably changed for the better, and the change has been greatly speeded up by the effects of war. The stress of social approval has been actually reversed, in a period comparatively short, and, so far from regarding genteel idleness as the socially superior rôle, most girls now feel themselves rather old-fashioned, rather "out of it," if they do not achieve a defined occupation outside the home. It is notable that neither with the girls of this class nor with organised labour is "unrest" due entirely to economic causes, though no doubt economic grievances have their influence. The two discontents, the two forms of unrest, are not so unrelated as might be supposed. The deadly monotony of much machine work, the futility of the life led by unoccupied women at home are alike in this, that thought and imagination are deadened, and the creative instinct is denied an outlet. Under the modern dispensation of industrial capitalism, which became important in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and has powerfully moulded the environment of all of us ever since, the guiding power and control of industry has rested in the hands of comparatively few persons. The owners and controllers of capital settle for industrial workers what they shall produce and do, and, for all consumers, very largely what they shall have and enjoy. Profit, not joy in work, not consumption, is the standard. Under this system women of all classes and Labour generally cannot express their ideals or get their wants attended to. In the maintenance of civilisation, the shaping of the environment, in planning and formative work generally, they either have no part or are continually cramped and warped in performing it. "Our economic system," writes Mr. Bertrand Russell, "compels almost all men to carry out the purposes of others rather than their own, making them feel impotent in action and only able

to secure a certain modicum of passive pleasure."\* In this way the fundamental impulses that go to make a fine and noble life are continually frustrated and turned sour. The material civilisation produced by so much effort and unwilling sacrifice, to which manual workers and women have contributed no guidance and control, has done some wonderful things; it has built railways, bridges, and steamships; constructed some of the most hideous cities ever seen; it has produced cotton and other goods in such vast quantities that the makers thereof—in peace-time—were often, owing to "gluts," too poor to buy enough to satisfy their own modest needs. Its crowning achievement has, however, been the discovery of the fluidity of mechanical production. During nearly five years a large proportion of the whole industrial power of the world has been turned out of its normal into producing means of destruction, and that with so extraordinary a degree of efficiency that many millions of young men lie dead, many cities and unreplaceable monuments of medieval art are in the dust. There could hardly we submit, be a clearer proof that the unrest among women and among Labour was and is founded upon a healthy instinct that all was not well. At the present moment, in spite of the welcome relief of peace, so far as peace can be said to be really established, the outlook for this sorely tormented planet is still gloomy. Half Europe starves; class divisions, ignored or put to sleep in war-time break out again; the social neglect of half-a-dozen generations is producing inevitable retribution. It is in this critical time that both women and Labour have been recognised as having a right to a voice in the State; women, now first enfranchised, Labour, long since enjoying a vote, but never until the war taken into counsel. There is a certain irony in the position, as if the head of a family, accustomed to exercise sole control while things went easily and well, when threatened by flood or fire, famine, pestilence, or sudden death, panic stricken, were to call to his daughters and servants for advice. The new civilisation that will be built upon the ruins of the old is something unknown and mysterious; we cannot foresee its shape or describe its colour. But it includes for the first time a break up of the monopoly of power, an admission of the co-responsibility of woman with man, labour with employer. The time of stress is the accepted time. We are down on bed-rock facts at last. B. L. HUTCHINS.

### Dressmakers and Ourselves.

Very few of us have yet quite realised what has lately begun to happen in the dressmaking trade. Nevertheless, events are taking place there which are likely to have a direct personal influence on the lives of many of us. The truth is, that in the past our clothes have been made for us too cheaply; in the future we shall either have to pay much more for the making, or else make them ourselves.

Let us look back and see what have been in the past the wages of dressmakers working for private customers. Considering what a large and widespread women's trade it is, we know remarkably little about the wages in it. But it is just because it is widespread and carried on in hundreds of little dressmakers' establishments all over the country that information about it is difficult to collect. It is a trade requiring skill and taste, so that the wages, at any rate for adults, must be sufficiently high to attract suitable workers; consequently it has not the attraction of sweated trades for social investigators. It is just an ordinary normal occupation for girls all over the country to enter, and up till now nobody has troubled her head very much about it.

In the extensive enquiry made for the Labour Commission in 1893, comparatively little information was collected by the Lady Assistant Commissioners about dressmakers. In London they saw twelve dressmakers and three employers, and gained information about twenty-six firms; in the provinces nineteen dressmakers, mantle-makers and milliners related their experiences of twenty-four situations. From the report it appears that in London eighteen shillings was the usual wage of an experienced bodice hand, the most skilled class of worker; in the country bodice hands were paid nine shillings to twelve shillings, and never more than fifteen shillings; skirt hands only received seven shillings to nine shillings, and up to eleven shillings and twelve shillings. The next official enquiry into dressmakers' wages was made in 1906, when a census of the earnings and hours of labour of work-people was taken over the whole United Kingdom. The wages of about 30,000 women over eighteen in the "Dress, millinery, &c. (workshop)" trade were obtained and tabulated in all sorts of ways. Those who can clothe the figures with flesh and blood will find the report (Cd. 4,844, 1909, price 2s. 5d.) intensely

\* Principles of Social Reconstruction, p. 23.

interesting. From it we learn that London wages were still higher than those in the country, but the difference was no longer so great, as the following figures show:—

Average Wages in last Pay-week of September, 1906, of Women of and above Eighteen, working full time, United Kingdom. United Kingdom London. excluding London

	Lower quartile.	Median.	Upper quartile.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
United Kingdom ... ..	9 0	12 0	15 0
London ... ..	12 0	16 0	20 0
Westminster ... ..	13 0	16 0	21 0
Chelsea and Kensington ... ..	12 0	16 0	20 0
Marylebone and Paddington ... ..	12 0	15 0	20 0
Rest of London ... ..	10 0	14 0	17 0
South-Eastern Counties ... ..	8 0	11 0	15 0
South-Western Counties ... ..	7 0	10 0	12 0
Northern Counties and Cleveland ... ..	8 0	11 0	14 0
Yorkshire (excluding Cleveland) ... ..	9 0	12 6	16 0
Lancashire and Cheshire ... ..	10 0	12 6	15 0
Manchester and Liverpool ... ..	9 0	13 0	16 0
North and West Midland Counties ... ..	8 0	10 0	14 0
South Midland and Eastern Counties ... ..	7 6	10 0	12 6
Wales and Monmouthshire ... ..	6 0	9 0	11 0
Scotland ... ..	9 6	12 0	15 0
Edinburgh and Glasgow ... ..	11 0	14 0	16 0
Ireland ... ..	7 0	10 0	12 0

We see from the table that in the United Kingdom as a whole half the bodice makers earned less than twelve shillings, in London only one-quarter, but in Ireland three-quarters did so. Again, in the United Kingdom as a whole, in the South-Eastern Counties, in Lancashire and Cheshire, and in Scotland only one-quarter earned more than fifteen shillings, in London more than one-half did so; finally, London is the only district where as many as one-quarter of the workers earned twenty shillings or more. The figures for skirt makers are very similar, being slightly lower in some cases. There are no statistics of a later date with which to compare these earnings, but the information which we have suggests that there may have been a small rise in wages before the war. It was calculated that seventeen shillings was the minimum upon which a girl could maintain herself decently in London at that time, yet less than half the London bodice makers earned as much. If these were the earnings of trained and skilled dressmakers, one hardly dares to think how many of the other women in the sewing trades earned less than a living wage.

During the war a certain number of girls left the trade, attracted by the higher earnings in others; but what occasioned a far more serious shortage of workers was the fact that practically no young girls would enter the trade. As a result, it is estimated that in April, 1918, there were in the trade only four-fifths of the women and girls employed in July, 1914. London employers, more anxious for the future than for the present, realised that something must be done to make the career more attractive to young workers. They therefore agreed to the following improved conditions: A definite scale of wages for learners, starting at eight shillings a week and rising at regular intervals, a working week of forty-eight hours with as little slack time and overtime as possible, payment for overtime at rates roughly equal to time and a quarter, holidays with pay, and attendance by girls from fourteen to sixteen years at a trade training school in the employer's time; higher wages were also promised to improvers and assistants. In other towns too, definite scales of minimum wages were drawn up; in Edinburgh, for example, an agreement was made in July, 1917, by which skilled workers were to get twenty-one shillings to thirty shillings with a minimum of twenty-five shillings for heads of tables; in Aberdeen, according to a scale drawn up in May, 1918, a worker would earn at least twenty-four shillings in her tenth year. But when we remember by how much the cost of living had already risen at that time, the wages still seem very low. It is, moreover, a lengthy and complicated process for scales of minimum wages to be agreed upon by workers and employers all over the

country. In a scattered and unorganised occupation like dressmaking the isolation of a great many employers and workers prevent their being a party to any agreement. Obviously this method of maintaining a reasonable wage standard, which is excellent for highly organised and localised trades, is quite unsuitable for an industry like dressmaking. The Ministry of Labour therefore decided that wages should be fixed by the alternative method of a legal minimum—that is to say, of a rate which can be enforced in an ordinary court of law. A Trade Board for dressmaking and the other trades engaged in making women's clothes is therefore to be established. But even this plan takes a great deal of time. First, the trade has to be defined, then representatives have to be found, after discussion, the Board agrees to the proposal of a certain rate, after that two months have to elapse during which objections may be sent in, next those objections have to be considered, and finally the rate is definitely fixed.

The Minister of Labour has not waited for this procedure to be gone through, but has availed himself of his powers under the Wages (Temporary Regulation) Act, 1918, to fix the wages in the women's clothing trades by an order which came into operation on April 7th, 1919. This order prescribes a scale of wages starting at twopence an hour for girls of fifteen during the first six months of their employment, rising up to sevenpence an hour (including one penny war wage) for women of eighteen years and over. This is a minimum of twenty-eight shillings for a forty-eight hour week, and is considerably above the rates agreed upon in 1917 and 1918. The Ministry of Labour has followed the example of the first Tailoring Trade Board, which agreed after much argument to fix a flat rate for the whole of the country, leaving it to local conditions to maintain or create local differences in rates. So sevenpence an hour has now to be paid to every dressmaker's assistant of eighteen years and more in the whole of England and Wales. Naturally, in London and other large centres where the best work is done, far higher wages are paid to senior hands. Dressmakers' wages, like those of many first-class workers; as a result of a strike which Reading a minimum rate of thirty-six shillings a week of forty-eight hours is now paid to senior hands. Dressmakers' wages, like those of many other women workers, are still at a very uncertain figure, and subject to constant change; it will be many months before a steady level is reached. One thing only is certain, that women's wages will never again touch the extreme depths reached by some of them before the war.

DOROTHEA M. BARTON.

#### THE FULL ENFRANCHISEMENT OF WOMEN STILL DELAYED IN HOLLAND.

After the passage of the Suffrage Bill through the Second Chamber it has only to receive the ratification of the First Chamber and the Queen's sanction, to become law. Then women may vote on the same terms as men; but full political equality can only be gained by a new revision of the State Constitution, which now assures to every man his electoral rights but makes those of women dependent on the existing Electoral Law. So, even if in July next women get their vote, they have reason enough to continue their suffrage organisation until, in 1922, the Constitution will have established political equality for both sexes. Moreover, the Dutch Civil Code (the Code Napoléon) and other products of time-honoured legislation, are far from treating men and women as equals. It is therefore expected that women will not disband as soon as the vote is won, and, of course, the Dutch Woman Suffrage Association in its General Meeting on June 15th laid down plans for a re-organisation.

We propose to form a League of Women Citizens, whose aim will be (a) to further legal, social and economic equality of men and women, (b) to promote the interests of women as workers, wives, and mothers, (c) to enlighten women politically, (d) to proclaim the women's insight into social and political questions and make it known in representative bodies. The League will adopt the following declaration of principle:

"The Dutch League of Women Citizens, non-partisan in religious and political matters, declares its opinion that insight and sense of equity in the women as well as in the men of our country should be an active force for social and legal reform, and that the nation should strive for a better future with equality of rights between the sexes."

We wonder how long it will be before we can actually establish the new association. The debate on Mr. Marchant's Bill was expected in the First Chamber before the end of this month, yet yesterday our Senate adjourned till July 8th without having taken it up.

We have long been patient and shall now have to wait another couple of weeks.

MARTINA G. KRAMERS.

### The Italian Situation.

We have received the following interesting letter from Dr. Margaret Ancona:—"I think it may interest the readers of your paper to hear of the latest developments of the Suffrage movement in Italy. The Congress at Milan gave a new impulse to propaganda, and in particular to the two Roman newspapers, the *Cimento* and the *Idea Femmineo*, while in Milan a paper, the *Voce Nuovo*, the organ of the local Suffrage movement, was started. The most important act of the Congress, however, was the formation of a Parliamentary group, of which one of the Milanese deputies, the Hon. Signor Gasparotto, was the founder, for the purpose of bringing forward a definite Bill. The President of this group was the Hon. Signor Martini, a noted public man, who was a Minister and Governor of Eritrea, and a distinguished author. His wife, the late Donna Giacinta Martini, was one of the pioneers of Italian Suffragists. The group was formed of representatives of all political parties. After May 20th, when the Italian delegates left Paris, it did not seem possible to introduce a Bill, and it was therefore unanimously decided that a Bill of two short clauses should be introduced by the Hon. Signor Martini and the deputies of the Suffrage group on the reassembling of the House, which would be at the beginning of July. It must be confessed, however, that the chances of success or failure are sufficiently intricate. Signor Orlando suddenly resigned, before the House had decided upon a Prime Minister to succeed him. The new Minister, Nitti Tittoni, is opposed by the whole Press (although Tittoni, as a delegate to Paris, was warmly supported), and it is not impossible that he may have a vote of censure directly he reports to Parliament. At all events, it is certain that the first thing to be discussed early in July will be electoral reform, that is to say, proportional representation, and our friends will introduce Women's Suffrage and relative questions. But the official Socialists, that is, those who were against the war, fear that when the Bill is passed, there will not be time to draw up the new register before the Parliamentary Election (which they want to take place in July or August), and so they would like to add to the Bill a temporary clause making it possible for women to vote, not for the Parliamentary election of 1919, but, to begin with, for the approaching communal and provincial elections, which take place this year all over Italy. We are very doubtful about this proposal, as we know too well the real reason: that the Socialists have not yet organised their women, and fear the better organisation of the other parties, particularly the Catholics. We think, however, that, even if we cannot use the vote this time, it will be a victory for the future, though it is a terrible trial to renounce the hope of voting at the end of the war. Much will depend, however, on the energy which our friends will devote to our cause. Most likely this time the Bill will come from the Radicals, who have always made great promises and have never kept them. The presence of Ministers who are known Suffragists (Celli, Chimienti, Pantano, and Mortara) is not sufficient to reassure us, as these were some also in the last Ministry. We are on the eve of a rousing victory or of a severe disappointment, unless, indeed, the Government falls, and electoral reform is postponed until the following Parliament."

### Reviews.

#### The Worst Slavery.

*Prostitution in Europe.* By Abraham Flexner. New Abridged Edition. (Grant Richards. Price 6s. net.)

"It is said that slavery has disappeared from our European civilisation. This is an error. It still exists, but it weighs only upon women, and it is called prostitution."

VICTOR HUGO, *Les Misérables*, Part I., Book V., Chapter 4.

Flexner's *Prostitution in Europe* is a terrible classic: terrible because it deals with the worst evil of our civilisation, and is, therefore, painful to read, a classic because its treatment of the subject is so authoritative, so impartial, and so admirable in form that no one who thinks at all about these matters can afford not to read it. It is the result of an enquiry undertaken at the request of the New York Bureau of Social Hygiene. Mr. Flexner was chosen for the task because, while he had proved his mettle as a social investigator, he had never dealt with this subject before, and could, therefore, bring a fresh eye to bear on it.

There is something appalling in this survey of European sin and suffering by one who, both literally and metaphorically, came to it from the outside, and the compression to which the original work has been subjected to produce the little book now

before us certainly does not take away from the horror. But it is a horror which everyone who cares for humanity should face. As Madame Avril de Sainte-Croix recently explained to a gathering of women from many lands, in London, there has been no advance in the struggle for an equal moral standard during the years of war, it may rather be said that the reformers have suffered a set back, and that much of their work has to be begun again. The situation is, indeed, more dangerous, from the moral point of view than it was when Flexner wrote, because the old temptation to place health of body before morality, and to believe that in this matter the two conflict, has been enormously strengthened by the events of the last five years. "There were tolerated houses all along the lines on every front," said Madame de Sainte-Croix. British feminists who listened to her remembered the struggle they went through two years ago, to get some of these houses placed out of bounds for British troops, and the miseries that were revealed in connection with these plague spots gave them some clue to the multiplied horror that was indicated by Madame de Sainte-Croix's words. The reason for these tolerated houses was, of course, the belief of the authorities in most of the belligerent countries that the health and consequent efficiency of their soldiers could only be protected by providing them with healthy prostitutes. That belief has not been really shaken by the fact that in spite of the "protection" venereal disease has continued to spread. The Abolitionists, as they will probably continue to call themselves—since, as Madame de Sainte-Croix said, the name that recalls Josephine Butler is "a banner in itself"—will have a harder fight than ever, now that a new Europe has to be built up over the ruins of war. After pointing this out, the indomitable French leader went on to warn those who listened to her that it would be no use for feminists to try and put hygienic considerations on one side: on the contrary, they must meet the hygienists on their own ground and show them that from their own point of view the strengthening of State regulation of vice is a disastrous mistake.

Those who wish to do so should study Flexner, they will find all the material they need. In Chapter VII., called "Regulation and Disease," he examines the whole question. Considering it first in its broader aspect, he comes to the conclusion that "Regulation tends to increase miscellaneous sexual congress. Irregularity craves variety; and infection is the well-nigh inevitable result of sexual promiscuity. To whatever extent regulation tends to increase irregular commerce by diminishing individual and social resistance, to that extent it tends to increase the amount of venereal disease. Therefore even if regulation should be found to be more or less effective, its sanitary achievement has to be offset against the increased amount of congress to which it indubitably conduces." He then proceeds to enquire whether it ever is really effective, and concludes that it is not, and that no scientific authority, even among those who profess to support it, pretends that it is. He says: "Whatever one may hold as a matter of theory, it is clear that as a matter of practice, regulation as it has been carried on in the past century has increased and not decreased, the volume of venereal disease. No successful experience in the past can anywhere be quoted on its behalf. Those who believe in its possibilities are loudest in condemning its actual results." He then discusses its "possibilities" in detail, and concludes: "There is, then, on the sanitary side no support whatever for the theory of police regulation . . . needless on the score of order, it is proved to be positively harmful in its bearing on disease. As a system, it runs counter to the modern spirit in ethics, in politics, and in hygiene."

In the following chapter Flexner enquires into the real inwardness of regulation, and decides that the system is retained at the present day "because it gives the police an additional aim in dealing with a certain class of delinquent," and says that the final and weightiest objection is "not that it fails in hygiene, not that it is contemptible as espionage, not that it is unnecessary as a police measure, but that it obstructs and confounds the proper attitude of society towards all social evils, of which prostitution is one. Men can refrain; the State must do nothing to make prostitution easier. Women must be saved, if possible; rescued if preventive measures have come too feebly or too late. These sentences sum up the simple and entire duty of the State. As against all this, inscription entices the girl, offering her a *quid pro quo* if she crosses the line. Thus it snaps the last weak thread that ties her to decent occupation or other associations. In its ultimate effect, therefore, it is a compact with vice, whatever the language employed. It may not intend to encourage vice, but by conceding to vice a privileged position, it discourages all effort to prevent or uproot it." On the ground of public hygiene, on which they have to meet the strongest attack, and on the ground of humanity and justice, on which they will wish to

stand, the Abolitionists will find powerful help from Professor Flexner. His book is built on facts scientifically studied and throws a clear, intellectual illumination on the results of the worst form of slavery, not to those who suffer it only, but to the nations who foster it. All politicians and doctors, police, and authorities of every kind, should be forced to study this book: all feminists will wish to do so. It is an excellent thing that it is now published in a convenient form and at a comparatively low price, so that nobody will feel that it is out of reach.

I. B. O'MALLEY.

### Salt of the Earth.

An Echo of the Spheres. Rescued from oblivion by T. W. Bain. (Methuen. 10s. 6d. net.)

The genius of women is almost always that of personality rather than that of performance, as the stock exception of the great actress used so often in the old feminist controversies, goes to prove. Rachel, Duse, Sarah Bernhardt, Ellen Terry, have all been great women as well as great artists, but when it comes to women expressing themselves in creative, as opposed to interpretive work, either the woman is subordinate to the artist or the artist is only of the second rank. It is no use citing Miss Austen. The triumph of her personality persists in the continued accordance to her name of the formal address: we say "Miss Austen" as though she were still alive to check the familiarity or vulgar gush of "Jane." It is no use citing the two great Georges or the too often brandished names of Madame Le Brun and Anglica Kauffmann. The retort in each case claims the example cited as proof of one or other point of the contention, and we all know that Chateaubriand (or was it Benjamin Constant?) never felt quite sure whether Madame de Staël were a woman at all. The real moral of the historic fact is that to be a great woman is a greater achievement than to be a great artist, Faith and the clear life which follows it being more than Works.

This dogmatic conclusion has reached me after a third reading of the poignant and extraordinary book wherein Mr. T. W. Bain has set his mother's poems in the ambient glow of his love and memory of her. The effect of the book as a whole is as that of a piece of amber in which little fragile insects—some rare, some lovely, some just plain ordinary flies—have been caught and glorified into a whole of golden and beautiful strangeness.

Certain critics, annoyed by the ruthless condemnation of Christina Rossetti and her brother ("almost every line they wrote is sham") which Mr. Bain's filial passion drives him to lay at his mother's feet in frantic adoration of her songs, have said they can find nothing very remarkable in her lyric gift. Here, though I do not agree with them, I will not stop to argue, though how anyone can fail to recognise the authentic note in "The Dog Rose," or "Old Age," and in many scattered lines and verses, it is not easy to understand. My present intention is to fill the space at my disposal with a brief examination of the inescapable effect of personal greatness which this book conveys.

"C. B." (Mr. Bain never gets nearer than this to his mother's name, referring to her almost invariably by the personal pronoun as though she were indeed for him the only She) appears first in a Vignette "reproduced from an old and faded photograph" taken in 1855, when she was twenty-one and the visibly proud mother of an enormous infant, Jack, to whom, many years later, she writes in the secret diary which another of her sons has discovered for us:—

Life is a dream! ah! well Jack's mother knows it,  
For Jack's a man—her feathered bird has flown,  
She bade him (is she dreaming?) walk alone:  
She dreams she's sad and never will disclose it.

That is her secret, and she holds it fast  
While he, the ingrate, soars away beyond her,  
And why it is old women ponder  
So pertinaciously upon the past.

These straightforward rhymes, written for herself, because it was natural to her to ease the sadness of her hard life in secret rhyming, show (not the full quality of her verse, that is more beautifully exemplified in other places), but some of the quality of her reserved and humorous mind, its courage and its sincerity. C. B., as the most distinguished of her sons tells us with perfect frankness, was not happy in her marriage. The contained melancholy of the regularly oval little face in the picture might have given us a hint of this truth. But what the heavy eyes and rather too controlled mouth above the broad ribbon strings of the frilled mid-Victorian bonnet do not reveal, is the indomitable spirit, the intellectual uprightness which refused either to acquiesce in or be crushed by unhappiness. For this firm but delicate spirit there was no escape from the actual burden of the duties she had undertaken, a burden increased by material

care after some years of relatively comfortable living, but, though she never dreamed of openly repudiating her vows, she knew that they were broken.

She makes many a reference to this conscientious scruple, sometimes directly in the more definitely autobiographical poems, sometimes through the parable of the folk ballads she wrote following the literary fashion of her day:—

Alas! for many a plighted spouse  
In Heaven the Angels weep  
To wash away our futile vows,  
The vows we cannot keep.  
Woman may love a loving lord:  
She honours when she can  
But never—take a woman's word,  
Obeys, mere master, Man.

But this determined rebel was not bitter for all her sharp knowledge of inadequacies in herself and others. Once, indeed, in the translation of a terrible poem by that usually so pleasant poet, François Coppée, she shows a dark inclination to hate "mere master man," but perhaps the love of her sons, helped by her own clear humour and her true, though not altogether orthodox, religion saved her. She ends another poem about the dangers of marriage:—

*Abit omen!* hush! they know  
All about in up in Heaven;  
When the rainbows come and go  
Feeblest, not of twain but seven!  
And of mortals' shattered hopes  
Angels make kaleidoscopes.

The daring of the mind which, in the eighteen-fifties, could picture a possible heaven with seven souls to one marriage, breaks out more sombrely but with quite as marked a humour in the odd, original, half flippant, half desperate, "Grammar of Assent," the ninth and last article of which runs:—

Wise the old King who was offered Eternity,  
No, said he, bury me deep when I die.  
I wilt the Dead remain,  
Not for the world again  
Would I consent to reign.  
(Neither would I.)

It was probably this independence and this humour which made her the idol of her sons. And it would not be hard to idolise the demure and devoted little woman who, out of a daily life full of austerities could write to her son at Christmas, sending him a bowl to his distant exile:—

I cannot bring thee bays, boy,  
To twine about thy brow:  
The feather-footed fays, boy,  
Sit frozen on the bough.  
December rules thine hour, boy,  
A dour and surly soul,  
A fig for faces sour, boy,  
Let's drown them in the bowl.

And continue in high spirits till:—

The milk of human kindness  
Would never drown a fly:  
And Gideon's deed—O blindness!  
Why should Trelawney die?

This tolerance is sometimes graver. C. B., for all her outward domesticity was a feminist at heart, and her warning to those women who, in her day, were already beginning to feel that there was other work for their hands than the traditional rocking of cradles, opens with a very pretty allowance for all infractors:—

Daughters of Eve, when golden dower  
Hung perilous in Eden's bower,  
And at her touch in evil hour  
Dropped from the loaded spray,  
Curse not your Mother, though her fall  
In punishment involved you all.  
Apples hang low, and she was tall:  
Look to yourselves, and pray!

But though humour is her special gift, "C. B." can be witty too, and her satire of a fashionable congregation at the *Madeleine* might have been written at any time these sixty years:—

Poets have dreamed of her white and fair,  
Veiling her sorrows and shoulders bare  
With untrimmed treasure of golden hair  
In bitterest anguish bowed,  
Aching hearts upon horny knees  
Her votaries are—but who are these,  
These nineteenth century devotees  
Who thick the temples crowd?

Women of fashion steal softly in  
(Worth's last notion of Grief for Sin)  
Whose bangles chime with a silvery din  
As they shade soft eyes—to pray!  
And poor little bundles of crape and woe  
Who's score a good deed if they'd scare the crows  
Squeeze doggedly in to the best front rows  
Or stalls, as across their way

Highly spiced in the priest's oration  
Those who are sure of their own salvation  
Hear, unwrung, of the swift damnation  
Of others laid up in store.  
Pitch and plums are so richly blended  
That nobody feels the least offended

It will apply to a certain London audience to-morrow!

I wish, before leaving her verse, to make it quite clear once again that these extracts are chosen not as examples of C. B.'s poetry, but to give some taste of her character. The full flavour can only be enjoyed by a reading of all the poems in conjunction with Mr. Bain's own vehement memoir of his mother, which precedes them. Twice in his life, says this astonished son, complete strangers have stopped him, and, said one: "I want to tell you that thirty-five years ago I met your mother in London for half-an-hour, and I never shall forget her. Don't misunderstand me: she was old enough to be my mother. But she left an impression upon me that no time can ever efface"; the other: "Sir, your mother is the most wonderful woman I ever set eyes on."

This wonderful woman shines through the inequalities, the trivialities of the book about her, just as clearly as she does in the sweetest passages of her most charming songs, but most clearly of all in the picture her son draws of her: "a child could have cheated her; only no child ever would have done it, for she understood children as she understood flowers . . . she would sometimes sit listening to me, listening quietly and never speaking of herself, never betraying any hint of what all the time she must have known she had within her, a power in comparison with which everything that could be found in me and all my tribe sank into insignificance."

There could be no surer evidence of the genius of personality than is given here. ANN. JONES.

### Correspondence.

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

#### WOMEN AS JUSTICES OF THE PEACE.

MADAM,—On May 30th, an article by me appeared in THE COMMON CAUSE in which the question was raised whether there ever had been a woman J.P. in England; and I pointed out that the authorities usually quoted to show that women had held or might hold this office broke down on investigation. I am glad to say that, since I wrote that article, Miss Bertha H. Putnam has informed me that Thomas Marowe, a high authority as to Justices of the Peace in the early part of the 16th century, states that both single women and married women can be Justices of the Peace. Of course, this fact does not do away with the necessity of passing the Bill now before Parliament, as no Lord Chancellor would, or could be expected to appoint women as Justices without direct Parliamentary sanction; but it may soothe the feelings of persons of "conservative" or old-fashioned views to know that the idea of women Justices is no novelty in the English law.

J. THEODORE DODD.

#### WOMEN AND THE PRIESTHOOD.

MADAM,—In reply to Miss Clark's criticism of my letter in your last issue, may I say that I could have made my meaning more clear had I written "To substitute women for men on occasion or in some cases is surely," &c. I did not suppose that Miss Royden's intention, and that of her supporters, was to make the priesthood an entirely feminine profession.

To turn to the main issue, I had no desire to convert Miss Clark to my point of view. I merely wished to state my position and that of numerous other women, including all those of the Roman branch of the Catholic Church.

Miss Clark states that the League of the Church Militant is trying "to find out . . . why . . . their sex should debar women from the Ministerial Priesthood." Similarly, ardent teetotalers are trying to find out why wine should not be eliminated from the Sacrament of the Altar.

We are not trying to find out at all, for in our view it has been found out already, and the result embedded in the practice of the last 1900 years. We no more want to find out a new way of handing on the Faith than a man who has taken his seat in the train for Birmingham wants to find out whether the train for Sheffield will not do just as well. It would be impertinent in us to raise any objection whatever to Miss Royden's appearance in the pulpit of the City Temple. All we desire is that when she is drawn to the worship of our particular religious body she should occupy a pew.

MARGERY SMITH.

#### DOMESTIC SERVICE IN AUSTRALIA.

MADAM,—Being so far away, doubtless my letter will arrive long after the magic words "this correspondence must now cease" have been pronounced by you upon the letters concerning the domestic help question, yet I venture to make a few remarks, belated though they be, for it seems to me one aspect of the problem has been entirely ignored by your contributors, *i.e.*, the simplification of work by the elimination of possessions. In the Colonies one learns much of all sorts; but one of the chief lessons which West Australia, at any rate, teaches, is how to do without things. If I ever return to my native land, and set up house-keeping there, I shall certainly refrain from buying many articles which formerly I considered necessities, and my servants, if I am fortunate enough to be able to employ any, will have far less work to do in consequence. Why should we have one shape of cup for tea, and another for coffee; one kind

### Reports, Notices, etc.

#### NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON INFANT WELFARE, KINGSWAY HALL, JULY 3rd.

THE UNMARRIED MOTHER AND HER CHILD.

At the morning session the Chair was taken by Sir John Kirk, and among the speakers were Lady Nott-Bower, the Bishop of Kensington, Mr. Robert Parr (of the N.S.P.C.C.), Mrs. How Martyn (Maternity and Child Welfare Committee, Middlesex County Council), Miss Edith Vance (St. Pancras Board of Guardians), Mrs. H. B. Irving, Inspector Swaisland (Women Police Service), Mr. F. W. Sherwood (National Council for the Unmarried Mother and her Child), and Miss Norah March (Moral Education League). At the afternoon session Mrs. H. A. L. Fisher (Chairman of the National Council U.M.C.) took the Chair, and the discussion was opened by Mrs. Gotto, O.B.E. (Deputy Chairman, N.C.U.M.C.).

The following resolution was carried unanimously:—

"It is the opinion of this Conference that early legislation is desirable on the lines of the Bill prepared by the National Council for the Unmarried Mother and her Child and supported by the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children."

Mrs. Gotto emphasised the necessity of recognising that the responsibility of parenthood must be equally shared by the father as well as the unmarried mother. She divided unmarried mothers into seven groups, and dealt at some length with each one. With regard to the legal aspect of the subject she pointed out that England was the only country where subsequent marriage does not legitimise the children. This point was also considered by Mr. F. W. Sherwood (N.C.U.M.C.) in connection with the Bill drafted by the N.S.P.C.C., and prepared by the N.C.U.M.C., and which provides that illegitimate children shall become wards of the Court, and where the father is known he shall be served with a notice to attend the court and be asked to provide for the support of his child. The child shall also be registered in the father's name, and not merely that of the mother.

Both Mrs. Gotto and Inspector Swaisland, of the Women Police Service, referred to the difficulties in dealing with the question of the child of the married woman who has been unfaithful to her husband. Mrs. How Martyn asked why we should not begin by refusing to brand it as it is branded at present, and call it the child of illegitimate parents. She also expressed the hope that registration before birth should be provided for in order that those children whose mothers die at birth should have adequate legal protection. Mrs. H. B. Irving said, "This problem is not going to be solved unless we are really sincerely desirous of doing the right thing," and brought before the Conference the responsibilities of the Boards of Guardians in these matters.

On the whole, the feeling of the Conference was strongly in favour of keeping mother and child together as long as possible.

GERTRUDE STANWAY TAPP.

Perth, West Australia.

## INNOCENT VICTIMS OF THE WAR!

Can you picture any phase of the Great War more pathetic than the plight of the innocent children—left orphans or fatherless—and now starting on life's journey so terribly handicapped through no fault of their own? Unfortunately, every belligerent nation has its quota of these innocents, but happily most of the countries are able to make adequate arrangements for the care and education of their children until such time as they can take their place in the world alone. What then must be the condition of those children in a country which cannot provide such aid? Serbia is such an one, and the conditions surrounding the victims of the war in this country are pitiful in the extreme. There are towns in which

### 85 PER CENT. OF THE CHILDREN ARE SUFFERING FROM ANÆMIA AND CONSUMPTION,

not to mention other diseases which are the result of insufficient food and clothing. Mothers—and in too many cases there is neither father nor mother—are unable to nurse their babies owing to insufficient nourishment for themselves. Clothes are practically unobtainable owing to their prohibitive prices, soap is almost unknown, groceries are scarce, and starvation and disease menace the country. Many of the children are in rags, begging in the streets because their mothers are without means of subsistence.

#### THE SERBIAN RED CROSS SOCIETY

is helping by supplying Food and Clothing, Medicines, &c., but the needs of the sorely stricken people are still great. In addition to the work of succouring Serbia's Orphans, the Serbian Red Cross is opening a fund for the assistance of DISABLED SERBIAN SOLDIERS, and also for providing ROADSIDE DISPENSARIES to combat the disease and illness from which so many of the Serbian people are suffering as a result of long years of privation and neglect.

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